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YORK CITY LIBERAL AND CONSERVATIVE PARTY  
MEMBERS?

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**A Telephoned Call For Help: Does the Race of the Victim  
Affect the Helping Behavior of New York City Liberal and  
Conservative Party Members?**

by

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CHAPTER I  
INTRODUCTION

Shocked by events where persons in distress have met only indifference, several investigators have focused attention on the area of Altruism (Berkowitz & Daniels, 1963; Berkowitz, Klanderman & Harris, 1964; Bryan & Test, 1967; Darley & Latane, 1968). Usually they have asked: under what conditions will one help a person in need of assistance? In addition to such questions, we may ask how altruistic behaviors may be studied to provide information on attitudes. For example, an investigator can readily observe a person's overt behavior (i.e. helping or not helping) while varying attitudinally relevant characteristics of the victim (e.g. the victim's race). By embedding the study of attitudes in a particular situational context, we can perhaps assess the extent to which attitudes direct overt behavior and consequently understand this relationship more fully.

Previous research indicates that a bystander's attitude toward the victim does influence the willingness to help. Daniels and Berkowitz (1963) demonstrated that helping behavior is more likely to be elicited if the dependent person is liked rather than disliked. Bryan and Test (1967) reported that a black Salvation Army soliciter elicited less

charitable behavior than a white soliciter. Piliavin, Rodin and Piliavin (1969) observed a trend for same-race helping when the victim was a drunk collapsing in a New York City subway car. Lastly, Gaertner and Bickman (1969) discovered that in a non-face-to-face encounter between strangers, when the victim requested that a phone-call be made in his behalf, a "Black Voice" lowered the frequency of helping behavior from white citizens in the New York City area.

Berkowitz and his colleagues (Berkowitz, 1966; Berkowitz & Daniels, 1963; Berkowitz, Klanderma n & Harris, 1963) assume the existence of a Social Responsibility norm that accounts for one person helping another when no tangible rewards can be gained. Berkowitz (1966) describes this norm as follows:

....that the individual should help other people who are dependent upon him and need his assistance. When someone in this society learns that a person needs his help, he presumably becomes aware of the "Social Responsibility Norm" and feels obligated to aid this dependent person even when no direct benefits are anticipated. (p. 232)

Berkowitz & Conner (1966) conclude that the differential amounts of helping behavior elicited in various situations reflect the extent to which the situational factors affect norm salience and/or one's motivation to act in accord with it.

The studies of Adorno, Frenkel-Eruswik, Levinson, and Sanford (1950), McClosky (1958), and Free and Cantril (1967) revealed that anti-black sentiment tends to increase as political viewpoints vary from liberalism to conservatism. The present study concerns the tendency of white citizens to violate the social responsibility norm more frequently for

black than for white victims - specifically, the extent to which it corresponds to liberal and conservative political orientations. As an expedient, registered members of the Liberal and Conservative Parties of New York State constituted the sample of liberals and conservatives.

A field experiment was devised in which the subjects are contacted by telephone and engaged in a "real life" encounter with another person apparently needing assistance. Briefly, the subject receives an apparently wrong-number call in which the caller explains, in an easily identifiable black or white accent, that he is stuck alongside a nearby highway and attempting to contact his garage. If (as expected) the S claims that our victim (V) reached the wrong number, V further explains that although he has bills in his pockets he has no additional change for another phone call. If at this point the S does not volunteer help, V asks if he would do him the favor of calling a certain garage in his behalf and relaying the information necessary to obtain his roadside assistance. Furthermore, V offers the number of the garage and assures the S that he is well known there.

Operationally, help was considered to have been elicited only if the S actually called the number of the "garage" (really a telephone manned by E's confederate) and provided relatively accurate information about the stranded motorist.

Because the S in the above situation is unaware of his participation in an "experiment," this method avoids many of the difficulties elucidated by Orne (1962). Since each S's

behavior will be observed in a single, controlled context, we will better understand the S's behavior by initially defining the above situation in terms of its physical and psychological characteristics.

#### Analysis of the Telephoned Plea for Help Situation

One consideration is that the ringing of the telephone probably interrupts some activity in the S's home. In simple terms, an event in the outside world, penetrates, directly and unavoidably, barriers which people erect to protect themselves from contact with stimuli from the "outside."

Upon hearing the caller's voice and listening to his initial statement, i.e. "Hello....Ralph's Garage..this is George Williams..", the S should realize that the disruption of his activity was caused by a black or white stranger apparently dialing the wrong number.

Although the caller has identified himself as George Williams, the S should believe that he is anonymous, since he was reached apparently by accident and is engaged distantly and facelessly in an encounter with a stranger whom he is unlikely to see or hear from again. Whether S hangs up the receiver immediately or listens carefully to the caller's story, whether he helps or doesn't help, the S should realize that there is no risk of reprisals nor hope of material reward as a result of his behavior. He stands neither to gain nor to lose materially, whatever he chooses to do.

The telephone encounter between strangers eliminates variables such as the kinesthetic, olfactory and thermal cues available in face-to-face contacts, as well as the visual cues (facial expression, style of dress, physical size, physical attractiveness, etc.) which may influence ordinary encounters. Here, information about the stranger can be extracted only from his voice and speech characteristics, verbal fluency and politeness, and from the specific information he relates.

After discovering that the victim is stranded on the highway without change to make another call, the S is in a situation where he alone perceives another person is in trouble; he is the victim's only life-line. V is not, however, so badly off as to be considered in a full-fledged emergency: he is neither ill nor injured, only inconvenienced unpleasantly. He is not in a life and death situation. If S hangs-up without offering assistance, few if any important consequences would befall the victim. Moreover, it is only a matter of time before a police car would come to his rescue. Still, few of us would appreciate being in that stranded motorist's dilemma.

In this situation the S is initially asked to provide some general type of assistance when V asks, "What am I going to do now?" Also, note that S is being asked directly for assistance. Nevertheless, S has the opportunity to choose freely among the various means of helping V.

If S neglects to suggest it first, V asks for the favor

of his calling the garage and letting them know where he is. Thus S is now provided with a specific solution for V's dilemma, one requiring minimal cost and effort, save for the possible embarrassment of relating a rather unusual story to a garage attendant. Further, such an effort to assist another person requires no special training or physical capabilities. All that is necessary to help is some degree of verbal fluency. Also, because the S can remain anonymous when calling the garage, he can avoid being held to account if the garage attendant has difficulty locating the stranded motorist.

There are thus very few overt social pressures on S. If he assists the victim, it is the social responsibility norm alone which directs his behavior. In addition, the absence of social pressures makes the individual fully responsible for his behavior. People often make decisions that inconvenience or injure others, but by attributing them to corporate or managerial policy rather than personal attitudes, they avoid being accountable for their actions. In this telephone situation the power and responsibility for a person's actions can not be diffused. Here, one must stand alone.

Since telephone subscribers are occasionally bothered by prank calls and since V's story is rather unusual, the S must assume that this encounter is not a calculated trick before he provides assistance. S must trust a stranger in a situation in which hoaxes are not uncommon.

Perhaps the essence of anonymity in this situation is that even if help is offered, the S's degree of involvement is minimal.

Lastly, by simply hanging up the receiver, the S can terminate the encounter at will. Surely there are few occasions in which one can leave a situation so quickly and decisively. Furthermore, once the S disengages himself, he can never re-establish communication with the victim.

### Problem

This study concerns how the tendency to violate the social responsibility norm more frequently for black than for white victims corresponds to liberal and conservative political orientations, respectively. Predictions suggested by the Authoritarian Personality schema will be tested using an unobtrusive, behavioral measure. Also, the influence of "Cognitive-Affective" attitudes upon overt behavior may be clarified. Furthermore, in this study we can assess the extent to which these attitudes influence overt behavior toward a particular black person with whom the S is actually interacting rather than toward the general concept of "The Negro."

This study additionally examines the relationships between the overt behavior of a S unaware of his participation in an experiment, and verbal behavior in the traditional interview situation. In a secondary study additional samples

of liberals and conservatives contacted by telephone were asked to participate in a survey during which E described the stranded motorist's dilemma hypothetically and asked the S what he would do if he received that wrong-number telephone call.

In what respects are the results of the reactive-hypothetical situation consistent with those of the non-reactive situation? Will the behavior of liberals and conservatives be equivalently consistent or inconsistent across situations.

Liberalness and Conservativeness of the Liberal and Conservative Parties of New York State.

Logically, if predictions about the behavior of Liberal and Conservative Party members are to be generated from the Authoritarian Personality schema, it must be demonstrated that these parties reflect ideological differences along the traditional liberalism-conservatism dimension.

Some of the major themes in the traditional scales measuring the extent of one's ideological liberalism and conservatism are: the proper extent of federal government power, particularly with respect to social welfare legislation; the amount of expressed approval of the "American Way" and the degree or salience of fear of Communism. (See Appendix A for items differentiating Liberalism from Conservatism.)

A comparison of the legislative programs (1968) and campaign literature of the Liberal and Conservative Parties

clearly indicated the appropriateness of their labels (see Appendix B). Specifically they held predictably different positions on the above issues, positions consistent with the liberalism-conservatism dimension used by Adorno et al. (1950), McClosky (1958), and Free and Cantril (1967).

Importantly, Free and Cantril (1967) demonstrated that most ideological conservatives were Republicans, and most liberals, Democrats. They found Republicans by and large less internationalist than Democrats, more in favor of reducing or terminating foreign aid, more "Hawkish"; i.e. favoring stronger measures against Cuba and escalation of the War in Vietnam, and more disposed toward a stronger stand against Russia. Domestically, almost 50% of the Republicans felt the government had too much power, while 75% of the Democrats believed the government exercised about the right amount of power or not enough; and far more Democrats than Republicans favored the government's using its power and resources for social welfare goals.

Thus it appears that different political parties (here Democratic and Republican) attract members with rather different positions on the ideological liberalism-conservatism dimension. Furthermore, it is reasonable to expect that as two opposing political parties' philosophies diverge towards the extremes of that dimension a greater proportion of their rank and file will similarly maintain more liberal and conservative view points. Thus it is assumed that the Liberal and Conservative Parties attract proportionally more adherents

who strongly embrace the ideological doctrines of liberalism and conservatism, respectively, than do the Democratic and Republican Parties.

