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LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ
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CHILDREN'S COGNITIONS ABOUT
EFFECTIVE HELPING

by

Kathleen Mary Barnett

B.A., University of Windsor, 1977

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
through the Department of Psychology
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ABSTRACT

The present study examined the development of children's awareness of "variables" that affect the quality of helping behaviours. For this purpose, 12 boys and 12 girls from grades K, 3, and 6 answered two sets of interview questions: one set was concerned with children's perceptions of the attributes associated with effective helpers (Helper Variable); the other set assessed the information children considered important for solving helping problems as well as their awareness of the usefulness of that information (Task Variable).

Grade K children were aware that helpees' characteristics may facilitate or impede the process of helping. While some of the grade K children also made attempts to analyze the requirements of a helping problem, the assessments made by older children tended to have greater potential for identifying and defining the important aspects of a helping task (i.e., the helpee, the helpee's circumstances). By the third grade level, many children regarded those procedures to obtain information as means to appraise task difficulty or determine appropriate helping actions. Children were found to become more sensitive with age to implicit "task demands" to retrieve and apply what knowledge of the helper and task variables they had acquired. The grade 6 children were more likely than younger children to readily exhibit knowledge of several specific and interrelated traits and skills likely to distinguish between persons as effective helpers (i.e., willingness to help, task-related competence, and sensitivity to helpees' needs). They were also more likely than younger children to indicate that a person might require several attributes simultaneously to become a good helper.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Numerous studies have appeared in the literature concerning the development of helping behaviour, that is, attempts to aid someone in distress without discernable overt reward for doing so (see such review articles as Bryan, 1975; Krebs, 1970; Rushton, 1976). The previous research in this area has contributed much to our knowledge of age-associated changes in children's disposition to help. The social learning approach has emphasized the facilitative effects of such environmental events as the observation of models, the presence of reinforcing stimuli, and verbal socialization procedures (e.g., induction techniques) on the development of children's helping (e.g., Midlarsky & Bryan, 1967; Staub, 1977; Yarrow, Scott & Waxler, 1973). Work from the cognitive-developmental perspective has suggested that various social cognitive abilities such as role taking, moral judgement and decentering appear to be potentially important determinants of prosocial behaviours (e.g., Hoffman, 1975; Krebs & Sturupp, 1974; Rubin & Schneider, 1973). The appeal has been made, however, for cognitive-developmentalists to increase the specificity of the cognitive constructs or content of cognitive processes under study (Rushton, 1976). Indeed, relatively little is known of what the child thinks and is able to understand of the processes and variables operating in the helping interaction itself, although some initial attempts have recently been made (e.g., Ladd & Oden, 1977; Melburg, McCabe & Kobasigawa, 1977; Tierney, 1977).

The purpose of the present study was to investigate developmental changes in children's awareness of effective helping. More specifically, the study focussed on examining the development of children's knowledge about variables, which when properly assessed, are likely to increase the probability of providing effective assistance to another.

The significance of acquiring a grounds of knowledge for mature prosocial interaction is implicated in the approach and methods of the professional helping disciplines (e.g., social work). Professional helpers maintain that the proper assessment of self (e.g., helper's skills and limitations and biases), the client's characteristics and circumstances, and the various modes of intervention, is a necessary prerequisite for effecting a form of constructive assistance (e.g., Bartlett, 1970; Brill, 1973). In addition to "feeling and doing," Bartlett holds that "thinking" is a major component of the skilled process of giving help (1970, p. 205). Similarly, the developmental psychologists Mussen and Eisenberg-Berg (1977) have recently argued the importance of thinking about one's own helping behaviour in relation to mature prosocial behaviour: "Introspections about our own prosocial activities convince us of the significance of their cognitive components. Before we help others, express sympathy or consideration or donate to charity, we have to perceive and interpret a situation accurately, and understand other's feelings and emotions. We must also evaluate their needs and desires and decide which actions will be most effective and beneficial to them." (p. 109).

Given that a person's knowledge of effective helping behaviour is an important component of mature prosocial activities, what might this

knowledge include? The foregoing claims about the importance of cognitive factors in helping acts (i.e., Bartlett, 1970; Brill, 1973; Mussen & Eisenberg-Berg, 1977) suggests the following. An individual's knowledge relevant to effective helping involves the awareness that the quality of a given solution to any helping problem is determined by (a) who is helping (helper variable); (b) whom and under what circumstances (task variable); (c) in what ways (strategy variable). In the following section, we will discuss what a growing child may come to know about each of these variables in relation to helping problems.

Knowledge Relevant to Effective Helping¹

A. Helper Variable.

This variable refers to a person's knowledge of himself/herself and others as potential helpers. The child probably develops a self image as a helper that may become increasingly differentiated with respect to helping tasks, and in comparison with others' abilities and limitations. Based on experience, for instance, the child may learn that he/she is usually successful at helping most of his/her classmates, but poor at helping much younger children.

Developmental psychologists have attempted to discern many individual characteristics that correlate with prosocial behaviours in.

¹Flavell and Wellman (1977) have identified person, task, and strategy variables as three important categories of metamemory that may help children to memorize and remember effectively. To be an effective learner, a child needs to know that how well he/she will learn and remember depends on (a) what he/she is like as a learner, (b) what the learning task is like, and (c) what behaviour he/she engages in to learn (Flavell, 1977, p. 208). Much of the discussion in this section is modeled after Flavell's analyses of children's knowledge about memory-relevant variables.

children (e.g., Dlugokinski & Firestone, 1974; Mussen; Rutherford, Harris & Keasey, 1970; Staub & Sherk, 1970). Similarly, a growing child may discover that there are temporary and enduring characteristics of persons which are associated with implementing effective assistance. The child may learn, for example, that older children are generally better helpers than younger children (Severey & Davis, 1971). With increased maturation, he/she may speculate that older children's effectiveness in helping can be attributed to their advanced role taking and empathic skills; skills recognized as often necessary for accurately detecting and understanding the needs or distress of others (e. g., Hoffman, 1975, Mussen & Eisenberg-Berg, 1977). Adults sometimes reason that females are better helpers than males because the former are socialized to be more nurturant and empathic to the needs of others (e.g., Bryan, 1975; Mussen & Eisenberg-Berg, 1977). It is felt that they are more experienced, as well, to act as babysitters and to assist in training younger siblings (O'Bryant & Brophy, 1976). Aside from the accuracy of the beliefs stated, they nonetheless represent various pieces of information which the child may acquire when abstracting from social interactions, those features or personal attributes of helping persons.

A knowledge of the helper variable may include the awareness that mature helping behaviours involve more than the simple disposition to help (Roedell, Slaby, & Robinson, 1977). As previously noted, past research on children's helping has concentrated primarily on their tendency to help. Adults most often recognize a "helpful" child as one who frequently attempts to alleviate the other's distress, although

he/she may not always be successful (Severy & Davis, 1971). Through numerous experiences in attempting to help others and in being "helped," the growing child may come to differentiate between one's disposition or motivation to assist and one's capacities to reduce the other's distress in the construction of his/her conceptualization of an effective helper.

B. Task Variable.

This category of knowledge includes a person's awareness of both the potential recipient of aid (helpee) and the goals and requirements of the helping problem (situation).

Helpee. There are several characteristics or traits which differentiate between persons in their likelihood of eliciting prosocial behaviours from others, and perhaps in turn, facilitating effective assistance. Adults, for example, seem to know that people are more likely to help their friends or those who are dependent upon them (e.g., Mussen & Eisenberg-Berg, 1977).

Through his/her social interactions, the child may learn that popular, nurturant and attractive peers are more likely to receive attempts of assistance from others than those who are highly dependent, demanding unnecessary help (e.g., Charlesworth & Hartup, 1967; Gottman, Gonso, & Rasmussen, 1975; Hansen, Goldman, & Baldwin, 1975; Marcus & Jenny, 1977). The child may also observe that most helping takes place between children of the same sex (e.g., Marcus & Jenny, 1977).

By six years of age, children begin to attend to such global impressions as the age of the potential beneficiary and alter their descriptions of the nature of kind acts according to whether the other is a younger child or a peer, (e.g., play with them/share with them"),

or an adult, (e.g., "obey them") (Youniss, 1975). An important piece of knowledge for the child to acquire, however, is that it is necessary to consider the specific needs of another person and to interpret these needs accurately, in order to provide effective helping behaviour. Although a person may exhibit signs of upset, he/she may aspire to finish an activity independently. An attempt to "help" under such situations may be perceived as an intrusion by the "helpee." In a recent study by Tierney (1977), at least some high school students indicated the importance of assessing what the helpee really desires for deciding how to be helpful. The child socialized to independence and achievement norms may also realize that a requirement of aid may be interpreted as an admission of weakness or failure (e.g., Severy & Davis, 1971). In turn, he/she is more likely to appreciate an attempt by the potential recipient to disguise a state of need as a measure to retain dignity and self-esteem. Children as young as six years of age appear to know that it is difficult to help some of their peers as they often say, "I don't need help" (Tierney, 1977).

The child may also come to know that helping behaviours that meet the immediate or explicitly expressed needs of others, may not always coincide with the "best interests" or general welfare of the recipient. For instance, a 10-year-old boy says to an adult who is about to be helpful to a 5-year-old child, "Don't tie his shoes. You'd better show him how to tie 'cause he starts going to school soon." This 10-year-old boy apparently thinks that a direct solution of the present need ("Tie my shoe") would only reinforce an age-inappropriate dependency in the 5-year-old child.

There are several characteristics of the recipient which affect the successful delivery of assistance. The quality of the helping process depends on the extent to which the helpee is willing to recognize his/her need for help and to participate or cooperate in altering his/her circumstances. Thus, a child may learn that there is a greater probability of success in teaching a young child to tie his/her own shoes, for instance, if the helpee is attentive and eager to learn, than if the helpee is unmotivated.

The child may also come to know that helping another can only be effective to the extent that the other is cognitively or physically capable of understanding and utilizing the form of assistance, advice or instruction rendered. (The hypothetical child in the preceding example may simply be too young to master the task of tying a shoe.) Familiarity with the potential recipient will often increase one's sensitivity to the other's coping capacities and limitations in executing either a given task, or a change in self.

Situation. In order to successfully complete helping acts, a person needs to be cognizant of general circumstantial difficulties that exist in helping problems. Apparently, effective young helpers (elementary school children) carefully gauge the difficulties of the helping task relative to their skills and competence before they actually initiate helping attempts (Severy & Davis, 1971).

