CHILDREN'S ACQUISITION OF APPROPRIATE NORMS FOR FRIENDSHIPS AND ACQUAINTANCES

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Research with adults demonstrates the existence of distinct norms governing the intentional giving and receiving of benefits within the context of different types of relationships. This study focuses on the development of children's adherence to these norms. We examined first and third grade children's allocation of jointly earned rewards after they had worked on a task with either an acquaintance or a friend. In both grades, more children working with friends than with an acquaintance divided the reward equally. In both grades acquaintances tended to use an equity norm more often than did friends. This effect was not significant among first graders but was significant among third graders. Moreover, third grade pairs of friends were significantly more likely than first grade pairs of friends to divide rewards equally. These results provide evidence of children's increasing use of communal norms in their friendships.

In this study, we examined children's acquisition of the distinct distributive justice norms which, the adult social psychological literature suggests, are appropriate to adults' friendships and to

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adults' acquaintanceships. We take the straightforward position that if adults draw distinctions between behavior appropriate in friendships and that appropriate in acquaintanceships, then children must acquire the ability to make these distinctions during development. We have begun to search for when this occurs.

By working from the basis of social psychological research on adult relationships, this study takes an unusual approach toward understanding both the nature of children's friendships and their acquisition of distributive justice norms. However, it is an approach we feel will prove useful both in increasing our understanding of children's friendships and in resolving some seeming conflicts in the developmental literature concerning children's use of distributive justice norms. We begin to explain our approach by briefly reviewing the adult literature on which this study is based.

Social norms governing behavior in adult relationships. Clark, Mills and their colleagues (e.g. Clark & Mills, 1979, 1993; Mills & Clark, 1982) have established that adults distinguish between two different types of relationships, communal and exchange relationships, and apply different rules for the giving and receiving of benefits in each. According to this literature, in *communal* relationships (often exemplified by friendships, family relationships and romantic relationships) people feel a special responsibility for the needs of the other. They give the other benefits based on those needs. They do not expect specific repayment for benefits given. In contrast, in *exchange* relationships (often exemplified by relationships between business associates, strangers and acquaintances) people feel no special responsibility for the other's needs. They give benefits with the expectation that a comparable benefit will be returned in the future or they give benefits to repay the other for a specific benefit received in the past.

Support for this distinction has been obtained in a series of studies which have shown that when communal as compared with exchange relationships exist or are desired, attention to the other's needs is greater (e.g. Clark et al., 1986), positive responsiveness to emotion is greater (e.g. Clark et al., 1987), more help is given (Clark et al., 1987) and people feel better after having helped the other (e.g. Williamson & Clark, 1992). Also, in communal but not in exchange relationships people have been shown to react negatively to receiving repayment for benefits given and to requests for repayments for benefits received (Clark & Mills, 1979). Finally, in exchange but not in communal relationships people have been found to keep careful

track of individual inputs into joint tasks (e.g. Clark, 1984b), to react positively to repayments for benefits given and requests for repayments for benefits received (Clark & Mills, 1979), and to more readily check on the other's needs and help the other when they know the other can quickly repay them in kind than when they do not believe the other can do so (Clark et al., 1986).

These findings indicate that two distinct norms exist for giving benefits in adult relationships. What are the implications of these norms for distributing jointly earned benefits? Among members of exchange relationships, benefits ought to be distributed according to who has contributed what to the task. In contrast, in communal relationships benefits ought to be distributed according to needs or, in the absence of evidence for differential needs, equally (since in such a case the default assumption seems likely to be that needs are equal).

Available evidence collected from adults is consistent with these assumptions. For instance, Austin (1980) had pairs of friends and pairs of strangers work on a joint task and receive a joint reward. Then one member of the pair divided that reward. Subjects working with a friend, regardless of whether the friend performed better or worse than they, showed a preference for dividing rewards equally. Strangers tended to follow an equity norm when they had performed better (but actually behaved more selfishly when they had performed more poorly — choosing then, but only then, to divide rewards equally). Also, Greenberg (1983) has found that if two people divide a restaurant check equally, observers are more likely to perceive them to be friends than if they divide it according to what each person has ordered.