### Racial Attitudes of Liberals and Conservatives

The investigations of Adorno et al. (1950), McClosky (1958), and Free and Cantril (1967) indicate that anti-black sentiment tends to increase as political viewpoints vary from liberalism towards conservatism. In addition, the 1968 campaign literature of the Conservative Party express positions which seemed designed, perhaps unintentionally, to appeal to voters harboring anti-black sentiment. For example, the Conservative Party proposed:

"The enactment of legislation prohibiting the assignment of pupils on the basis of race without the written consent of parents or guardians, and the elimination of state financial support for any program directed to maintaining any so-called "racial balance" in individual schools." (Legislative Program, 1968, p. 2, section 2, # 10)

Whereas the Liberal Party proposed:

"The state should provide emergency aid for the earliest possible elimination of de facto school segregation in all school districts at all levels." (Legislative Program, 1968, p. 12)

Furthermore the Conservative Party proposed:

"Repeal of the Metcalf-Baker law, thus returning to private property owners the right to dispose of their property as they choose." (Legislative Program, 1968, p. 4, section VII, #6)

Adorno et al. (1950) observed a significant correlation between scores on scales of Political and Economic Conservatism and Ethnocentrism ( $r = +.5$  to  $+.6$ ). Although the correlations were imperfect, conservatives tended to endorse, while liberals

tended to reject the following types of statements:

1. Negroes have their rights but it is best to keep them in their own districts and schools and to prevent too much contact with them.
2. It would be a mistake to have negroes for foreman and leaders over whites.
3. Manual labor and unskilled jobs seem to fit the negro mentality and ability better than more skilled or responsible work.

Similarly, McClosky (1958) reports that only 11% of the liberals scored at the high end of an Ethnocentric scale adapted from Adorno et.al. compared with 71% of the conservatives.

The Adorno group generally define Ethnocentrism as a tendency to reject and oppose people or ideas with which one has no sense of belonging. The dimension along which an individual assigns people or ideas as ingroup or outgroup, however, fluctuates according to the particular level of social organization or situational context in which he is operating. (1950, p. 147) Some of the more frequent ingroup-outgroup distinctions are: Negroes-Whites; Americans-Foreigners; Religious-Unreligious; and Jews-Gentiles.

In addition, Adorno et al. reported a significant relationship between conservatism and antidemocratic trends as measured by the "F" scale. Also, the "F" scale scores were significantly related ( $r = .75$ ) to Ethnocentrism (E). This relationship should perhaps be expected, since the "F" scale was conceived as a less "ticklish" way to uncover conscious and unconscious ethnocentrism (Adorno et al., pp. 222-223).

Nevertheless, "Authoritarianism" (F scale measure) was treated as a personality variable in its own right, composed of an underlying cluster of attitudes and opinions along several dimensions, though expressing itself on the surface as Ethnocentrism.

Some confirmation of the relationship between liberal and conservative political ideologies and "F" scale scores is offered by Leventhal (1964), who reported that in 1960 high "F" scale scorers preferred Nixon to Kennedy. Similarly, Goldberg and Stark (1965) noted that higher "F" scale scorers preferred Goldwater to Johnson.

Rokeach (1960), attempting to isolate the underlying dimension of authoritarianism and intolerance, found that Dogmatism was prevalent among both political rightists and leftists, though somewhat more so for the former. Dogmatism was defined as a general measure of authoritarianism and intolerance which prevents one from "receiving, evaluating and acting on relevant information received from outside on its own intrinsic merits, unencumbered by irrelevant factors in the situation arising from within the person or from the outside." (1960, p. 57)

Although Rokeach's research indicated that the "F" scale measures only authoritarianism on the right, his own data on a British sample supports the Adorno et al. finding that those on the political right are more intolerant toward ethnic and racial groups. Rokeach observed, however, that the Communists are most intolerant toward those who disagree with their views.

In addition, confirmation of the relationship between conservatism and ethnocentrism, expressed as anti-negro sentiment, is provided by Free and Cantril (1967).

Thus on the basis of the studies mentioned above indicating that anti-black sentiment increases as political orientation varies from liberalism to conservatism, it is predicted that:

Hypothesis 1: The extent to which black victims elicit helping behavior less frequently than whites is more pronounced among Conservative than among Liberal Party members.

Note that Hypothesis 1. implies not that Liberals escape the condition of White Racism, but that they do so to a greater extent than Conservatives.

#### General Levels of Helping Behavior of Liberals and Conservatives

On the basis of personality scales administered to liberals and conservatives (determined on the basis of a liberalism-conservatism questionnaire), McClosky (1958) reports that support for liberal or conservative doctrines is highly related to distinctively different personality patterns. Furthermore, these relationships are evident even when factors such as education, occupation and general socio-economic status are constant. McClosky reports that greater percentages of conservatives than liberals scored at

one end while greater percentages of liberals scored at the opposite end of the distributions on a number of social and clinical personality traits. On the social personality scales, conservatives scored lower on Dominance and Social Responsibility, but higher on Anomie, Bewilderment, Pessimism, and Guilt. Also, on the clinical-personality scales, conservatives scored higher on Hostility, Paranoid Tendencies, Contempt for Weakness, Ego Defence, Rigidity, Obsessiveness, and Intolerance of Human Frailty.

On the basis of the general cluster of traits more characteristic of conservatives than liberals, particularly with respect to Contempt of Weakness, Intolerance of Human Frailty, and lower Social Responsibility, it is predicted that:

Hypothesis 2: Persons in need of assistance will more frequently elicit helping behavior from Liberal than from Conservative Party members.

#### The victim's Sex: A Potential Overriding Factor

Although the phenomenon of less frequent helping of blacks than of whites might be more marked for Conservative than for Liberal Party members, would other characteristics of the victim tend to override the fact of his race? It seems reasonable to expect that regardless of race, female victims should elicit help more frequently than male victims. Would this possible overriding factor have greater effect on Conservative than Liberal Party members?

First, because females are generally perceived to be more emotional, dependent, passive, soft, warm and generally less aggressive and threatening than males (Sappenfield, Kaplan, and Balogh, 1966), we might expect the social responsibility norm to be more salient and/or motivation to act in accord with it to be greater for female than for male victims. Supporting this notion Bickman (1969b) observed that females claiming that their wallets were stolen were more successful in soliciting "an additional 5 cents to get home" from subway riders than males who made the same claim.

Second, because in this study the victim is supposedly stranded on a highway, it is perhaps more likely that females would be perceived to be in greater danger than males. Therefore, on the basis both of personality traits perceived to be more characteristic of females than of males, and of the possibly greater perceived danger to females in the situation, it is predicted that:

Hypothesis 3: Female victims elicit help more frequently than male victims, regardless of race.

In addition studies have indicated that people higher on Ethnocentrism (Adorno, et al., 1950) or Authoritarianism (Bleiberg and Slotnick, 1969) tend to have more polarized views on the appropriate personality characteristics and social roles for males and females, respectively. It seems reasonable, then, to expect the overt behavior of higher E and F scorers toward the two sexes to express this more polarized

conception. Therefore it is predicted that:

Hypothesis 4: The extent to which females elicit helping behavior more frequently than males is greater among Conservative than among Liberal Party members.

Roger Brown (1960, p. 752) questions the underlying reason for using the specific query, "Would you want your daughter (or sister) to marry one?" in the attempt to expose a person's prejudices. Is it by accident that people are apparently less concerned for their sons and brothers when referring to the possibility of inter-racial marriages or acquaintanceships? Perhaps, as suggested by Brown, whites have greater fear of, and hostility toward, the black male than toward the black female. The historical emasculation of the black male by White America supports the above notion.

If black males in fact receive a disproportionate share of anti-black sentiment, then since it is expected that black victims will elicit helping behavior less frequently than white victims, and also that male victims will elicit assistance less frequently than female victims, it is additionally expected that:

Hypothesis 5: The magnitude of the difference between helping of males and helping of females is greater for black than for white victims.

Moreover, if conservatives tend to polarize the sex roles to a greater extent than liberals, and to maintain greater anti-black sentiment, a second order interaction might be

expected. Specifically it is expected that:

Hypothesis 6: Assuming that the general phenomenon of less frequent helping behavior for males than for females will be more marked in the case of black than of white victims, this effect is more pronounced for Conservative than for Liberal Party members.

### Verbal Behavior in the Reactive-Hypothetical Situation

In the reactive-hypothetical situation Liberal and Conservative Party members were informed of their participation in a study during which they were asked, "if you received the wrong-number telephone call, would you call the garage for the stranded motorist?"

In this situation it is reasonable to expect the Ss' verbal responses to be contaminated, to some extent, by their desire to impress the interviewer favorably. This contaminating factor, labeled the "Guinea Pig Effect" by Selltitz, Jahoda, Deutsch and Cook (1951) was defined as follows:

"The measurement process used in the experiment may itself affect the outcome. If people feel that they are "guinea pigs" being experimented with, or if they feel that they are being "tested" and must make a good impression, or if the method of data collection suggests responses or stimulates an interest the subject did not previously feel, the measuring process may distort the experimental results. (p. 97)

Because the naturalistic, non-reactive situation would be less likely to arouse the desire to make a good impression, it is reasonable to expect a disparity between the frequency of

helping behavior actually elicited and the frequency of helping behavior people report they would engage in when asked in the reactive-hypothetical situation.

Such a disparity is also expected on the basis of the classical studies of La Piere, Asch and Milgram, which have strikingly illustrated that people are poor predictors of their overt behavior. The results of these studies suggest that full appreciation of situational forces is negligible until one is actually in the situation. Thus it is predicted that:

Hypothesis 7: The frequency of helping behavior actually elicited in a non-reactive (naturalistic) situation is less than that expected on the basis of what people claim they would do in a standard (reactive) interview in which the situation is described.

In the reactive-hypothetical situation, confirmation is expected for hypotheses 3 and 4, i.e. females elicit more helping behavior than males, and the extent of this differential elicitation is greater for Conservative than for Liberal Party members. Confirmation of these hypotheses is expected, in spite of the reactivity of the situation, because it is not necessarily socially undesirable to admit we might act differently toward males and females in need of assistance. On the other hand, it is socially undesirable, at least in the "liberal" Northeast, to claim that we would act differently towards black and white victims. Therefore, in the reactive-

hypothetical situation hypotheses 1, 5, and 6, (i.e. those regarding blacks and whites) are expected to be disconfirmed.