One manner in which to detect and interpret the difficulty of the helping task is to identify the number of factors involved in a given helping problem. An adult, for instance, realizes that it would be less taxing to help a child in arithmetic problems than to help that

same child improve both arithmetic skills and peer relations. Further assessment involves determining the goal or criterion for one's helping performance. To continue with the previous arithmetic example, the adult can at least generally discriminate between the amount of time and effort required to help familiarize a child with the fundamentals of addition and subtraction, than to prepare the same child to engage in these skills at any level of competition.

A person may be required to analyze and identify critical factors involved in the helpee's environment in order to find a means that best meets the solution of any given helping problem. The demand characteristics of the helping situation may include externally imposed "rules" limiting the acceptableness of certain forms of intervention. Consider a hypothetical situation in which a boy is stacking blocks that he "messed up" and is having trouble as they continue to fall down. The boy has been told by his teacher to complete the job unaided. Recent studies (Melburg, et al., 1977; Tierney, 1977) reveal that many 8- but not 6-year-old children take into account the presence of the constraint imposed by the teacher's demands as well as information about the boy's difficulties in their selection of helpful strategies.

C. Strategy Variable.

Naturalistic studies (e.g., Hansen, et al., 1975; Murphy, 1937) have shown that even preschool children display diverse forms of helping behaviours. These behaviours include giving information to another, aiding in another's task, comforting or protecting a crying or injured child, and providing another with sought objects. Through such positive social interactions, a child learns directly or observationally that

there are many behaviours that generally produce positive or pleasant consequences for others.

In order to be an effective helper, a child needs to know not only the existence of a variety of helping acts, but also that the effectiveness of these behaviours is determined by the situational demands or circumstances, the helpee's characteristics and needs and the helper's skills. To decide the most effective strategy, one may be required to predict the possible consequences of implementing alternative means in consideration of the factors involved in a given helping problem.

Recall the hypothetical situation in which the boy was stacking blocks that he "messed up" (see Task variable). Some 8-year-olds could spontaneously recognize the inconvenience to the main character if someone completed the job that was difficult for the boy, explaining that such help could occasion lying to the teacher that the work was completed unaided. Instead they often suggest a more appropriate indirect ("tell him to use a chair") rather than direct form of assistance (Melburg et al., 1977).

By eight years of age children seem to realize the usefulness of taking into account the information about a helpee's needs (e.g., independence needs) for the selection of effective helping strategies (Melburg et al., 1977; Tierney, 1977). They also demonstrate awareness that the needs of the helpee may change with the social situation and alter their judgements of helpful social behaviours according to whether the helpee is found in the company of other peers by whom he/she is being teased or is found alone distressed by such an incident (Ladd & Oden, 1977).

Given this illustrative outline of the various categories of knowledge that the growing child may come to know or acquire, the general procedure of the present study will now be described.

Present Study

The purpose of the present study was to obtain preliminary data concerning the development of children's understanding of various aspects of the helper and task variables relevant to effective helping. For this purpose, two major sets of interview questions were given to children of grades kindergarten, 3, and 6. The questions had been prepared on the basis of the kinds of knowledge illustrated in the preceding section.

A knowledge of the attributes and skills possessed by an effective helper is important for the development of prosocial behaviours as this knowledge could be used to more accurately predict and evaluate one's own helping capacities. Moreover, because one must feel competent in dealing with helping problems before help will even be initiated (Midlarsky, 1968; Mussen & Eisenberg-Berg, 1977), this knowledge may be used to improve one's own helping skills. Consequently, children's conceptions of effective helpers were assessed by a free response measure to determine those traits or skills they spontaneously deem important.

In addition, specific characteristics (i.e., the motivation or disposition to help) and skills possessed by effective helpers (i.e., empathic skills and performance skills necessary to meet the needs of others) were individually presented to children. These were presented to determine whether children evaluate these dimensions as relevant

information in making inferences of a person's probable effectiveness as a helper. These characteristics were selected for the presented study as they have been frequently included in the scope of subject factors receiving empirical attention and considered influential in the development of prosocial behaviour.

Knowledge of the second variable with which the study was concerned, the task variable, is also important for the development of mature prosocial interaction. The person who makes use of information of the helping task will be more likely to predict the general and specific difficulties involved in solving a helping problem, and will be better prepared to meet obstacles that incur. Moreover, the mature helper appreciates the nature of the helpee's circumstances and needs as critical knowledge upon which to base appropriate action. In addition, a sensible judgement of the quality of help rendered, or the helper, must weigh the effects of the helpee's motivation and cognitive or physical capabilities toward change, as well as the surrounding circumstances.

In order to assess children's knowledge of the helpee, they were provided with helpee characteristics likely to either facilitate or impede the helping process (i.e., cooperative vs. uncooperativeness in attitude). These characteristics were presented to determine whether children discriminate those traits or properties contributing to the difficulty or ease of successfully executing assistance. In addition, children's cognizance of the importance of assessing the state of the helpee (i.e., cooperative vs. uncooperative attitudes) for determining the quality of help was assessed. These characteristics were chosen

for study partially on the basis of the experimenter's intuition and partially on the basis of past research.

In order to assess children's awareness of the relevance of knowledge of the helping task, they were also presented with helping problems which lacked specific information about either the helpee or the helping situation. Subsequently, they were questioned as to the information that they spontaneously regarded as necessary or important before determining the form of appropriate helping actions. In this way, we were able to assess whether children spontaneously considered the possibility of task demands and difficulties, and if they considered the usefulness of acquiring this information in order to determine what helping means would best transform the helpee's "distress" towards a more desirable outcome.

In summary, two major sets of interview questions were presented to children in order to determine their knowledge of various aspects of the helper and task variables associated with effective helping. The present investigation was limited to the study of those two variables as a twin study, concurrently in progress, was concerned with examining children's knowledge of the strategy variable.

CHAPTER II

METHOD

Subjects

The subjects were 12 boys and 12 girls randomly selected from each grade level of kindergarten, 3, and 6 from a Roman Catholic elementary school located in a suburb of predominately middle to upper income bracket families. The mean ages for grades kindergarten, 3, and 6 children were 5.9 years, 8.8 years, and 11.9 years respectively.

Interview Items and Materials

Two major sets of interview questions were prepared. The first set of questions was devised to assess developmental changes in children's knowledge of the helper variable. One item, labelled Attributes of Helpers--free description, was presented to determine those characteristics or skills used spontaneously by children to define an effective helper. Subsequent to eliciting children's classification schemes or spontaneous descriptions of a good helper, four additional items dealing with specific attributes were individually presented to more clearly determine the properties of persons that children regarded as essential to effective helpers. The item Disposition to Help--question format described a hypothetical child who always wanted to help other people. This item was presented to assess whether children regarded the motivation to help to be an important requirement for helping effectiveness and whether they could generate further criteria. Another item, Disposition to Help--story format, described three hypothetical children

who desired to assist a teacher with her swimming class. It was utilized to assess whether children considered the motivation dimension as the only requirement of an effective helper in a more concrete situation than in the question format, and where implicit requirements for performance skills (i.e., swimming skills) were provided. A third item, labelled Empathic Skills described a hypothetical story child who understood when other children were happy or sad and also, whose feelings affectively matched those of the other children. This item was presented to determine if children considered empathic skills as important for effective helping, their reasoning for doing so, and whether they would suggest additional requirements. The final item in the first set of questions, Performance Skills, related a hypothetical incident in which a child, said to be "the best skater in the class", was picked by a teacher to help younger children learn to skate. The purpose of this item was to investigate if children included one's capacity to perform the helping task requirements (i.e., skating ability) in their definition of a good helper, and once again, if they were able to suggest further criteria in addition to the attribute presented.

A second set of three interview items was used to examine children's knowledge of the task variable. A free response measure labelled Task Analysis presented children with a helping problem (i.e., "Pretend that I come to you and ask you to help somebody...") which lacked specific information about the helpee or helping situation. This item was used to determine what information children would spontaneously suggest as necessary and important for solving a helping problem, that is, devising an appropriate strategy. Another item labelled Relevance of Task Analysis

described a hypothetical child who upon being asked to help another crying child, began to inquire about the circumstances of the helping problem (i.e., "Did he/she lose something or did he/she hurt himself/herself?"). The purpose of this item was to determine whether children would recognize the utility of inquiring about the helping task and their rationale for resorting to this information to solve a helping problem. The item was also presented to assess whether children regard situation-specific requests as adequate for task analysis.

The final item for the second set of questions, Attitude of the Helpee, was devised to examine children's knowledge of the potential recipient of help. It included a story about two hypothetical children who required assistance to complete a task. One of the children was described as cooperative upon receiving assistance and the other as uncooperative. A story child assisting the cooperative helpee was successful in the helping attempt (i.e., the recipient was able to complete the task). The story child attempting to aid the uncooperative helpee was unsuccessful (i.e., the recipient was unable to complete the task). The purpose of this item was to examine if children would consider the attitude of the helpee, or degree of effort required to help, in addition to the completion of the task when asked to judge who was the most competent helper. In addition, children were asked whether it would be easier to help the cooperative or the uncooperative child and why, to determine whether they recognized differences in the attitude of the helpee as affecting the successful outcome of a helping attempt.

Each interview item was described above under the category of knowledge to which it seemed most pertinent. It should be pointed out,

however, that each of the items could have been reclassified as relevant to knowledge of a different variable.

Procedure

Each subject was individually interviewed by the experimenter. After briefly establishing rapport with the child the experimenter explained that she would be asking questions, and sometimes telling a story and then asking questions. It was emphasized that there were no right or wrong answers and that the child was required simply to try his/her best to say what he/she thinks. The interview items then followed. The Attributes of Helpers item was always presented first followed by the Task Analysis item. These items were presented initially to prevent the bias of children's spontaneous responses and reasoning from information which might have been conveyed by subsequent questions. The remaining interview items were then presented in either one of two fixed sequences (see Appendix A) in order to determine and control for order effects. One half of the boys and one half of the girls at each grade level received one order of presentation (order A) while the remaining children received the alternate presentation sequence for the interview items (order B).

Pictures of hypothetical story characters, addressed in some interview items were provided in order to maintain interest and reduce the memory requirements of the questions (See Appendix B containing the pictorial items used). Major characters were invariably described as the same sex of the child.

To insure that all children could remember the story content or descriptions of some hypothetical story characters, they were asked to

repeat the information given prior to being questioned about it. If the child was unable to answer a question or clearly misunderstood it, the question was repeated. If the child was still unable to respond, further prompts, outlined under the interview items, were used. Where prompts were not prepared, the question was simply represented in paraphrased form. The interview session was conducted in a flexible manner, that is, additional questions were spontaneously derived to clarify a child's response.

