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FAMILIAL, SITUATIONAL, AND COGNITIVE DETERMINANTS  
OF SHARING BEHAVIOR IN AFRICAN AMERICAN CHILDREN

by

Juanita Shell

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in  
Psychology in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City  
University of New York

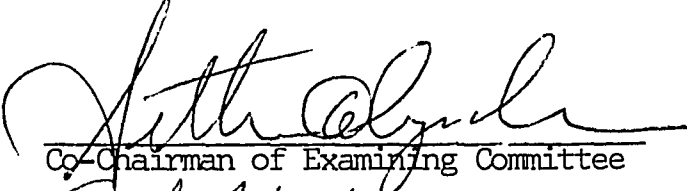
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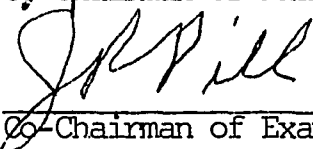
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## Abstract

FAMILIAL, SITUATIONAL AND COGNITIVE DETERMINANTS OF  
SHARING BEHAVIOR IN POOR AFRICAN  
AMERICAN CHILDREN

by

Juanita Shell

Adviser: Professor A.D. Lynch

The purpose of this study was to examine whether children reared in extended families demonstrated more sharing responses than children reared in nuclear families. Six hypotheses were examined. The subjects were 48 mother-child dyads. The child subjects within the two family structures were all sixth grade boys and girls who were matched on sex and birth order.

The study was divided into two parts. The first part involved an interview with the primary caretaker to assess family structure, to determine the extent of familial involvement with the child subject, and to assess her view of the child's sharing behavior. The primary caretaker subjects were asked to state their opinions in regard to their belief in sharing as part of their daily participation in it. The second half of the study involved assessing aspects of the child subjects' sharing behavior and attitude toward sharing behavior on a sharing task, on a projective type measure, and on a Likert type measure. Matching Familiar Figures Test was used to measure

their impulsive reflective behaviors to determine if there exists a relationship between sharing behavior and the ability to think out a problem before making a decision. The observation on the sharing task was designed to test the degree to which one child divided, with an absent partner, money earned by himself and another child. Children reared in extended families shared more than children reared in nuclear families. Primary caretakers from extended families perceived their offspring as more sharing than primary caretakers from nuclear families. Sharing was positively correlated with birth order, age, and reading achievement. These sharing differences are interpreted in terms of socialization and moral development within both a psychoanalytic and a child developmental model.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Finally, I dedicate this work to those persons who are really responsible for my being--my parents, Sallie and Douglas Shell.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

This study compares the sharing behavior of poor pre-adolescent African American children reared in extended families to that of poor pre-adolescent African American children reared in nuclear families. An examination was made of birth order, sex, attitude, interpersonal relations, impulsive and reflective behavior, an observed behavior task with experimenter absent and present, and reading achievement as it related to sharing behavior. These determinants of children's sharing behavior have significance for family and school concerns about social and cognitive development of the child.

Sharing is defined here as a "voluntary act," to partake in an experience, to divide, to give service, money or time to someone in need. Poor is defined here as economically, though being poor imposes its own brand of psychological conflicts which become part of one's experiences. McKee and Leader (1955) argued that persons deprived of resources or status are more likely to pursue them vigorously than persons not so deprived. Picture the child who arrives home from school to an empty house, no one to greet him-- the child who no one gives to. In such a child a special warping can develop in feeling that no one cares. With this goes the picture that one is deprived of love.

The economy of deprivation spreads from its emotional base for the individual to an economical base or anything that has value between individuals. Sharing is felt to be the currency of life and the lack of sharing--selfishness--its consequence. Even tenderness has to be fought for, for one comes to believe that to share means to lose something. The more one gives the less there is left. Often one has to write off the possibility of sharing for it is not conceivable in a world where survival itself always feels tenuous.

Given this sort of global perception of the world at large, I selected 11 and 12 year old boys and girls and presented them with the opportunity of sharing tangible objects with a peer and sharing in a hypothetical situation. The child shares or refuses to share with a peer. Sharing requires a shift in orientation. The child must divide something he wishes for himself. To do so he must give up something. Having so little in the way of material goods to share, a child may think carefully and sharing may seem a very difficult task. To share with a peer he must divide the objects, be willing to give them up with no strings attached.

Psychoanalytic theory (Freud, 1908, 1917) makes the connection between one's attitude toward possessions and such character traits as generosity and stinginess to the anal stage in the psychosexual development. A child so severely deprived must act impulsively and hoard or grab all for self. There are those who can give away their possessions but cannot share them. And there are those to whom possessions become most valuable when shared with other persons.

Psychoanalytic theory also suggests that one learns to act independently in a subsequent stage only after one has been helpless and had someone upon whom he or she could be dependent. Subsequent imitation of parental images further determine sharing. This is analogous to the idea that one learns to share after one has been exposed to nurturant and sharing models.

Social learning theorists (Bandura & Walters, 1963) suggest that imitation is a basic form of learning. Boys and girls are great imitators. In families where everybody shares experiences, children are likely to grow up with a desire to help and a willingness to share as a way of life. If one observes closely one notices some children seem to find sharing relatively easy while others seem to find sharing impossible. To the former the world seems full of hope and joy. To the latter the world seems full of despair and sadness. It is just that difference which fascinates me. As I observed children who are open and relate easily, while others are closed and suspicious I began to think of what some of the possibilities could be in terms of antecedent experiences.

If the effect of the model has an effect on the child's sharing behavior, then the child's exposure to positive multiple models is assumed to have a powerful effect on a child's sharing behavior. Therefore, exposure to positive sharing models in an extended family household should also have a powerful effect on a child's sharing behavior.

The extended family is a family structure which consists

of three or more generations related by blood or marriage living in the same household. The members consist of parents, their parents and minor or adult children, biological or adoptive. All the members live in very much the same way and share the same ideas about the way their lives should be led (Billingsly, 1968; Goode, 1964; Halpern, 1973).

Growing up in an extended family is a living example of sharing. The child growing up in this type of family realizes that any one of these adults fill the role of mother or father, should the need for such ever arise. In the mother's or father's absence the child has a network of family--grandparents, aunts, uncles--upon whom he can depend to serve him. On the other hand, the nuclear family structure is the type of family unit which consists of a parent or parents and his or their minor children, biological or adoptive, in residence with her or them. The child growing up within the nuclear family is dependent solely upon his parent or parents. In the absence of the parent or parents the child is without familial discipline and support. Therefore, the child is left in orphanages and foster homes without the benefits of familial supports (Billingsly, 1968; Goode, 1964; Halpern, 1973).

The extended family may also be more common in Black culture because (a) it is more common in Africa than in Europe and elements of African culture have survived and adapted here, and (b) it is more common in rural America, and Blacks were more often rural until this generation.

Because low economic and subcultural status of the African American families have had difficulty maintaining stability in living in nuclear households, it seems reasonable to assume that maintaining an extended family structure may counteract instability and destitution. Since individual pursuits on the part of nuclear

family members have led to competition it seems reasonable to assume that cohesiveness on the part of the extended family members leads to sharing behavior.

The question is, will poor urban African American families give up living in nuclear family households and embrace living in the extended family household? If so, in this way they can pool their energies and resources, settle on the same goals and share with each other, so that all may benefit.

Despite the fact that American society socializes its young to be independent and competitive, there are subcultural components within the American society who engage in shared living arrangements.

Social scientists have utilized the urban poor African American family because of its "broken," unstable status. For the urban poor African American family there are advantages in maintaining an extended family structure. When grandparents, parents, brothers, sisters, aunts, uncles and grandchildren all live together in the same household will each person contribute to the benefit of all? It is important to examine familial determinants as it relates to children's sharing behavior. It is possible that one's way of life is ultimately predicated, defined and conducted on the basis of those familial antecedent experiences.

As socialization of the child proceeds in a normal sequence, the child's cognitive development is also learned, in part, as a product of socialization practices. According to Piaget (1932), the individual child moves slowly through the socializing process from

a stage of unconcern for others through a stage of conflict to development of cooperation. Piaget (1932) discusses four stages of development: the egocentric stage, the authoritarian stage, the reciprocal stage, and stage of equity. Piaget considers the stage of equity to be the point in development where the child has the ability to think operationally, i.e., the child can think of equitable considerations and it is the emergence of altruism. Therefore, the relationship of impulsive-reflective to sharing behavior leads one to consider the relatively clear and comprehensive activity of human thought. It means that when one is able to put himself in the place of others one is able to think logically or see another's point of view. In this way sharing and impulsive-reflective behavior are intertwined. If one shares one must be able to think, and by thinking he delays to collect his thoughts just as one would think to solve any other logical problem and reach a decision by intellectual means. So one applies the same mental apparatus to a problem involving sharing, and reaches a decision by almost the exact same process. Both are cognitive forms and aspects of intellectual activity which require that one agree to delay action before one acts in order to arrive at an appropriate decision.

As will be indicated in the forthcoming review of the literature, there is evidence that socialization practices, cognitive development and age of the child are important factors in determining whether a child shares. For purposes of the present study, particular attention will be paid to the relationship between the type of family structure a child is reared in and his sharing behavior.

## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

#### Socialization Influence of Sharing Behavior

##### Familial influence

The Moynihan Report et al. (1965) on the Negro family in America forced both professionals and laymen to look at some issues centering around the structure of the urban poor African American family. Confronted with differences in family structure among urban poor African American families researchers began to explore the effects of the type of family structure reared in on the poor African American child. Research literature in social psychology, sociology, and child development concerned with variables involved in the familial influence on urban poor African American children's behavior has grown. But researchers have not dealt directly with the issue of the type of family structure in which children are reared and the sharing behavior exhibited. Most of the studies in the literature on the structure of the African American family focus on the deficit model (i.e., "matriarchal" or "broken") from Frazier (1939) to Moynihan et al. (1965). But, in the present study I wish to explore the strengths of the urban poor African American family, i.e., their ability to share despite their limited resources.

DuBois (1909) was against using family structure to prove dis-

integration of Negro family life. He writes: "The broken families indicated by the abnormal number of widowed and separated and the late age of marriage show . . . economic pressure. These things all go to prove not the disintegration of the Negro family life but the distance which integration has gone and has yet to go" (p. 31). Du Bois was optimistic that a healthier family structure was in prospect.

Billingsly (1968), Hill (1971), and Stack (1974) cite examples of strength or new modes of adaptation to intolerable economic conditions of the lower class Black family. These are absorption of families, strong kinship bonds and flexible family roles. Stack (1974), also an advocate of the African family, cites "doubling up, positive coping mechanisms and kin who serve whether they be blood or otherwise" as examples of strengths of poor urban African American families. Otto (1962) observed that it is a strength when family members can "fill in" and assume each other's roles as needed. For example, a father can function as a "mother" and children can temporarily be "parents" to their mother and father.

Critics of the poor urban African American family claim that it is beset by socially oriented problems that affect its structure.

The Moynihan report (1965) states

Not every instance of social pathology can be traced to the weakness of family structure. . . . Nonetheless, at the center of the tangle of pathology is the weakness of the family structure. Once or twice removed, it will be found to be the principal source of most of the aberrant, inadequate, or antisocial behavior. (p. 30).

Frazier (1957) similarly charges that

The widespread disorganization of family life among Negroes has affected every phase of their community life and adjustments to the larger white world. Because of absence of stability in

family life, there is a lack of traditions. Life among a large portion of the urban Negro population is casual, precarious and fragmentary. It lacks continuity and its roots do not go deeper than the contingencies of daily living. This affects the socialization of the Negro child. (p. 636)

These statements seem to pervade the sociological and psychological literature and refer to a sizable number of urban poor African American families, as having characteristics that are undesirable, with the exception of Minuchin et al. (1967), who distinguished patterns of slum families; Dohrenwend and Dohrenwend (1969), who rejected income and education levels as determinants of social class. They cited evidence of "downward pressure" by the larger society on Negroes and Puerto Ricans. Engel (1972) distinguished lower class first born Black males by their superior Apgar scores. Although these writers have a more modern orientation, they did not consider family structure as a variable in their investigation.

That certain elements of some poor urban African families are undesirable and lack stability cannot be denied. However, shared living arrangements (extended families) may be an alternative for meeting the "instrumental needs and expressive needs" of the family. The families in question have a need to gather strength, therefore the closeness of their members would seem desirable rather than undesirable. Yet, the general consensus in sociological and psychological literature is that kinship relations are appropriate but should be limited. Therefore, most theorists advocate that living arrangements should be limited to nuclear households. The critics view multigenerational households (extended households) as undesirable and nuclear households as desirable. Freud was explicit: he warned that families will not give the individual up. The more closely members of a family are attached to one another, the

more often they tend to cut themselves off from others, the more difficult it is for them to enter into the wider circle of life. Lewis (1965) suggests that one of the common experiences of the black child is to find himself in an extended family situation competing with a number of siblings and relatives for care and denied responses. It may be true that a child has to compete for recognition. But, it seems that if positive adults are present in the household then sharing (getting) attention may be easier in an extended family situation than in a nuclear family situation, if for no other reason than that they are giving adults available to respond.

Given the concern over the effects of "broken" and "disorganized" families (Frazier, 1939; Moynihan et al., 1965), and the cumulative evidence pointing to the possible advantages of being reared in an extended family one should be ready to take a new look at the effect of being reared in an extended family as opposed to being reared in a nuclear family.

The type of family structure in which the child is reared may have an impact on children's sharing behavior. The family structures considered in this investigation are nuclear and extended. Billingsly (1968) defines a nuclear family as husband and wife and their own or adopted children living in the same household, with no other members present. Another type of nuclear family is the attenuated nuclear family. This type has either a father or a mother--but not both--living together with minor children in the parent's own household with no other persons present. Billingsly (1969) defines the extended family as a married couple with their own children who take in other relatives in the same household. Another type of extended family is the attenuated extended family. This type consists of a single abandoned, legally separated, divorced, or

widowed mother or father living with his or her own children who takes into the household other relatives.

### Anthropological studies

According to anthropological literature the family is the basic family unit (Campbell, 1966), and it is believed that man has lived in groups (family units) for approximately one million years (Goode, 1964; Fishbein, 1976).

Fishbein (1976) in his book on human adaptation summarized the literature on social adaptation of man in pre-agricultural hunter-gatherer societies. He wrote that some anthropologists make the assumption that the human family evolved as a response to unstable food supply. Membership in a group (family) was flexible, and the members increased or decreased with respect to the availability of food supply. A core group (nuclear family) consisted of an adult male, adult female and offspring, while a subsistence group (extended family) consisted of several core groups generally all related to one another (Fishbein, 1976). Therefore, the concept of nuclear and extended families is not new. In fact, Mead (1935) reported that the extended family is the prevailing pattern in many South Seas cultures.

More pertinent to the present study, Stack (1974) observed that family membership of lower class black second generation welfare families is flexible with membership rising and declining according to economic need.

The children in the present study were reared in an urban setting under circumstances in which at first glance they are members of cooperative families (extended) or competitive families (nuclear). It seems, then, that one of the ways that a child emerges as cooperative or competitive is related to the type of cultural milieu reared in,

and the type of socialization he or she is exposed to.

### Cross-cultural studies

In the social science literature sharing behavior is often subsumed under the rubric of altruistic behavior or positive behavior. Some of the altruistic or positive behaviors are sharing, helping, cooperation, volunteering and aiding. References to the terms mentioned above are pertinent to the present study and are used in this paper interchangeably.

Some of the literature on altruistic behavior indicates that children who manifest a high degree of sharing come chiefly from rural cooperative sub-cultures where culture reinforces sharing behavior (Madsen 1967, 1969 and Spiro, 1965).

Mead (1961) in her anthropological observations has documented that cultures differ in tendencies toward cooperative and competitive behavior. Romney and Romney (1963) made observations that there is an almost total lack of competitiveness and aggression in a Mexican village. The low incidence of these types of behavior was chiefly attributed to the threat of ostracism. Madsen (1964) suggests that cultural control of competition and reinforcement of cooperation has also been described as characteristic of Mexicans living in the U. S..