With respect to the expected disparity between the non-reactive and reactive-hypothetical situations, a greater disparity is expected for Conservative than for Liberal Party members because it is expected that Liberals will actually help more frequently overall (hypothesis 2). However, within the reactive situation there is little empirical basis to expect that Liberals will respond differently than Conservattives, except for the Conservatives' greater willingness to help females than males. In general, the pattern of traits associated with liberalism and conservatism additionally suggests that Conservatives would be more concerned with publicly creating a favorable impression and with doing the right thing, because they are more concerned with conventional values (Adorno, et al., 1950).

CHAPTER II  
METHODOLOGY

Non-Reactive Study

Subjects

230 registered Liberal and 238 registered Conservative Party members were selected from the New York City (Borough of Brooklyn) voter registration rolls (1968-1969) purchased from the Board of Elections. The Ss were selected from Assembly Districts 39, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, and 53, which are located in areas of Brooklyn largely populated by whites.

To minimize possible social-economic status differences between the Liberal and Conservative Party members, the Ss were matched as closely as possible in terms of a) residence within the same or adjacent Election Districts, consisting of only a few city blocks, i.e. within the larger Assembly District; and b) type of dwelling unit, i.e. single, double, or multiple. Only those Liberals and Conservatives with listed telephone numbers who were not called in a previous study could be included in the sample.

Also, to minimize the possibility that the wrong-number telephone call would not be received by registered Liberal or Conservative Party members, only those homes in which all registered members of the household were affiliated with the same party, i.e. Liberal or Conservative, were selected.

Matched pairs of Liberals and Conservatives were randomly assigned to the different experimental conditions.

### Procedure

The race and sex of the caller was manipulated by varying his (her) speech and voice characteristics. The callers used identical dialogue. When the caller was Black a black actor, employing a modified "Negro stereotyped dialect" called and identified himself as George (or Mrs.) Williams. Similarly, when the caller was White, another actor using a recognizably White speech pattern contacted the Ss. The effectiveness of these manipulations of the callers' sex and race was assessed by asking college students to rate tape recordings of the callers' recitations of the experimental dialogue. These college Ss were asked to rate a given voice in terms of race, sex, social class and personality traits (see Appendix C for the bipolar rating scales).

Using College students to evaluate caller characteristics, while convenient, might seem inappropriate since we must then assume these ratings would be similar to those which a sample of Liberal and Conservative Party members of various ages would give. However, evidence from Hovland and Sherif (1952) presented in Edwards (1957) indicated that although judgments between different groups (i.e. groups with opposing attitudes) are displaced, the rank ordering of the items remains the same. Different judges are apparently capable of making similar discriminations.

To maximize the probability that both males and females were home to receive the calls, the study was conducted only between the hours of 6:30 P.M. and 9:30 P.M. It was run on 12 evenings between May 20 and June 26, 1969.

If a child (identified by voice characteristics as being under 21 years of age) answered the phone, the caller politely apologized for reaching the wrong number and hung up the receiver. If an adult answered, the caller recited the prepared dialogue presented below.

Caller: "Hello...Ralph's Garage? This is George (or Mrs.) Williams. Listen, I'm stuck out here on the parkway.. and I'm wondering if you'd be able to come out here and take a look at my car?"

Ss' most frequent reply: "This isn't Ralph's Garage. This is a private residence. You have the wrong number."

Caller: "This isn't Ralph's Garage? Listen I'm terribly sorry to have disturbed you but listen...I'm stuck out here on the highway...and that was the last dime I had. I have bills in my pocket...but no more change to make another call. Now I'm really stuck out here. What am I going to do now?"

S (S might volunteer to call the garage. If not, continue...)

Caller: "Listen...do you think you could do me the favor of calling the garage and letting them know were I am? I'll give you the number. They know me over there."

(Continue if S does not agree to call)

Prod A: "Oh brother...listen I'm stuck out here...couldn't you please help me out by simply calling the garage for me?"

Prod B: "Listen..If you were in my situation...wouldn't you want someone to help you?"

If after Prod B. the S refused to call the garage but did not hang up his receiver, the caller stated, "Oh, one second...here comes a police car...I think he will be able to give me a hand," thus relieving the S of any concern he might have had for the caller.

If the S agreed to help, the caller provided a telephone number for Ralph's Garage which was actually the number of a phone manned by confederates of E. Only if the S called the number provided by the caller and related relevant information about the stranded motorist was he credited with helping. When the S helped, he was assured that the stranded motorist would be helped immediately and was graciously thanked for his helpfulness.

If the S refused to help after Prod B, or hung up after the caller stated..."and that was the last dime..." a No Help response was recorded. However, if the S hung up prior to the word "dime" a Premature Hang-Up response was scored and was treated separately from the Help-No Help response categories. In the case of a Premature Hang-Up, it was believed that the S did not have ample opportunity to learn that his help was needed.

To identify carefully which S helped a stranded motorist, the following procedures were employed. First, only two callers were used each evening; generally, the black female and white male called on Tuesdays and Thursdays, while the white female and black male called on Mondays and Wednesdays. Because the black and white callers provided the Ss with different tele...

phone numbers to call, i.e. for Ralph's Garage, the identity of the caller receiving assistance was easily determined by which phone rang. Second, each time a S agreed to call, the caller changed his location on the parkway (e.g. Shore Parkway and Bay Ridge Rd., Shore Parkway and Coney Island Ave., etc.) rotating among eight different locations. At the "garage" the S was asked for the location of the stranded motorist. Finally, both the time at which the call to the S was completed and the time of his call-back were recorded. Thus, based upon which phone rang, the reported location of the stranded motorist, and the times the calls were completed and received, the Ss that helped were identified by matching the response sheets at the "garage" with those completed during the call by the "stranded motorist."

To ease the burden on the "stranded motorist," his conversation with the S was monitored by an assistant who recorded the S's sex, approximate age, and stated location provided; whether or not S agreed to help, when he so agreed, etc. (see Appendix D for the complete response sheet). Also, at "the Garage" this information was recorded to aid in the identification of which Ss helped. While the calls were being placed to the Ss, the caller and E's assistants were unaware of the S's political affiliation and name. The only information provided was the S's telephone number.

In the event that a caller obtained different levels of helping behavior from one evening to the next, a sample of his performance was recorded each evening to be evaluated for changes

in the nature of the performance over time. Fortunately, there were no disparities from session to session in the levels of helping elicited by each of the stranded motorists. At no time was the S's voice tape recorded.

After the selection of Ss it was apparent that the majority of Liberals were of Jewish ethnicity, while the majority of the Conservatives were non-Jewish. The determination of the S's religious identity was based upon his first and last names. For example, Samuel Goldstein would have been considered Jewish, while Frank Antonio would have been considered non-Jewish. Those Ss whose ethnic-religious identity could not be ascertained by an examination of their names were once again contacted by telephone and asked to participate in a study to determine the frequency with which people attend church or synagogue in the New York City area. During the interview the S's religious identity was revealed frequently in the following manner: "We only attend synagogue on Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur," or, "We attend only on Easter Sunday." If such information had not been revealed in his response, he was asked more directly to state his religious preference.

#### An Ethnic-Religious Control Group

An additional 24 Liberals and 21 Conservatives were called by a white male identifying himself as Martin Goldstein, as a control to gauge the effects of religious similarity between the Ss and the victim.

## The Reactive-Hypothetical Situation

### Subjects

54 Liberal and 45 Conservative Party members were selected and assigned on a random basis to the reactive-hypothetical phase at the same time as the Ss for the non-reactive phase were chosen and assigned.

### Procedure

On the same evenings that the non-reactive phase of the study was conducted, Ss in the reactive-hypothetical phase were engaged in an interview during which it was clear that the interviewer was aware of the S's name. The interviewer explained that he was conducting a survey to determine the need for "free emergency telephone service from all public telephones." During the interview the S was asked what he personally would do if he received the call from each of the stranded motorists, and also to estimate the percentage of people in his area that would be willing to place the call for the stranded motorists. Thus each S was asked to predict his behavior and the behavior of others like him. There were two reasons for asking the S to estimate the behavior of others in terms of percentages of others who would call: First, this measure might be a more valid (less reactive) indicator of what the S truly believed he would do than would his being asked directly; second, being asked for percentages of others the S was provided some latitude to maneuver, which added desirable variability to the data. Otherwise, S would have

to choose only between: Yes\_\_\_ and No\_\_ response categories.

Each S was asked to respond in terms of each of the four callers used in the non-reactive situation, i.e. white male, white female, black male, and black female. The order in which the S was presented with each of the callers was systematically rotated among the Ss to avoid confoundment by series effects.

The interview schedule used in the reactive-hypothetical phase is presented below.

### Interview

Hello.... is this the \_\_\_\_\_ (S's last name) residence? This is Dr. Williams from the Public Opinion Institute...and we are conducting a neighborhood survey to determine the need for Free Emergency Telephone service from all public telephones in the New York City area. That is, we would like to know whether people like yourself, selected at random from the telephone directory, would consider it advantageous, in the event of an emergency, to be able to contact a special operator without depositing a coin in any public telephone. Would you please be kind enough to help us out? We ask only a minute of your time.

First, do you believe that free emergency telephone service is necessary?

Also, it would be helpful to us to have your opinion regarding what you would expect others and yourself to do if they received a call similar to the one I am about to describe to you.

A man (or woman) driving home from his (her) weekly

Sheepshead Bay Men's Club  
Sheepshead Bay Women's Club  
Harlem Men's Club  
Harlem Women's Club

meeting becomes stuck out on the highway and attempts to call his (her) garage from a nearby roadside public telephone. However, somehow the wrong number was reached and you were contacted. After you corrected this person's misconception and informed him (her) that he (she) reached a private residence and not a garage...he (she) explains that he (she) is terribly sorry to have disturbed you...

but that he (she) is stuck on the highway and has just used his (her) last piece of change to place this call to you... he (she) continues to explain that he (she) has bills in his pocket (her purse) but nor more change to make another phone call to the garage. Then he (she) asks, "Do you think you would do me the favor of calling the garage and letting them know where I am....I'll give you the number....They know me over there."