The interview sessions were tape recorded and children's responses were later recorded on individual data sheets. Each session approximated 30-45 minutes for the completion of the entire interview.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

Children's tape recorded responses were transcribed and classified into categories produced for each of the items discussed below. In order to assess the reliability of the scoring categories, 12 out of 24 protocols at each grade level were randomly selected and independently scored by two judges. Reliability was calculated as the percentage of responses within the 36 protocols that were scored identically. These agreement scores ranged from 91 to 96 percent. When disagreements occurred, they were resolved through discussion. Interjudge reliability was not assessed for Yes-No type answers where agreement was assumed to be obvious.

To facilitate the communication of results, the data pertaining to children's knowledge of the helper variable are presented first followed by data for the task variable. Although age differences are of considerably more interest to us than sex differences, the latter are pointed out in the few cases where present. Analysis of the two fixed sequences of item presentation (see Appendix A) at each grade level revealed no significant and interpretable order effects.

The data were analyzed mainly by Chi Square (e.g., grade K vs. 3 vs. 6 X attribute mentioned vs. attribute not mentioned). Differences between two grade levels (e.g., grade K vs. 3) were examined for all cases by forming fourfold contingency tables (e.g., grade K vs. 3 X attribute mentioned vs. not mentioned). Then Fisher's exact probabilities,

or in some cases, Chi square values with Yates correction, were obtained.

This point will not be mentioned in subsequent sections.

Helper Variable

1. Attributes of Helpers--free description. To encourage children to generate as many characteristics as they could to define an effective helper, they were given the following questions and prompts: (a) "What kind of people make the very best helpers?". All children were prompted twice: (b) "Try to think of a time when you needed help. What kind of person would have made a good helper then?". Instead of mentioning an attribute, children frequently named persons (e.g., mother, friend) as their responses to these questions. In such cases they were asked, for example, "What was special about your mother (or friend) that made her (or him) such a good helper for you then?". All children were given the final prompts: (c) "If you wanted to decide whether a person would make a good helper, what do you need to know about that person? Can you tell me anything else about what kind of people make the very best helpers?".

Table 1 shows how children of different grade levels responded to the above questions. The children were classified under "prosocial qualities" when their answers made reference to socially attractive personal traits (e.g., "nice," "kind"). Responses were scored as "willingness" if they described a good helper as a person who is motivated to direct time and energy towards another in need (e.g., "People that are willing to help." "He really wanted to help and would keep trying."). Responses were labelled as "sensitivity" if they mentioned

Table 1
The Number of Children from Each Grade
Spontaneously Mentioning the Importance of a Helper Attribute or Requirement
One or More Times

	Prosocial Qualities	Willingness	Sensitivity	Competence	Action	Other
Grade K	10	1	0	3	22	6
Grade 3	16	6	0	16	15	11
Grade 6	17	15	10	17	14	10

that a helper must be understanding or sensitive to the helpee's feelings and needs (e.g., "People who can understand other people." "They're going through the same thing and they could go through it with you.")). They were scored as "competence" if responses indicated that a good helper has the knowledge or skills necessary to solve a helping problem (e.g., "They know what to do." "Someone that understands the schoolwork.")). Children who referred to behaviours in which a good helper either engages or refrains from (e.g., "He fixes things." "He doesn't fool around.") or who simply said "they help" were labelled "action". The category "other" consisted of information about a helper which could not be classified under any of the categories just described (e.g., name, age, sex). Among these six categories, the "willingness", "sensitivity" and "competence" attributes were of prime concern to this study.

As can be seen in Table 1, the most popular ways for grade K children to characterize effective helpers were to either describe the behaviours exhibited or expected of them (column Action) or to use global terms such as "nice" and "kind" (column Prosocial Qualities). The former mentioned tendency decreased significantly with age (grade x Action mentioned vs. not mentioned, $X^2(2) = 7.67$, $p < .025$). Although the tendency to refer to global socially attractive traits increased somewhat with age this trend was not statistically reliable. In contrast, only a small proportion of grade K children mentioned the more specific and influential attributes (i.e., willingness, sensitivity, competence). When the data for these three categories were analyzed by

forming three separate 2(attribute-mentioned vs. not-mentioned) X 3(grade) tables, there were significant age-related increases in children's tendencies to generate these three attributes: $\chi^2(2) = 19.78, 23.25, 20.32$ for the willingness, sensitivity, and competence categories, respectively, $p_s < .001$. The patterns of age-related changes observed in these three categories, however, varied from one category to the other. There was a marked increase from grade 3 to grade 6 in the number of children who mentioned the willingness attribute, $p < .05$. Neither grades K nor 3 children referred to the sensitivity attribute, while slightly less than one-half of the grade 6 children did so, $p < .01$. Many of the grades 3 and 6 but only a small proportion of grade K children spontaneously indicated the importance of the competence attribute, $p < .01$.

As can be expected from the data summarized in Table 1, there was an increase with age in the number and variety of the three major attributes generated by children (i.e., willingness, sensitivity, competence). There were four grade K, 19 grade 3, and 22 grade 6 children who named at least one of those prerequisites for effective helping. The difference between grades K and 3 was statistically significant, $p < .01$. Many of the grade 6 children (15/22) used at least two of the three attributes while the majority of the grade 3 children (16/19) confined their descriptions to one of the three attributes, $p < .01$.

The present data suggest that many grade 6 children spontaneously think that good helpers possess several important attributes. A corollary to this conclusion is that older children are more likely than

younger children to recognize that a person cannot be an effective helper simply because he/she is willing to help others (or empathic or competent). Children's awareness of the importance and limitations of each of the three critical attributes was examined with the following set of four items.

2. Disposition to Help--question format. "I know a boy/girl, Jimmy/Jenny. He/she always wants to help other people and says 'I'll help you. Can I help you?'" (a) "Does that make Jimmy/Jenny a good helper?" (b) "Why/Why not?" (c) "Is there anything else that Jimmy/Jenny needs to make him/her a good helper?"

All of the grades K and 3 children affirmed the importance of the willingness attribute to a helper's effectiveness, justifying their answers by saying, essentially, that such a person "will help people". Many of the grade 6 children also responded in this manner ($N = 19$); "because the person will help" or "because the person is eager to help". The remaining grade 6 children immediately indicated that "willingness" alone might not be enough for effective helping (e.g., "He wants to help but might not help that well"; "She might get in the person's way if they don't want help."). Although the number of such children was small ($N = 5$), the observed age-related trend was statistically significant, $p < .05$.

The children's responses to question (c) were summarized in the upper half of Table 2. The criteria used to classify responses into these categories were essentially the same as those used for item 1. The category "sensitivity", however, was extended for this item (third

Table 2

Number of Children Suggesting a Further Helper Attribute or Requirement
to Supplement the "Willingness" Attribute

Prosocial Qualities	Disposition to Help - question format				
	Competence	Sensitivity to Helpee	At least one	Action	Other: Relevant Irrelevant None
Grade K	0	0	1	5	1 1 16
Grade 3	8	0	10	2	1 2 10
Grade 6	6	7	16	1	5 0 6

Prosocial Qualities	Disposition to Help - story format				
	Competence	Sensitivity to Helpee	At least one	Action	Other: Relevant Irrelevant None
Grade K	10	1	11	0	0 7 8
Grade 3	18	1	18	0	5 9 0
Grade 6	21	8	22	3	3 1 0

column), and for the subsequent three items, to include responses indicating that an effective helper should be cognizant of aspects of the helpee (e.g., capabilities, attitude towards receiving aid) or of the helpee's needy circumstances (e.g., task demands). In addition, for this item, and the subsequent three-helper items, the category "other" was subdivided into "other-relevant" and "other-irrelevant". Responses scored as "other-relevant" were considered reasonable suggestions for a further helper requirement (e.g., that a helper attain appropriate equipment such as skates or swimsuits) but were not scorable as attributes or actions. Responses scored as "other-irrelevant" were those considered insignificant to helping effectiveness (e.g., "don't talk in the classroom"). One grade K, 10 grade 3, and 16 grade 6 children suggested that in addition to the willingness attribute, at least one additional attribute might be required for a person to become an effective helper (at least one from columns 1, 2, or 3). This age-related increase was statistically significant, $X^2(2) = 20.27$, $p < .001$, with the major age change observed between grades K and 3, $p < .01$.

Children's responses to both question (a) and (c) indicate that older children are more sensitive than younger children to the limitations of the willingness attribute. To determine the possibility that younger children might recognize that effective helping involves more than the simple disposition to assist if a helping problem is made more concrete than in item 2, children were presented with the next set of questions, item 3.

3. Disposition to Help - story format. "Pretend that one day the

swimming teacher visits this classroom and says that she needs to pick out one child in the class to help her teach some other children to learn to swim in the swimming pool. The teacher just needs one child to help her in the swimming class, but three children put up their hands and say "Pick me! Pick me!" These children think that they really want to help." (a) "If these children want to be good helpers, is there anything else that they should think of before they put up their hands and say "Pick me!"?"

Children's responses were summarized in the lower half of Table 2. The criteria used to classify responses into these categories was the same as that used for item 2. When a potential story helper was characterized by willingness in a more concrete helping situation than provided for the previous item (i.e., item 2) and one in which requirements for performance skills were implied (i.e., swimming ability), approximately one half of the grade K children ($N = 11$) and the large majority of both grades 3 ($N = 18$) and 6 ($N = 22$) children generated an additional attribute to supplement the willingness attribute (at least one from columns 1, 2, or 3). This age-related increase was statistically significant, $\chi^2(2) = 12.50, p < .005$, with the pronounced age change now observed only between grades K and 6, $p < .01$. In addition, the helper attribute most frequently generated for this item by children from all grade levels was concerned with a helper's ability to perform the helping task requirements (column Competence). The differences between the 10 grade K and the 18 grade 3 or 21 grade 6 children who suggested that a motivated helper would also require some task-related competence (i.e.,

swimming and rescuing skills) to help effectively with the given concrete helping task were statistically reliable, $ps < .05$.

4. Empathic Skills. "I know a boy/girl named Bob/Betty. He/she always know what you and other children are thinking and feeling. He/she feels sorry when he/she sees other children who are crying or in trouble. He/she also feels sad when other children are sad and happy when other children are happy." (a) "Does this make Bob/Betty a good helper?" (b) "Why/Why not?" (c) "Is there anything else that Bob/Betty needs to make him/her a good helper?"