Children's understanding of the rules governing the giving and receiving of benefits. There is a substantial developmental literature on distributive justice that, to date, has not been linked with the research on adults just described. A number of developmental researchers have suggested that the development of distributive justice norms follows an orderly stage sequence progressing from self-interest to equality to equity and they have provided empirical evidence to back up their claims. They have argued that children can be characterized as using one rule at any given point in time but that the nature of the rule changes with age (e.g. Damon, 1975; Enright et al., 1984; Hook, 1978).

For example, Damon (1975) has proposed the following sequence. In the first stage (O-A), goods are distributed according

to who wants them the most. In the second stage (O-B), an external characteristic (e.g. the oldest or the tallest should get more) is the sole determinant for distribution. In the next stage (1-A), the belief that all should receive equal amounts, with no consideration given to qualifying characteristics, governs allocation. In stage 1-B effort is rewarded and behavioral reciprocity becomes the basis for decisions. That is, those who work harder and do more should receive more. Next in stage 2-A, the child believes that rewards should be allocated according to need or, in other words, according to 'psychological reciprocity'. In the final stage (2-B), the importance of both behavioral and psychological reciprocity is recognized and the individual searches for a compromise between these justice claims.

Is there empirical work to back up claims of there being such a stage-like sequence of use of distributive justice norms? To a large extent, yes. For instance, work by Lane & Coon (1972) has shown that 4-year-olds use self-interest to allocate rewards whereas 5-year-olds use equality. Other allocation studies involving 4- and 5-year-olds have found that, in most cases, equality is applied in distributing rewards although there have been some reported sex differences (Peterson et al., 1975 [4-year-olds only]; Lerner, 1974 [5-year-olds]; Leventhal & Anderson, 1970 [5-year-olds]). If one then moves to a somewhat older age group, namely children aged 5 through 12, one finds studies supporting the claim that the majority of these children will allocate rewards using 'ordinal equity' or, in other words, the person who has done more work receives more rewards (Lerner, 1974; Leventhal et al., 1973; Olejnik, 1976). Finally, if one moves to an even older group of children or an adult population one predominantly finds evidence of people using 'proportional equity', or in other words, of rewards being allocated to each worker in proportion to his or her input into tasks (e.g. Cohen, 1974; Garrett & Libby, 1973; Shapiro, 1975).

Children's passage through these stages has been said to relate to their cognitive development and to increases in their mathematical abilities. Cognitively, children must have an ability to see beyond the use of self-interest to guide allocation using either an equality norm or a 'those who do more get more' norm. Moreover, to ultimately use proportional equity, children must be able to understand proportions — a rather sophisticated cognitive ability. These cognitive skills are realized with age and experience.

Based on this previous research, one might predict that the

children in the present study would show evidence of a developmental progression from a division of reward based on equality to a division based on contribution to the task (equity). The communal/exchange work, however, clearly poses a challenge to developmentalists' understanding of the stages that children's comprehension of distributive justice norms go through (Clark, 1984a). Specifically, if adults make a distinction between rules governing the giving of benefits in communal relationships and those governing the giving of benefits in exchange relationships, then there must be a developmental history behind this. There must not be just one sequence of justice norms culminating at just one norm as researchers such as Damon (1975) or Enright et al. (1984) have suggested. Rather, somewhere along the way from young childhood to adulthood, people must learn to distinguish between communal and exchange norms and to apply these norms appropriately. Thus, at most points in development, children ought to be able to apply at least two *different* justice norms to different relationships and these different norms ought to increasingly approximate adult communal and exchange norms.

Interestingly, taking relationship type into account may also help to clarify certain existing findings in the developmental literature that otherwise seem discrepant. For example, a study by Hook (1978) showed that 7- to 12-year-olds gave more money to the person who did more work. Damon (1975), in contrast, found that 8-year-olds often considered equality as well as equity. Given our theoretical perspective we would point to a difference between the two studies that, from our point of view, easily explains the discrepancy. That is, while Hook's subjects worked with strangers, the children in Damon's experiment responded to questions about their best friend. Subjects in these two studies may simply have been using the relationship context as a cue regarding the appropriate norm to use. According to our framework subjects working with friends should be less likely to use an equity norm than should subjects working with strangers (and more likely to use an equality norm — assuming equal needs).

Further, Enright et al. (1984) reported some initially confusing results in that 5- and 9-year-old children applied different distributive justice norms in a family relationship than in a peer relationship. Enright et al. interpreted this by suggesting that children may proceed through their proposed sequence of distributive justice stages more rapidly within the context of one type of relationship

(i.e. family relationships) than in the context of another type of relationship (i.e. peer relationships). However, we propose a different interpretation. Our interpretation is simply that children learn to apply different rules in different types of relationships.