Do you think you would call the garage for this (Negro) man (lady)?

Also, what percentage of people living in your area do you think wyold be willing to call the garage for this person?

If this stranded motorist was a Black Male, (Black Female, White Male, White Female) would you call the garage?

These questions were asked until the S provided responses for each of the stranded motorists.

Prior to the completion of the interview E recorded an estimate of the S's age using the following scale:

18-20  $\frac{\quad}{1}$     21-30  $\frac{\quad}{2}$     31-40  $\frac{\quad}{3}$     41-50  $\frac{\quad}{4}$     51-60  $\frac{\quad}{5}$     61-70  $\frac{\quad}{6}$     71+  $\frac{\quad}{7}$

Following this estimate the S was asked to state his age.

As an additional measure of "helpfulness" the frequency with which Liberal and Conservative Party members were willing to participate in this interview was recorded.

### CHAPTER III

#### RESULTS

A. The identification of the caller's race on the basis of vocal cues.

College students listening to tape recordings of the experimental dialogue were remarkably accurate in determining the racial identity of each of the four stimulus persons. The white male and female were perceived as white by 95.3% (N=44) and 94% (N=48) of the Ss, respectively. Furthermore, the black male and female were recognized as black 100% of the time (N=39 and 30, respectively). No errors were made regarding the sex of the callers, possibly because each identified himself as Mr. or Mrs. Williams. Thus, the race and sex of the callers were successfully conveyed vocally.

In addition, the panel of student judges perceived social and personality differences among the black and white callers which suggested that either the judges were highly influenced by stereotyped beliefs or that the people selected as callers actually possessed many of these stereotyped characteristics. The pattern of traits attributed to each of the callers, however, indicated that if a stereotyping process was operating, it was something other than a simple halo effect favoring the white callers.

The white callers were perceived as more educated (i.e., whites were believed to have had some college experience, where-as most assumed that the blacks only completed high-school); also, whites were perceived to be of higher social class, (i.e. blacks were believed to be almost lower-middle class, while the whites were perceived to be between middle-middle and upper-middle class). Although these perceived social class differences between the black and white callers confound the variable of race, they may in fact represent a realistic appraisal of the relative social status of blacks and whites in our society.

In addition, the white callers were perceived as more reliable and sincere, while the blacks were perceived as more courteous, more friendly, less hostile, less anxious and less quick tempered. A quantitative summary of these findings is presented in Appendix E.

B. Subjects rejected from the data analysis.

Out of the 451 calls in the non-reactive situation, four were discounted (i.e., two calls placed by each the black and white female) and not included in the data analysis.

On eLiberal Party woman called by the black female was discounted because she was unable to understand English. This call was terminated by the caller prior to any request for assistance.

A Conservative Party woman called by the black female

was discounted because her neighbor, present at the time of the call, reported that she was called the evening before by a Mr. Williams with the same story. Eliminating Ss because they may have been suspicious is problematic, but in this case the stranded motorist's story could not reasonably have been expected to be believed.

A Liberal Party woman who actually helped the white female was eliminated from the data analysis because she was judged, on the basis of speech characteristics to be black. This judgment was made both during the initial call and upon the S's call to the garage. An additional call to this household, later in the evening, once again suggested that the S was black. Since this study was concerned solely with the behavior of white Liberal and Conservative Party members, this S was discounted from the data analysis.

Finally, a call by the white female caller was discounted because, oddly enough, she apparently reached "the wrong number." The receiver of the call, a male estimated at about 45 years of age, claimed that we called a restaurant and not a garage. After our motorist explained her predicament, the S explained that he would have to ask his boss if he could use the telephone to call the garage for her. However, after approximately one minute of silence, the S hung up his receiver, terminating the experimental trial. Upon redialing this number later in the evening and asking, "Do you prepare hamburgers to go?" a young woman claimed that we had reached a private residence and not a restaurant. Probably our caller really reached the

wrong number initially. Evidently, a slight limitation of the "Wrong Number" technique is the actual possibility of reaching a wrong number. Nevertheless, there is no reason to suspect that a caller's carelessness would contaminate the results. First, E's research assistants, responsible for dialing the Ss' telephone numbers, were rotated among the black and white callers on alternate evenings. Furthermore, in the reactive-hypothetical phase of the study, in which the S's family name was mentioned, we failed to reach a single wrong number out of 109 calls. Thus the possibility of actually reaching a wrong number is only a minor limitation, having negligible effects upon the results.

### C. Test of Hypotheses

#### 1. Statistical Methods

The hypotheses concerning behavior in the non-reactive situation were tested by the partitioned Chi Square technique suggested by Sutcliffe (1957). A slight modification was incorporated to increase the accuracy of determining expected frequency values when the number of Ss within the cells of the fixed variables were unequal. In all cases, these modifications resulted in a more conservative test of the hypotheses. Specifically, the expected frequencies for the Help-No Help responses were obtained by collapsing the Help-No Help conditions, and multiplying the observed frequency within each cell by the overall proportion of Help and No Help observed.

The Ss' estimates of the percentage of people in their area who would help each of the stranded motorists were examined by the Friedman Two Way Analysis of Variance. The Friedman test converts the percentage estimates for each S to ranks and thus more clearly answers the basic question of whether people expect greater percentages of others to white or black, male or female victims, while disregarding the absolute magnitude of the expected differences in the proportions. Furthermore, the Friedman Test permits the inclusion of the high number of Ss claiming that the same percentage of others would help each of the callers.

The hypotheses of this study were tested with two-tailed tests of significance.

2. The effects of the victim's race upon the elicitation of Helping Behavior.

Replicating the results of Gaertner and Bickman (1969), the present study indicated that white citizens called upon for assistance are more likely to help a white than a black victim ( $X^2 = 20.88$ ,  $p < .001$ , 1 df). Overall, blacks were assisted 64.5% of the time, while whites were helped on 84.3% of their trials. The white male elicited help 83% of the time, the black male only 60% of the time ( $X^2 = 13.28$ ,  $p < .001$ , 1 df). Similarly, the white female was assisted 85% of the time, while the black female was helped by only 69% of the Ss called ( $X^2 = 7.82$ ,  $p < .01$ , 1 df).

Table 1: Partitioned Chi Square - All Subjects

<u>Source</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>Chi Square</u>	
A X B	1	20.88	p<.001
A X C	1	1.73	
A X D	1	3.99	p<.05
A X B X C	1	0.54	
A X B X D	1	2.90	p<.10
A X C X D	1	0.61	
A X B X C X D	1	0.13	
TOTAL	7	30.78	p<.001

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A = Help:No Help  
 B = Race of Caller  
 C = Sex of Caller  
 D = Liberal or Conservative Party S

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3. The extent to which Liberal and Conservative Party members helped the black and white victims

Hypothesis 1 stated that the extent to which black victims elicit helping behavior less frequently than whites is more pronounced among Conservative than among Liberal Party members. Table 1 reveals that the ABD interaction of the partitioned Chi Square reached an acceptable level of significance and thus warrants careful inspection ( $X_{ABD}^2 = 2.90$ ,  $p<.10$ , 1 df). The data relevant to the ABD interaction are presented in Table 2.

Table 2. The extent to which black and white victims were assisted by Liberal and Conservative Party members.

	<u>LIBERALS</u>		<u>CONSERVATIVES</u>	
	White Victims	Black Victims	White Victims	Black Victims
Freq. Help	77	64	95	65
Freq. No Help	24	36	8	35
<hr/>				
% Help	76%	64%	92%	65%
<hr/>				

Table 2 indicates that among Liberal Party members, white victims were helped 76% of the time while black victims were assisted only 64% of the time. This difference of 12% favoring the white victims was marginally significant ( $X^2 = 3.59$ ,  $p < .10$ , 1 df). However, for Conservative Party members the extent to which white victims were assisted more frequently than blacks was of greater magnitude. 92% of the Conservatives assisted the white victims, while only 65% helped the black victims. This difference of 27% favoring the white victim is unlikely to have resulted from chance ( $X^2 = 22.54$ ,  $p < .001$ , 1 df).

Inspection of Figure 1 suggests that for both male and female victims, the extent to which blacks are helped less frequently than whites is greater among Conservative than Liberal Party members. Among Liberals, the white male was