Studies by Madsen (1967), Madsen and Shapira (1970), Nelson and Madsen (1969), and Shapira and Madsen (1969) reported cooperative behavior among children of all sub-cultures studied under conditions of group reward. But, when children were individually rewarded, children of some sub-cultures (Kibbutz and Mexican Village) continued

to cooperate while children of other sub-cultures (urban Afro and Anglo-American, Israeli and urban Mexican) began to compete in a non-adaptive manner. It seems logical, then, that child rearing practices influence a child's identification with a competitive or cooperative primary caretaker and societal norms.

### Identification

Intimately related to family membership is the internalization of standards through a process known as identification. According to Freud (1936), identification is known as the earliest expression of an emotional tie with another person. Erikson (1947, 1968) refers to identification as the earliest capacity for trust, the first and most powerful ingredient of positive behavior.

Imitative behavior succeeds identification. This is inferred from the notion that imitation is learned early as a product of identification with a "loved object". In learning to get somebody to do for him what he wishes to have done the baby also develops the necessary ground work "to get to be" the giver--that is, imitate her (the mother) and eventually to become a giving person. According to Freud (1949), identification may arise with every new perception of a common quality shared with some other person who is not an object of the sexual instinct (same sex parent). The more important this common quality is the more successful may this partial identification become, and it may thus represent the beginning of a new tie.

There are two other processes, mastery and love, associated with identification. The child's desire to gratify certain needs motivates this identification with a model.

White (1959, 1960) considers motivation a directing function in learning and views it as a crucial part of psychological development. The essence of his position is that all of us have an intrinsic motive or desire to deal competently with or to have mastery over our environment. He refers to this as "effectance motivation." When a child or adult succeeds in mastering something new, he receives pleasure from this accomplishment or a "feeling of efficacy." Further, the nature of what an individual is striving to gain competence in changes in systematic ways with development. White shows the relationship between "effectance motivation" and the stages of psycho-sexual development proposed by Freud and Erikson; in the muscular and anal stage the child's life revolves around giving and receiving commands and motor skills.

Psychoanalytic theory views the give and take relationship as the earliest relationship established between mother and infant, and it is repeated throughout life. It is important to share. Yet, what appears to be a simple statement is actually quite complex.

According to Fromm (1956) one's willingness to give is an expression of love. He defines character types as the reflective interaction of the parent-child relationship, e.g., receptive, exploitative, hoarding, marketing and productive. He further states the ability to love as an act of giving depends on the character development of the person. For example, Haley (1976) in his book Roots documents the triumph and struggles of an African American family who strove to better their life situation. But, carpetbaggers thought that because African Americans had been freed from physical slavery the former felt that

they were giving up land and resources they felt deprived of, sacrificing to African American people. Fromm (1947) suggests that people whose character has not developed beyond the stage of receptive, exploitative or hoarding orientation experiences regard the act of giving in this way. The marketing character is willing to give but only in exchange for receiving. Giving without receiving for him is being cheated. For example, some mothers demand that their children receive all A's on their report card in order to receive their love. People whose main orientation is a non-productive one feel giving as an impoverishment. Most individuals of this type therefore refuse to give. Some make a virtue out of giving in the sense of a sacrifice. They feel that just because it is painful to give, one should give; the virtue of giving or sharing to them lies in the very act of acceptance and sacrifice. For them, the norm that it is better to give than to receive means that it is better to suffer deprivation than to experience joy.

For the productive character giving has an entirely different meaning. Giving is the highest expression of potency. In the act of giving one experiences strength and power. Not only that of material things, but, more importantly, one experiences strength and power when one gives of himself, of his understanding, of his interest, of his service, and of his knowledge. These are expressions and manifestations that reaffirm humanity within us (Fromm, 1956). As social maturation proceeds in a normal sequence the experience of feeling loved by significant others becomes integrated into the self and is

experienced as an effect of the child's love for others as well as serving to further obtain positive goal states which in turn makes the child feel powerful. The behavior is then pursued for its own sake as being satisfying and becomes an end of its own sake and one experiences the feeling of power for his own satisfaction. One of the powers of the lower class African American family is its love for its members; despite poverty they have found a way to give. Maya Angelou (1969) stated it eloquently in her book, I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings:

Although there was always generosity in the Negro neighborhood, it was indulged on pain of sacrifice. Whatever was given by Black people to other Blacks was most probably needed as desperately by the donor as by the receiver. A fact which made the giving and receiving a rich exchange. (p. 48)

### Modeling

Initially, social learning theory, as formulated by Bandura and Walters (1963) in relation to the learning of behavior emphasizes the importance of the influence of parents. Bryan and Walbek (1969), Harris (1971), and Liebert and Fernandez (1970) conceptualize the research problem as: it is what models do that affect the responses of the children. Different modeling cues elicit different responses from children.

Baumind (1971) and Staub (1975) have speculated as to those parental practices which might facilitate the development of pro-social behavior like sharing by children. One of the critical factors suggested by both researchers is the modeling of such behavior by the parent and imitated by the child. Other critical issues are firm enforcement policies wherein both positive and negative reinforcements are employed; parental acceptance or at least nonrejection of the child and the employment of just and fair standards accompanied by the use of reasoning to justify directives given the child.

In the literature on sharing behavior researchers have exposed children to models other than parents. In the lone study where the father was designated the model, Rutherford and Mussen (1968) working with a sample of nursery school boys found that generous nursery school boys saw their fathers as warmer and nurturant than less generous boys.

Studies on sharing behavior that used models to demonstrate certain behaviors for subject to copy or refuse to copy have been admirably reported by others (Elliot & Vasta, 1970; Harris, 1968; Liebert, Fernandez & Gill, 1969; Liebert & Poulous, 1971; Rosenhan & White, 1967; and especially Bryan, 1975 and Krebs, 1970). Although the literature using models to determine if children are influenced by the model's behavior is vast there is still little research on using primary caretakers of the children studied as models to determine the effect of sharing. One can see the effect of modeling on the sharing behavior by a variety of different models and the positive relation to the type of model the child is exposed to.

One of the initial studies that demonstrated the effects of sharing models was done by Rosenhan and White (1967). The experimental procedure consisted of having subjects play a bowling game in the presence of a male model and then later alone. The prize for winning a game was \$ .05 gift certificates. Before the game started, the experimenter informed the model and the subject that ". . . gift certificates were being collected for some orphans . . ." Each of them could give some of their gift certificates if they liked. However, the experimenter also made clear that they did not have to. The model always played the game first. On each win, the model placed half of his gift certificates into a charity box which had a picture of

children in ragged clothes on it. The model only made verbalizations after the first win. They were "I won, I believe I will give one certificate to the orphans each time I win" (p. 426).

The results supported the general modeling hypothesis. Their findings indicated that children exposed to a giving model showed more instances of imitative behavior than those who did not witness a model. There were 120 subjects who observed the model donate. Within this group, 63 per cent of the subjects gave in the model's presence and 48 per cent also gave in the model's absence. None of the control subjects (who didn't observe a model) donated to charity.

Various modeling manipulations have been employed in most of these studies. However, all studies are similar in having subjects witness sharing models and then offer subjects the opportunity to donate rewards to others. Justifications for the donations typically include donations to charity, including orphans, some poor or needy children, March of Dimes, or to a child in the same or another school who won't get a chance to win prizes.

Various reward incentives have also been used. They consist of gift certificates, chips, tokens, marbles, small trinkets, candy and pennies which were, in many instances, exchanged or traded later for prizes. In the present study there was no prior exposure to sharing models, per se. Children were however, expected to share or not to share based upon past experience with sharing or stingy models.

Other modeling studies tested the effects of observing altruistic models, but manipulated various model characteristics. Instead of the simple presence or absence of an altruistic model, many studies

included generous and charitable models, as well as models who refused to share or were stingy, selfish, or neutral in their sharing behavior. Models who were generous or charitable gave either some, many, or all of their winnings to charity. Models who refused to share, or were stingy or selfish kept some, many or all winnings for themselves. In the studies which included neutral behaviors, the model did not collect any of his winnings nor did he demonstrate or verbalize sharing behavior.

All of these studies replicate the finding of Rosenhan and White (1967) that exposure to altruistic (sharing) models increases sharing behavior in children. In reference to the different model characteristics cited before, the results revealed that children observing generous or charitable models shared or donated significantly more than those observing models who refused to share (Harris, 1970) or were stingy (Presbie & Coiteus, 1971), or selfish (Bryan & Walbek, 1970 a & b; Midlarsky, Bryan & Brickman, 1973) in their sharing behavior. Although neutral models were less effective in facilitating children's donation behavior than generous or charitable models, children observing neutral models shared significantly more than those observing selfish models (Midlarsky, Bryan & Brickman, 1973).

The research related to the effects of altruistic models on children's sharing behavior has been consistent in demonstrating that children show significant increases in sharing after observing models who practice sharing. In addition, several investigators have suggested that the type of verbal appeal as well as the presence of

various reinforcement contingencies also affect the extent to which children will imitate the sharing model. However, actual research on types of verbalizations and reinforcement contingencies show inconsistent findings: some show positive effects, and some no effects. What is clearly demonstrated from previous work is the impact models have on observing children.

#### Demographic characteristics

Most of the studies testing the effects of an altruistic model on children's sharing were done with public school boys and girls between six and twelve years of age (Bryan & London, 1970). Only a few studies have been done with nursery school (Hartup & Coates, 1967; Liebert & Fernandez, 1970) or kindergarten (Elliot & Vasta, 1970) aged children.

In these studies the race and socioeconomic level of the subjects did not constitute variables, and as a result, most of the investigators did not offer information about the subject population. Of the studies that report this information, we find that most of the children were white (Bryan & Walbek, 1970a, exp. III; Liebert & Poulos, 1971; Midlarsky, Bryan & Brickman, 1973; Poulos & Liebert, 1972). Few studies reported that black children were subjects (Bryan & Walbek, 1973a, exp. III; Midlarsky, Bryan & Brickman, 1973, exp. II). Some studies included children from predominantly middle-class public schools (Liebert & Poulos, 1971; Poulos & Liebert, 1972; Rosenhan & White, 1967), middle-class families (Liebert & Fernandez, 1970), and middle-class residential areas (White, 1972). A few studies included

children from the lower-class (Elliot & Vasta, 1970; Liebert & Fernandez, 1970) or lower middle-class families (Elliot & Vasta, 1970).

Most of these studies, admittedly with limited samples (range of n sizes), found models to have powerful influence on the impact of behavioral example (or models) on children's behavior.

The present study explores whether the most powerful effect of the model applies to black children when they are reared in nuclear and extended families; and assumes the child is exposed to parental sharing or stingy models, rather than types of verbal appeals or reinforcement contingencies. The question of interest is whether children exposed on a day to day basis to nuclear or extended primary caretaker models will show or fail to show sharing behavior. No study has yet used family structure as a control. Of the studies on modeling, only two studies have yet included black children. In each instance, the sample of black children was too small to make valid generalizations. The research dealing with the effects of altruistic models on children's sharing behavior needs to be extended to examine the modeling process with African American children according to family structure reared.

#### Other situational factors

The research which concerns the influence of situational state variables suggests that certain characteristics of the situation can affect the actual performance of an altruistic act (Fischer, 1963; Floyd, 1964; Wright, 1942). Modeling and reinforcement are considered aspects of the social situation, but there are others.

These include issues relating to (1) the status characteristics of the recipients, (2) the type of reinforcement, (3) individual and group reward reinforcement, and (4) the amount of resources. However, in this study we are concerned with modeling and amount of resources.

The findings relating to children's willingness to share with friends or strangers are inconsistent. Other findings revealed that children (1) share more upon receiving a material rather than a verbal reward, (2) show preferences in the sharing of various rewards, (3) will assist each other (sharing by taking turns) more in a group rather than in an individual reward situation, and (4) will share more upon receiving many vs. few items to share. The findings imply that regardless of the process through which the child learns to share, certain aspects of the situation may greatly affect the actual performance of the altruistic or sharing act.

Several types of situational factors have been reported to have a significant effect on children's willingness to share with others. Among these factors, the amount of resources appears to be a very critical variable affecting sharing. Yet previous research has rarely focused on the meaning of resources for children. In fact, only one study has varied amount of resources in a sharing situation (Fischer, 1963). However, in that study, it was not clear whether children were aware of having scarce (limited) resources since even in the low resource condition subjects were asked to share with only one other child.

Resources have important implications for any study dealing with

sharing behavior since the availability of resources is effected by so many factors in the child's environment. The present study examines the amount shared by the children to determine: if the amount shared made a difference due to the amount available; if the children had more coins than enough to share with a potential recipient, and if the children had few coins to share with a potential recipient.

#### Moral development of sharing behavior

As cognitive maturation progresses the child's cognitive capacities change at each level of moral development. Piaget (1932) and Kohlberg (1958; 1964) have been the major proponents of a cognitive developmental approach to moral growth. Based on conceptions about children's cognitive capacities, they propose that the development of morality involves a sequence of stages that are qualitatively different from each other. Each stage of moral development is an integrated whole in the sense that it represents many similar acts. The hierarchical nature of these moral stages implies that each stage is derived from the previous stage. Each individual must pass through each preceding stage before he moves to the next stage. Everyone is expected to pass through these stages unless development is fixated at some point by unusual coerciveness of parents or cultures or by deprivation of experience of peer cooperation (Kohlberg, 1964).

More specifically, these formulations were based on children's attitudes towards rules of social order and their comprehension of justice between people (Piaget, 1932), and children's responses to

ten hypothetical moral situations (Kohlberg, 1958). Children's responses at various ages reflected differential cognitive conceptions. For example, Piaget found younger children to be bound by "egocentrism." They were unable to consider others' feelings in making moral judgments. They did not understand how their actions affected others, nor could they distinguish their own perspectives from those of others. Behavior was judged right or wrong according to its physical consequences. On the other hand, the moral judgements of older children included attitudes of justice and reciprocal relationships between people. Older children judged the act according to its intent to do harm. Piaget suggested that the older children's ability to take the role of the other (which develops through the process of peer interactions) provided a basis for their attitudes. Empirical support for these conclusions has been reported in several studies which have focused on many different forms of behavior (Hoffman, 1970).

Ugurel-Semin (1952) has made an attempt to develop a stage theory which specifically deals with the development of children's sharing behavior. In this study, 191 children in Istanbul between the ages of 4 and 16 (attending kindergarten and primary school) were each required to divide an unequal number of nuts between himself and another child. It was found that with increasing age more children gave either the other child the greater share of nuts (were "generous") or made an equal division and disposed of the odd nut in various ingenious ways. By using children's responses to how they were going to divide the nuts and their actual sharing behavior,

Ugurel-Simen developed seven moral judgements which were classified into 32 subgroups. In this sequence moral though basically progresses from "centralization" to "decentralization". The moral judgement dimensions and subgroups are listed below:

- I. Egocentrism
  1. Confusion of others with self; confusion of the material moral
  2. Fixation in numerical perspective
  3. Insufficiency of number of nuts
  4. Purely selfish attitude
  
- II. Sociocentrism (obedience to moral and religious rules and customs)
  5. You give more to your friend
  6. The older one gives more (or an equal amount)
  7. The younger one gives more (or takes more)
  8. It is necessary to offer to guest
  9. It would not be fair to keep the bigger share
  10. He who is given the nuts to divide must give most
  11. If you eat in front of another you must give (share equality)
  12. Sharing between brother and sister
  13. Boys give to girls
  14. Girls give to boys
  15. Generosity is a good action before God
  16. Unkindness should be replied to with a kind act
  17. One should always think of others, of the poor
  
- III. Awareness of social reaction
  18. Fear of public opinion; shame
  
- IV. Superficial reciprocity
  19. Materialistic point of view
  20. Sharing between brother and sister as expression of equality
  21. Equal sharing is best
  22. Equal sharing is considered necessary
  23. Unequal sharing makes the child uncomfortable
  
- V. Deeper and enlarged reciprocity; cooperation
  24. Mutual interest

25. Preventing a friend from being angry
26. Maintenance of good relations between friends

#### VI. Altruism

27. Gift (sacrifice)
28. Mutual help
29. Sympathy
30. Moral joy
31. Idealistic altruism

#### VII. Justice

32. Justice and right demand equal sharing

Basically, Ugurel-Semin has used the formulations of Piaget to provide a theoretical explanation of children's sharing behavior at various ages of development. Further support for a cognitive developmental approach of children's sharing behavior also appears in the research relating to age differences in various forms of altruistic behavior. That is, there is a tendency for older children to share more than younger children (Krebs, 1970).