Lerner (1974) also found that if children are told they are in a unit relationship with another child (i.e. that they are on the same team), it increases the probability of their dividing rewards equally. Like us he talked about this effect being due to type of perceived relationship with the other. In our terms we would say that telling a child he or she is a team member with another may promote perceptions of a communal relationship.

The present study. Given these reasons to suspect children will acquire distinct justice norms for application in distinct relationships, we decided to study young children's choice of distributive justice norms in the context of different relationships. In particular we decided to see if we could uncover: (a) evidence that young children will apply distinct distributive justice norms in friendships (likely to be communal relationships) and in acquaintanceships (likely to be exchange relationships), and (b) evidence of increasing ability to distinguish between relationship contexts and apply the appropriate norm over the course of development. If we could obtain evidence of both sorts, we felt this would challenge the 'one sequence of stages notion' of distributive justice norms that has dominated the developmental literature.

We decided to compare how children in the first and third grades would divide jointly earned rewards after working with a friend and after working with an acquaintance. (In this regard we would note that our choice of grade levels was somewhat arbitrary in that this was a new area of research for us and we were unsure as to just when evidence of the communal/exchange distinction would appear despite some hints from the existing literature.) Our overall strategy was to set up a situation in which each subject would work jointly with one other child on a task. The subject would contribute more than the other child. Then the pair would be given a joint reward of stickers which the subject would be asked to divide between him- or herself and the other. (We assumed that children would not perceive their need for stickers to be any different from the other's need for stickers.) Given this situation our specific predictions were as follows:

1. We suspected that a difference in children's use of justice

norms would appear among young children and that it would take the form of acquaintances distributing rewards according to individual contributions to the task (equity) whereas friends would divide rewards equally.

2. If a change in norms used in friendships versus acquaintances between first and third grade was observed, we predicted it would take the form of increased application of an equality norm when with friends and/or increased application of an equity norm when with acquaintances in third relative to first grade.

Method

Over 153 elementary school children from three schools served as subjects. In total, 69 first graders (41 males; 28 females) and 84 third graders (46 males; 38 females) participated.

One school was an independent school for boys located within the city of Pittsburgh. The other two were public schools in a suburban school district near Pittsburgh. We requested permission from all of the first and third graders' parents for their children to participate. The ultimate sample consisted of those children whose parents granted permission and who were in attendance on the days the experimenters were testing children from their classroom.

Before having subjects perform the search task and divide rewards, teachers in each of the relevant classrooms presented the children in the class with a list of class members. The teacher asked each child to circle four other children in the class whom that child considered to be friends. Then, within each class, children were paired with either a same-sex friend whom they had nominated (Friends conditions, $n = 71$; 30 first graders and 41 third graders) or with another child in the class whom they had not nominated and who had not nominated them (Acquaintances conditions, $n = 82$; 39 first graders, 43 third graders).

The pairing was accomplished in the following manner. A person other than one of the two experimenters took the class list and the children's nominations and constructed a matrix consisting of the names of all children with parental permission to participate. For each child she noted which other children that child had nominated as friends. She then randomly assigned each child in the class to the Friends or to the Acquaintances condition. Next, she moved alphabetically down the list matching children with partners. If the child had been assigned to the Acquaintances condition, that child was paired with the first person of the same sex on the list whom he or she had *not* nominated as a friend and who had not nominated him or her as a friend (regardless of the partner's original assignment to the Friends or Acquaintances condition). Then both that child and the partner were eliminated from the list.

If the child had been assigned to the Friends condition, that child was paired with the first person on the list whom he or she had nominated as a friend and who had also nominated him or her as a friend. If such a person was not available, the child was paired with a person whom he or she had nominated as a friend but who had not nominated the child as a friend. (In this case, the child was considered to be in the Friends condition but the partner was considered to be in the Acquaintances

condition.) Again, once a pairing had been made the child and the partner were eliminated from the list. In a few cases there was an odd number of children in a class and the extra child was added to an existing pair. That extra child was scheduled to be run thinking that one of the remaining two was his or her partner. Also, in a few cases pairings were changed at the last minute because a child who had been scheduled to be run was absent.