There were no marked developmental changes in the number of children from grades K ($N = 23$), 3 ($N = 22$), or 6 ($N = 20$) who affirmed the importance of empathic skills for becoming an effective helper. These children generally justified their answers by saying that such a person "cares about others", "feels like helping" or "will help". However, at least one grade K child and nine grade 6 children suggested that one's empathic ability would serve to provide information about the helpee upon which to base appropriate action (e.g., "He/she knows what they feel like so knows exactly how to help."). The differences between the number of grade 6 and either grades K or 3 children ($N = 0$) who justified the importance of empathic abilities for devising helping strategies was statistically reliable, $ps < .01$. As with the willingness attribute there were a few grade 6 children ($N = 3$) who immediately indicated that empathic ability alone might not be adequate criterion for becoming an effective helper ("She would maybe just feel that way and not help them."). The answers by the few remaining grades K ($N = 1$),

Table 3

Number of Children Suggesting a Further Helper Attribute or Requirement
to Supplement the "Empathic Skills" and "Competence"
(i.e., Performance Skills) Attributes

Empathic Skills										
Prosocial Qualities	Willingness	Competence	Sensitivity to Helpee	[At least one]			Other			
				Action	Relevant	Irrelevant	None			
Grade K	0	0	1	1	5	0	1	17		
Grade 3	4	1	1	6	7	1	1	11		
Grade 6	6	1	3	9	6	1	0	11		
Performance Skills										
Prosocial Qualities	Willingness	Additional Helper Skills	Sensitivity to Helpee	[At least one]			Other			
				Action	Relevant	Irrelevant	None			
Grade K	0	1	0	1	8	3	2	13		
Grade 3	5	3	2	9	4	9	2	9		
Grade 6	12	4	11	18	3	2	0	3		

3 ($N = 2$), and 6 ($N = 1$) children seemed to negate rather than affirm the relevance of empathic skills as a prerequisite of good helpers (e.g., "Just smiling or being sad sometimes.").

Children's responses to question (c) were summarized in the upper half of Table 3. There was one grade K, six grade 3 and nine grade 6 children who suggested that at least one additional attribute besides empathic ability might be required for effective helping (at least one from columns 1, 2, 3, or 4). This age-related increase was statistically significant $\chi^2(2) = 8.64$, $p < .025$. Although the majority of children from all three grade levels failed to generate an additional attribute, the observed difference in the frequency of grades K and 6 children who did so was statistically reliable, $p < .05$.

5. Performance Skills. "Some children are learning how to skate in the park beside the school. But they need one older child, your age, to help them learn how to skate. Joe/Susan is the best skater in this class, so the teacher tells Joe/Susan to go and help the other children to skate." (a) "Did the teacher choose the best helper?" (b) "Why/Why not?" (c) "Is there anything else that Joe/Susan needs to be a good helper?"

All of the grade K children affirmed the importance of a person's task-related competence for becoming a good helper and generally justified their answers by saying that the person "knows how to skate" or "won't fall". Many of the grades 3 ($N = 17$) and 6 children ($N = 17$) also responded in this manner saying that the person "is the best skater" or "If the person can't skate, he/she can't teach skating". There were,

however, three grade 3 children and six grade 6 children who spontaneously indicated that a helper's competence and skills would not alone suffice for effective helping (e.g., "She's the best skater, but she might not have a nice personality."). The difference between no grade K but six grade 6 children who conditionally affirmed the relevance of the competence attribute was statistically reliable, $p < .05$. The remaining grades 3 ($N = 4$) and 6 children ($N = 1$) seemed to suggest that the described competence of the potential story helper was not necessary or not important for providing effective assistance (e.g., "Just the best skater"; "Don't have to be the best one that can skate.").

Children's responses to question (c) are found in the lower half of Table 3. The criteria used to classify the responses was the same as that used for items 2 and 4. The category "additional helper skills" was included to classify responses mentioning that the story helper should possess teaching and rescuing skills besides the competence in skating attributed him/her. There was one grade K, nine grade 3 and 18 grade 6 children who suggested that in addition to competence (i.e., skating ability) at least one additional attribute might be required for a person to be an effective helper (at least one from columns 1, 2, 3, or 4). This age-related increase was statistically significant, $X^2(2) = 28.17$, $p < .001$. The observed differences between grades K and 3, and between grades 3 and 6 were statistically reliable, $p < .05$.

To summarize, the present data for the helper variable indicate that more older than younger children were likely to spontaneously describe good helpers as (i) willing to assist, (ii) knowledgeable and

skilled, or (iii) sensitive to others' needs and feelings. Very few grade K children (17%) used any of these three helper prerequisites, whereas many grade 3 children (79%) generated at least one of them. The grade 6 children were more likely than the younger children to mention at least two of those major attributes simultaneously in their free descriptions.

When asked to evaluate each attribute's importance and its limitations, almost all of the grade K children seemed to consider each single attribute as adequate for becoming a good helper. Although the older children were more likely than the younger children to indicate that any one of those attributes alone would be insufficient for providing effective helping, developmental change in children's awareness of the limitations of an important helper attribute seemed to depend, in part, on the attribute in question. More than one-third of the grade 3 and most of the grade 6 children suggested that a person might require at least one additional attribute besides either "willingness" or "competence" to be an effective helper. In contrast, it was not until the grade 6 level that a considerable number of children (38%) responded in that manner for the "empathic skills" attribute. When provided with a concrete helping situation (e.g., the helpee wants to learn to swim), even a substantial number of grade K (46%), as well as most grade 3 and 6 children indicated that effective helping involves more than the simple disposition to help.

Task Variable

6. Task Analysis. In order to assess (a) what information children

spontaneously regard as important for solving a helping problem, and (b) their awareness of the usefulness of that information, they were asked: "I know a person that has a problem. Pretend that I come to you and ask you to help that person in the very best way that you know how." (a) "Is there anything that you need to know before you can help that person? What do you need to know before you can help the person in the very best way you can?" (b) "Why do you need to know that to help?"

The upper half of Table 4 shows how children of different grade levels responded to question (a). The children were classified under "helpee" when their answers indicated the importance of acquiring information about the potential recipient of aid (e.g., "the person's name"; "how old they are"; "Would the person cooperate with me?"). They were scored as "situation" if they inquired about the nature of the helping circumstances (e.g., "What's the matter?"; "Is the person hurt?"). Children who suggested that, as helpers, they would require task-related competence (e.g., "I need to know how to do the work"), or knowledge of a means to assist (e.g., "know how to help them") were scored as "helper" and "strategy", respectively. The category "other" consisted of otherwise unclassifiable responses (e.g., "Ask my mom if I can help them."). Children were labelled as none if they said "No", "I don't know" or gave no response. Among the various categories described, those responses scored as "helpee" or "situation" were considered attempts to analyse the helping task.

As can be seen in Table 4, approximately one half of the grade K (N = 11) and almost all of the grade 3 (N = 23) and 6 (N = 23) children

Table 4

Task Analysis:

(a) Number of Children Requesting a Type of Information when Presented with a Helping Problem,
and (b) Their Justifications for Task Analysis

(a) "What do you need to know....?"

	Help- ee	Situation	(Either Help- ee or Situation)	(Both Help- ee and Situation)	Helper	Strategy	Other	None
Grade K	2	9	(11)	(0)	0	1	1	12
Grade 3	11	20	(23)	(8)	4	6	2	0
Grade 6	12	23	(23)	(12)	0	2	0	1

(b) "Why do you need to know (about "help-ee" or "situation") to help?"

	Devise Strategy	Task Difficulty	(Either Devise Strategy or Task Difficulty)	To Help	Other	None
Grade K	5	1	(6)	5	0	0
Grade 3	10	7	(15)	4	3	1
Grade 6	10	13	(19)	4	0	0

were aware that some analysis of the helping task was required before helping (column Either Helpee or Situation). There were nine grade K, 20 grade 3, and 23 grade 6 children who inquired about the nature of the helping circumstances (column Situation). In contrast, only two children from grade K and approximately one half of the grades 3 and 6 children spontaneously requested information about the potential recipient (column Helpee). When the data for these two categories were analyzed by forming two separate 2(category mentioned vs. not mentioned) X 3(grade) tables, there were significant age-related increases in children's tendency to refer to the helpee category, $X^2(2) = 11.17$, $p < .025$, and the situation category, $X^2(2) = 22.56$, $p < .002$. For each category, the difference observed between grade K and 3 was statistically reliable, $ps < .05$. When the two categories were combined, there were no children from grade K, but eight from grade 3 and 12 from grade 6 who requested information about both aspects of the helping task. Again the observed difference between grades K and 3 was statistically reliable, $p < .05$.

Within the helpee category, there was a significant sex difference between the greater proportion of third grade boys (9/11) than third grade girls (2/11); $p < .05$. By the grade 6 level, however, there were more girls (8/12) than boys (4/12) who inquired about the helpee, but this sex difference did not reach statistical significance at the higher grade level.

In addition to the quantitative differences outlined, there were also qualitative changes in children's efforts to analyse a helping

task. Of those children classified under "situation", the majority from grades 3 (18/20) and 6 (22/23) formulated their inquiries in a transituational manner (e.g., "What's the problem?"; "What does the person want help with?"), whereas, those frequently made by grade K children (6/9) tended to be too specific to contribute efficiently to their awareness of the helping circumstances (e.g., "Is the person hurt?"; "Is the person sick?"). Of those children classified under the "helpee" category, most from grade 6 (9/12) indicated the importance of acquiring information about the helpee's age, personality, or attitude towards receiving aid (e.g., "If the person wants help"; "What kind of person is it?"), whereas, many children from grades K (1/2) and 3 (9/11) confined their inquiries to aspects of the helpee considered relatively less influential for determining the course of the helping process (e.g., "the person's name"; "who the person is").

For those children who had performed any task analysis of the helping problem presented them (i.e., referred to either the "helpee" or "situation" categories), their answers to question (b) were coded into the categories in the lower half of Table 4. Children were classified as "devise strategy" if they indicated that task analysis was required to determine an appropriate means to assist (e.g., "so that I know what to do in helping the person"; "If the person is sick, I could call the doctor."). They were labelled as "task difficulty" if they mentioned that the information was useful to assess possible difficulties in helping or their own competence in meeting helping task requirements (e.g., "because it would be easier for you to help if it was a small problem"; "to see if the person was doing something that I couldn't do").

Children were classified as "to help" if they had only expressed that the information was requested to determine whether or not help would be implemented (e.g., "then I would help them") or merely to help (e.g., "so you can help them"). The category "other" consisted of responses which could not be classified into the categories described. Children who said "I don't know", or who gave no response were scored as "none".