## CHAPTER III

### THEORETICAL RATIONALE

The purpose of the present study further examines and clarifies the effects of socialization and cognitive determinants of sharing behavior of poor African American children. Some concepts considered in the rationale underlying the hypotheses cited are: identification, modeling and moral development.

#### Identification

In the literature the term identification is ambiguous; it has been defined by a variety of theorists both in the field of psychoanalytic literature and in the field of social psychology. Early writers (Fenichel, 1940; Freud, 1917; Freud, 1946) considered identification to be an unconscious process. Later writers (Mowrer, 1950; Sears et al., 1965) elaborated on Freud's original work and considered identification as an imitative conscious act. In this paper the psychoanalytic position is adopted, i.e., identification as an unconscious process.

Not all theorists assign exactly the same meaning to the term identification. There are different kinds of identification. They are adaptative and defensive. But the result is that the identifying person behaves in some way like the person with whom he has identified himself. The likeness may refer to the characteristic features, attitudes of the object, or to the role the object plays in reality.

The child's fantasy may be to take the place of the other person. Freud (1921) describes it as modeling one's ego after the fashion of one that has been taken as a model. The child internalizes the motives and overt behavior of another. In later writings Freud indicates that it is the parent's superego that the child identifies with. This characteristic has an important consequence; it results in a perpetuation of the moral code of a society. Therefore, the acquisition of standards is not only based on fear or external punishment but also on the belief that these standards are appropriate.

Bronfenbrenner (1960) reviewed the literature on identification. He found that Freud's position on identification represents the pervasive thought and other theorists merely explained Freud's original work under the guise of new theories. No new theories have emerged. He found missing empirical evidence for the prevalence and existence of these phenomena.

The theoretical concepts cited here are used to understand that in this study the child who identifies with a sharing or non-sharing primary caretaker has internalized the positive and/or negative consequences of sharing.

### Modeling

Social learning theorists Bandura and Huston (1961) and Bandura and Walters (1963) have treated identification and imitation synonymously and suggest that a sufficient condition for the learning of a response displayed by a model is exposure to that response. According to these theorists the information function of modeling

facilitates the learning process. The model's actions, whether behavioral, verbal, or pictorial, provide information to the child. Actions by the model can direct the observer's attention to the particular behavior. If this is the case then the model's action might serve as a cue that could influence how the observer will respond in a particular situation. One of the direct effects of the modeling process is that the behavior already exists in the repertoire of the observer (Bandura, 1971b). Social learning theory as formulated by Bandura and Walters (1963) in relation to modeling emphasizes the importance of the influences of parents.

Researchers have used situational factors to determine effects of children's behavior. They believe that certain characteristics of the situation can affect the actual performance of a sharing act. The amount of money one agrees to share or fail to share is considered to be an aspect of a social situation. Eliot and Vasta (1970) exposed children to a model who received material rewards for its performance. The findings revealed no significant difference between the donation behavior of the subjects observing non-sharing models and those observing sharing models being rewarded. This finding supports the underlying assumption of this study. The acquisition or suppression of values and beliefs is less likely to be facilitated by watching others behave and more likely to be the product of modeling a person whom he or she has selected to identify with, or with rules of social living.

## Moral development

Both Piaget (1932) and Kohlberg (1969) have examined stages of moral development. Piaget's position will be considered in this paper. He considered four stages of moral development--the egocentric stage, authoritarian stage, reciprocal stage and equity stage. During the egocentric stage which includes age groupings of 0 to 3 years the child feels that the world is an extension of himself and assumes that it will occupy the role assigned to his body-pleasurable sensations. The child either conforms to the voice of authority or resists it. During this stage the ability to cooperate is completely absent, the child responds to the threat of punishment. During the authoritarian stage, which includes the age groupings of 4 to 8 years, the child is totally submissive to authority. Rules are absolutes--unbreakable. At this stage justice is extremely important. During the reciprocal stage, which includes the age group 9 to 10 years, the child has already developed ethics of mutual respect which gives way to social equality. The child evaluates a situation and reaches a decision concerning the best way to act in order to preserve equality between social equals. During the stage of equity, which includes the age groupings of 11 to maturity, conceptual development reaches its climax. The child emerges able to practice altruism. He or she now reaches decisions on the basis of the attenuating circumstances, and compassion is a consideration.

Piaget (1932) found that as the child proceeds in development he or she is able to show consideration for another's feelings and

thoughts. From 11 to 12 years and during adolescent years, thought is projected and its groupings characterize the completion of reflective thought. It is at this time that the child learns to consider the feelings of others.

### Hypotheses

Billingsly (1968), Hill (1971), as well as Ladner (1971) and Stack (1974) have characterized the strengths in the African American family. Two of the strengths are doubling up and informal adoptions which sometimes crowd extended family households. These reserachers cite evidence of poor African American families serving their "kin" economically and emotionally. Heiss (1975) summarized the literature on the African American family. He found that 25% of African American families lived in extended families. However, in western society the nuclear family structure is preferred. In fact (Udry, 1971), western society's value system in support of the nuclear family is so strong that researchers have not thought it worthwhile to demonstrate the benefits of living in an extended family. Based on the research cited it is time to take a look at the possible advantages of living in an extended family. Consider the hypothesis that: primary caretakers residing in extended families have high positive attitudes toward sharing as compared to primary caretakers residing in nuclear families, as measured by an attitudinal scale (Likert type items).

According to psychoanalytic theory, identification concerns the child's internalization of the parents' standards and these characteristics and responses are then taken on as a total pattern. In

examining a socialization situation, children's imitation of sharing and non-sharing models are expected to facilitate more instances of volunteering behavior as reported by a primary caretaker. The assumption of psychoanalytic theory suggests the present hypothesis that parents report more sharing behavior for children reared in extended families as compared to children reared in nuclear families. For example, children reared in extended families show a higher score on the following checklist category of child volunteers to do more household tasks and interpersonal duties than children reared in nuclear families.

Ugurel-Semin (1952) used the amount of nuts shared by children-- either an equal amount or lesser amount given away by the child--to determine if a child was generous or selfish. If the child gave a more than equal amount the child was classified generous, and if the child gave less than an equal amount he was classified selfish.

In another vein, most researchers have used positive or negative affective and cognitive states induced by observation of models. In the present study affective or cognitive states are not induced. The position may include any identification made, but not experimentally induced by the experimenter. The formulation of the following hypothesis is that: on a sharing task, children reared in extended families show more sharing behavior than children reared in nuclear families.

Erikson (1968) has suggested that to acquire basic hope, the first ego virtue, seems to be the first and most powerful ingredient of positive behavior. These first pre-verbal cues between mother and

infant, this first struggle between wanting and satisfying oneself are the external organizers of later empathic understanding and of altruism. It is the earliest expression of an emotional tie with another person. To understand one must reason and have faith. According to Erikson faith is the earliest capacity for trust in the other and trust in oneself. This permits building reason which is not overwhelmed by destructive and hopeless cynicism and by obsessive and devaluating doubt. But, rather it is a balance between faith and reason, trust in others and self-reliance and socialibility. Faith and trust have to be understood in terms of the earliest relationship between mother and infant which is repeated throughout life with others one encounters.

In light of Erikson's theory the hypothesis that: children reared in extended families show a more positive attitude toward sharing than children reared in nuclear families on (The Secret Stories Test) a pencil and paper projective test.

According to Freud the child internalizes the standards of his parents. In view of the concept, in an investigation of the comparison of self-description of child, a parent's ideal of the child, Helper (1955) found that the child's self description was similar to the parent's ideal for the child as it was to the parent's self description. It appears that the child resembles what the parents want the child to be. In another vein, according to Freud the person whom the child identifies with has the characteristics that are in some ways similar to the child's. The likeness may refer to the characteristic attitude but others as well. The

following hypothesis is suggested: Children reared in extended families show a more positive attitude toward sharing as compared to children reared in nuclear families as measured by Likert type items.

A child is presented several alternative responses with respect to the speed with which a selection is made. Several alternatives are available simultaneously or contiguously in time; no one alternative is obviously correct: one alternative is to be selected. A person whose response time is relatively fast is cognitively "impulsive." The person who takes longer to respond is relatively reflective (Kagan, 1965; 1966). Kagan believes that the tendency to be impulsive or reflective when faced with a problem-solving situation is often a basic attribute of the child's personality; it is not necessarily irreversible.

It is expected that children reared in extended families are less likely to settle on a conclusion without considering all possibilities and show a decrease in latency as is expected of the children reared in nuclear families. The rationale suggests the hypothesis that: The cognitive style of children reared in extended families shows a higher degree of reflective behavior as compared to the cognitive style of children reared in nuclear families as measured by MFFT.

Bowlby (1958b), Hartman (1952), Jacobson (1954), Mahler (1961), Spitz (1963), and Winnicott (1965) argue that object representation in the early mother-child relationship determines the child's identification with the object (mother) and later objects. For a detailed description I refer the reader to their work.

Psychoanalytic theory and developmental research findings state that a certain level of development is necessary for the child functioning at a secondary process level (Freud, 1911) and for the child to respond appropriately (Hoffman, 1970). Therefore, children aged 11 and 12 who would be capable of sharing (Piaget, 1932) were used in this study.

## CHAPTER IV

### METHOD

#### Subjects

A total of 48 subjects were selected for use in this study. Sixteen subjects from each of three elementary or intermediate schools were selected. Two of the original subjects were dropped because their primary caretakers were Puerto Rican and Irish. They were replaced by two on the volunteer list of subjects. All subjects were selected from the population of all sixth grade classes within three intermediate schools in School District #5 in Harlem. Subjects were identified as either 11-12 year old boys and girls reared in extended families (N=24) or 11-12 year old boys and girls reared in nuclear families (N=24) based upon primary caretaker's report in a telephone conversation and confirmation in a structured interview. The subjects were paired on the sharing task by family structure, sex, ethnic background and birth order (i.e., early born, middle born, and later born). The demographic data were obtained from primary caretakers during a structured interview (see Appendix B). All subjects were between the ages of 11 and 12.

Usually achievement test scores are on file at the school and easily accessible for use as indication of reading achievement. But Math achievement tests were not administered in the school district during the school year of 1975-76. Consequently, the

New York City-wide reading test given March, 1976, was used to determine level of reading achievement.

All subjects were classified as poor or not poor according to total income based on the Department of Labor Release of April 6, 1976. Total income and family size of non-farm families are proscribed as determinants of poor or non-poor status. A poor family of three whose income is below \$4,600 or a family of six whose income was below \$7,300 was designated as poor. These data were reported by primary caretaker during the structured interview (see Appendix B).

Subjects were invited to volunteer for this study by letter (see Appendix A). All subjects were paid.<sup>1</sup>

Number of Subjects and Sex in Each School

School	Sex		Number of Subjects
	M	F	
P.S. 46	8	8	16
P.S. 10	8	8	16
I.S. 136	8	8	16
			N = 48

Experimenter

All testing was conducted by the present investigator. Subjects were randomly seen by the experimenter.

<sup>1</sup>

I thank the City University of New York for making a grant available to pay a portion of the subjects. The other portion of subjects were paid with funds received from a Black Analysis, Inc. Fellowship. I thank Black Analysis, Inc. for selecting me as Fellow for the year 1976-77.

## Instruments

### Measurement of familial attitudes toward sharing behavior

This measure concerns the familial attitude toward sharing, i.e., internal conviction on the part of socializing agents about sharing being appropriate. The extent to which the willingness is a belief, and sharing was conveyed to the child as a positive action.

Attitudinal items (see Appendix B) with a Likert type scale, were designed by the writer for this study. The attitudinal scale was administered to all primary caretakers participating in the study. Since the measurement of socializing agent's attitudes toward sharing was new, its strength and limitation are operationally defined. The test was administered under standardized conditions.

### Measurement of familial influence on sharing behaviors

A structured interview was administered centering around the effect of primary caretaker influence on the subject's sharing behavior (see Appendix B). The interview was designed primarily to elicit reported facts relevant to incidences of sharing behavior on the part of both parent and child as well as siblings. Focused interviews for the purpose of investigating interpersonal interaction have been used successfully by other researchers (Bard, 1955; Dill, 1975; Hoffman & Lippitt, 1960). Parent-child shared activities were rated on a six point scale (see Appendix C).

The interview schedule was constructed around three major categories of information. Briefly, the categories are: a) the primary caretaker's report of factual material concerns the primary

caretaker's report of ethnic identity preference, formal education, work and birth order of child; b) the category of primary caretaker's report of alternate influences on subjects' sharing behavior concerns the reported significance of people outside of the nuclear family who the primary caretaker reported as having a significant effect in rearing the child, and involved in activities with the child, resulting in an increase in motivation to share. Alternate-child shared activities were also rated; and c) the category of primary caretaker's report of subject's actual sharing or non-sharing behavior concerns the reported behaviors in which the child volunteered to help of his own volition, failed to help or was not expected to help. The frequency of behavior determined sharing. The maximum score for sharing was 20, and the higher the score, the more the child is perceived to share.

The interview was structured in the sense that all areas of questioning were covered with all primary caretakers and a checklist of specific relatives and behaviors of child were asked respectively. But it was flexible enough so that spontaneous questions were asked to follow up on relevant information being sought for each category.

Measure of sharing and non-sharing  
on a sharing task

This measure was the mean score for each subject on the sharing behavior task. The higher the score, the less the child shared. The criterion for sharing was to divide equally coins earned in each of five boxes (different amounts in each) or more

than half while the criterion for non-sharing was failure to divide equally coins or to keep a greater amount of coins earned for oneself.

#### Measure of Secret Stories Test

A battery of three Secret Stories (see Appendix B) were used. The test was based on Sargent's (1944) original Insight Test for Adults. The test consisted of stories in which she called "armatures" (i.e., the bare bones of a situation). They could be adapted to the creator's purpose. Engel (1958) extended Sargent's work by devising an Insight Test for Children. Glidwell et al (1957) used a similar concept to develop Secret Stories Test. Secret Stories Test was modified by this writer for use in the present study. The stories were designed to assess children's reactions to someone in need (sibling or peer) in a hypothetical situation. It consists of a series of three incomplete stories. The child is told to complete the story. The particular three stories were constructed around one major theme--the implication that someone is in need and wishes to be helped. Each child was asked to say what he or she would have done in that situation and say how the person who shared or failed to share felt. It was a projective measure with a strong "response pull." However, enough power remains so that differential responses are expected, i.e., response to a sibling would be different from a response to a peer. In addition, a response to an ill person would differ from a response to a careless or frivolous person. Cowen (1963) suggested that there is some reasonable promise in the technique as an index of the child's perception of important situations and important others in his everyday experiences. The four secret

story responses were rated on a six point scale. The higher the score, the more the child shared, and the more positive was his attitude toward sharing (see Manual for Judgement and Scoring, Appendix C).

#### Measurement of child's attitude toward sharing

This measure concerns the subject's attitude toward fairness, generosity and cooperation and the relationship related to sharing with a sibling, peer and others (i.e., internal conviction about sharing being appropriate). There was an attempt to determine the extent to which this willingness to give was a belief and sharing was a reflection of one's own effort (e.g., I never lend my homework). The attitudinal items (see Appendix B) developed by the writer were administered to all child subjects. The measuring of children's views toward sharing was new, its strength and limitation are operationally defined. The measure is conceived of as a positive index of sharing at the informal level. High positive scores indicate that the respondent has positive feelings about sharing. Likert type items were not a test for validity but at face value seem to be an adequate indicator of feelings toward sharing.