Throughout the study the experimenters were kept unaware of the relationship condition although, sometimes, the children's behavior as they were called from the classroom suggested their conditions to the experimenters. For instance children might walk to the study holding hands suggesting they were friends.

Children were called from their classroom with their partner and, in most cases, were greeted by two female experimenters. The children were randomly assigned to be run by a particular experimenter and were taken to separate rooms.[1] An experimenter then explained to each child that he or she and the partner would be working together on a project. (Each time the experimenter referred to the child's partner, she used that partner's first name.) The experimenter explained that the project involved finding hidden objects in a picture and showed a sample picture to the child. The experimenter also explained that the subject and his or her partner would take turns working on the same picture, and at the end, they would receive a sticker — one for each object found — and the subject could decide how to divide them.

The experimenter stated she had flipped a coin to decide who would take the first turn and it was to be the other child. She then left the room for a few minutes. Upon returning, the experimenter handed the child a picture with three objects already circled. The subject was then given a chance to search for the other hidden objects in the same picture. Once the child had circled five objects, the experimenter stated that time was up. She then counted the eight circled objects out loud and said she was going to give the child eight stickers. The child was to divide them between him- or herself and the partner. Next the experimenter commented that the child had circled five objects and his or her partner had circled three. The child was then given eight tokens and asked to pretend they were the real stickers. (The experimenter explained that the real stickers would be handed out in class once everyone had taken a turn.) The child was given two envelopes and instructed to put his or her tokens in one and the partner's tokens in the other.

After the child had divided the tokens, he or she was thanked for helping and taken back to the classroom. The experimenter recorded the number of tokens the child kept for him- or herself and the number given to the other child.[2]

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[1] In a few cases only one experimenter was available. When this was the case, she took subjects to separate rooms and randomly assigned one to be run first. After that subject was run, the remaining subject was run.

[2] Since some previous work with adults had yielded evidence that people who desire or have an exchange relationship with another will keep track of individual inputs into a joint task while people who have or desire a communal relationship will not (Clark, 1984b), we also attempted to measure record keeping. We did this by allowing the child to choose to work with the same color pen as the other (thereby obscuring who had found what) or with a different color pen (thereby making it clear who had done what). We expected that friends would be less likely than acquaintances to attempt to make clear who had found what by choosing to work with

Results and discussion

Division of reward. Our dependent measure was how many tokens each child chose to keep and how many he or she gave to the partner after the subject had circled five objects and thought the partner had circled three. The vast majority of subjects (149) chose to either: (a) divide the tokens into two equal shares, keeping four for themselves and giving the partner four, or (b) divide the tokens on the basis of inputs, keeping five for themselves and giving three to the partner.

For purposes of analyzing the data, we consider the subjects' choices to fall into one of two categories. Either they divided the rewards equally or they divided tokens such that the person who did most work received most of the rewards (with the vast majority of these subjects dividing rewards in exact proportion to each member's inputs into their joint task).

The percentages of children in each condition who divided the tokens equally are depicted in Figure 1. Two effects are evident from the figure. First, in both first and third grade, children in the Friends condition were more likely to divide equally than were children in the Acquaintances condition. Second, this tendency is exaggerated in the third relative to the first grade.

Primary statistical analyses. The data were analyzed with a logistic regression model. The outcome variable was the decision to divide equally (called a positive result) or not to divide equally (called a negative result). This model made it possible to test for interactions between variables as well as the effects of single variables.

The variables Relationship Type (a categorical variable indicating whether the subject worked with a stranger (coded 0) or a friend (coded 1) and Grade (also treated as a categorical variable with first grade coded 0 and third grade coded 1) and their interaction were included in the model. Since the predictions for the effects of both grade and relationship were clear and since fewer than half the possible interactions would support the hypothesis we used one-tailed probabilities. For the variable of Relationship Type the regression coefficient was .72, the standard error