As is shown in the lower half of Table 4, less than half of the grade K (5/11), 3 (10/23), or 6 (10/23) children justified the usefulness of their own task analysis as a way to determine appropriate helping action (column Devise Strategy). Only a small proportion of grade K (1/11) or 3 children (7/23) considered it a way to assess possible difficulties in helping, while over one half of the grade 6 children did so (13/23) (column Task Difficulty). When those two categories were combined, there were six grade K, 15 grade 3 and 19 grade 6 children who provided either rationale for resorting to task analysis. This age-related increase was significant, $X^2(2) = 14.96$, $p < .005$. The major difference observed between grades K and 3 was statistically reliable, $p < .05$.

Children's answers to questions (a) and (b) indicate that older children are more aware than younger children of the utility of obtaining information about a helping task for solving helping problems effectively. In addition, the transituational nature of the older children's assessments of task demands suggests that they are more likely than younger children to regard situation-specific inquiries (e.g., "Is the person lost?") as alone inadequate for identifying and

defining a helping problem as one among many others which might potentially exist. To examine this notion, as well as the possibility that more younger children would recognize the relevance of task analysis beyond merely "to help" when all were exposed to a contrived task analysis, children were presented with the story and questions of the next item.

7. Relevance of Task Analysis. "One day Brian/Lucy sees another child who is crying. The teacher tells Brian/Lucy to help the crying child. Then Brian/Lucy asks the teacher, "Did he/she lose something or did he/she hurt himself/herself?" (a) "Now why did Brian/Lucy ask the teacher that?" (b) "Is there anything else that Brian/Lucy should ask so that he/she can help the child in the best way that he/she knows?" (b) "Why does he/she need to know that?"

Children's responses to question (a) were summarized in the upper half of Table 5. The criteria used to code the responses was the same as that for question (b) of the preceding item (see Task Analysis item). One difference was that there were no children who suggested that the story character's task analysis was an attempt to assess potential difficulties in helping. In addition, the category "other" consisted mainly of children saying simply that the story character "didn't know what was wrong" or "wanted to know what the child was crying about".

As can be seen in the upper half of Table 5, grade K children most frequently justified the purpose of task analysis by saying "to help" or "the person wanted to help" (column To Help). The tendency to respond in this manner decreased somewhat with age, although the trend was not

Table 5

Relevance of Task Analysis:

(a) Children's Justifications for Task Analysis, and

(b) Number of Children Performing Further Task Analysis

(a) "Why did Brian/Lucy ask the teacher that?"

	Devise Strategy	To Help	Other	None
Grade K	5	10	6	3
Grade 3	11	7	6	0
Grade 6	15	4	4	1

(b) "Is there anything else that Brian/Lucy should ask.....?"

	Helpee	Situation	(Either Helpee or Situation)	(Both Helpee and Situation)	Other	None
Grade K	1	5	(6)	(0)	2	16
Grade 3	7	6	(13)	(0)	1	10
Grade 6	8	16	(20)	(4)	2	3

statistically significant. In contrast, there was an increase as a function of age in the number of children referring to the task analysis as a means to determine appropriate helping actions; five grade K, 11 grade 3 and 15 grade 6 children were classified as to "devise strategy". This age-related increase was statistically significant, $\chi^2(2) = 8.61$, $p < .025$.

The lower half of Table 5 shows how children responded to question (b). The coding of responses was the same as that for question (a) of the previous item (see Task Analysis item) except that all children suggesting the importance of acquiring information about anything other than the helpee or helping situation were scored as "other". As can be seen in the lower half of Table 5, the majority of grade K children ($N = 16$) seemed inclined to regard situation-specific efforts at task analysis as adequate preparation for assisting (column None). Only one grade K, whereas, seven grade 3 and eight grade 6 children attempted to obtain information specifically about the potential recipient (column Helpee). While only a small number of grades K ($N = 5$) and 3 ($N = 6$) children indicated that further information about the helping circumstances was required (column Situation), a substantial number of the grade 6 children ($N = 16$) did so. Within the "situation" category, however, there was a significant sex difference between a larger proportion of grade 6 girls (11/16) than grade 6 boys (5/16), $p < .05$. When the data for these two categories were analyzed by forming two separate 2(category mentioned vs. not mentioned) $\times$ 3(grade) tables, there were significant age-related increases in children's ten-

tendencies to inquire about the helpee, $\chi^2(2) = 6.91$, $p < .05$, or to inquire further about the helping situation, $\chi^2(2) = 13.16$, $p < .01$. When the data for the two categories were combined, there were six grade K, 13 grade 3, and 20 grade 6 children who indicated that any further task analysis might be required (column Either Helpee or Situation). This age-related increase was significant, $\chi^2(2) = 16.45$, $p < .001$. Although the number of children referring to both of those categories was too few for adequate data analysis, there were four grade 6 children who regarded further information about both the helpee and situation as warranted.

Of those children who performed any further task analysis (i.e., referred to either the "helpee" or "situation" categories), only a small proportion from grades K (2/6) or 3 (3/13), but over half of those from grade 6 (11/20) justified the usefulness of acquiring that information as a means to determine appropriate helping actions. The differences between either grades K or 3 and grade 6 were statistically significant, $ps < .05$. The remaining children from the three grade levels responded essentially by saying that further task analysis was needed simply in order "to help".

The data for these two items (items 6 and 7) indicate that older children are more likely than younger children to i) assess various aspects of a helping task, ii) consider this task analysis as a means to determine potential obstacles in helping or appropriate helping actions, and iii) recognize that further task analysis beyond situation specific inquiries of the task demands might be warranted. It is notable,

however, that children from all three grade levels more frequently inquired about the nature of the helping circumstances than about the potential recipient of aid in their assessments of helping tasks. Moreover, it was not until the grade 3 level that a considerable proportion of children (46%) spontaneously indicated the need to attain information specifically about the helpee before providing aid (see Task Analysis item). To examine whether young children recognize aspects of the helpee which may facilitate or interfere with the successful outcome of helping attempts, they were presented with the story and questions of the following item.

8. Attitude of the Helpee. "Bill/Sara and Charlie/Cheryl have been picked by the teacher to help some children who are trying to make little houses out of pieces of wood and glue. The teacher tells Bill/Sara to help Jack/Joany. This child listens carefully to what Bill/Sara says and tries to do what Bill/Sara tells him/her to do. Charlie/Cheryl is told to help Arthur/Amy, but this child won't listen to Charlie/Cheryl. He/she gets upset when Charlie/Cheryl says what to do and knocks all the wood pieces on the floor. At the end of the class, Jack/Joany, whom Bill/Sara helped, knows how to make a house all by himself/herself. The other child, Arthur/Amy whom Charlie/Cheryl helped, still doesn't know how to make a house." (a) "Who is the better helper, Bill/Sara or Charlie/Cheryl, or are they both the same?" (b) "Why?" (c) "Is it easier to help Jack/Joany or is it easier to help Arthur/Amy, or are they both the same?" (d) "Why?"

More than one-half of the grade K (N = 15) and most of the grade 3

(N = 18) and 6 children (N = 21) responded to question (a) by judging the quality of help delivered by the two story helpers as "both the same". All of the remaining children chose the story helper assisting the cooperative helpee, and successful in the helping attempt as "the best helper". There were no children who judged the helper described as unsuccessful in the helping attempt as the best helper.

Children's responses to question (b) were summarized in Table 6. The upper half of Table 6 shows how children explained their choice of the two story helpers as "both the same." Explanations referring to the cooperative or uncooperative attitudes of the helpee's as described in the story were labelled "helpee's attitude". Children's justifications were scored "helper's willingness/competence/attitude" if they attributed motivation (e.g., "They want to help."), competence (e.g., "Both know how to build houses."), or a facilitative helping attitude to the story helpers (e.g., "both friendly"). Children who simply stated that the helpers were "both helping" were classified accordingly. Children who did not provide any explanations were scored as "none".

Children's justifications for judging the successful helper as the best helper were coded in the bottom half of Table 6. The criteria used to categorize responses as "helpee's attitude" or "both helping" were the same as that for the alternate choice just outlined. The category labelled "helper's lack of willingness/competence/attitude" consisted of explanations by children attributing a lack of motivation (e.g., "Charlie doesn't want to do the work."), competence (e.g., "Bill doesn't make instructions long and boring, Charlie does."), or lack of

Table 6

Children's Justifications for Judging Helpers as "both the same"
or the Successful Helper as "the best helper"

If (a) "both the same", then (b) why?

	Helpee's Attitude	Helper's Willingness/ Competence/Attitude	(Both Helper... and Helpee)	Both Helping	None
Grade K	1	4	(0)	7	3
Grade 3	11	9	(5)	3	0
Grade 6	17	11	(7)	0	0

If (a) Successful Helper, then (b) why?

	Helpee's Attitude	Both Helping	(Both)	Helper's Lack of Willingness/Competence/Attitude
Grade K	4	0	(0)	5
Grade 3	3	1	(1)	3
Grade 6	0	0	(0)	3

a facilitative helping attitude to the unsuccessful helper (e.g., "Sara has patient, Cheryl gets mad.").

Of those children who judged the both helpers as the same in quality, only one from grade K, but the majority from grades 3 (11/18) and 6 (17/21) justified their decision by making reference to differences in the attitudes of the helpees (column Helpee's Attitude). That difference in frequency observed between grades K and 3 was statistically reliable, $p < .01$. The grade K children most frequently responded simply by saying that the helpers were "both helping" or by attributing facilitative helper characteristics to the story helpers. Although the tendency to attribute effective helper attributes to the story helpers increased somewhat with age, none of the grade K children classified within that category, but most from grade 3 (5/9) and 6 (7/11) simultaneously made reference to the helpee's attitudes as well in their justifications (column Both Helpee and Helper). The difference observed between the number of grade K and grade 6 children scored in both of those categories was statistically significant, $p < .05$.

Of those children who chose the successful helper as the best helper, approximately one-half from grade K (4/9) and 3(3/6) explained their choice by referring to differences in the attitudes of the helpee (column Helpee's Attitude). The remaining children seemed to justify their choice by attributing the success and failure for the helping attempts solely to the presence or absence of helper characteristics (column Helper's lack of willingness/competence/attitude).

When specifically asked, however, all the children from the three

grade levels, with the exception of one grade K child, responded to question (c) by indicating that it would be easier to help the cooperative rather than the uncooperative helpee. All of the same children explained their decision by referring to the attributes of the helpees as described in the story (e.g., Joany will listen, take instructions and cooperate, but Amy won't". "Arthur doesn't listen and gets upset, Jack listens and he doesn't get upset"). The one exception from grade K stated that it would be equally easy to help either helpee simply because "they're both doing the same thing, making houses."