#### Matching Familiar Figures Test

The MFF Test was used successfully by other researchers (Kagan et al, 1964; Kagan, 1970) and concerns a measure of reflection--impulsivity in a child, i.e., the extent to which a child took time to assess the validity of the hypotheses he made in problem solving.

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It consisted of 12 items. Each item was made up two sheets, one of which had a picture of one object, the other eight objects resembling the stimulus object but differing in various detailed ways. Subjects were allotted eight trials to respond to the correct match. Latency time, total errors or the correct conceptual responses measure reflection-impulsivity. Reflection-impulsivity is operationally defined by the subject's performance. A score indicating maximum reflectiveness was 0. A score indicating maximum impulsivity was 72.

#### Pre-Structured Interview Arrangements

A letter sent to the parents stated that a study has been undertaken concerning factors involved in cooperative behavior in children. They were informed that the procedures involved an interview of approximately one hour, which could be completed in one session, and one hour session of their child's time. They were asked to indicate their willingness to participate by returning the bottom portion of the letter designated for responding. They were asked to fill their address, telephone number, hours available, and signature on the slip and return it to their child's teacher (see Appendix A). A follow-up telephone call was made to the primary caretaker. The experimenter said, "Hello, my name is Juanita Shell; you and your child volunteered to participate in my cooperation study. Could I have a few minutes of your time? Besides yourself and your child, tell me--are there family members living in your household or in your neighborhood whom you

and your child are involved with? As I name the relative you indicate to me if the relative lives in your household or outside of the household."

List of relatives:

Husband  
 Uncle  
 Aunt  
 Grandmother  
 Grandfather  
 Great Grandmother  
 Great Grandfather  
 Cousin

Telephone calls were then made to arrange for specific time with each primary caretaker. Arrangements to observe and test the children were made after the initial interview with the primary caretaker had taken place. The interview was conducted in order to establish the criterion of the child's interaction with primary caretaker and others.

### Apparatus and Procedures

#### Familial attitudes toward sharing

The attitudinal scale, administered individually, asked the primary caretaker to indicate on a six point scale of 0-5 to strongly agree to strongly disagree with specific evaluative statements concerning the socializing agent's attitude toward sharing. The following instructions were printed on the schedule and read aloud by the experimenter:

Here are some things people have said about cooperation. I would like to know your idea or opinion about each statement.

For each of the statements below indicate whether you agree or disagree by circling strongly agree, agree, uncertain, disagree or strongly disagree.

The experimenter then stated: "Please read each statement carefully and circle the one that comes closest to your own feelings on the matter."

### Structured Interview

Parents were seen individually for the interview in a private office of the school (formerly used by guidance counselors) their child attends. At the start of each interview subjects were informed of the purpose of the study as follows: "I am conducting a study having to do with different factors involving children's cooperative behaviors and parent-child shared activities. I have worked with other kinds of children, but I am interested in normal children like your son or daughter. I already know how normal children cooperate at school. I am very interested in learning about how normal children cooperate at home. I want you to tell me how \_\_\_\_\_ cooperates at home. You can help by answering some questions that I have written here. But before I go on, let me say that no names or identifying material will be connected with any material we will discuss. I will be asking you factual questions about your education, work and activities. In addition, I will be asking questions which specifically relate to your child. If you do not understand what I am asking, please feel free to ask me what I mean. If you feel tired at any point and would like a short break, we can arrange that."

Since the primary caretaker's interview was sharply focused

around factual materials, interviews were completed prior to the administration of tests to the child and observation of sharing behavior of the child on a sharing task.

To establish reliability, typed portions of the interview items were given to two judges who are graduate students.<sup>1</sup> The experimenter rated each interview on 13 items prior to observation of the child on a sharing task. The time interval between the actual interview and experimenter's rating of them ranged from two to three weeks.

The experimenter went through each protocol and blocked out those data pertaining to each of the 13 items, labeling items to be rated clearly for the judges. The rating scale for the interview items was explained in a training session with each judge. The sample pilot work was used at this time to illustrate the application points given to judges as examples of the rating scale. Each judge was assigned 24 protocols to rate.

The 13 interview items on each protocol were chosen for each judge represented. Inter-rater reliability coefficients between the judges and the experimenter were then computed.

#### Child's attitudes toward sharing

The attitudinal items group administered, asked the child subjects to indicate on a five point scale of 0 to 5, strongly agree to strongly disagree whether they favored specific evaluative statements

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<sup>1</sup> Many thanks to Horace Batson and Victor Cancela who served as raters. Both are Clinical Psychology graduate students at the City University of New York.

concerning sharing behavior (e.g., I prefer to work alone). The following instructions were printed on the questionnaire and read aloud by the experimenter:

Here are some things children have said about cooperation. I would like to know your opinion. I would like to know whether you agree or disagree with each statement. For each statement, indicate whether you agree or disagree by circling strongly agree, agree, uncertain, disagree or strongly disagree.

The experimenter then stated: "Please read each statement carefully and circle the one that comes closest to your own feelings."

#### Sharing task

The experimental situation was as follows: Every child participating in the experiment was a member of a sixth grade and was paired with another child of the same grade, sex, and corresponding birth order who was selected for the experiment. The pair were introduced to the experimental situation in a random order.

The apparatus used in this study is almost identical with that developed by Sollenberger for an earlier unpublished study (Shillady & Ellis, 1948) and a published study (Handon & Gross, 1959). It consisted of an unpainted wooden board 34 cm wide and 62.23 cm long. Two sets of metal strips are nailed at each end of the board, to which were attached belt pulleys 37.83 cm in length and 15.24 cm in circumference. The belt used was clear plastic; it was 31.75 cm wide and 106.68 cm in circumference. A sheet of celluloid was arched over 7.62 cm (center) of the belt, nailed to the board, and braced by four strips of metal. The arch was open at both ends. On the left side of one end of the board was a telechron motor which

allowed the pulley to make one revolution per second. Two telegraph keys were wired in series so that when they were operated simultaneously, the motor was activated and the belt revolved at a speed of 20.32 cm per second. It took 3 seconds for an object placed on one end of the conveyor belt to reach the other end. Two subjects sat at the end of the apparatus with two keys accessible.

They were given the following instructions: "See this tunnel (experimenter points to the tunnel); see this conveyor belt (experimenter points to the conveyor belt). You can make the belt move. Here are two keys. Each of you put a finger on one of them. Now, if you press down at the same time the belt will move. Try it. Watch, I am going to put some money on this end of the conveyor belt. Your job is to let the money fall off in the box and it is important not to touch it until you are instructed to do so."

Four boxes were available to catch the money on four separate trials. While the experiment took place questions were answered in a noncommittal fashion. Prior to the first and second trials the children were instructed, "I am going to flip a coin. Call heads or tails while the coin is in the air. The one who gets the correct call will get the first coins coming to you on the conveyor belt."

Identical instructions were given with the exception of the person going last on the first trial went first on the second trial. On the first trial when the coins (10 pennies) reached the designated person the subject was asked to count the coins and say the amount received. The child's partner followed the same procedure for

receiving coins (15 pennies) designated for him or her. The same procedure was followed on the second trial except the child designated to get the first coins on the second trial received 10 coins (10 pennies) and the other child received 5 coins (5 pennies) respectively. At the end of the first and second trials subjects were asked to return the coins to the box in which they originally fell. On the third trial another box was placed at the end of the tunnel, the subjects were told that they control the keys and in order to get the money both had to press the keys at the same time in order for the money to come to them. A total of 31 cents--1 dime, 3 nickels and 6 pennies--were placed on the conveyor belt. On the fourth and final trial subjects were given the same instructions as before on the third trials. A total of 60 cents--1 quarter, 2 dimes, and 3 nickels--were placed on the conveyor belt, and another box was placed at the end of the tunnel to catch it.

After the fourth trial, in random order, one child was told to leave the room. The child remaining was told: "Here is the money which you and \_\_\_\_\_ have earned. Since the two of you earned the money I want you to look into the four boxes and take out the amount which you feel belongs to you and place the coins on the table in front of each box. Then leave what belongs to your partner inside of the boxes. Here is an extra box of 16 coins (16 pennies) for you and your partner. Take some for yourself and leave the rest for your partner." As the experimenter walks toward the door she says, "I am going. Now, don't take too long. Come outside when you are finished.

Then you may leave."

### Secret Stories Test

The test was group administered by the experimenter who read the story while the children read along from the printed copy. At the point of interruption the children were asked to close their eyes and to make up an ending for the story, and to write it. In addition, they were asked to answer questions which followed by circling the answer they felt answered the question. The following instructions were given in written form. The subjects were instructed to

Read along from the printed copy while the experimenter reads the story aloud.

When the experimenter stops reading, subjects were told:

Close your eyes and make up an ending for the story. Then, write it. Answer each question that follows by circling the answer in which you feel answers the question.

### Matching Familiar Figures Test

The test was administered individually by the experimenter. The subject was asked to match the stimulus with the correct object with a stimulus figure and eight options, one of which was exactly like the stimulus figure. Subjects were asked to select the one stimulus from the array of eight variants that was identical to the standard. The subject was given two practice trials. If the subject's initial reaction was incorrect on these two trials he was told to try again. When the actual test was administered the following instructions were given:

I am going to show you a picture of a familiar item and then some pictures that look like it. You will have to point to the picture on this bottom page (point) that is just like the one on this top page (point). Let's do some for practice.

Experimenter shows practice items and subject selects the correct item. "Now we are going to do some that are a bit harder. You will see a picture on top and eight pictures on the bottom. Find one that is just like the one on top and point to it." If S is correct, E will indicate this to him. If wrong, E will say, "No, that is not the right one. Find the one that is just like this one (point)."

### Statistical Design

The t-test was used to test the means for the following hypothesis that primary caretakers residing in extended family situations have a more positive attitude toward sharing than primary caretakers residing in nuclear family situations:

H-A<sub>1</sub> Primary caretaker's attitude toward sharing

Four t-tests were used to test the means for the hypothesis that children reared in extended families did more sharing than children reared in nuclear families:

H-A<sub>2</sub> Reported behavior (structured interview)

H-A<sub>3</sub> Observed behavior (sharing task)

H-A<sub>4</sub> Attitudes toward sharing (on a projective type test)

H-A<sub>5</sub> Attitudes toward sharing (on a Likert type test)

For H-A<sub>6</sub> t-tests were used to test the hypothesis that the cognitive style of children reared in extended families are on the average different as compared to the cognitive style of children reared in nuclear families. Although the hypotheses stated above were the major hypotheses tested, additional ancillary results were analyzed.

They were: A t-test of a Pearson  $r$  was used to test the relationship between MFFT and time and error.

For H-A<sub>7</sub>  $\chi^2$ s (chi-squares) were used to determine association between family structure and sharing or non-sharing behavior on a projective measure of sharing and on interview items of primary caretaker shared activity measure.

Finally, for H-A<sub>8</sub> a Pearson  $r$  was used to test the relationship between sharing behavior on task #4 and reported volunteer interpersonal behavior, and birth order, sex, and reading achievement.

## CHAPTER V

### RESULTS

Table 1 summarizes the data on African American children and their sharing behavior.

An analysis of Hypothesis I for Adult Likert items indicated that primary caretakers from extended families' ( $\bar{X}=2.07$ ,  $SD=.47$ ) attitudes toward sharing were no different from nuclear families ( $\bar{X}=1.89$ ,  $SD=.43$ ) ( $t(46)=1.39$ ,  $p > .05$ ).

An analysis of Hypothesis II for number of household chores volunteered as reported by primary caretaker indicated that primary caretakers from extended families reported their offspring volunteered to do greater amount of (domestic) chores ( $\bar{X}=2.27$ ,  $SD=.42$ ) than offspring of primary caretakers from nuclear families ( $\bar{X}=2.21$ ,  $SD=.44$ ) ( $t(46)=.51$ ,  $p > .05$ ). For number of interpersonal type skills engaged in, primary caretakers from extended families reported that their offspring volunteered ( $\bar{X}=2.58$ ,  $SD=.78$ ) more interpersonal skills than children reared in nuclear families ( $\bar{X}=2.08$ ,  $SD=1.02$ ) ( $t(46)=1.91^*$ ,  $p < .05$ ).

An analysis of Hypothesis III for performance on a sharing task indicated that children reared in extended families on task #1 ( $\bar{X}=8.71$ ,  $SD=6.13$ ) kept a similar amount of money as children reared in nuclear families ( $\bar{X}=6.04$ ,  $SD=5.95$ ) ( $t(46)=1.53$ ,  $P > .05$ ). On task #2 children reared in extended families ( $\bar{X}=6.50$ ,  $SD=5.78$ ) kept a

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\*All tests are directional

TABLE 1

## FAMILY STRUCTURE BY ALL MEASURES

Measure	Nuclear (N=24)		Extended (N=24)		Inferential Statistics
	$\bar{X}$	SD	$\bar{X}$	SD	
Adult Likert items	1.89	.43	2.07	.47	t = 1.39
Reported behavior--domestic	2.21	.44	2.27	.42	t = .51
Reported behavior--interpersonal	2.08	1.02	2.58	.78	t = 1.91*
Sharing task 1	6.04	5.95	8.71	6.13	t = 1.53
2	5.96	6.13	6.50	5.78	t = .32
3	10.96	11.47	16.00	11.46	t = 1.53
4	32.92	21.41	21.46	18.97	t = 1.96*
5	3.63	3.70	5.38	5.22	t = 1.34
Average	11.90	4.35	11.61	3.24	t = .26
Sharing on Secret Stories 1	3.49	1.31	4.00	1.19	t = 1.43
2	3.56	1.20	4.09	1.11	t = 1.58
3	3.56	1.08	4.05	1.14	t = 1.51
Average	3.54	1.15	4.05	1.12	t = 1.55
Secret Stories--attitude	2.98	1.62	3.42	1.50	t = .96
Child Likert items	2.34	.43	2.13	.44	t = 1.65
Matching Familiar Figures Time	29.03	17.92	32.11	37.40	t = .36
Error	1.76	.83	1.78	.81	t = .07
Matching Familiar Figures errors time	Syx = 0.83 $\bar{X}$ = 30.68	Syx = .75 $\bar{X}$ = 38.81			t = 2.87 Z = .26

\*p &lt; .05 significant

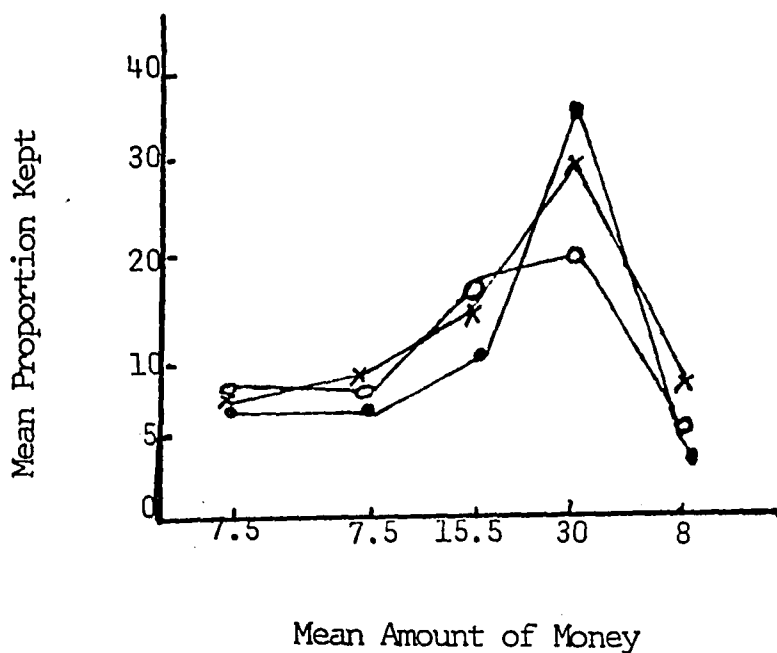
34

similar amount of money as children reared in nuclear families ( $\bar{X}=5.96$ ,  $SD=6.13$ ) ( $t(46)=.32$ ,  $p > .05$ ). On task #3 children reared in extended families ( $\bar{X}=16.00$ ,  $SD=11.46$ ) kept a similar amount of money as children reared in nuclear families ( $\bar{X}=10.96$ ,  $SD=11.42$ ) ( $t(46)=1.53$ ,  $p > .05$ ). For task #4 children reared in extended families kept less money ( $\bar{X}=21.46$ ,  $SD=18.79$ ) than children reared in nuclear families ( $\bar{X}=32.92$ ,  $SD=21.41$ ) ( $t(46)=1.96$ ,  $p < .05$ ). On task #5 children reared in extended families ( $\bar{X}=5.38$ ,  $SD=5.22$ ) kept a similar amount of money as children reared in nuclear families ( $\bar{X}=3.63$ ,  $SD=3.70$ ) ( $t(46)=1.34$ ,  $p > .05$ ). On all sharing tasks children reared in extended families ( $\bar{X}=11.61$ ,  $SD=3.24$ ) kept a similar amount of money as children reared in nuclear families ( $\bar{X}=11.90$ ,  $SD=4.35$ ) ( $t(46)=.26$ ,  $p > .05$ ) (see Figure 1).