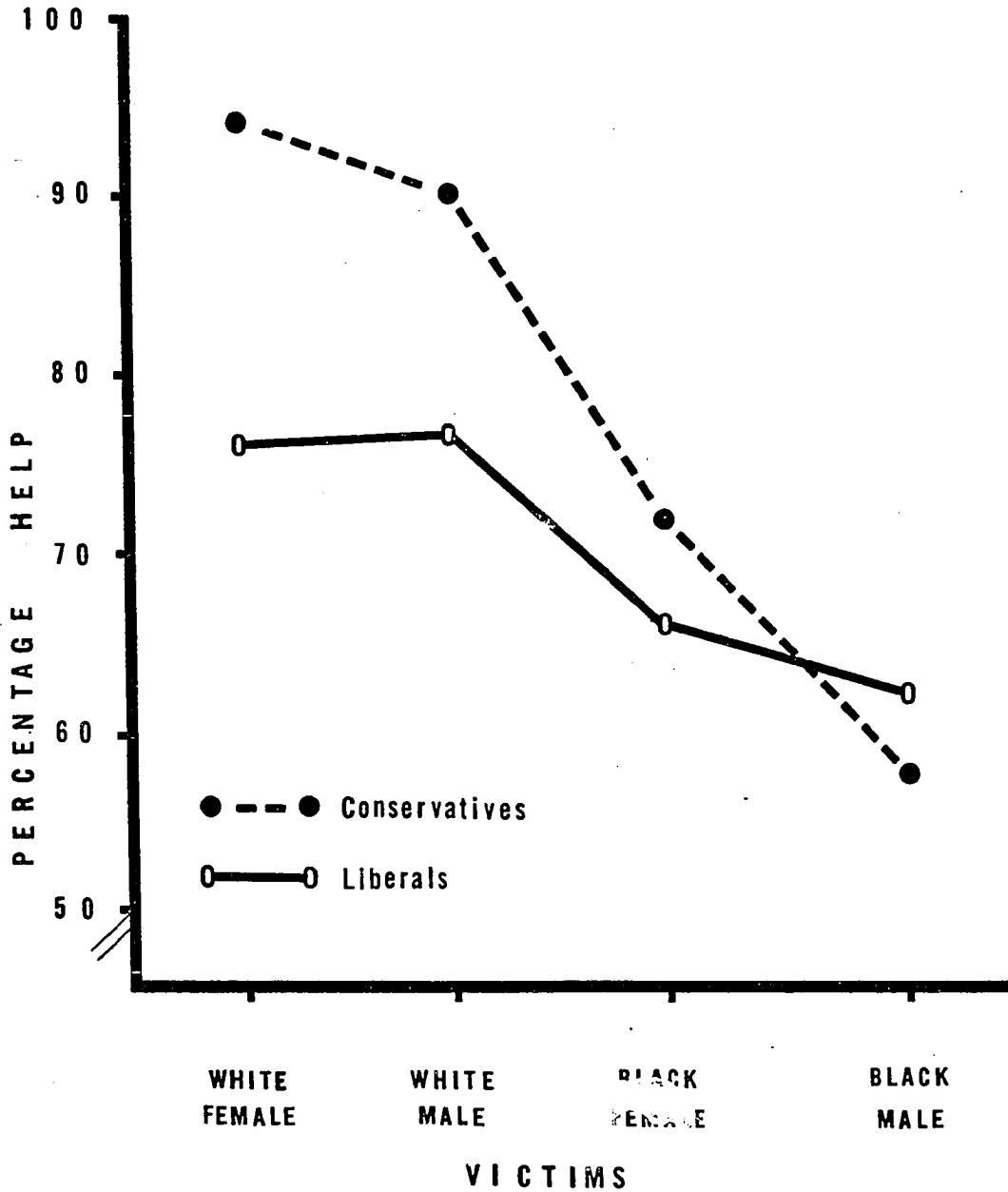


FIGURE 1. The percentage of Liberal and Conservative Party members that helped each of the stranded motorists.

helped 76% of the time, while the black male was helped 62% of the time. This difference of 14%, although in the predicted direction, could reasonably be attributed to chance ( $X^2 = 2.29$ ,  $p < .20$ , 1 df). Similarly for female victims, Liberals assisted the white victim 10% more frequently than the black victim ( $X^2 = 1.35$ , n.s.). However, for Conservatives, the white male was assisted 32% more frequently than the black male ( $X^2 = 13.69$ ,  $p < .001$ , 1 df). Similarly, among Conservatives, the white female was assisted 22% more frequently than the black female ( $X^2 = 9.07$ ,  $p < .01$ , 1 df).

Hypothesis 1. was confirmed, not because blacks were helped more by Liberals than by Conservatives as expected, but because whites were helped more by Conservatives than by Liberals. The white victims were helped by 92% of the Conservatives and by only 76% of the Liberal Party members ( $X^2 = 9.87$ ,  $p < .01$ , 1 df). Actually, the black victims were no better off reaching a Liberal than a Conservative Party household. In either case, black victims were helped approximately 65% of the time.

Hypothesis 2. proposing that people needing assistance elicit help more frequently from Liberal than from Conservative Party members was unsupported by the data. On the contrary, overall, 78.8% of the Conservatives and only 70% of the Liberals helped. The AD interaction (see Table 1) indicates that the difference here, between Liberal and Conservative Party members was unlikely to have arisen by chance ( $X^2_{AD} = 3.99$ ,  $p < .05$ , 1 df). However, the Conservatives'

greater overall willingness to help is due solely to their greater willingness to assist white victims.

4. Do females receive help more frequently than males?

Hypothesis 3, which proposed that female victims elicit helping behavior more frequently than males was unsupported by the data. Table 3 indicates that female victims were

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Table 3. The extent to which male and female victims were helped.

	Male Victims	Female Victims
Freq. Help	144	157
Freq. No Help	57	46
<hr/>		
% Help	71.6%	77.3%

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assisted 77.3% of the time, while the male motorists were helped 71.6% of the time ( $\chi^2_{AC} = 1.73$ , n.s.).

Furthermore, Hypothesis 4, which expected Conservatives to behave according to their more polarized conception of the sex-roles was also unsupported by the data. Table 4 indicates that the difference in the extent to which male and female victims were helped was not substantially greater for Conservatives than for Liberal Party members. Among Conservatives,

females were assisted 9% more frequently than males ( $X^2 = 2.50$ ,  $p < .20$ , 1 df), while for Liberals this difference was reduced to 2% ( $X^2 = 0.13$ , n.s.). The ACD interaction, listed in Table 1, indicates that the 7% difference between Liberal and Conservative Party members reported above could reasonably be due to chance ( $X^2_{ACD} = 0.61$ , n.s.).

Table 4. The extent to which male and female victims were helped by Liberal and Conservative Party members.

	<u>LIBERALS</u>		<u>CONSERVATIVES</u>	
	Male Victims	Female Victims	Male Victims	Female Victims
Freq. Help	69	72	75	85
Freq. No Help	31	29	26	17
% Help	69%	71%	74%	83%

Unsupportive of Hypothesis 5, the extent to which males elicited help less frequently than females was not greater for the black than the white victims. That is, compared to their white counterparts, the black male was not more unacceptable than the black female. Table 5 indicates that the black female received help 9% more frequently than the black male ( $X^2 = 1.77$ , n.s.), while the white female elicited

help 2% more frequently than the white male ( $X^2 = 0.20$ , n.s.). Although these findings are in the predicted direction, the difference between the white and black victims (i.e., 7%) in the extent to which females were assisted more frequently than males could reasonably be attributed to chance ( $X^2_{ABC} = 0.54$ , n.s.).

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Table 5. The extent to which the victim's sex and race affected the elicitation of helping behavior.

	White Male	White Female	Black Male	Black Female
Freq. Help	84	88	60	69
Freq. No Help	17	15	40	31
% Help	83%	85%	60%	69%

In addition, Hypothesis 6, which predicted that the extent to which females elicited help more frequently than males would be greater among black than among white victims, itself would be of greater magnitude among Conservatives than among Liberal Party members. Presenting the data of this 2 X 2 X 2 study with all cells uncollapsed, Table 6 indicates that the difference here, with respect to hypothesis 6, for Liberals was 3.5% and for Conservatives was 10%. According to the ABCD interaction listed in Table 1, the difference

here between Liberal and Conservative Party members probably arose by chance ( $\chi^2_{ABCD} = 0.13$ , n.s.). Incidentally, the partitioned chi square presented in Table 1 is based upon the data in Table 6.

Table 6. The extent to which the victim's sex and race affected the elicitation of helping behavior of Liberal and Conservative Party members considered independently.

	<u>LIBERALS</u>			
	White Male Victim	White Female Victim	Black Male Victim	Black Female Victim
Freq. Help	38	39	31	33
Freq. No Help	12	12	19	17
% Help	76%	76.5%	62%	66%

	<u>CONSERVATIVES</u>			
	White Male Victim	White Female Victim	Black Male Victim	Black Female Victim
Freq. Help	46	49	29	36
Freq. No Help	5	3	21	14
% Help	90%	94%	58%	72%

Summarizing the major findings at this point: black victims were helped less frequently than white victims; Conservative Party members helped more frequently than Liberal Party members; the extent to which black victims were helped less frequently than white victims was greater among Conservative than Liberal Party members. Blacks, however, were not helped more frequently by Liberals than by Conservatives. Unexpectedly, the White victims were helped more frequently by Conservative than by Liberal Party members. Female victims were not assisted more frequently than males.

5. Age: A confounding factor.

Although procedures were employed to minimize any differences between Liberal and Conservative Party members, save for political affiliation, it was observed that Liberals were generally older than Conservatives. During the experimental encounter the age of the S was estimated using 10 year intervals (i.e., 20's \_\_\_\_, 30's \_\_\_\_, 40's \_\_\_\_, etc.). On the basis of voice quality and perhaps verbal content the mean age rating for Liberals was 37.2 years and for Conservatives 26.8 years ( $t = 9.29, p < .001$ ). Post hoc, this age difference, which is opposite to what we might have expected, seems reasonable considering that the Conservative Party was founded in 1962, while the Liberal Party has recently celebrated its Twenty-Fifth Anniversary.

The age difference between Liberals and Conservatives is important because apparently the age of the potential good Samaritan is an important factor affecting the elicitation of helping behavior. Gaertner & Bickman (1969) observed that younger Ss (i.e., those below 51 years) more frequently helped a white "stranded motorist" than did those over 50 years of age. Also, the Ss under 40 years of age more frequently helped a black victim than those judged older than 40 years.

The accuracy with which a person's reported age can be estimated using 10 year intervals was assessed during the reactive-hypothetical phase of the study. During the reactive phase E recorded an estimate of the S's age and then asked the S for his age, i.e. between 20-30, 30-40, etc. The product moment correlation coefficient for the scores representing S's reported age and E's estimate was remarkably high ( $r = .89$ ). The average reported age of Liberals was about 38.1 years, while that of Conservatives was approximately 29.5 years. Note that in the non-reactive phase, E estimated the average ages of the Liberals and Conservatives to be 37.2 and 26.8 years, respectively. Generally, it seems that using 10 year intervals judges can accurately estimate a person's age on the basis of voice quality and possible verbal content.

In view of the age effect reported by Gaertner and Bickman (1969) and the apparent age difference observed here, the hypotheses of this study were additionally tested under conditions in which the age difference between the Liberal and Conservative Party members had been somewhat

minimized. Responses of Liberals judged to be older than 50 years of age (N=57) were temporarily deleted from the sample and treated separately. Data on the five Conservative Party members judged to be older than 50 were not deleted because, unlike the older Liberals these Conservatives were extremely helpful (i.e., four out of five helped). If these five Conservatives were deleted, the hypotheses would have been tested with a less conservative procedure. The tetrachoric correlation coefficient of 0.87 represents the reliability estimate for judgments discriminating those Ss above and below 50 years of age. The first estimate was made during the initial call to the S; the second upon the S's call to the "garage." Thus this estimate suffers the limitation of being based only upon those Ss who helped (N=301).