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

The focus of this exploratory study was to examine the development of children's awareness of factors affecting the quality of helping behaviours. Thus, the present section will outline what obtained data indicate that children of three age levels know about various aspects of the helper and task variables and will integrate those findings with other's research. Then, after speculating about the ways in which this knowledge develops, suggestions for future research will be presented.

Helper Variable

The previous helping literature has focussed mainly on measures of children's tendency to assist and procedures to augment that tendency. We have suggested, however, that in addition to i) the disposition or willingness to assist, a person might also require ii) sensitivity to the helpee's needs or feelings, and iii) competence in the task demands of a helping problem, in order that his/her helping attempts be constructive ones. In regards to this "person" variable, then, we were curious whether children would consider the importance and the limitations of those particular helper prerequisites.

We found the grade K children to often refer to socially attractive global traits such as kindness in their free descriptions of "the very best helpers", but to rarely mention any of the more specific helper prerequisites. Although virtually all of the young children would affirm the importance of each of those major attributes when specifically asked, they also seemed to consider each of them alone as adequate for becoming

a good helper. Yet, when presented with a concrete helping situation (i.e., the helpee wants to learn to swim), even some grade K children (46%), as well as most of the older children recognized that effective helping would involve more than just the simple disposition to assist. In contrast, the grade 6 children were not only more likely than the younger children to indicate the limitations of any one attribute when specifically asked, but many of them (63%) spontaneously listed several of those major prerequisites to define a good helper. The data suggest that between grades K and 6 we can expect developmental change in children's verbalizable knowledge about the importance of the major helper attributes. Although we would expect up to one-half of the grade K children to come to know that a person might require more than one of those attributes simultaneously in order to assist effectively, by the time they reach the sixth grade level, many of the remaining young children would be expected to already possess such knowledge but to exhibit it only under the most favourable and facilitative experimental task conditions.

The finding that children acquire increasingly differentiated conceptions of the attributes associated with effective helpers is quite consistent with the results of person perception research (e.g., Livesley & Bromeley, 1973; Peevers & Secord, 1973; Shantz, 1975). Young children have been shown to generate few traits to describe people in general and to use those which are diffuse with a strong evaluative orientation. Older children, especially after nine years of age, are shown to be increasingly able to describe others according to traits that are more

abstract and precise in meaning. What seems notable in the present study, however, is that children not only become able to generate traits and skills specific to an effective helper, but that they also come to perceive those attributes as a set of interrelated prerequisites.

Task Variable

The mature helper exhibits a sense of planfulness in approaching a helping problem. Relevant information is collected and analyzed to determine effective means for intervention and possible obstacles to the problem resolution. Thus, it is in identifying the initial state and circumstances of the helpee that one can begin to deal with them. In reference to the task variable we were interested in assessing what information children would spontaneously regard as important for solving helping problems, as well as their awareness of the usefulness of that information.

As to the first issue, it was found that approximately one-half of the grade K children, whereas almost all of the grade 3 and 6 children were aware that some analysis of a vague helping task would be required before helping. Children from all grade levels more frequently inquired about the nature of the helping circumstances than the unknown potential recipient of aid, but at least one-third of the grade 3 and one-half of the grade 6 children indicated that they would want to know something about both aspects of the helping task. The data suggest that we can expect about one-half of grade K children to acquire awareness that some kind of preparatory or information gathering activity is required to be helpful, by the time they are in the third grade. Similarly, about

one third of grade K children will also come to realize that both the helpee and situation components of a helping task constitute viable sources for task analysis.

In addition to age-related change in their awareness that being helpful requires some task assessment, children also come to coordinate the purpose for obtaining such information with the procedures to form a means-ends whole. Only a small number of grade K children (25%) could justify the usefulness of task analysis much beyond saying "to help", while many grade 3 (62%) and 6 children (79%) considered it a way to assess possible difficulties in helping or to determine appropriate helping action. Even when exposed to a contrived task analysis by a hypothetical child, the young children did not show any better recognition of the implications of knowing task demands. The findings suggest that awareness of the purpose of task analysis begins to develop before children are in grade K. For approximately one third of young children, however, verbalizable knowledge about the strategic use of task assessment will be acquired by the time they reach the third grade level. After that time we would not expect much developmental change as this type of knowledge appears to be possessed by many grade 3 children.

It was found that virtually all of the children from the three grade levels recognized differences in the characteristics of helpees' (i.e., cooperative vs. uncooperative attitudes) as influencing the degree of effort required to help, when they were specifically asked. Yet, children did not always recognize the appropriateness of applying that knowledge. Very few grade K children, whereas about half of the grade 3

and most of the grade 6 children thought to consider and include information presented about varying task difficulty (i.e., helpees' attitudes) in their rationales for equating the quality of help rendered by correspondingly successful and unsuccessful helpers. In addition, many children do not automatically think about the potential helpee as affecting their helping attempts, as it was not until the grade 3 level that a considerable proportion of children (46%) spontaneously indicated the need to familiarize themselves with any information pertaining specifically to the unknown helpee in their task analysis. These data indicate that between grades K and 3, approximately one third to one half of young children become sensitive to implicit task demands to retrieve and determine the applicability of their knowledge about a helpee's influence on the helping process when it is appropriate to do so (e.g., when asked to make comparisons of the quality of helping attempts; when making task assessments).

Aside from quantitative changes in children's awareness of the helping task, there were also qualitative differences in their investigative procedures likely to influence their chances of clearly and efficiently defining the major components of a helping task. Inspection of individual protocols had revealed that younger children tended to be more situation-specific or concrete-minded in their efforts to retrieve information about the helping circumstances (e.g., "Is he hurt?") or the helpee (e.g., "Who is it?"). By grade 3, most children were able to formulate their inquiries about the helping circumstances in a transituational manner (e.g., "What's the matter?") and one which was generally

considered more promising in producing pertinent information with a minimum amount of questioning. By the grade 6 level, most of those children investigating the helpee component tended to ask for less specific or relatively more significant information for facilitating helping (e.g., "What's he/she like?"). The notion that older children are more sensitive to the potential effectiveness of investigative procedures for generating definitions of a particular helping task was further exemplified in alternate data; when exposed to a story helper making situation specific analysis of a helping problem, there were few grade K, but many grade 6 children who recognized that further task assessment might be warranted before helping. These data suggest that part of one's knowledge about the task variable consists in coming to know what investigative procedures will prove most efficient and effective in producing important information about the helping task components. By the sixth grade level most children demonstrate that awareness.

When related to recent research, it should not be surprising that the grade K children interviewed in this study were highly unlikely to make any deliberate efforts to acquire information specific to an unknown recipient of assistance in their task analysis. Even when such information is provided, six year old children are found to show concern for the task difficulty of a story character but not the particular needs of a helpee (i.e., independence needs) when asked to devise helping strategies (Melburg et al., 1977). By eight or nine years of age, however, children not only recognized the adaptiveness of taking into account information about the helpee in deciding effective helping

actions (Melburg et al., 1977), but the present data indicates that they begin to spontaneously evidence awareness that solving helping problems involves consideration of whom one is helping as well as under what circumstances. Apparently children become increasingly able to decenter on various aspects of a helping task, either implicit or explicit, when confronted with a helping problem.

The finding that many grade 3 and 6 children, but not grade K children regarded task analysis as directly related to appraisal of appropriate helping actions and of possible task difficulties suggests a greater foresight on the part of the older children. Melburg et al. (1977) have found that many eight but not six year old children spontaneously exercise such foresight, when asked to devise helping strategies, by predicting the inappropriateness of certain forms of intervention in consideration of the demand characteristics of helping situations. Thus, by eight or nine years of age, many children seem not only able to verbalize about the strategic nature of task analysis for engendering change in the initial state or circumstances of the helpee, but they seem also likely to maintain consideration of the products of task analysis in pursuing those stated objectives.

In summary, children do come to know that mature helping entails numerous considerations beyond one's kind intentions. At the same time this awareness increases with age. Grade K children were aware that characteristics of the helpee may facilitate or impede the process of helping. While half of them made attempts to analyze the requirements of a helping problem, assessments made by older children tended to have

greater potential for identifying and defining the important aspects of a helping task. By the third grade level, many children regarded those procedures to obtain information as means to appraise task difficulty or determine appropriate helping actions. Also children become more sensitive with age to implicit "task demands" to retrieve and apply what knowledge of the helper and task variables they have acquired. By the sixth grade level, children readily exhibit knowledge of several specific and interrelated traits and skills likely to distinguish between persons as effective helpers.

Concluding Remarks

This section will concentrate on briefly speculating about the ways in which children's knowledge of the helper and task variables develops, and will then address suggestions for future research. Presumably both social experience and cognitive ability, as well as some interaction thereof, have contributed to age-related change in children's cognitions about effective helping. It is expected that the frequency of experiences in helping or in being helped will increase as a function of age, providing for greater opportunity to observe and select important details and similarities of the persons and events associated with constructive help. Reciprocally, however, children's cognitive abilities and limitations are assumed, in large part, to determine how such interpersonal contacts are perceived and interpreted and what pieces of information come to be processed, retained, and eventually retrieved.

The findings related to the helper variable reveal a trend from global to more differentiated knowledge of the attributes required of

good helpers. Social psychologists have suggested that children's person perception begins with the most salient features of their social interactions and the ways in which they are affected by those features (e.g., Peevers & Secord, 1973; Wegner & Vallacher, 1977). Because the thinking of young children is both concrete and egocentric they may initially perceive "good helpers" as simply those persons whose behaviour has a generally pleasant or pleasurable impact for them. The spontaneous descriptions of young kindergarten-aged children suggest they place emphasis on the similarities of persons who might frequently participate in prosocial activities,* but not necessarily in effective helping. In turn they may fail to freely conceptualize the disposition to help as one essential feature among others of an effective helper. Young children are also limited in their experiences of giving and receiving help. Perhaps they do not usually think about competence as a helper requirement because the types of tasks with which they most commonly require assistance are those that seldom discriminate between a helper's abilities or limitations. Since success in tasks in which many people succeed does not imply high ability or effort (Nicholls, 1978), the awareness that helping task-related competence might exist in varying degrees in persons may not have immediate personal salience for young children. The apparent readiness of at least one half of grade K children in the present

* After an examination of the research related to cross situational consistency and stability of children's prosocial behaviours, Mussen and Eisenberg-Berg (1977) concluded that "there are fundamental and lasting prosocial dispositions in individuals as general traits or states" (p. 24).

study to tackle a helping problem without any prior idea of the possible task demands seems to attest to a lack of awareness of the need to examine their own helping capacities and that those capacities may vary from one helping situation to another.