An analysis of Hypothesis 4 for performance on a Secret Story projective test #1 indicated that children reared in extended families ( $\bar{X}=4.00$ ,  $SD=1.19$ ) shared treats similarly to those children reared in nuclear families ( $\bar{X}=3.49$ ,  $SD=1.31$ ) ( $t(46)=1.43$ ,  $p > .05$ ). Secret Story projective test #2 indicated that children reared in extended families ( $\bar{X}=4.09$ ,  $SD=1.11$ ) shared a similar amount with a friend in distress as children reared in nuclear families ( $\bar{X}=3.49$ ,  $SD=1.31$ ) ( $t(46)=1.43$ ,  $p > .05$ ). Secret Story #3 indicated that children reared in extended families ( $\bar{X}=4.05$ ,  $SD=1.14$ ) shared a similar amount in which the friend needed to make a purchase as children reared in nuclear families ( $\bar{X}=3.56$ ,  $SD=1.08$ ) ( $t(46)=1.51$ ,  $p > .05$ ). An analysis of all Secret Stories indicated that children reared in extended

FIGURE 1

Mean Proportion of Money Kept on Each Trial



Nuclear = ●  
Extended = ○  
Standard = x

families ( $\bar{X}=4.05$ ,  $SD=1.12$ ) shared similarly in all instances as children reared in nuclear families ( $\bar{X}=3.54$ ,  $SD=1.15$ ) ( $t(46)=1.55$ ,  $p > .05$ ). Secret Stories projective test item #3 indicated that children reared in extended families ( $\bar{X}=3.41$ ,  $SD=1.50$ ) attitudes toward sharing in a hypothetical situation were similar to children reared in nuclear families ( $\bar{X}=2.98$ ,  $SD=1.63$ ) ( $t(46)=.96$ ,  $p > .05$ ).

An analysis of Hypothesis 5 for Child Likert type items indicated that children reared in extended families ( $\bar{X}=2.13$ ,  $SD=.45$ ) attitudes toward sharing were similar to children reared in nuclear families ( $\bar{X}=2.34$ ,  $SD=.43$ ) ( $t(46)=1.65$ ,  $p > .05$ ).

An analysis of Hypothesis 6 for latency time on Matching Familiar Figures Test indicated that the latency time of children reared in extended families ( $\bar{X}=32.11$ ,  $SD=37.40$ ) was no different from children reared in nuclear families ( $\bar{X}=29.03$ ,  $SD=17.92$ ) ( $t(46)=.36$ ,  $p > .05$ ). For errors made on the Matching Familiar Figures Test children reared in extended families ( $\bar{X}=1.78$ ,  $SD=.81$ ) made no more errors than children reared in nuclear families ( $\bar{X}=1.76$ ,  $SD=.83$ ) ( $t(46)=.07$ ,  $p > .05$ ). An analysis of the relationship between latency and errors on MFFT indicated that time and errors for children reared in extended families correlated ( $r=.39$ ,  $Syx=0.746$ ,  $t(46)=2.87$ ,  $p < .05$ ) and for children reared in nuclear families ( $r=.32$ ,  $Syx=.76$ ,  $t(46)=2.29$ ,  $p < .05$ ). A test of the differences between the correlation coefficient for time and errors yields no difference between the two groups ( $Z=.262$ ,  $p > .05$ ).

The results of additional hypotheses are: For the shared ac-

tivities interview items of the three model-child relationships, analysis indicated evidence for differences of function of extended versus nuclear families.  $\chi^2(1)$  value of 6.21,  $p < .05$  was obtained for alternate-child shared domestic activities. It was significant but the others were statistically insignificant.

An analysis of sharing behavior for Secret Story items 1-2 across the three stories indicated that children reared in extended families and children reared in nuclear families were not associated in their sharing behavior ( $\chi^2(1) = .92$ ,  $p > .05$ ).

An analysis of attitude toward sharing on Secret Stories item #3 across the three stories indicated that children reared in extended and children reared in nuclear families were not related in their attitudes toward sharing ( $\chi^2(1) = .34$ ,  $p > .05$ ).

An analysis of the relationship between amount of money kept on sharing task #4 and age for children reared in extended families indicated a significant correlation ( $r = .32$ ,  $Syx = .154$ ,  $t(46) = 2.35$ ,  $p < .05$ ). For children reared in nuclear families amount kept on sharing task #4 and age indicated no correlation ( $r = .07$ ,  $Syx = .507$ ,  $p > .05$ ). An analysis of the relationship between the two groups indicated no difference between the two groups ( $Z = .848$ ,  $p > .05$ ).

An analysis of the extended family, the relationship between amount of money kept on sharing task #4 and birth order indicated no correlation ( $r = .123$ ,  $Syx = .256$ ,  $t(46) = .84$ ,  $p > .05$ ). The analysis of children reared in nuclear families on sharing task #4 and birth order indicated a significant correlation ( $r = .426$ ,  $Syx = .660$ ,  $t(46) = 3.20$ ,

$p < .05$ ). An analysis of the relationship between the two groups indicated no difference ( $Z=1.097$ ,  $p > .05$ ) between the two groups on birth order.

An analysis of the relationship between amount of money kept on sharing task #4 and sex indicated no correlation ( $r=.078$ ,  $p > .05$ ) for children reared in extended families and no correlation ( $r=.060$ ,  $p > .05$ ) for children reared in nuclear families.

An analysis of the relationship between amount of money kept on sharing task #4 and reading achievement indicated no correlation ( $r=.092$ ,  $p > .05$ ) for children reared in extended families and no correlation ( $r=.021$ ,  $p > .05$ ) for children reared in nuclear families.

An analysis of the relationship between volunteer interpersonal behavior and reading achievement for children reared in extended families yielded a significant correlation ( $r=.34$ ,  $Syx=.48$ ,  $t(46)=2.13$ ,  $p < .05$ ); for children reared in nuclear families yielded no correlation ( $r=.08$ ,  $Syx=.52$ ,  $t(46)=.545$ ,  $p > .05$ ). An analysis of the relationship between the two groups indicated no difference between the groups ( $Z=.874$ ,  $p > .05$ ).

Correlations among three raters were computed for 12 responses on the Secret Stories Test. The correlations for sharing scores of inter-rater reliability are presented in Table 2.

For 13 rated items taken from the structured interview scoring was such that the higher scores indicated more sharing behavior while lower scores indicated less sharing behavior. There were a total of 78 correlations. The range for the correlations for raters

TABLE 2  
INTER-RATER CORRELATION OF SECRET STORIES TEST

Story	Response	Raters 1 x 2	Raters 1 x 3	Raters 2 x 3
I	1	.81*	.89*	.89*
	2	.62*	.90*	.54*
	3	.89*	1.00*	.89*
	4	.75*	.71*	.73*
II	5	.80*	.71*	.78*
	6	.80*	.85*	.72*
	7	.87*	.78*	.83*
	8	.84*	.88*	.88*
III	9	.82*	.92*	.76*
	10	.80*	.95*	.76*
	11	.90*	1.00*	.90*
	12	.88*	.79*	.92*

\*Significant at  $p < .05$

against frequency of items are:

<u>Number of Raters Who Agree</u>	<u>Frequency of 13 Items Agreed Upon</u>	<u>Correlations</u>
3	2	$.31 \leq r \leq .91$
2	6	$.00 \leq r \leq .94$
1	4	$.00 \leq r \leq 1.00$
0	1	$\leq .00$

## CHAPTER VI

### DISCUSSION

The finding pertinent to sharing behavior in poor African American children is that children reared in extended families share more than children in nuclear families. On the basis of empirical evidence two of the ways in which I found that primary caretakers influence the sharing behavior of their children are a) by the "Ideal" standards the parents set and the child perceives, and/or b) the behavioral standards the child perceives with respect to the sharing the parents do in their own lives.

My findings revealed that the primary caretakers who reside in extended families reported more volunteer behavior of interpersonal type skills of their offspring than primary caretakers who reside in nuclear families. Children reared in extended families shared more money (kept less on task #4) on a sharing test than children reared in nuclear families. An alternate-child shared activities item from the structured interview revealed that the pair from extended families shared more domestic activities than the alternate-child pair from nuclear families. These findings support the stated hypothesis. One interpretation of these findings is that identification is important in predicting sharing behavior of poor African American children. Family structure from which the child emerges tends to influence the effect of volunteer interpersonal skills such

as acting as caretaker, reading stories to siblings and/or neighbors or helping a sibling and/or neighbor with homework. Whiting and Whiting's (1969) conclusions provide support for this study in that children in cultures in which mothers report that they assign an important task to them, such as baby tending, behave more altruistically as measured by offers of help, support and responsible suggestions than children assigned fewer or less responsible tasks. Helper (1955) in his investigation compared high school pupils and their parents, child's self description and parents' self description and parents' ideal for the child; he found that the child comes to resemble not only what the parent is but what the parent wants the child to be.

In the present study children reared in extended families appear to have internalized the behavior their parents expect of them. Therefore, it seems to the author that this dimension can serve as a rough index of the degree to which internalization of parent's behavior as well as the parent's superego. Since the children reared in extended families volunteered interpersonal type behavior more than children reared in nuclear families it seems reasonable to conclude that identification facilitates changes in the self to resemble an object he has identified. Freud (1923) indicated that the tendency to become like an object in one's environment is an important part of one's relationship to objects in general. Identification plays a crucial role in determining the outcome of early and later behavior which is crucial in sharing behavior in children.

The finding that children reared in extended families shared more money (kept less more on task #4) on a sharing test than children

reared in nuclear families when asked to give the absent partner the amount he or she felt the partner deserved is related to amount of resources available. That is, if his or her objects have been sharing, then this behavior reflects or resembles the object whom he identifies with; and, the amount of money available tends to influence sharing behavior among children reared in extended families. This finding is consistent with Sims (1974), who found that when children feel that they have enough for themselves they share with others. This suggests that the type of family structure reared in and feeling that one has enough available to share may be the key to understanding sharing behavior patterns of the children in this population. It seems that when a larger amount of money is available children reared in extended families shared more than children reared in nuclear families.

In another finding alternate-child shared activities items from the structured interview revealed that members of extended families took an interest in the child and taught the child how to do domestic type chores, i.e., how to wash, iron, cook, clean, sew, clean themselves seems to be associated with sharing behavior. The implications of this finding for this population is that alternate child shared activities may help to encourage sharing behavior in the child. If that is the case then the identification that the child makes with the alternate object is his or her tendency to identify with a highly cathected person in the environment. For example, the child tends to identify with the teacher in early childhood as well as in adolescence and throughout life the desire (to model another) to

be like the other person is more likely to be accessible to consciousness though it is by no means always so while in later life it is largely unconscious (identification) in its manifestations.

The person is unaware of some of these aspects of his or her thought and behavior in which he or she is becoming like another person or that he or she is already like. It seems that identification is more prominent and relatively more important during early mental life than later on (Brenner, 1957).

Other hypotheses were not confirmed. The finding of no difference between sharing attitudes of primary caretakers residing in extended families and primary caretakers in nuclear families did not support the stated hypotheses. It is suggested that to determine that more primary caretakers from extended families have more positive attitudes and share more than primary caretakers from nuclear families the researcher must investigate primary caretakers' rearing experience. Still, the majority of primary caretakers exhibited positive attitudes toward sharing irrespective of the type of family structure they live in. This suggests that for this population poor African American families tend to have cohesive attitudes and the consequences may lead to more sharing within the African American community.

The finding of no difference between the means of primary caretaker's report of offspring reared in extended families and nuclear families volunteer domestic type behavior such as washing dishes, sweeping floors, cleaning the bathroom and taking out garbage did not support the stated hypothesis. It seems that neither group regard the volunteer behaviors as being very important work to do.

But it seems for one of the ancillary findings when the alternate (usually grandmother or great aunt) child shared in the domestic type of activities with the children, alternate-child reared in extended families did more domestic type activities than alternate (usually a friend of the family) child reared in nuclear families. It is suggested that since grandmother or great aunt has had many experiences in child rearing it is possible that they take more time to instruct and make a game of doing the chores. Consequently, they get better results from the children, who identify with the alternate.

The finding of no difference between the means of children reared in extended families and nuclear families on task #1, 2, 3, and 5 on the sharing test did not support the stated hypothesis. One explanation is the lack of a substantial amount of money available to share affected sharing in a negative way. In the author's opinion, for future research it would be worthwhile to increase the amount of money available to share.

The finding of no difference between the means of children reared in extended families and nuclear families on the Secret Stories test did not confirm the stated hypothesis. The belief in a just world is a necessary ingredient, i.e., "basic trust" must be part of the child's personality in order for him or her to share. It also requires that one must be able to empathize with the needy person and respond in a like manner. For this population all the children tended to be sharing; therefore, I infer that they shared out of a cultural tradition context, reinforced by identification with giving models. Also the attitudes of children in both groups are positive toward sharing but similar for both groups.

The finding of no difference between the means of children reared in extended families and nuclear families on Likert type items did not confirm the stated hypothesis. For this population attitudes toward sharing behavior are similar. It appears that attitudes are positive toward sharing in both groups.

The finding of no difference between the means of children reared in extended families and nuclear families in latency and errors on the MFFT did not confirm the stated hypothesis. A test of the relationship between latency and errors made for each group revealed that children reared in extended families and nuclear families, errors and time correlated. But there were no differences between the two groups. These findings are not consistent with the stated hypothesis. An inference about the findings suggests that the ability to consider alternatives before settling on a conclusion may be linked to the ability to consider the feelings of others which would facilitate sharing. Therefore, I infer that in order for a child to share he or she must also be reflective in their cognitive style of responding in situations of high response uncertainty where there are alternatives (Kagan & Kagan, 1970). In this sense sharing would depend upon the level of moral development the child has achieved. For this population there was no difference in the cognitive style adopted between the two groups since they were equally reflective. Yet, there was a difference in their sharing behavior. These data suggest that reflection does have an impact on sharing behavior but there are facts unclear as to what degree.