The average age rating for the age-corrected Liberals (i.e., those below 50 years) was 30.9 years, while that of the Conservatives remained at 26.8 years. Although the Conservative Party members were still somewhat younger than the Liberals ( $t = 4.56, p < .01$ ), the age difference was considerably reduced.

Figure 2 compares the level of helping behavior extended by the older Liberals, the age-corrected Liberals and the Conservative Party members to each of the stranded motorists. One of the more striking findings in Figure 2 is the relatively low level of help extended by the older Liberals. While 80.6% of the age-corrected Liberals helped overall, only 43.9% of the older Liberals called the garage for the stranded

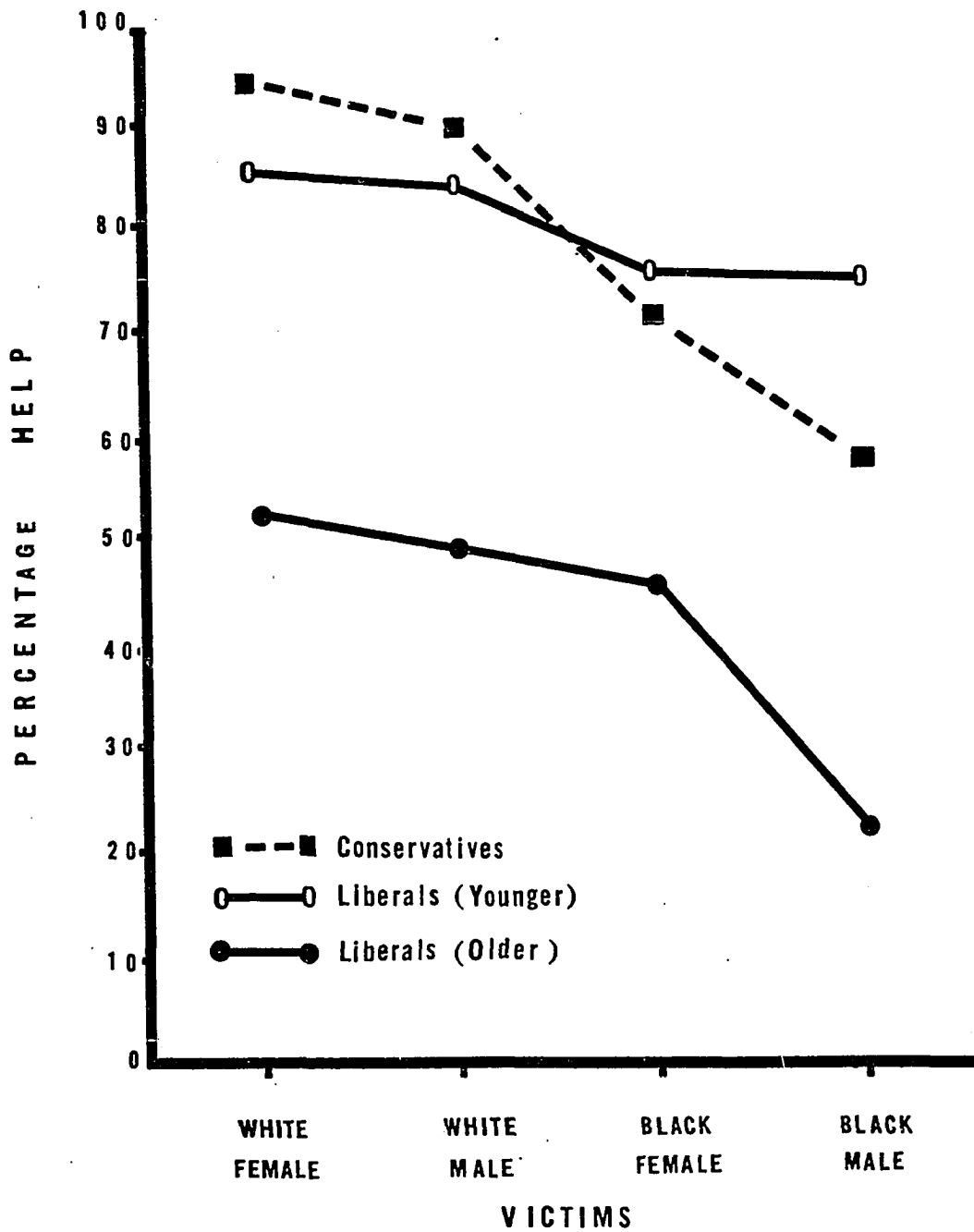


FIGURE 2: The percentage of help elicited from Younger Liberal (i.e. below 50 years), Older Liberal (i.e. above 50 years), and Conservative Party Members by each of the stranded motorists.

drivers ( $X^2 = 24.54$ ,  $p < .001$ , 1 df). Furthermore, for each of the motorists the older Liberals were less helpful than their age-corrected counterparts (see Table 7).

Table 7. The extent to which older Liberals (judged older than 50 years) and the Younger Liberals (below 50 years) assisted each of the stranded motorists.

	White Female Victim	White Male Victim	Black Female Victim	Black Male Victim
	<u>Younger Liberals</u>			
Freq. Help	31	32	25	28
Freq. No Help	5	6	8	9
% help	86%	84%	75.8%	75.6%
	<u>Older Liberals</u>			
Freq. Help	8	6	8	3
Freq. No Help	7	6	9	10
% Help	53%	50%	47%	23%
Chi Square Help:No Help Younger: Older Liberals	$X^2 = 4.63$ $p < .05$	4.13 $p < .05$	2.94 $p < .10$	9.17 $p < .01$

Additional chi square analyses indicated that the older Liberals extended similar levels of assistance to each of the victims, in spite of the apparent drop in helpfulness accorded the black male.

Concerning the comparison of the age-corrected Liberals

and the Conservatives, Table 8 presents the values of the partitioned chi square analysis for these samples.

Table 8. Partitioned Chi Square: Age Corrected Liberals (i.e. below 50 years) and Conservatives.

<u>Source</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>Chi Square</u>	
A X B	1	21.00	p<.001
A X C	1	1.76	
A X D	1	0.16	
A X B X C	1	0.19	
A X B X D	1	4.08	p<.05
A X C X D	1	0.84	
A X B X C X D	1	0.52	
TOTAL	7	28.55	p<.001

A = Help: No Help  
 B = Race of Caller  
 C = Sex of Caller  
 D = Political Affiliation of S

Once again white citizens more frequently assisted the white (88.26% helped) than the black victim (69.41% helped), ( $X_{AB}^2 = 21.00$ ,  $p < .001$ , 1 df). Furthermore, this race effect was prominent for both male and female victims. The white male was assisted 87.6% of the time, whereas the black male was helped only 65.5% of the time ( $X^2 = 12.05$ ,  $p < .01$ , 1 df). Similarly, the white and black females were assisted by 90.9%

and 73.5% of the SS, respectively ( $X^2 = 8.95$ ,  $p < .01$ , 1 df).

The effect predicted by Hypothesis 1, i.e., the extent to which blacks less frequently elicit helping behavior than whites is more pronounced among Conservative than among Liberal Party members was supported by the data ( $X^2_{ABD} = 4.08$ ,  $p < .05$ , 1 df). The data presented in Table 9 indicates that Liberals helped

Table 9. The extent to which black and white victims elicited help from Liberal (younger) and Conservative Party members.

	<u>LIBERALS</u>		<u>CONSERVATIVES</u>	
	White Victims	Black Victims	White Victims	Black Victims
Freq. Help	63	53	95	65
Freq. No Help	11	17	8	35
% Help	85.14%	75.71%	92.23%	65.00%

blacks only 9.4% less frequently than whites ( $X^2 = 2.04$ , n.s.), while Conservatives helped blacks 27.23% less frequently ( $X^2 = 22.94$ ,  $p < .001$ , 1 df). The 17.53% difference between the Liberals and Conservatives in the amount of disparity in behaviors toward blacks and whites was unlikely to have arisen by chance ( $X^2_{ABD} = 4.08$ ,  $p < .05$ , 1 df). Note that deleting the 5 Conservatives judged to be older than 50 years increases the value of the ABD interaction to 4.29 ( $p < .05$ , 1 df).

In the initial analysis, which included all Liberals, the

ABD interaction was 2.90 ( $p < .10$ , 1 df). Deleting the older Liberals not only increased the ABD interaction value, but also partially confirmed the initial notion that blacks would be helped less frequently by Conservative than by Liberal Party members. In this second analysis (see Table 9) 75.51% of the Liberals helped the black victims while only 65% of the Conservatives helped them ( $X^2 = 2.20$ ,  $p < .20$ , 1 df).

Treating the male and female victims separately, Table 10 indicates that 75.6% of the Liberals (age-corrected)

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Table 10. The extent to which the victim's sex and race affected the helping behavior of Liberal (age corrected) and Conservative Party members.

	White Male Victims	White Female Victims	Black Male Victims	Black Female Victims
<u>LIBERALS</u>				
Freq. Help	32	31	28	25
Freq. No Help	6	5	9	8
% Help	84%	86%	75.6%	75.8%
<u>CONSERVATIVES</u>				
Freq. Help	46	49	29	36
Freq. No Help	5	3	21	14
% Help	90%	94%	58%	72%

---

assisted the black male, while only 58% of the Conservatives helped him ( $X^2 = 2.94$ ,  $p < .10$ , 1 df). The black female, on the other hand was helped by 75.8% of the Liberals and by 72% of the Conservatives ( $X^2 = 0.14$ , n.s.).

Furthermore, in the second analysis the extent to which Conservatives assisted white victims more frequently than Liberals did was reduced from 15.77% in the initial analysis to only 7.09%. In this latter analysis, white victims were helped by 92.23% of the Conservatives and by 85.14% of the age-corrected Liberals ( $X^2 = 2.26$ ,  $p < .20$ , 1 df). Thus the increased value of the ABD interaction in the second analysis resulted from an increase in the extent to which blacks were helped more by Liberals than by Conservatives and a decrease in the extent to which whites were helped less by Liberals than by Conservatives.