Cognitive change and a greater number and variety of helping experiences have probably influenced the tendency for the older children to speak of more specific and influential helper traits and skills. As children mature their thinking becomes less concrete and nonegocentric. Thus, they become able to abstract features of people and social events which have value apart from their salient and immediate relation only to the self. The greater tendency of the grade 6 children to mention the importance of a helper's willingness to assist or empathic abilities attests to their increasing orientation towards abstract and internal properties of others as helper characteristics. At the same time, older children will not only have more experiences in the realm of helping, but those experiences will probably be increasingly related to interpersonal conflicts. Selman and Selman (1979) have found that older children are more likely than younger ones to regard assistance giving for resolving personal and interpersonal conflict as central to their friendship relations. Perhaps the cognitive conflict produced in dealing with repeated and often frustrating social interactions with others not only encourages the observation that there is more than one possible way to interpret an event such as the helpee's circumstances, but also heightens the awareness that effective helping requires the ability to understand the helpee's experience of an event which might be different

from the helper's own experience. That same social awareness would allow children to recognize the importance of investigating and accurately defining the potential helpee's needs and feelings through task analysis before implementing assistance.

The features or characteristics of helpers most frequently recalled or generated by children of different age levels seem to have a special relevance in relation to the age groups. Yet, children's awareness of the need for a specific helper prerequisite seems also dependent upon the particular helping situation and their familiarity with that helping situation. Even some grade K children thought to utilize the explicit cues provided to make a helping situation concrete (i.e., the helpee wants to learn to swim) in order to determine that a motivated helper must also be competent in the helping task requirements (i.e., swimming skills) to be facilitative. It is probable that those children who suggested task-related competence as an additional helper requirement were children familiar with experiences of helping or being helped to learn to swim. Many of those same children would be expected to suggest that an empathic helper should also possess swimming skills if presented with the same helping circumstances.

The set of findings related to the task variable may be generally interpreted as children's growing understanding of means-ends problem solving. Between grades K and 3 there seems to be an increasing tendency for children to regard effective helping as involving a series of related behaviours. The grade K children were as likely as not to realize that helping entails deliberate efforts to consider the initial state or

circumstances of the potential recipient. The grade 3 children not only made more and better attempts to analyze the helping task, but many could specify how those investigative efforts, or the obtained information, served as instrumental to solving a helping problem (e.g., by lending direction to helping actions). Children also evidenced increasing awareness of the ways in which they could bring into play what helping task knowledge they had acquired. It has been suggested that those cognitive skills applicable to a wide variety of problem solving situations are also applicable to the analysis and solution phases of effective helping (Melburg et al., 1977). These skills include children's ability for prediction, evaluation, and coordination of several pieces of information. We have found children to show age-related increases in their attempts to predict, evaluate and coordinate various pieces of information when asked to solve helping problems (e.g., helpee's circumstances, helpee's characteristics, helper's capabilities). For example, by eight or nine years of age children begin to identify several aspects of a helping task and to gauge possible difficulties of a helping task relative to their competence. Other investigators of children's social problem solving have also found that planning strategies, the foresight of potential obstacles, and the appreciation that goals are not reached immediately to emerge at that age level, but to be absent in younger children (Spivack, Platt, & Shure, 1976). In addition, children evidence developmental change in the ability to coordinate and evaluate various factors when asked to judge the quality of helping attempts. By eight to nine years of age, they begin to consider the quality of an attempt

to assist another to be no longer primarily determined by who is helping, but also by who is being helped.

The present study seems to warrant suggestions for future research. Recall that the majority of children at all grade levels unconditionally affirmed the importance of a major helper attribute when it was explicitly brought to their attention. The investigator does not feel confident, however, that all children had necessarily based their evaluations of a story helper's potential effectiveness on the attribute characterizing him/her. It is possible that many of the youngest children were inclined to simply affirm any question presented to them (e.g., "Does that (willingness) make Jimmy/Jenny a good helper?"). In order to more clearly assess whether children actually considered each of the attributes as important for effective helping, a control measure could be implemented. This might take the form of requests for evaluations of characteristics thought to impede rather than facilitate the process of helping (e.g., "a lack of willingness to help), or of additional prompts such as: "Could anybody be a good helper?" or "Do all good helpers (want to help)?". In this way it may also be determined whether children consider the various helper prerequisites presented to differ in relevance for helping effectively. Children may, for example, consider one attribute to be central to becoming a good helper and others as secondary in importance.

Furthermore, the Attitude of the Helpee item could be revised to include information about helper characteristics as well as helpee characteristics. It was found that many children spontaneously attributed

various characteristics to the story helpers such as willingness to assist, competence, or a facilitative helping attitude when equating the quality of two helping attempts. There were also children who suggested that an unsuccessful helper must be lacking in those skills or traits. To more clearly assess what information children regard as useful for evaluating the quality of help and whether they are able to coordinate pieces of information when making their judgements, both helper and helpee characteristics considered to impede and facilitate helping could be explicitly described and systematically varied in relation to successful and unsuccessful outcomes of helping attempts.

Finally, we can only speculate about the ways in which children's knowledge about helping variables might mediate the quality of their actual behaviours. Yet, it seems there is a need to underscore the importance of such cognitions in research on children's helping even if only to distinguish between whether or not children help and what they know about being helpful. Those children with a wider store of knowledge are at least equipped with an increased repertoire of responses having potential, though not inevitable, adaptive value. The present study provides both a fruitful way to conceptualize that knowledge base and some initial steps towards empirically delineating its development.

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APPENDIX A

ORDERS OF PRESENTATION OF INTERVIEW ITEMS

ORDERS OF PRESENTATION OF INTERVIEW ITEMS

Order A

Attributes of Helpers--free
description

Task Analysis

Disposition to Help--question
format

Disposition to Help--story
format

Performance Skills

Relevance of Task Analysis

Empathic Skills

Attitude of the Helpee

Order B

Attributes of Helpers--free
description

Task Analysis

Relevance of Task Analysis

Empathic Skills

Performance Skills

Disposition to Help--question
format

Disposition to Help--story
format

Attitude of the Helpee

APPENDIX B

PICTURES ACCOMPANYING INTERVIEW ITEMS

Disposition to Help - story format

Betty

Betty

Empathic Skills

Bob

Bob

LUCY

Task Analysis

Brian

Sara

Joany

Attitude of the Helpee

Amy

Cheryl!

Attitude of the Helpee

Bill

Jack

Attitude of the Helpee

Arthur

Charlie

Attitude of the Helpee

APPENDIX C

RAW DATA

1. Attributes of Helpers---
free description

S's		Grade K.					S's		Grade 3					S's		Grade 6				
No.	G	S	C	O			No.	G	A	W	S	C	O	No.	G	A	W	S	C	O
1	0	0	0	0	0		25	1	1	0	0	1	1	49	0	1	0	1	1	1
2	0	1	0	0	0		26	1	0	0	0	1	1	50	0	0	1	0	1	0
3	0	1	0	0	0		27	1	0	1	0	0	0	51	1	1	0	0	0	0
4	0	1	0	0	1		28	1	0	0	0	1	0	52	0	1	0	0	0	1
5	0	1	0	0	0		29	1	1	0	0	1	1	53	1	1	1	1	1	0
6	0	1	0	0	1		30	0	1	0	0	1	0	54	1	1	1	0	1	1
7	0	1	1	0	0		31	1	0	1	0	0	0	55	1	0	1	1	1	0
8	1	1	0	0	0		32	1	1	0	0	0	1	56	1	0	0	0	1	1
9	0	1	0	0	1		33	0	1	0	0	1	1	57	1	0	1	0	1	0
10	1	1	0	0	0		34	1	0	0	0	1	1	58	1	1	1	1	0	0
11	0	1	0	0	0		35	0	1	1	0	1	1	59	1	1	0	0	1	1
12	1	1	0	0	0		36	1	0	0	0	1	0	60	1	0	0	0	1	0
<hr/>																				
13	1	1	0	0	0		37	0	1	0	0	1	0	61	0	1	1	0	0	1
14	0	1	0	0	0		38	1	0	0	0	0	1	62	0	1	1	1	1	1
15	1	1	0	0	0		39	1	1	1	0	1	0	63	1	0	0	1	1	0
16	1	0	0	0	1		40	1	1	0	0	1	1	64	0	1	1	0	1	1
17	0	1	0	0	1		41	0	1	0	0	1	0	65	1	0	1	1	1	1
18	0	1	0	0	0		42	1	1	0	0	0	1	66	0	1	0	0	1	0
19	1	1	0	0	0		43	1	0	0	0	1	1	67	1	1	1	1	0	0
20	1	1	0	0	0		44	0	1	0	0	0	0	68	1	1	1	1	1	0
21	0	1	0	0	1		45	1	1	0	0	1	0	69	1	0	0	0	1	0
22	1	1	0	0	0		46	0	0	1	0	1	0	70	1	1	1	0	0	0
23	0	1	0	0	0		47	0	1	1	0	0	0	71	1	0	1	1	0	0
24	1	1	0	0	0		48	1	1	0	0	0	0	72	1	0	1	0	1	1

G = Global Prosocial

Traits

A = Action

W = Willingness

S = Sensitivity

C = Competence

O = Other

2. Disposition to Help--

question format

(c) "Is there anything else (needed) to be a good helper?"