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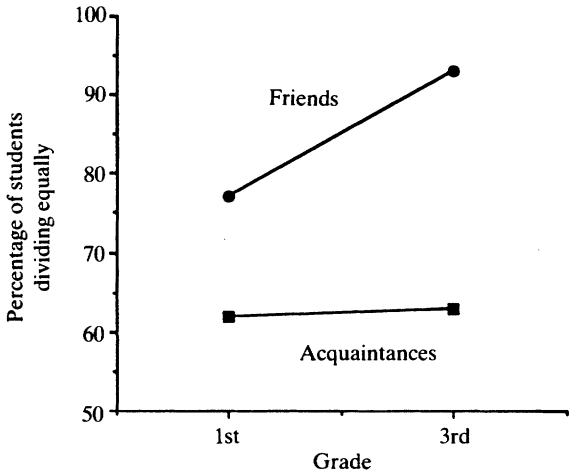
different color pens. However, with the exception of four children, all subjects (149) used a different color pen. Two of the four children who chose the same color pen were in the Friends condition. Both were males. One was a first grader; one a third grader. The remaining two were in the Acquaintances condition. Both were females and first graders. In all cases in which children chose to use the same color pen, they selected the darker color pen. Given the lack of variability on this measure, no statistical analyses were performed using it.

We do not believe that the fact that almost all our subjects worked with a pen different in color from that their partner had supposedly used was due to almost all our subjects wanting to keep track of who contributed what to their joint task. Rather, we suspect our subjects interpreted our comments to them regarding pen choice as an instruction to use different color pens. For purposes of working with children we had made a change from the adult paradigm in which this measure had been successfully used in the past (Clark, 1984b). Specifically, we decided to explicitly tell the children that if they used the same color pens they could not tell who had done what whereas if they used different color pens they could tell who had done what. We suspect the children took this to mean that we *wanted* them to use different color pens. Should we use this measure again, we would exclude this explanation or devise a different measure of record keeping.

FIGURE 1
Percentage of students dividing the tokens equally as a function of relationship type and grade



was .54 and the ratio of the coefficient to the standard error was 1.33, NS. For the variable of Grade the regression coefficient was .02, the standard error was .44 and the ratio of the coefficient to the standard error was .03, NS. Most importantly, for the *interaction* of Relationship Type and Grade, the regression coefficient was 1.36, the standard error was .87, the ratio of the coefficient to the standard error was 1.57, NS.

Given that we had made clear a priori predictions, we followed the overall analyses with separate chi-square tests on 2 × 2 contingency tables to test our specific hypotheses. These tests revealed that, overall, children working with friends were significantly more likely to divide on the basis of equality than were children working with acquantances ($\chi^2 = 11.55, p < .001$). Among first grade children this tendency was not significant ($\chi^2 = 1.79, p = .18$). However, among third grade children it was clearly significant ($\chi^2 = 11.49, p < .001$). Finally, if one examines just children assigned to the Friends condition, third grade children were significantly more likely to divide on the basis of equality than were first grade children ($\chi^2 = 3.84, p < .05$). The difference between the proportions of children dividing equally with acquaintances in the first and third grades was not significant ($\chi^2 = .001$, NS).

To determine whether or not there were differences in the division of rewards as a function of subject sex, we examined the data separately for males and females. There were no significant differences. When sex was added to the logistic regression equation, the coefficient was .45, the standard error was .39 and the ratio was 1.1, NS.

Statistical analyses excluding data from pairs not agreeing on relationship type. Recall that in some cases one subject from a pair had nominated the other as a friend and the other subject in that pair had not nominated the first subject as a friend. In these cases the first subject was considered to be in the Friends condition; the second

in the Acquaintances condition. Of the 153 subjects run, nineteen fell into this category. One may question whether data from such pairs should have been included in the analyses since these were not clearly friendships and also not clearly acquaintanceships. Consequently we reanalyzed the data in the same manner described above *excluding* data from these individuals. In contemplating this analysis we were not sure whether the results would be weaker due to a decrease in sample size or stronger due to the resulting clearer distinction between the Friends and the Acquaintances conditions. In fact, the results were a bit stronger.

For the variable of Relationship Type the regression coefficient was .53, the standard error was .55, the ratio of the coefficient to the standard error was .96, NS. For the variable of Grade the regression coefficient was −.01, the standard error was .49, the ratio of the coefficient to the standard error was −.02, NS. Again, most importantly, for the interaction of Relationship Type and Grade the regression coefficient was 1.64, the standard error was .98 and the ratio of the coefficient to the standard error was 1.67, $p < .05$.