There was no overall difference in the frequency of helping behavior elicited from Liberals (age corrected) and from Conservatives. The former helped 80.6% of the time while the latter helped 78.28% of the time ( $X_{AB}^2 = 0.16$ , n.s.). Eliminating the 5 Conservatives judged to be over 50 years of age had a negligible effect on the results. With data from these older Conservatives deleted, the Conservatives helped 78.89% of the time. Thus hypothesis 2, proposing that people who need help elicit it more frequently from Liberal than from Conservative Party members was unsupported by the data. However, the finding of the second analysis that Conservatives and age-corrected Liberals gave similar amounts

of aid strongly suggests that the finding in the initial analysis was due to the age difference between the members of the two groups.

Last, as in the initial analysis, all other hypotheses regarding the sex of the victim, the interaction of the victim's sex and race, and their interaction with the political affiliation of the Ss were unsupported by the data (see the partitioned chi square analysis presented in Table 9).

## 6. Religious-Ethnic Considerations

In that approximately 86.5% of the age-corrected sample of Liberal Party members were Jewish, while 93% of the Conservatives were non-Jewish, there is a logical difficulty in ascribing the differences in helping behavior for these groups solely to their political party affiliation. However, examination of Table 11, which presents the data for the non-Jewish (age-corrected) Liberals (N=27) and the non-Jewish Conservatives suggests that political party affiliation alone is sufficient to account for the differences in the helping behavior of Liberals and Conservatives.

Table 11 indicates that 93.68% of the non-Jewish Conservatives helped the white victims while only 66.29% helped the black victims ( $X^2 = 25.89, p < .001, 1 \text{ df}$ ). On the other hand, the non-Jewish Liberals helped the black victims

Table 11. The extent to which black and white victims were helped by non-Jewish Liberals (age corrected) and non-Jewish Conservative Party members.

	<u>Non-Jewish LIBERALS</u>		<u>Non-Jewish CONSERVATIVES</u>	
	White Victims	Black Victims	White Victims	Black Victims
Freq. Help	10	13	89	59
Freq. No Help	2	2	6	34
% Help	83.3%	86.6%	93.9%	66.3%

3.3% more frequently than they helped the white victims ( $\chi^2 = 0.06$ , n.s.). The ABD interaction once again indicated that the magnitude of the difference in altruistic behaviors toward blacks and whites, respectively, is greater among Conservative than among Liberal Party members ( $\chi^2_{ABD} = 4.38$ ,  $p < .05$ , 1 df).

#### A. A Religious Similarity Hypothesis

In both the initial and secondary analyses the white victim was helped more frequently by Conservative than by Liberal Party members. In the first analysis much of the 15.77% difference could reasonably be explained by the contaminating effects of age. However, in the second analysis the 7.09% difference ( $\chi^2 = 2.26$ ,  $p < .20$ , 1 df) could possibly have resulted from yet another source. Perhaps on the basis of religious similarity Conservatives perceived themselves as

more similar to the white victim than could the Liberals. Since 93% of the Conservatives were non-Jewish and 86% of the Liberals were Jewish, and since few Jews are named Williams, the degree of perceived religious similarity toward the white victim was possibly less for Liberal than for Conservative Party members.

Evidence pertinent to a religious similarity hypothesis is offered by the relative proportions with which "George Williams" (white male) and "Martin Goldstein" (Control: Jewish white male) received assistance from Jewish Liberal and non-Jewish Conservative Party members. Table 12 indicates

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Table 12. The extent to which Jewish Liberals (age corrected) and non-Jewish Conservatives helped a Jewish and non-Jewish white male victim.

	<u>Jewish Liberals</u>		<u>Non-Jewish Conservatives</u>	
	George Williams	Martin Goldstein	George Williams	Martin Goldstein
Freq. Help	27	12	43	18
Freq. No Help	5	3	4	3
% Help	87.4%	92.3%	91.5%	85.7%

---

that the age-corrected Jewish Liberals helped Martin Goldstein 4.9% more frequently than George Williams ( $\chi^2 = 0.14$ , n.s.), while the Conservatives (non-Jewish) helped George Williams 5.8% more frequently than Martin Goldstein ( $\chi^2 = 0.52$ , n.s.). The interaction effect here was quite

likely due to chance ( $X^2 = 0.01$ , n.s.). Still, the overall pattern suggests that a religious similarity hypothesis should not be dismissed entirely. Interestingly, the older Jewish Liberals helped Martin Goldstein 12% more frequently than George Williams.

The presence of a religious similarity effect, even to an extent judged statistically insignificant nevertheless might have eroded the extent to which political affiliation alone was sufficient to account for the finding that differential helping on the basis of race was more marked among Conservatives. Note that if the percent of help offered the white victims had been equivalent for the Liberal and Conservative Party members, support for Hypothesis 1 would rest solely on the finding that blacks were helped 10.7% more frequently by Liberal (age corrected) than by Conservative Party members ( $X^2 = 2.20$ ,  $p < .20$ , 1 df). Still, the black male was helped 17.6% more frequently by these Liberals than by the Conservatives ( $X^2 = 2.94$ ,  $p < .10$ , 1 df).

Evidence against a religious similarity effect contaminating the findings pertinent to Hypothesis 1. was offered above in Table 11., which compared the frequency with which the black and white victims were helped by the non-Jewish Liberals and the non-Jewish Conservatives. In each case the perceived religious similarity between the S and the white victim (George Williams) should have been equivalent. Nevertheless, the results supported Hypothesis 1. ( $X^2_{ABD} = 4.38$ ,  $p < .05$ , 1 df).

Additional data for which the religious similarity between the Ss and the victims should have been equivalent for Liberals and Conservatives also supported Hypothesis 1. In this analysis (see Table 13) the extent to which Liberals helped the white male was based upon the findings for the Jewish Liberals called by Martin Goldstein and the non-Jewish Liberals called by George Williams. Also, the non-Jewish Conservatives called by George Williams constituted the Conservative sample. Although 4 Jewish Conservatives were called by the white George Williams (one of which failed to help) there were no Jewish Conservatives called by Martin Goldstein.

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Table 13. The extent to which black and white males were helped by Liberals (age corrected) and Conservatives when the religious similarity between the Ss and the white victim is equivalent for each group.

	<u>LIBERALS</u>		<u>non-Jewish CONSERVATIVES</u>	
	White Male Victim*	Black Male Victim	White Male Victim	Black Male Victim
Freq. Help	17	28	43	26
Freq. No Help	2	9	4	20
% Help	89.5%	75.6%	91.5%	56.5%

---

\* Liberals in the white-male condition represented the non-Jewish Liberals called by George Williams and the Jewish Liberals called by Martin Goldstein.

---

Table 13 indicates that among Liberals, the black male was helped 13.9% less frequently than the white male ( $\chi^2 = 1.51$ , n.s.), while for Conservatives this difference reached 35% ( $\chi^2 = 14.86$ ,  $p < .01$ , 1 df). Partitioning the Chi Square for Table 13 once again yields a Help X Race X Political Affiliation interaction effect (ABD) suggesting that the extent to which the black victim's disadvantage vis-a-vis a comparable white victim was greater among Conservative than Liberal Party members ( $\chi^2_{ABD} = 3.47$ ,  $p < .10$ , 1 df).

D. The helping behavior of male and female subjects.

The sample of Liberal and Conservative Party members ( $N=404$ ) was 40% male and 60% female. Overall, 80.24% of the males and only 70.66% of the females helped the victims ( $\chi^2 = 4.69$ ,  $p < .05$ , 1 df). Table 14 presents the data on the extent to which male and female Ss assisted each of the stranded motorists. According to Table 14, the black victims were helped 25.62% less frequently than whites among females, but only 9.44% less frequently by males. The partitioned chi square presented in Table 15 indicates that the difference here, between male and female Ss probably arose by chance ( $\chi^2_{ABD} = 1.84$ , n.s.). However, a similar comparison for the male victims alone, changes the complexion of the findings. The white male was helped 32.29% more frequently than the black male by females, while for males this difference was only 9.16%. The difference between male and female Ss was

Table 14. The extent to which male and female Ss helped each of the stranded motorists.

	White Male Victim	White Female Victim	Black Male Victim	Black Female Victim
<u>MALE SUBJECTS</u>				
Freq. Help	34	42	28	26
Freq. No Help	8	6	11	7
% Help	81%	87.5%	71.8%	78.8%
<u>FEMALE SUBJECTS</u>				
Freq. Help	50	46	32	43
Freq. No Help	9	9	29	24
% Help	84.7%	81.6%	52.5%	63.3%

Table 15. Partitioned Chi Square: Male vs. Female Ss

<u>Source</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>Chi Square</u>	
A X B	1	20.87	p<.001
A X C	1	1.73	
A X D	1	4.69	p<.05
A X B X C	1	0.54	
A X B X D	1	1.84	
A X C X D	1	0.12	
A X B X C X D	1	0.90	
TOTAL	7	30.69	p<.001

A = Help:No Help  
 B = Race of Caller  
 C = Sex of Caller  
D = Sex of Subject

unlikely to have arisen by chance ( $X^2 = 2.95$ ,  $p < .10$ , 1 df).

Reinstating the Liberal-Conservative dimension (Table 16) indicates that the differences between Liberals (age corrected) and Conservatives presented above apply for both male and female Ss. Specifically, neither the male nor female Liberals helped the white victims significantly more frequently than the black victims. However, both male and female Conservatives helped the white victims significantly more frequently than the black victims.

Table 16. The extent to which male and female Liberal (age corrected) and Conservative Party members helped each of the stranded motorists.