The relationship between sharing and age and birth order for children reared in extended families indicates that the more children share (keep less money), the more likely they are older and among the first borns. The finding of the present study confirms Krebs's (1970) and Piaget's (1932) findings that older children tend to share more. There was no relationship between sharing and sex and reading achievement. For children reared in nuclear families there was no relationship between sharing and age, sex and reading achievement, but there was a negative relationship between sharing and birth order, i.e., younger children shared less (kept more money). This finding is also supported by Piaget (1932) and Krebs (1970). The relationship between volunteer behavior and reading achievement indicated that as volunteer behavior increases so does reading achievement level for children reared in extended families. For children reared in nuclear families there was no relationship between volunteer behavior and reading achievement. None of the differences between the two groups were statistically significant. Evidence suggests that most of the children were sharing in this study. The children used in this study, aged 11 and 12, are at a pivotal age. They are beginning to form their own morality, i.e., "give and take relationships" (Piaget, 1932). Most theories of personality formation do not assume stability of traits. In fact, according to Kohlberg, La Crosse and Ricks (1972) personality undergoes radical transformation in development but once a choice is made the direction is set. It is believed that the choice is made between 11-1/2 and 12 and since there is a continuity in the child's development the direction that the personality takes

is related to a sequence of change over time back to an earlier point. Therefore, theoretically the implication for predictability from this study suggests that sharing or non-sharing behavior sustained into adulthood would depend upon early and subsequent experiences that are familial and cultural.

American cultural values associated with individualism, competition and independence makes it difficult for children or adults to think outside of their own narcissism. Each individual member in the family tends to go his separate way in pursuit of his goals. The division of pursuits weakens the family structure. It seems that the motto is to look out for yourself (Fannon, 1964). In fact, it seems that too much emphasis has been placed on narcissism and too little on altruism.

Yet, within the American culture, another culture exists. It is made up of poor lower class African Americans. Some are different in that they have a deep sense of love for and commitment to kin, both blood and otherwise. It seems that their motto is that the interest of one is the interest of all (Fannon, 1964). This is manifested by families taking in children and adults, sharing financial responsibilities in support of the family and sharing responsibilities of child care. Being committed to and caring about each other are expressions of love and a kind of cultural value associated with a world view--cooperation, collective responsibility and interdependence--that has made it possible for African Americans to survive in America. On the eve of her death some 22 years ago Mary McCloud Bethune, in her last will and testament, bequeathed a

legacy of love to African Americans. In it she wrote: ". . . we must spread out as far and as fast as we can but we must also help each other as we go" (Essence Magazine, November 1974). Her legacy and the findings of the present study both serve as very important reminders that for some African Americans sharing and caring are what we are about. But when an imbalance takes place which indicates a deficit, a deficit in sharing exists. The findings of this study suggest that the extended family is one way to overcome the imbalance.

### IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

The most cogent implication of this study stems from the importance of rearing poor African American children in an extended family where he or she is exposed to many adults who are warm, caring, supportive and available to serve. Within the lower class African American community mutual effort has a positive value. It has an impact on the lives of the young who are impressionable.

Beyond that there remains a segment of this population who experience loved objects as inconsistent. For these children it is particularly relevant for agencies or neighbors or kin to be keenly aware of and sensitive to the needs of the child in order to counteract the inconsistencies. These fragmented experiences with objects leads to dissatisfaction.

Speculation leads to little doubt that loved objects play a tremendous role in the life of the child. To make a reality of this potential, it is important to continue to set standards and to teach the importance of caring as well as how to care, but perhaps in a formal way, i.e., in school. Also, parents, relatives, teachers and others who come into contact with children must be reminded of the role they play in the molding of social behavior in the child.

By and large the children reared in attenuated nuclear families in this study are not as sharing as children reared in attenuated extended

families. In order for nuclear family reared children to become more sharing may mean a reorganization of the family structure, availability of enough resources to share, or being taught in a formal way the merits of sharing as a precondition for developing sharing behavior. In the majority of the cases the nuclear family reared child is not as open as the child reared in an extended family, and he or she does not have as much access to people who could offer deep involvement and support.

Another major implication of this study is based upon the inference that sharing parents raise more sharing children. Less sharing parents raise less sharing children. If selfish, self-centered parents were more giving and caring the children would no longer be stingy. When parents are selfish they live in a cold, isolated, distant, empty world and this is transmitted from generation to generation not only from familial interaction but also reinforced by the larger society.

### CONSIDERATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Four lines of research, in the context of this study, might be explored. The first is concerned with examining further the question left open by this study: What differences exist between children reared in extended families who were not seemingly influenced by the primary caretaker and did not share and those who were from nuclear families who did share? To carry out such research, much more detailed inquiry should be made, specifically into whether the parents themselves were reared in nuclear or extended family households.

The second line of research which may be fruitful is concerned with comparison of middle and lower class SES African American children reared in nuclear and extended families in both classes. It may be profitable to discover whether the patterning of socialization influences uncovered in this study hold for other SES groups as well.

The third line of research would be complicated and more difficult to measure, but may be most profitable--to keep account of the degree to which experiences are revealed and the degree of openness in treatment to determine if trust and rate of recovery are related as compared to those who are less open and mistrust the therapist. Part of what makes this a very complex research plan is the personality of the researcher who would be the therapist.

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The fourth line of research would be to study the distinctions of sharing behavior of children reared in extended and nuclear families take toward the stability of personality into adulthood in a longitudinal study.

#### Limitations of the Study

One limitation of the study concerns its generalizability to other than the lower African American SES group. The impetus for this study stems in part from psychoanalytic theory and in part from the writer's experience with doing psychotherapy with this population. It is quite probable that to conduct such a study with middle class parent-child dyads a more complex evaluative scale would have to be devised to handle sharing in this population. Before theoretical conclusions can be generalized, further research must be conducted. A second limitation of the study is its focus on identification mainly with the primary caretaker. There are other influences that may have as much impact on a child's willingness to share or not. For practical reasons, a single piece of research must narrow its focus somewhat in order to detail its findings.

APPENDIX A

Letters and Illustrations

906 Gerard Avenue Apt. #2A  
Bronx, New York 10452  
November 25, 1975

Mr. Luther Seabrook  
Community Superintendent of  
District #5  
433 West 123rd Street  
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Seabrook:

You have probably read or heard about research studies of Black families that report weaknesses and defects in these families. As a Black woman and a mother, I am concerned about the biases in these studies. I would like to discuss with you a possible investigation of what I see as a strength in many Black families, the child's ability to cooperate.

Enclosed is a statement of my proposed research. I would welcome an opportunity to discuss further my plan and the possible use of a sample of children in your school district.

Incidentally, Dr. Lorraine Hale encouraged me to contact you; she suggested that you might be receptive to such a research idea. At any rate, I would be grateful to you if you were able to take time out of your busy schedule to discuss the research idea with me. I can be reached by telephone after 5 P.M. at 681-7562 .

enclosure/statement

Sincerely yours,

Juanita Shell  
Doctoral Candidate in  
Clinical Psychology

Dear Parents:

75

I have undertaken a survey at P.S. 46 concerning factors involved in cooperative behavior. I would be very much interested in having your family participate in the survey.

The procedure involves an interview with me which should take no longer than 60 minutes. It also involves a 60 minutes session with your child which involves the observation of your child in a particular situation following the interview with you.

I will be scheduling volunteers beginning the week of February 9th thru February 20th at P.S. 46 from 2:50-5:00 P.M. in Room # 125.

If the designated hours are inconvenient please indicate the hours you are available on the bottom half of this letter.

Parental consent is required before the family will be considered for participation in this survey. Those families selected to participate will receive (\$7) seven dollars per parent and (\$3) three dollars per child for your time.

Your participation in this survey is wholly voluntary. I would like to encourage your cooperation and participation and also to assure you that anonymity will be completely respected.

No names or identifying numbers will be used in any published material of this survey.

If you wish to participate please detach and return the bottom half of the letter to your child's teacher.

Sincerely,

Juanita Skell  
Doctoral Candidate in  
Clinical Psychology at  
City University of N.Y.

-----  
Dear Ms. Shell:

We are willing to permit our family to participate in your survey. I am available during the hours of 2:50 to 5 P. daily . Yes  No  I am not available during the hours stated above, but I am available during the hours of \_\_\_\_\_ on the following days \_\_\_\_\_.

Child's name \_\_\_\_\_

Parent's signature \_\_\_\_\_

Home address \_\_\_\_\_ Telephone # \_\_\_\_\_



COMMUNITY SCHOOL BOARD SCHOOL DISTRICT #5  
 433 WEST 123rd STREET  
 NEW YORK, N.Y. 10027

TELEPHONE 212 222-0800  
 EXT. 30, 31

Luther W. Seabrook  
 Community Superintendent

December 15, 1975

Ms. Carrie Simpson, Principal  
 P.S. 46M  
 2987 3th Avenue  
 New York, N.Y. 10039

Dear Ms. Simpson:

This is to state that permission has been granted Ms. Juanita Shell to pursue her efforts to contact parents, relative to gathering data for her dissertation leading to a Ph.D. in Clinical Psychology. Ms. Shell will seek to interview parents and children on various matters of record in order to gather a store of information that will in my opinion be valid and in no way disconcerting to any family, your school or the community.

Thank you ever so much for your cooperation.

Yours in better education,

Ashton W. Higgins  
 Deputy Superintendent

AWH:vr





COMMUNITY SCHOOL BOARD SCHOOL DISTRICT #5  
433 WEST 123rd STREET  
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10027

TELEPHONE 212 222-0800  
EXT. 30, 31

Luther W. Seabrook  
Community Superintendent

December 16, 1975

Mr. Francis Grant, Principal  
I.S. 136M  
6 Edgecombe Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10030

Dear Mr. Grant:

This is to state that Mrs. Juanita Shell has been authorized to canvass the school community relative to gathering data for her dissertation. Mrs. Shell is aspiring to her doctorate degree in clinical psychology.

It is my opinion on the basis of interview with Mrs. Shell that her inquiries will not be of a nature or purposed to create disconcertment to any family, your school or the community.

Yours in better education,

Ashton W. Higgins  
Deputy Superintendent

AWH:vr

cc: Luther W. Seabrook, Community Superintendent





COMMUNITY SCHOOL BOARD SCHOOL DISTRICT #5  
433 WEST 123rd STREET  
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10027

TELEPHONE 212 222-0800  
EXT. 30, 31

Luther W. Seabrook  
Community Superintendent

December 15, 1975

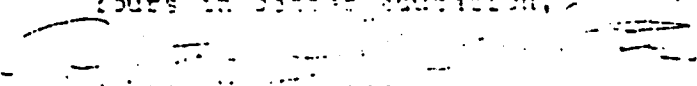
Mr. Lionel McMurren, Principal  
I.S. 10M  
2581 Seventh Avenue  
New York, N.Y. 10039

Dear Mr. McMurren:

This is to state that permission has been granted Ms. Juanita Shell to pursue her efforts to contact parents, relative to gathering data for her dissertation leading to a Ph.D. in Clinical Psychology. Ms. Shell will seek to interview parents and children on various matters of record in order to gather a store of information that will in my opinion be valid and in no way disconcerting to any family, your school or the community.

Thank you ever so much for your cooperation.