Again we followed the overall analysis with separate chi-square tests on the 2×2 contingency tables to test our specific hypotheses. These tests revealed that, overall, children working with friends were significantly more likely to divide on the basis of equality than were children working with acquaintances ($\chi^2 = 7.71, p < .01$). Again, among first grade children this tendency was not significant ($\chi^2 = .93$, $p = .34$). However, among third grade children it was significant ($\chi^2 = 8.99, p < .01$). Finally, if one examines just children assigned to the Friends condition, third graders were significantly more likely to divide on the basis of equality than were first grade children ($\chi^2 = 4.26$, $p < .05$). The difference between the proportions of children dividing equally with acquaintances in the first and third grades was not significant ($\chi^2 = .001$, NS).

Evaluating our hypotheses. The results supported both our hypotheses. First, we hypothesized that children would tend to differentiate between the distributive justice rules they would use in different types of relationships. That they did so is evident from the significant chi squares indicating that, across children of both ages, subjects were more likely to divide rewards equally when working with a friend than when working with an acquaintance. Second, we hypothesized that this differentiation would increase with age. The form of the non-significant interaction between the Relationship and Grade variables (an interaction that became significant when data from the 19 subjects from relationships which were not clearly friendships or acquaintances were dropped) supports this hypothesis. The significant increase among friends dividing rewards equally combined with the lack of an analogous increase among acquaintances dividing rewards equally suggests this increasing differentiation with age is due to children's increasing use of communal norms in their friendships.

An alternative explanation? Our interpretation of the present findings is that over the course of socialization, children learn to differentiate communal from exchange relationships, learn that distinctive norms of distributive justice apply to each and begin to increasingly, selectively apply these norms. We worried, however, that the fact that friends divided rewards equally more often than did acquaintances might be due to subjects in our Friends condition being more popular than were subjects in our Acquaintances condition.

Fortunately, this possibility can be ruled out. Although we originally randomly assigned subjects to relationship condition, as we already explained, each subject

assigned to the Friends condition was paired with another person by picking the first available other child on our list whom that subject had chosen as a friend and who had chosen the subject as a friend as well. Then that person was also assigned to the Friends condition. Obviously a child cannot be placed in the Friends condition as a result of being paired with someone randomly assigned to that condition unless he or she has been chosen by the other as a friend. Equally obviously, with the exception of the first child on each of our class lists to have been randomly assigned to the Friends condition, the more often a child has been chosen by others in the class as a friend, the more likely he or she was to end up in the Friends condition.

To determine if children in the Friends condition actually were more popular than were children in the Acquaintances condition, we calculated an index of popularity for each child. It was calculated as the ratio of friendship nominations by others to the total number of same sex children in the classroom.[3] The range of resulting popularity scores was from 0 percent to 100 percent. The mean popularity in the Friends condition was 41.9 and the mean popularity in the Acquaintances condition was 23.3. This difference was significant ($t(151) = 5.14, p < .01$).

Can this difference in popularity account for our results? The answer appears to be no for the following reasons. Popularity and our dependent variable (i.e. the number of tokens given to the other child) are not significantly correlated ($r(151) = .05$, NS). Moreover, when popularity is included in the logistic regression, not surprisingly given the low correlation just reported, the Coefficient/SE for popularity is trivial (.11) and the Coefficient/SE for the interaction between Relationship Types and Grade is not altered (1.56 vs 1.57). Finally, we would note that if one eliminates data from the *most* popular children in the Friends conditions (eight each from the first and third grade Friends condition) and from the *least* popular children in the Acquaintances conditions (eight each from the first and third grade Acquaintances conditions), until one is left with children in the two conditions who do not differ significantly in popularity and if one then regraphs the results, the predicted interaction between Relationship Types and Grade actually becomes more exaggerated in form rather than less so.

An overall preference for equality. It is interesting to note that while a clear differentiation occurred between the behavior of friends and of acquaintances, even in the Acquaintances condition, approximately 60 percent of the children divided rewards equally. At first this might seem to contradict the idea that equity would be the primary norm in exchange relationships. However, this can be explained in at least two ways.