G = Global Prosocial Traits

A = Action

S = Sensitivity

C = Competence

OR = Other - relevant

OI = Other - irrelevant

N = None

S's	Grade k							Grade 3							S's									
	No.	G	A	S	C	OR	OI	N	No.	G	A	S	C	OR	OI	N	No.	G	A	S	C	OR	OI	N
Boys	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	25	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	49	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	26	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	50	0	0	1	1	0	0	0
	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	27	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	51	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	28	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	52	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
	5	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	29	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	53	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
	6	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	30	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	54	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
	7	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	31	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	55	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	32	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	56	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	33	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	57	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	34	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	58	1	0	1	0	1	0	0
	11	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	35	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	59	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	36	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	60	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Girls	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	37	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	61	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	14	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	38	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	62	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	39	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	63	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
	16	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	40	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	64	1	1	0	1	1	0	0
	17	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	41	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	65	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
	18	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	42	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	66	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
	19	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	43	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	67	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	44	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	68	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
	21	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	45	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	69	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
	22	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	46	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	70	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	23	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	47	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	71	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
	24	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	48	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	72	0	0	0	0	1	0	0

Item	S's	Grade K						Grade 3						Grade 6						3. Disposition to Help--					
Order	No.	G	A	S	C	OR	OI	N	No.	G	A	S	C	OR	OI	N	No.	G	A	S	C	OR	OI	N	story format
Boys	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	25	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	49	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	
	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	26	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	50	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	
	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	27	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	51	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	
	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	28	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	52	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	
	5	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	29	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	53	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	
	6	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	30	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	54	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	
	7	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	31	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	55	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	
	8	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	32	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	56	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	
	9	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	33	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	57	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	
	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	34	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	58	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	
	11	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	35	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	59	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	
	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	36	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	60	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	
Girls	13	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	37	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	61	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	
	14	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	38	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	62	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	
	15	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	39	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	63	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	
	16	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	40	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	64	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	
	17	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	41	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	65	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	
	18	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	42	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	66	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	
	19	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	43	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	67	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
	20	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	44	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	68	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	
	21	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	45	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	69	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	
	22	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	46	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	70	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	
	23	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	47	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	71	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	
	24	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	48	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	72	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	

G = Global Prosocial Traits

A = Action

S = Sensitivity

C = Competence

OR = Other - relevant

OI = Other - irrelevant

N = None

G = Global Prosocial Traits

A = Action

S = Sensitivity

C = Competence

OR = Other - relevant

OI = Other - irrelevant

N = None

Item Order	S's		Grade K					Grade 3					Grade 6					4. Empathic Skills				
	No.	G	A	W	C	S	OR	OI	N	No.	G	A	W	C	S	OR	OI	N	(c) "Is there anything else... (needed) to be a good helper?"			
Boys	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	25	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	29	0	0	0	0
	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	26	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	50	0	0	0	0
	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	27	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	51	0	0	0	0
	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	28	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	52	0	0	0	0
	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	29	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	53	0	0	0	0
	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	30	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	54	1	0	0	1
	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	31	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	55	0	0	0	0
	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	32	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	56	0	0	0	0
	9	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	33	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	57	0	1	0	0
	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	34	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	58	0	0	0	0
	11	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	35	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	59	0	1	0	0
	12	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	36	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	60	0	0	0	0
Girls	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	37	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	61	0	0	0	0
	14	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	38	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	62	1	1	0	0
	15	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	39	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	63	0	1	0	0
	16	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	40	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	64	1	1	0	0
	17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	41	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	65	0	0	1	0
	18	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	42	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	66	1	0	0	0
	19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	43	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	67	0	0	0	0
	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	44	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	68	0	1	0	0
	21	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	45	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	69	1	0	0	0
	22	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	46	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	70	0	0	0	0
	23	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	47	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	71	1	0	0	0
	24	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	78	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	72	0	0	0	0

G = Global Prosocial

Traits

A = Action

W = Willingness

C = Competence

OR = Other -relevant

OI = Other - irrelevant

N = None

S = Sensitivity

81

G = Global Prosocial

Traits

A = Action

W = Willingness

C = Competence

OR = Other -relevant

OI = Other - irrelevant

N = None

S = Sensitivity

Item	S's	Grade K					Grade 3					Grade 6					Performance Skills								
Order	No.	G	A	W	S	AH	OR	OI	N	No.	G	A	W	S	AH	OR	OI	N	(c) "Is there anything else...(needed) to be a good helper?"						
BOYS	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	25	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	49	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	26	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	50	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	27	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	51	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	4	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	28	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	52	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
	5	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	29	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	53	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
	6	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	30	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	54	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	31	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	55	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	32	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	56	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	33	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	57	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
	10	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	34	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	58	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
	11	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	35	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	59	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	36	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	60	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
GIRLS	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	37	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	61	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	14	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	38	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	62	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
	15	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	39	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	63	1	0	0	1	1	0	0
	16	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	40	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	64	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
	17	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	41	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	65	1	0	0	1	1	0	0
	18	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	42	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	66	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
	19	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	43	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	67	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	44	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	68	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
	21	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	45	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	69	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
	22	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	46	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	70	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
	23	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	47	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	71	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
	24	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	48	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	72	1	0	0	0	1	0	0

G = Global Prosocial Trait

A = Action

W = Willingness

S = Sensitivity

AH = Additional Helper

Skills

OR = Other - relevant

OI = Other - irrelevant

N = None

G = Global Prosocial Trait
A = Action
W = Willingness
S = Sensitivity
AH = Additional Helper Skills
OR = Other - relevant
OI = Other - irrelevant
N = None

6. Task Analysis

(a) H = Helpee
S = Situation

Hr = Helper
Sr = Strategy
O = Other
N = None

(b) DS = Devise Strategy

TD = Task
Difficulty

TH = To Help

O = Other

N = None

(b) "Why...?"

(a) "What do you need to know...?"

Grade K		Grade 3		Grade 6	
S's No.		S's No.		S's No.	
1	N	25	H S	49	S
2	N	26	S	50	H S
3	N	27	H S	51	S
4	N	28	H	52	S
5	N	29	Sr	53	S
6	S	30	H S	54	S
7	S	31	H S Sr	55	S
8	S	32	H S	56	H S
9	S	33	H	57	H S
10	S	34	H S	58	H S
11	S Sr	35	H Hr O	59	S
12	N	36	S	60	N
13	S	37	S Sr	61	H S
14	O	38	H S	62	H S Sr
15	H	39	S Sr	63	H S Sr
16	S	40	S Hr	64	H S
17	N	41	S Hr	65	H S
18	N	42	S	66	S
19	N	43	S	67	S
20	H	44	S Sr	68	H S
21	N	45	S	69	H S
22	N	46	H S	70	S
23	S	47	S Hr Sr O	71	H S
24	N	48	S	72	S

BOYS

GIRLS

(a) "Why did...ask that?"

Gr. K S's No.	Gr. 3 S's No.	Gr. 6 S's No.
1	0	25 DS 49 DS
2	0	26 TH 50 0
3	N	27 TH 51 TH
4	TH	28 DS 52 0
5	TH	29 0 53 DS
6	TH	30 DS 54 DS
7	TH	31 DS 55 TH
8	N	32 TH 56 0
9	TH	33 TH 57 DS
10	0	34 0 58 TH
11	TH	35 TH 59 DS
12	TH	36 DS 60 0

BOYS

(b) "Is there anything else...?"

Gr. K S's No.	Gr. 3 S's No.	Gr. 6 S's No.
1	N	25 N 49 N
2	N	26 0 50 0
3	N	27 H 51 H 0
4	0	28 H 52 S
5	S	29 N 53 H S
6	0	30 N 54 S
7	N	31 S 55 N
8	S	32 S 56 S
9	N	33 H 57 H
10	N	34 N 58 S
11	S	35 H 59 H
12	N	36 S 60 N

7. Relevance of

Task Analysis

Gr. K S's No.	Gr. 3 S's No.	Gr. 6 S's No.
1	TH	25 49
2		26 50
3	TH	27 TH 51 DS
4	TH	28 TH 52 TH
5		29 53 DS
6		30 54 DS
7	DS	31 55
8	TH	32 TH 56 DS
9	0	33 0 57 TH
10	0	34 0 58 TH
11	DS	35 59 TH
12	N	36 N 60

(a) + (c):

DS = Devise Strategy

TH = To Help

0 = Other

N = None

(b) H = Helpee

S = Situation

0 = Other

N = None

13	TH	37 0	61 DS
14	0	38 DS	62 DS
15	DS	39 0	63 DS
16	DS	40 DS	64 DS
17	N	41 0	65 DS
18	0	42 DS	66 N
19	0	43 DS	67 DS
20	TH	44 DS	68 DS
21	DS	45 TH	69 DS
22	TH	46 0	70 TH
23	DS	47 DS	71 DS
24	DS	48 TH	72 DS

GIRLS

If (a) "Both the Same," then, (b) "Why?" 8. Attitude of the

Helped
(b) HA = Helpee's
Attitude
Hr = Helper's
(lack of)
Willingness/
Competence/
Attitude
BH = Both Helping
N = None

If (a) "Both the Same," then, (b) "Why?"		If (a) "Successful Helper," then, (b) "Why?"		Gr. 6 S's No.		Gr. 3 S's No.		Gr. 6 S's No.	
Gr. K S's No.	Gr. 3 S's No.	Gr. 6 S's No.	Gr. K S's No.	Gr. 3 S's No.	Gr. 6 S's No.	Gr. K S's No.	Gr. 3 S's No.	Gr. 6 S's No.	Gr. K S's No.
1	25	49 HA	1	25 HA	49	1	25 HA	49	1
2	26 HA	50 HA	2	26	50	2	26	50	2
3 BH	27 HA Hr	51 HA	3	27	51	3	27	51	3
4 BH	28	52	4	28 HA BH	52 Hr	4	28 HA BH	52 Hr	4
5 N	29 BH	53 HA	5	29	53	5	29	53	5
6 Hr	30	54 HA	6	30 HA	54	6	30 HA	54	6
7 Hr	31 BH	55 HA	7	31	55	7	31	55	7
8 HA	32	56 Hr	8	32 Hr	56	8	32 Hr	56	8
9	33 Hr	57	9	33	57 Hr	9	33	57 Hr	9
10 N	34 HA	58 HA Hr	10	34	58	10	34	58	10
11	35 Hr	59 HA	11	35	59	11	35	59	11
12 BH	36 HA	60 HA Hr	12	36	60	12	36	60	12
13 BH	37 HA Hr	61 Hr	13	37	61	13	37	61	13
14 BH	38 Hr	62 HA Hr	14	38	62	14	38	62	14
15	39 HA Hr	63 HA Hr	15	39	63	15	39	63	15
16	40 HA Hr	64 Hr	16	40	64	16	40	64	16
17 N	41	65 HA	17	41 Hr	65	17	41 Hr	65	17
18 Hr	42	66 Hr	18	42 Hr	66	18	42 Hr	66	18
19	43 HA	67 HA	19	43	67	19	43	67	19
20	44 Hr	68	20	44	68 Hr	20	44	68 Hr	20
21 BH	45 HA	69 HA Hr	21	45	69	21	45	69	21
22	46 HA Hr	70 HA Hr	22	46	70	22	46	70	22
23 BH	47 HA	71 HA	23	47	71	23	47	71	23
24 Hr	48 BH	72 HA Hr	24	48	72	24	48	72	24

BOYS

GIRLS

VITA AUCTORIS

Kathleen Mary Hofmans was born on July 29, 1954 in London, Ontario. She attended elementary school first in Strathroy, Ontario and then in Windsor, Ontario. Upon completion of secondary school at Vincent Massey Collegiate in Windsor, she entered the University of Windsor to acquire a Bachelor of Arts degree in May, 1977. Since September 1977 she has been enrolled in the Master's programme in developmental psychology at the University of Windsor. Kathleen is married to John C. Barnett.