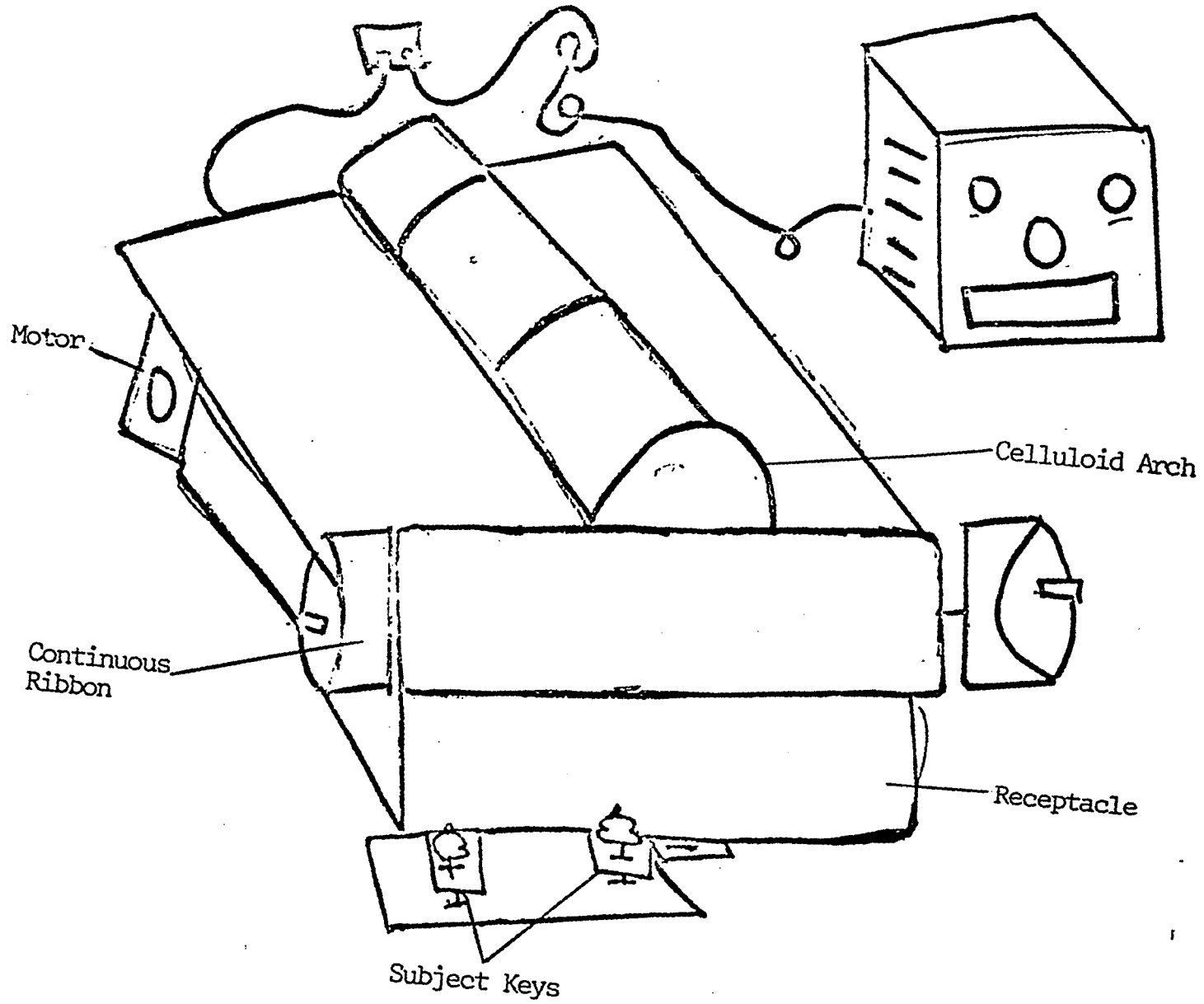
Yours in better education,

  
Ashton W. Higgins  
Deputy Superintendent

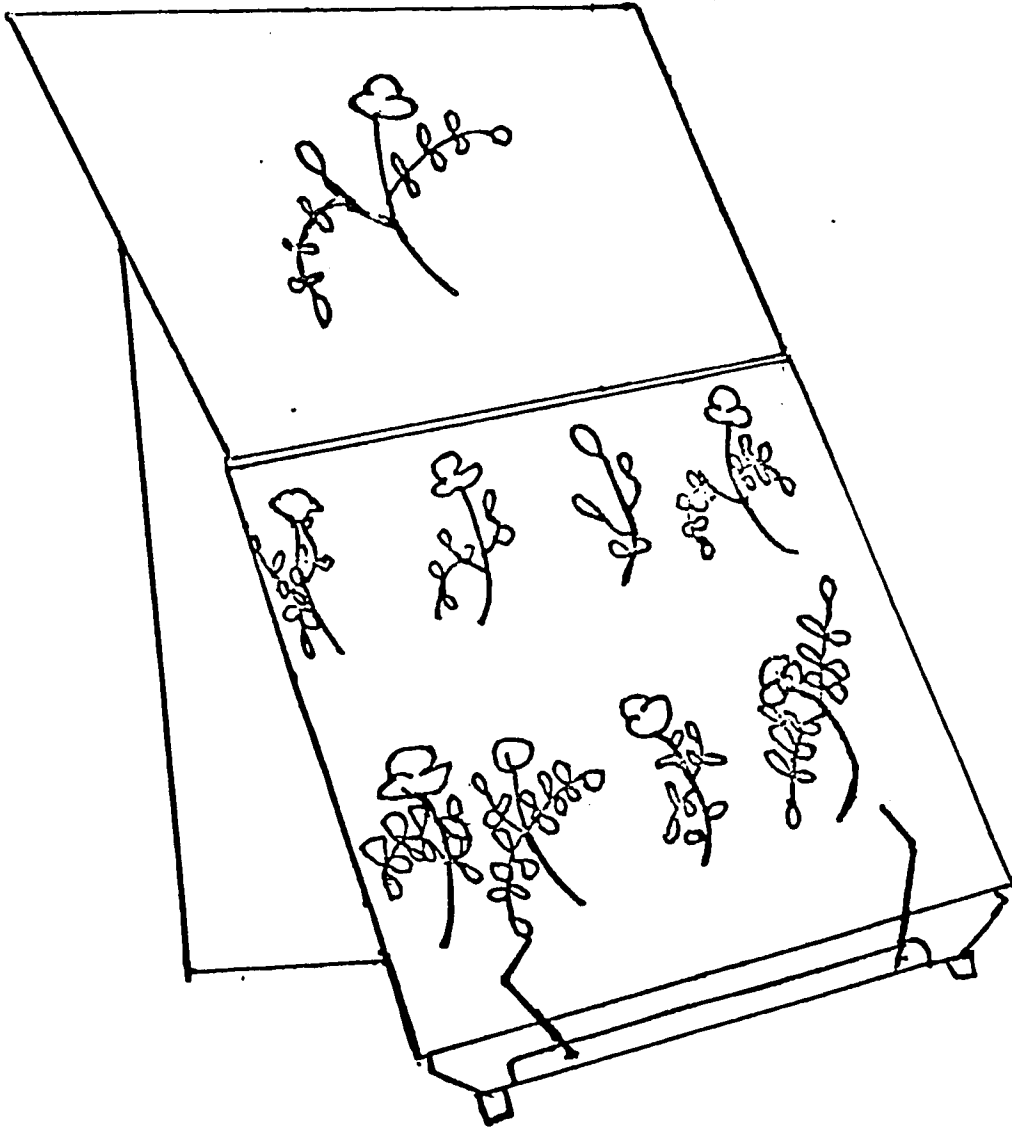
AWH:vr



Diagram of Sharing Apparatus



Sample Item from MFFT



## APPENDIX B

### Measures

Here are some things people have said about cooperation. I would like to know your idea or opinion about each statement. For each of the statements below indicate whether you agree or disagree by circling strongly agree, agree, uncertain, disagree or strongly disagree.

1. I believe that relatives are a burden.

Strongly disagree Disagree Uncertain Agree Strongly agree

2. I believe that relatives help other relatives in times of need.

Strongly disagree Disagree Uncertain Agree Strongly agree

3. I believe that my child owes nothing to anyone.

Strongly disagree Disagree Uncertain Agree Strongly agree

4. I believe that relatives are unreliable and you can not depend on them for help.

Strongly disagree Disagree Uncertain Agree Strongly agree

5. I believe that it is important to pool my income with other relatives to run the household.

Strongly disagree Disagree Uncertain Agree Strongly agree

6. I believe that it is important that my child learns that he or she can only depend on his parents.

Strongly disagree Disagree Uncertain Agree Strongly agree

7. I believe that it is important to loan any of my personal belongings to any member of my family.

Strongly disagree Disagree Uncertain Agree Strongly agree

8. I believe that parent's concern for their own interest is more important than concern for their child's interest.

Strongly disagree Disagree Uncertain Agree Strongly agree

9. I believe that it is important that my child learns to think of others as well as himself or herself.

Strongly disagree Disagree Uncertain Agree Strongly agree

10. I believe that it is important that my child understands he or she can depend on any relative living near by.

Strongly disagree Disagree Uncertain Agree Strongly agree

## Structured Interview

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Child's name \_\_\_\_\_

Child's school \_\_\_\_\_

Child's birth order \_\_\_\_\_

Your ethnic group \_\_\_\_\_

1. How old is \_\_\_\_\_ ?
2. How many sibling does \_\_\_\_\_ have ?
3. How many younger children are there? \_\_\_\_ Male; \_\_\_\_ Female  
How many older children are there? \_\_\_\_ Male; \_\_\_\_ Female
4. Does your age fall in the range of:  
A. \_\_\_\_ 18-29  
B. \_\_\_\_ 30-39  
C. \_\_\_\_ 40-49  
D. \_\_\_\_ 50-59
5. Are you \_\_\_\_\_'s mother; stepmother or grandmother?  
A. \_\_\_\_ Mother B. \_\_\_\_ Stepmother C. \_\_\_\_ Grandmother
6. If stepmother or grandmother :  
How long has \_\_\_\_\_ lived with you? \_\_\_\_\_ years.
7. Do you work outside of the home? \_\_\_\_ Yes; \_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_.
8. Full-time \_\_\_\_\_ Part-time \_\_\_\_\_
9. What is your occupation? \_\_\_\_\_
10. How long have you been employed? \_\_\_\_\_ years
11. If employed full-time who supervises your child in  
your absence? \_\_\_\_\_
12. Does your income fall in the range of:  
A. \_\_\_\_ \$50 to \$100 per week D. \_\_\_\_ \$201 to \$250 per  
B. \_\_\_\_ \$101 to \$150 per week week  
C. \_\_\_\_ \$151 to \$200 per week E. \_\_\_\_ \$251 to \$300 per  
week
13. If unemployed, what was your occupation? \_\_\_\_\_



29. Does Mr. \_\_\_\_\_'s age fall in the range of:

- A. \_\_\_\_\_ 18-29  
 B. \_\_\_\_\_ 30-39  
 C. \_\_\_\_\_ 40-49  
 D. \_\_\_\_\_ 50-65

30. Where did he receive his education? \_\_\_\_\_

31. What is the highest grade/level he completed?

- A. \_\_\_\_\_ Ph.D.  
 B. \_\_\_\_\_ M.A.; M.S.W.  
 C. \_\_\_\_\_ Some graduate school  
 D. \_\_\_\_\_ B.A.; B.S.; Technical school  
 E. \_\_\_\_\_ Some college  
 F. \_\_\_\_\_ Completed high school  
 G. \_\_\_\_\_ Some high school

32. Is your husband a member of a club, an organization or a church?

\_\_\_\_\_ Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No What type? \_\_\_\_\_

33. What are his activities? \_\_\_\_\_

34. Does he have any hobbies? \_\_\_\_\_

35. Does your husband permit the child to join him in any of these activities?

\_\_\_\_\_ How frequently? \_\_\_\_\_

36. Are there any other adults in your home (e.g. relatives or non-relatives)? \_\_\_\_\_ Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No

A. List of relatives living in the household:

- |                   |                         |
|-------------------|-------------------------|
| _____ Mother      | _____ Uncles            |
| _____ Father      | _____ Nieces            |
| _____ Siblings    | _____ Nephews           |
| _____ Grandmother | _____ Cousins           |
| _____ Grandfather | _____ Great grandfather |
| _____ Aunts       | _____ Great grandmother |

B. List of relatives living in the neighborhood whom the child is in regular contact:

- |                         |                       |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| _____ Grandmother       | _____ Aunts           |
| _____ Grandfather       | _____ Uncles          |
| _____ Great grandmother | _____ Cousins         |
| _____ Great grandfather | _____ Distant cousins |

C. List of non-relatives whom the child is in regular contact:

Friends  Others  
 Boyfriend  
 Sitter

37. How long have the adults lived in your home? \_\_\_\_\_ years  
\_\_\_\_\_ months.

Less than six months  More than five years  
 More than one year  Less than seven years  
 Less than three years  More than ten years

38. Does your child and this or these adult (s) do things together?

Yes  No

A. What kinds of things do they do together? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

B. How frequently do they do things together?

Once per week  Once every six months  
 Several times per week  Once every nine months  
 Once per month  Once per year

39. Are there any adults outside of your home (e.g. relatives or non-relatives) who does things regularly with your child? If yes, what?  
\_\_\_\_\_

A. How frequently do they do things together?

Once per week  Once every six months  
 Several times per week  Once every nine months  
 Once per month  Once per year

40. What kinds of things do you and your child do together?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

41. Can you describe a typical day that you spent with your child within the last week?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

42. When did you last spend time with your child? \_\_\_\_\_

43. What did you do together? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

44. In what way did people in your family help you?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

45. In your absence whom would you like to care for your child? Why?

\_\_\_\_\_

46. Checklist of behaviors:

"I am going to read off some behaviors in which some children are involved. After each tell me if your child is told to do these things and does them, volunteers to do these things, is told to do these things but does not do them, is not expected to do these things but does them or is not expected to do these things and does not do them".

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Cook meals for family   | <input type="checkbox"/> Wash windows and walls     |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Wash clothes for family | <input type="checkbox"/> Empty garbage              |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Fold clothes for family | <input type="checkbox"/> Go shopping for family     |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Wash dishes             | <input type="checkbox"/> Read to sibling or help    |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Clean kitchen           | <input type="checkbox"/> sibling with homework or   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Clean bathroom          | <input type="checkbox"/> read to neighbor's child   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Mop floors              | <input type="checkbox"/> or help him or her with    |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Sweep or vacuum         | <input type="checkbox"/> homework                   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Dust                    | <input type="checkbox"/> Play with younger sibling  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Make beds               | <input type="checkbox"/> or neighbor's child        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Water plants            | <input type="checkbox"/> Act as a care taker for    |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Clean mirrors           | <input type="checkbox"/> sibling or neighbor's      |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Cleans up or picks up   | <input type="checkbox"/> child                      |
| <input type="checkbox"/> things accidentally put | <input type="checkbox"/> Carry packages when shopp- |
| <input type="checkbox"/> down by someone else    | <input type="checkbox"/> ing with care taker or     |
|  | <input type="checkbox"/> others                     |

47. Does \_\_\_\_\_ volunteer to divide his belongings with his siblings? With others?

Siblings

A.  Others

If so, how? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

48. Tell me an incident in which you felt \_\_\_\_\_  
was generous.

---

---

---

A. was stingy. \_\_\_\_\_

---

---

---

## SECRET STORIES TEST

Directions: Read along from the printed copy while the experimenter reads the story aloud. When the experimenter stops reading close your eyes and make up an ending for the story. Then, write it. Answer each question that follows by circling the answer in which you feel answers the question.

JOHN IS 12 YEARS OLD. ON HALLOWEEN HE WENT OUT TO TRICK OR TREAT IN HIS NEIGHBORHOOD. HIS BROTHER JASON WAS ILL AND UNABLE TO GO. JOHN HAD ALOT OF FUN COLLECTING MONEY FROM THE KIND NEIGHEORS. AFTER HE HAD GONE ALL OVER THE NEIGHBORHOOD HE HEADED FOR HOME. JASON GREETED HIM AT THE DOOR \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

1. If you were John what would you have done?
  - A. Kept all for himself
  - B. Split half with Jason
  - C. Gave him a little
  - D. Told him he did not deserve any
2. How do you think John felt?
  - A. Good
  - B. Happy
  - C. Bad
  - D. Sad
3. How does it turn out?

## SECRET STORIES TEST

Directions: Read along from the printed copy while the experimenter reads the story aloud. When the experimenter stops reading close your eyes and make up an ending for the story. Then, write it. Answer each question that follows by circling the answer in which you feel answers the question.

HELEN AND ELIZABETH ARE FRIENDS. THEY HAD PLANNED TO MEET AT ELIZABETH'S HOUSE BEFORE GOING TO THE MOVIES AND DINNER. HELEN LOST ALL OF HER MONEY BEFORE SHE ARRIVED AT ELIZABETH'S HOUSE. SHE RETRACED HER STEPS, BUT SHE WAS UNABLE TO FIND IT. WHEN SHE ARRIVED AT ELIZABETH'S HOUSE SHE WAS VERY UPSET BECAUSE SHE DID NOT HAVE ANY MONEY AND SHE REALLY WANTED TO SEE THE MOVIE, "LET'S DO IT AGAIN" \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

1. If you were Elizabeth what would you have done?
  - A. Gave Helen the money
  - B. Told her to go home and ask her mother
  - C. Told her we could go another time
  - D. Told her she should be more careful
2. How do you think Elizabeth felt?
  - A. Good
  - B. Happy
  - C. Bad
  - D. Sad
3. How does it turn out?

## SECRET STORIES TEST

Directions: Read along from the printed copy while the experimenter reads the story aloud. When the experimenter stops reading close your eyes and make up an ending for the story. Then, write it. Answer each question that follows by circling the answer in which you feel answers the question.

LISA AND JAMES WERE GIVEN \$5.00 EACH TO GO SHOPPING. IN THE FIRST STORE THEY WENT INTO, LISA SAW A BEAUTIFUL PAIR OF DUNGAREES, BUT SHE DID NOT HAVE ENOUGH MONEY. SHE NEEDED ONE DOLLAR IN ORDER TO MAKE THE PURCHASE. SHE DECIDED TO ASK JAMES TO HELP HER OUT \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

1. If you were James what would you have done?
  - A. Told her she should not buy the first thing she sees
  - B. Gave her the dollar
  - C. Told her to wait until she had enough money
  - D. Told her to go home and ask her mother
2. How do you think James felt?
  - A. Good
  - B. Happy
  - C. Bad
  - D. Sad
3. How does it turn out?

Here are some things children have said about cooperation. I would like to know your opinion. I would like to know whether you agree or disagree with each statement. For each statement, indicate whether you agree or disagree by circling strongly agree, agree, uncertain, disagree or strongly disagree.

1. I offer to help others when I can.  

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly agree
2. I volunteer to divide my belongings only when I have more than enough for myself.  

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly agree
3. I rather work as a team to solve a school task.  

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly agree
4. I do things my way when I work on a group project.  

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly agree
5. I tell only my teacher about new ideas I think of.  

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly agree
6. I rather work on a school project with others than alone.  

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly agree
7. I offer my lunch only to those who have their own.  

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly agree
8. I take turns when playing games.  

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly agree
9. I lend my homework to others when I think it will be helpful.  

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly agree
10. I rather work toward winning a prize for myself than to help my classmates win a group prize.  

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly agree

APPENDIX C

Judgement Criteria for Interview Responses and  
Secret Stories Responses

## Instructions

You are asked to rate various aspects of sharing behavior as it relates to primary caretakers, alternate influencers, siblings and the child, as revealed in protocols of interviews and Secret Story responses. It is recommended that you read through one item or one response of all twelve sample protocols and sample story responses. After reading them you may find that you are able to perform the ratings without further reference.

However, in making a judgment you must refer to specific items on the protocol and to specific responses on the Secret Stories Test.

If you have any comments on the scales or the interviews please put them on the rating sheet provided with the interview and test protocols.

Thank you.

### Factors in Sharing Behavior

Thirteen items were selected from a structured interview. These items were designed to measure the degree of sharing behavior between primary caretaker and child as reported by the primary caretaker, between primary caretaker's report of child shared activities with alternate influencers, between primary caretaker's perceived help from relatives or friends and between primary caretaker's report of sharing behavior with sibling or others as well as the child's reported generosity or selfishness.

The items rated were: Nos. 21, 35, 38A, 39, 40, 41, 43, 44, 45, 47A, 48, and 48A. The items will include questions about the shared activities of primary caretakers, relatives, and alternate influencers involved with the child and persons who otherwise come into contact with the child as reported by primary caretaker. The responses will be rated on a six point scale from 0 to 5 (low to high) level of sharing behavior.

On the Secret Story protocol the ending of the story and the responses to two questions that follow the story were rated on a six point scale from 0 to 5 (low to high) level of sharing behavior. Two graduate students rated the responses (in addition to the experimenter) independently for inter-rater reliability. The third question was rated on a ratio scale of 0 or 1. If the child projected into the past or future he received a score of 1, and if the response was in the present tense he received a score of 0.