First the reader should note that the Acquaintances condition undoubtedly does not correspond nearly as well to what Clark & Mills (1979; Mills & Clark, 1982) have called exchange relationships as we would have liked. After all, in the Acquaintances condition of the present study children worked with another child who had been in the same classroom for at least several months and probably for longer than that in most cases. Since children were limited to picking four friends from their class, it is likely that some of the acquaintance pairs actually consisted of children who would consider each other to be friends. Moreover, even if (as we hoped) the members of most of our acquaintance pairs would not call each other friends, it is important to

[3] We used only same sex children since all but a few children only nominated same sex others as friends. We used the ratio rather than the total number of nominations to control for differences in class sizes.

consider a quantitative aspect of communal relationships which Mills & Clark (1982; Clark & Mills, 1993) have referred to as communal strength. Communal strength refers to the degree to which a person feels responsible for the other's needs. Strength differs between the various communal relationships a person has. (For instance, most people have stronger communal relationships with their children than with their friends.) People are willing to give more costly benefits in stronger communal relationships. For the present point it is important to note that, to some extent most people have communal relationships, albeit very weak ones, even with strangers and certainly with acquaintances. (For example, most people would tell a stranger the time without expecting repayment.) In other words, we must admit to having oversimplified the communal/exchange distinction in this paper and we now note that even in relationships that are predominantly exchange, benefits falling beneath a given cost level may be given on a communal basis. Returning to the point at hand, most of our subjects probably had weak communal relationships with their acquaintances in the class. This too may help account for the high overall use of an equality norm in our Acquaintances condition. That is, many of our subjects (perhaps especially those not fond of stickers) may have considered allocating the stickers on a communal basis to fall within a range of cost acceptable for their weak communal relationship with their acquaintance.

A second reason for observing considerable use of an equality norm even in our Acquaintances condition is simpler. It may have been cognitively easier for subjects — no matter what their relationship condition — to divide rewards equally than to divide them equitably.

Why didn't we examine allocation strategies given different patterns of contributions? We only examined children's division of rewards under conditions in which they contributed more than did their partner. One might wonder why we chose not to examine their allocations under conditions in which they had contributed *less* than their partner.

We chose not to do so because we felt that, in contrast to the conditions under which we did observe division of rewards, children's division of rewards when they have done less than the other actually would be quite *un*informative for purposes of tracking the emergence of a communal norm of special responsiveness to friends' needs. If children show a preference when with friends to divide rewards equally even when: (a) they have contributed more to a task and could have kept more for themselves on the basis of an equity (contribution) rule *and* (b) they clearly have the cognitive ability to use an equity rule (as at least our third graders did — as evidenced by their differential behavior with acquaintances as well as by the results of other studies on distributive justice), it seems safe to assume that they are demonstrating a special concern for their friends. But what type of allocation behavior can be taken as an indication of a special concern with another's needs regardless of that other's inputs when the subject has contributed *less* than the other? Would giving the other more of the reward demonstrate that? Not necessarily, because giving the other more rewards may be the result of feeling a special obligation to use an equity norm which takes the other's inputs into account when with friends instead of feeling a special concern for the other's needs per se. Would being especially likely to divide rewards equally demonstrate that? Again, not necessarily, because rewards may be divided equally on the basis of believing one can get away with more selfish behavior in a friendship than in an acquaintanceship.

Of course, we clearly recognize that by not including a condition in which the

subjects contributed less than did the other that our dependent measure does not allow us to clearly distinguish use of an equity norm from use of a self-interested norm. However, our primary purpose was to obtain a feel for when children begin to selectively apply *communal* norms to their friendships. It was not to track use of every possible distributive justice norm. Our results do support the idea that an understanding of communal norms is emerging by the time children are in the third grade (and probably sooner than that given the pattern of results obtained with first graders).

Conclusions

Our overall goal in conducting this study was to look at the developmental progression of children's adherence to social norms within different relationship contexts. This approach serves as a first step in looking at the development of children's understanding of friendship based on differential responsiveness to friends relative to other children. By focusing on the division of a joint reward, we have demonstrated that children do differentiate their behavior within naturally occurring relationships and that this differentiation appears relatively early. In addition, we would argue, our general approach and our specific findings help to integrate two seemingly separate bodies of research: social psychological research on relationship norms and developmental research on distributive justice.

This study also provides a new perspective — one useful for clarifying previous developmental work on distributive justice, and its results fit well with other recent findings of children learning to apply different distributive justice norms in different situations. For example, Sigelman & Waitzman (1991) have reported that over the course of development children increasingly differentiate the distributive justice norms they use in allocating rewards from work situations as compared to allocating ballots for a vote or as compared to allocating money donated for a charitable cause. Clearly, our work as well as that of others suggests that research on children's reasoning about distributive justice must keep the *social* context in mind as well as the child's cognitive abilities.

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