The thirteen items on the structured interview and the Secret Story responses were rated on the following six point scale:

- 0 = None
- 1 = Mild
- 2 = Slight
- 3 = Moderate
- 4 = Strong
- 5 = Intense

Procedure for establishing reliability of the rating scale is described in the Procedure section.

### Judgment Criteria for Interview Items

#### I: Caretaker's Shared Behavior

Primary caretaker's shared activities with child.

Item Nos. 21, 35, 40, 41, and 43.

#### Definition of Sharing

Sharing is defined here as the partaking in activities, an experience or an event either by active participation or teaching (intellectual or otherwise). It can involve teaching skills for the purpose of alleviating difficulty of a child's understanding of a school task and/or satisfaction in their exercise (e.g., hobbies).

#### Examples of Extreme Scores

1. A primary caretaker who exhibits non-sharing demonstrates a failure or reluctance to participate in activities with the child as well as teach the child a skill. This primary caretaker would receive a rating of 0.

2. A primary caretaker who exhibits a willingness to participate in activities with the child as well as to teach the child a skill and derives pleasure from doing so. This primary caretaker would receive a rating of 5.

### Overall Score

In scoring for overall a rule of thumb is that this rating should represent an average between mother's rating and father's rating. However, it is important to keep in mind the evaluation of which of the two parents by mother's report is perceived as the more sharing parent. If you feel the sharing behavior of one parent is much more significant in terms of sharing, the overall scoring should reflect this qualitative impression.

### Range of Protocols

The protocols you will be given represent the full range of ratings for the 13 items (0 to 5). It is suggested that you read through one item at a time of all 12 interviews first before rating the items in order to get acquainted with the range for this sample. Please compare them only in relation to each other and not to ideal expectations.

Primary caretaker's report of alternate influencers shared activities with child.

Item Nos. 38A and 39.

### Definition of Sharing

Sharing is defined here as the partaking in activities, an experience or an event either by active participation or teaching (intellectual or otherwise). It can involve teaching skills for the purpose of alleviating difficulty for a child in understanding a school task and/or satisfaction in their exercise (e.g., hobbies).

The areas of sharing will involve: a) Academic (i.e., intellectual), and b) Other (i.e., story telling, sports, creative

arts, etc.).

### Definition of Alternate Influencers

Refers to people other than nuclear family members who the primary caretaker reports the child has experienced as particularly giving to him or her in relation to sharing.

These items deal with judgments, as reported by the primary caretaker, where significant sharing has been useful to the child in relation to incorporating sharing behavior and has become part of the child's repertoire.

You will be asked to come up with two ratings for each child: one rating for intellectual sharing and a second rating for sharing other than intellectual.

### Examples of Extreme Scores

1. These items are rated 0 under two conditions: One, if there is a lack of experiencing any impact of alternate influence by the child, and secondly, if primary caretaker interferes successfully with the use of available alternate influence for the child.

2. An alternate influencer who follows the child is involved with the child, actively participates with the child in activities or teaches the child a skill and derives pleasure from doing so, would rate a 5.

### Range of Protocols

The protocols you will be given represent a broad range of ratings for these items. It is suggested that you read through one item at a time of all 12 protocols before rating your items in order to get acquainted with the range for this sample. Please compare

them only in relation to each other and not to ideal expectations.  
 Primary caretaker's perceived help from relatives or friends.

Item Nos. 44 and 45.

### Definition of Sharing

Sharing is defined here as helping someone in need or sharing one's belongings. It also involves giving of resources, helping someone to find a job and giving moral support.

These items deal primarily with the primary caretaker's experience that she was the recipient of sharing from other family members or friends. It includes any relatives or friends helping the primary caretaker financially, helping her by sitting with her children in her absence, cooperating with caretaker in helping her with her children, giving information, volunteering service and a sense of enjoyment of being able to give service and help.

### Examples of Extreme Scores

1. A primary caretaker who experienced isolation, unsupportive and indifferent responses from her family or friends. When in need of financial support and/or when in need of moral support the primary caretaker can not depend on family members or friends for help. This primary caretaker's family or friends would rate a 0.

2. A primary caretaker who is given support both morally and financially from family members and friends; who can depend on help from family members (i.e., for information, and for service). The family member or friend exhibit a sense of enjoyment of being able to help or give service. This primary caretaker's family or friends would rate a 5.

### Overall Score

You are asked to come up with two ratings: one for family, and the other rating for friend.

In rating overall a rule of thumb is that this score should represent an average between the rating for family member and the rating for friend. However, it is important to keep in mind the evaluation of which the two are the most giving of helpful. If you feel that the relationship is more significant in terms of sharing impact the overall score should reflect this qualitative impression.

### Range of Protocols

The protocols you will be given represent a broad range of ratings for these items. It is suggested that you read through one item at a time of all protocols before rating your items in order to get acquainted with the range for this sample. Please compare them only in relation to each other and not to any ideal expectation. Subject's generosity or selfishness as reported by primary caretaker.

Item Nos. 47, 47A, 48, 48A.

### Definition of Sharing

Sharing is defined here as a generous act, the act of helping someone in need, in trouble, or otherwise to benefit others. It includes carrying out an act which benefits others (e.g., carrying a heavy package for someone).

The areas of sharing involved are helping a sibling, relative or stranger without being asked to do so.

These items deal primarily with subjects volunteering to share resources or experiences in order to benefit others. These items also deal with sharing in areas such as teaching a skill, participating in activities or otherwise deferring to another person. The person derives enjoyment out of doing so.

#### Examples of Extreme Scores

1. A subject who does not seem very involved with helping others i.e., carry a package, teach a skill, or actively participate in an activity or volunteer to give up something he or she wishes for himself or herself, would rate a 0.

2. A subject who seems vitally concerned with helping someone in need; who is concerned about the giving of service to someone and willingly defers to someone else and expresses satisfaction in doing so, would rate a 5.

#### Range of Protocols

The protocols you will be given represent a broad range of rating for these items. It is suggested that you read through one item at a time of all protocols before rating your items in order to get acquainted with the range of this sample. Please compare them only in relation to each other and not ideal expectations.

### Judgment Criteria for Secret Stories Responses

#### Definition of Sharing

Sharing is defined here as giving to someone in need, dividing one's belongings with another. It includes giving of one's resources

(i.e., money) to siblings or friends willingly.

The area of sharing involves a behavior act, an act that might have happened had the subject been in a similar situation, and one's attitude toward sharing.

This category deals with judgment of significant proportions (as reported by the subject) where his or her actions have ramifications for use in school and treatment.

You are asked to come up with four ratings for each secret story a) actual behavior act, b) action that might have happened, c) attitude toward sharing, d) time reference.

#### Examples of Extreme Scores

1. This category is rated 0 under four conditions. One, if there is a lack of sharing behavior present; two, if it has been specified that a subject gave a trivial portion; three, if there is a negative attitude toward sharing; four, if there is no time reference or if the time reference is in the immediate present the category is rated 0.

2. A subject who demonstrates a willingness to share either by giving or loaning of money needed; if it is specified that the subject gave some sizeable portion of his or her money; if there is a positive attitude toward sharing and if the time reference is in the distant past or distant future, it would rate a 5.

#### Range of Protocols

The protocols you will be given represent a broad range of rating for these responses. It is suggested that you read through one response of all protocols before rating the response in order

to get acquainted with the range of this sample of responses. Please compare them only in relation to each other and not to any ideal expectation.

#### Definition of Concepts

For the purpose of this study the following words and definitions will be used:

1. Extended family is an organization which consists of three or more generations related by birth or marriage living in the same household or the same community. All members live in very much the same way, share the same ideas about the way their lives should be led. The extended family exists in many combinations (e.g., mother and child or children and grandmother living together, or a teenage daughter and child living with her mother).

2. Alternate influencers refer to people other than nuclear family members who have the power to positively affect the child. He or she takes an interest in the physical, intellectual or psychological needs of the child.

3. Nuclear family is an organization which consists of one or more parents and his or her or their minor children, biological or adoptive in residence with him, her or them.

4. Primary caretaker is either one or both parent(s), grandparent(s), aunt, uncle or legal guardian who is the child's advocate. It is their primary responsibility to protect, nurture, partner and prepare the child to take on future adult responsibility.

5. Sharing is defined as the partaking in activities, in an experience or in an event (e.g., playing ball, teaching a skill, or telling a story). Sharing is also helping someone in need, dividing one's belongings, giving up something which one wishes for himself, giving moral support, giving financial assistance, giving information and service (e.g., giving babysitting, giving money when needed and giving reassurance that a problem will be resolved).

APPENDIX D

Summaries and Excerpts of Interviews with Subjects of  
Different Family Structure

To give the reader a more direct flavor of the quality of the interview, samples of the interaction between the investigator and the primary caretaker and examples of the kinds of material evoked by the interview, the following summaries and excerpts of two transcripts were presented.

The interviews were edited so that material pertaining to each category was kept together as much as possible. Scores for certain of the interview items and measures are noted.

The first parent-child dyad presented is Mrs. Wade<sup>1</sup> and her son Dwyane; they reside in a nuclear family household with two older male siblings. Dwyane volunteered to do 5 out of 20 household chores. On a sharing task he kept more money than his absent partner on three out of five trials. Academically, he achieved a reading score of 7.0.

Mrs. Stanford and her daughter Elsie reside in an extended family household with two siblings, male and female, and her paternal grandmother. Elsie volunteered to do 15 out of 20 household chores. On the sharing test she kept less or an equal amount of money on all trials. She achieved a reading score of 8.1.

An interview with a nuclear  
family primary caretaker

Mrs. Wade was born and reared in the North. She attended public

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<sup>1</sup>Names are pseudonyms to protect the identity of the subjects.

school and dropped out in the 11th grade. She has lived in New York City all of her life. She was married, but is now divorced. She is the mother and sole supporter of three sons and one adult daughter. She does not have any relatives living nearby in the community. Consequently she relies on neighbors to help out with the children but actually she states that they take care of themselves if she has to go somewhere. She has worked most of her life as a salesperson, but recently she was laid off. Currently she is receiving Aid to Dependent Children and unemployment benefits. Her former husband does not contribute financially to the household. In response to a question to describe the kind of activities they mutually shared, Mrs. Wade stated: "I don't do that much with him; the three kids sort of keep each other company. I take him to the park every now and then and to visit a relative during vacation. Sometimes I guess maybe once or twice a year we go to the movies."

Prior to the separation and divorce Mrs. Wade reported that her husband never spent time with the children. Rather, he spent his leisure time singing in the church choir, playing football and baseball, and she recalled that the children never joined him in these activities.

Mrs. Wade has a male friend who shows interest in her children. He comes over every few weeks and takes them for a drive to Coney Island or to New Jersey just for fun. She relies upon neighbors or friends but only minimally. When she has to be away from home the children take care of each other. When she was asked to describe how Dwyane helps out at home, Mrs. Wade reports:

Dwyane is not a volunteer child. He only volunteered to do five out of twenty household chores. He does not loan his belongings to siblings or to friends alike without exception. Although sometimes he tries to give, he is stingy and it is not within him to give. He hides things such as candy to keep anybody from asking him, and if you ask him for something that he has he won't give it to you.

Dwyane is large for his age. He likes to draw. He was rather quiet and only responded to questions asked of him. He approached the test in a matter-of-fact manner and was cooperative.

An interview with an extended  
family primary caretaker

Mrs. Stanford was born in the South. She has lived in New York City for 16 years. She received an education in both the South and in New York City. She is a high school graduate. She is married, living with her husband and mother-in-law and children. She is the mother of three children--two females and one male. Her mother has lived in her home for the past six years. When asked to describe the activities she does with her children, Mrs. Stanford reported:

I spend time with my children every day of the week. I talk to them. I play with them. I teach Elsie how to bake, sew, clean and dance. We have fun; we talk while we are cleaning and doing the laundry. I always ask her what did she do in school. We go out shopping for groceries once per week.

Mrs. Stanford also reported:

My husband does spend time with the children. He teaches them karate, how to play baseball and lift weights.

Mr. Stanford is kept in charge of the children when his mother and wife have to be away. The grandmother supervises Elsie a lot, and they have a close relationship.

Mrs. Stanford reported that Elsie divides her belongings willingly with siblings or peers alike without hesitation. Elsie

bakes cookies for her siblings and friends. Mrs. Stanford cited an incident where she thought Elsie was generous. Mrs. Stanford reported:

Elsie made a cake on my birthday, she cleaned the whole house and I wasn't expecting that.

Mrs. Stanford sees Elsie as generally a generous girl.

Elsie is fully developed. She was very curious and asked a lot of questions about the experiment. At the end, she wrote the investigator a note which stated, "You're nice, I like you."

#### Clinical Impressions from the Interviews

##### Relationship between socialization influence and sharing behavior

The child reared in an extended family

This study finds a significant relationship between the type of family structure reared in and sharing behavior of African American children of lower SES backgrounds.

The picture of the child reared in an extended family, as it emerges from these data, is one of a person who from early in life experienced warm, close attachment to his primary caretaker and/or other loved objects. The love and pleasure he or she has been the recipient of is now reflected in his sharing behavior. His failure to share is taken as an indication that he did not take time to reason out a particular situation, not as evidence that he is stingy. He grows up with the experience of having loved objects care for and about him as well as good sources of emotional support. He understands in this close-knit social milieu that there are things that kin can do to make every day a new experience. It means learning to

cook, sing, play games, built-on help with homework and the presence of an adult to discuss problems.

He grows up with the feeling that involvement and sharing is an expression of love equally rewarding for the giver as well as for the receiver. He understands something else of great importance. He understands to give of himself and to value caring about people. He understands that there are others besides his parents who can give to him in times of need. He is open to new experiences and can benefit from human closeness.

A striking example of the line of thought is the willingness of the child reared in an extended family to give his friends, classmates, siblings and relatives. That is, fix lunch for classmates who did not have money to buy it, buying gifts for the sibling and mother from money the child earned running errands for neighbors on the block, taking an old woman's groceries to her door and cleaning the entire house for mother because the child felt that the mother would be too tired to do it when she arrived home from work.

These are composite responses as reported by primary caretakers of children who were reared in extended families. These responses reflect the conscious generosity of the people who gave to them and a willingness on the part of the child to serve in the same capacity for others.

In extended families sometimes primary caretakers were unavailable to provide the emotional support but grandmother, great aunt, etc. were ready to step in and lend a hand. This leads to the speculation that the extended family fosters feelings of tenderness and

involvement which promote sharing.

The child reared in a nuclear family

If the nuclear family reared child had no experiences of having been the recipient of receiving and giving, it is doubtful that he would be able to survive infancy intact. Such a child would have most likely ended up as a psychotic. The fact is that there is a group of children whose primary caretaker's attitude toward sharing is positive; it is evident by some of the direction of sharing which is borne out in this study that offspring of primary caretakers from nuclear families report either fragmented primary caretaker involvement and less intense involvement with alternates, i.e., friends of the family who take an interest in the child. The nuclear family reared child had some experience in sharing and some minimal influence in their lives from loved objects. Their sharing behavior is less prevalent and their loved objects are less available than the child reared in extended families. They are generally more distant, suspicious and isolated than the child reared in extended families. They are less aware of others and how to show feelings. They seem to care more out of a sense of duty. They seem more self absorbed which would interfere with their ability to share.

The nuclear family reared child comes from a background where individuals pursue their goals irrespective of the child's feelings or needs. The nuclear family reared child gets less emotional support than the extended family reared child. For example, parents are absent, adults are unavailable to provide support and listen to problems. He or she grows up in a social milieu which fosters an empty

atmosphere and a feeling that loved objects are uncaring, unsupportive and interested in pursuing individual goals. He comes to feel that nobody loves him. Therefore, for such a child to share would mean to lose something and he can never be given enough. One can only speculate that that becomes a part of one's way of perceiving the world and dealing with people in it.

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