	<u>Male Subjects</u>		<u>Female Subjects</u>	
	White Victims	Black Victims	White Victims	Black Victims
<u>LIBERALS</u>				
Freq. Help	25	22	38	31
Freq. No Help	1	3	10	14
% Help	96%	88%	79%	69%
Chi Square: Help X Race	$X^2 = 1.17$ n.s.		$X^2 = 1.28$ n.s.	
<u>CONSERVATIVES</u>				
Freq. Help	41	26	50	39
Freq. No Help	3	10	4	25
% Help	93%	72%	93%	61%
Chi Square: Help X Race	$X^2 = 6.94$ $p < .01$ , 1 df		$X^2 = 15.83$ $p < .001$ , 1 df	

### E. Premature Hang-Ups

Recall that Ss were categorized in terms of Help: No Help only if the stranded motorist had reached the point of exclaiming, "And that was my last dime." If the S hung-up prior to the word "dime" a Premature Hang-Up response was recorded and treated separately from the Help:No Help categories. In these cases, it was believed that the S did not have sufficient opportunity to learn that his help was needed. Table 17. presents data regarding the extent to which Liberals (age corrected) and Conservatives hung up prematurely. Regardless of whether or not the S eventually helped, a No Premature-Hang-Up response was recorded if the S remained on the phone following the word "Dime." Table 17. indicates that the black victims received more early hang-ups than white victims. The white callers were disconnected prematurely 5.4% of the time; while blacks were cut off 12.4% of the time. The partitioned Chi Square presented in Table 18 (i.e., the A X B interaction) suggests that the differential frequency of hanging up prematurely on the black and white callers was unlikely due to chance ( $X_{AB}^2 = 5.70, p < .05, 1 \text{ df}$ ).

Unexpectedly, the Liberals hung up prematurely on 6.3% of the white callers but on 17.64% of the black callers ( $X^2 = 4.90, p < .05, 1 \text{ df}$ ). Conservatives, however, tended not to respond to the victim in this respect. Only 4.7% of the Conservatives hung up prematurely on the white victims; 9% hung-

up on the blacks ( $X^2 = 1.14$ , n.s.). Nevertheless, the Hang-Up X Race X Party Affiliation interaction (ABD; Table 18) indicates that the difference here between Liberals and Conservatives could reasonably arise by chance ( $X^2_{ABD} = 1.59$ , n.s.). If all Liberal data is examined (i.e., including those over 51 years of age) this ABD interaction is even smaller ( $X^2_{ABD} = 0.38$ , n.s.).

Table 17. The extent to which Liberals (age corrected) and Conservatives Hung-Up Prematurely on the Stranded Motorists.

	White Male Victims	White Female Victims	Black Male Victims	Black Female Victims
<u>LIBERALS</u>				
Freq. Prematures	4	1	14	1
Freq. No Prematures	38	36	37	33
% Premature Hang-Ups	9.5%	2.7%	27.5%	2.9%
<u>CONSERVATIVES</u>				
Freq. Prematures	3	2	5	4
Freq. No Prematures	51	51	50	50
% Premature Hang-Ups	5.5%	3.7%	9.0%	7.4%

Disregarding the characteristics of the stranded motorists, 12.2% of the Liberals (age corrected) while only 6.6% of the Conservatives hung up prematurely overall ( $X^2_{AD} = 3.74$ ,  $p < .10$ , 1 df). If all Liberals are included, this

difference in the extent to which Liberals Hung-Up Prematurely more frequently than Conservatives is again quite prominent ( $X^2 = 5.32$ ,  $p < .05$ , 1 df). Overall, Liberals (total sample) hung up prematurely 12.98% of the time.

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Table 18. Partitioned Chi Square: Premature Hang-Ups

<u>Source</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>Chi Square</u>	
A X B	1	5.70	$p < .05$
A X C	1	8.15	$p < .01$
A X D	1	3.74	$p < .10$
A X B X C	1	1.59	
A X B X D	1	1.59	
A X C X D	1	5.56	$p < .05$
A X B X C X D	1	1.06	
TOTAL	7	27.32	$p < .001$

---

A = Premature:No Premature Hang-Up  
 B = Race of caller  
 C = Sex of caller  
 D = Liberal: Conservative S (age corrected)

---

Inspecting Tables 17 and 18 indicates that overall, Ss hung up prematurely more frequently on male than on female victims ( $X^2_{AC} = 8.15$ ,  $p < .01$ , 1 df). Overall, males were cut off 12.4% of the time, females 4.7%. Unexpectedly, this disparity in behavior based on the caller's sex was greater for Liberal than for Conservative Party members. Among Liberals

males received 16.5% more premature hang-ups than females, but only 1.7% more from Conservative Party members ( $X_{ADC}^2 = 5.56, p < .05, 1 \text{ df}$ ). This finding calls into question the assumption underlying Hypothesis 5, namely that the behavior of Conservatives would reflect their more polarized conception of the sex roles.

F. Helping: from the stranded motorist's point of view

A person actually needing roadside assistance, who lost his last dime on a wrong-number call, couldn't care less, in terms of the final consequences, whether the receiver of that call hangs-up prematurely or fails to help after the entire predicament is explained. In either case, this motorist has failed to get help. Table 19 presents the results of this study without differentiating between a Premature Hang-Up and the former No Help response.

According to the data presented in Table 19 the white victims, overall, were helped 84% of the time while the blacks were helped only 60.8% of the time ( $X_{AB}^2 = 26.72, p < .001, 1 \text{ df}$ ). In addition, female victims were helped, overall, 78.2% of the time, and males only 66.8% of the time ( $X_{AC}^2 = 6.78, p < .01, 1 \text{ df}$ ). Table 19 further indicates that blacks were helped 17.5% less frequently than whites by Liberals (age corrected), ( $X^2 = 5.98, p < .02, 1 \text{ df}$ ) and 28.3% less frequently by Conservatives ( $X^2 = 21.04, p < .001, 1 \text{ df}$ ). Although the extent to which blacks were helped less frequently than whites

Table 19. The extent to which each of the stranded motorists elicited help from Liberal (age corrected) and Conservative Party members without differentiating between a Premature Hang-Up and the No Help response.

	White Male Victim	White Female Victim	Black Male Victim	Black Female Victim
<u>LIBERALS</u>				
Freq. Help	32	31	28	25
Freq. No Help*	10	6	23	9
% Help	76.2%	83.8%	54.9%	73.5%
<u>CONSERVATIVES</u>				
Freq. Help	46	49	29	36
Freq. No Help*	8	5	26	18
% Help	85.2%	90.7%	52.7%	66.7%

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\* No Help = No Help + Premature Hang-Ups

---

was greater among Conservatives than Liberals when a Premature Hang-Up response is undifferentiated from the No Help response, the ABD interaction (see Table 20.) indicates that the difference here for Liberals and Conservatives could very well have arisen by chance ( $X^2 = 1.30$ , n.s.). However, when only those Ss aware of the motorists' dilemma were considered, this difference between Liberal and Conservative Party members was unlikely due to chance factors ( $X^2_{ABD} = 4.08$ ,  $p < .05$ , 1 df).

Table 20. Partitioned Chi Square: Helping, from the stranded motorist's point of view. (see Table 19)

<u>Source</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>Chi Square</u>	
A X B	1	26.72	p<.001
A X C	1	6.78	p<.01
A X D	1	0.42	
A X B X C	1	0.08	
A X B X D	1	1.30	
A X C X D	1	0.04	
A X B X C X D	1	0.30	
TOTAL	1	35.64	p<.001

---

A = Help:No Help + Premature Hang-Ups  
 B = Race of caller  
 C = Sex of caller  
 D = Political affiliation of S

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G. Helping: measured in the Reactive-Hypothetical situation

In the Reactive-Hypothetical situation Liberal and Conservative Party members, contacted by telephone, were asked if they would personally call the garage for each of the stranded motorists on receiving the wrong-number telephone call. They were also asked to estimate the percentages of people in their area that would call for each victim. On the basis of what people (N=84) claimed they personally would do (see Table 21), the black victims would have been

Table 21. The extent to which Liberals (total sample) and Conservatives claim they would help (Reactive-Hypothetical phase) vs. actual behavior (Non-Reactive phase).

Victims	<u>LIBERALS</u>				<u>CONSERVATIVES</u>			
	White Male	White Female	Black Male	Black Female	White Male	White Female	Black Male	Black Female
Freq. <u>Ss</u> claim they Would Help	41	42	39	42	41	41	39	42
Freq. <u>Ss</u> claim they Would Not Help	1	0	3	0	1	1	3	0
% <u>Ss</u> Claim they Would Help	97.6%	100%	92.8%	100%	97.6%	97.6%	92.9%	100%
% <u>Ss</u> actually Helped (Non-Reactive Phase)	76%	76.5%	62%	66%	90%	94%	58%	72%
Chi Square Comparisons Help:No Help Reactive:Non-Reactive	7.10*	9.35*	10.31*	15.33*	1.05	0.09	12.63*	11.79*
Overall Chi Square Comparison: Reactive vs. Non-Reactive					72.58	p<.001		

\* p<.01

helped as frequently as the white victims (i.e., 96.4% and 98.2% respectively) and the male victims as frequently as the females (i.e., 95.2% and 99.4% respectively). Overall, the stranded motorists would have been helped 97.3% of the time. Furthermore, there were no differences between the Liberal and Conservative respondents.

Comparing the extent to which Ss claimed they would help (i.e., 97.3% overall) with the extent to which a comparable group of Ss actually helped (74.5% overall) supports Hypothesis 7, which proposed that: the frequency of helping actually elicited in a non-reactive, naturalistic situation is less than that expected on the basis of what people claim they would do when hypothetically faced with the situation in a standard, reactive interview ( $X^2 = 72.58$ ,  $p < .001$ , 1 df). Table 21 reveals that the only instances for which there were no disparities between the Ss' claims and actual behavior were when the Conservatives were called by the white victims.

Although the data presented in Table 21 reveal that people were generally inaccurate predictors of their own behavior, they seem to have been better predictors when asked about the probable behavior of others. Table 22. presents the medians of the percentage estimates Liberals and Conservatives expected their neighbors to help each of the stranded motorists.

In almost every instance (see Table 22) there was no significant disparity regarding the Ss' actual behavior and

Table 22. The extent to which Liberals (total sample) and Conservatives expected others to help vs. the actual levels of assistance each accorded the stranded motorists.

	White Male Victim	White Female Victim	Black Male Victim	Black Female Victim
<u>LIBERALS</u>				
Median Estimate % of others who would Help	75.3%	77.3%	51.4%	70.8%
Actual % Help	76%	76%	62%	66%
Chi Square: (median estimate treated as freq.)	0.18 n.s.	0.01 n.s.	1.63 n.s.	0.39 n.s.
<u>CONSERVATIVES</u>				
Median Estimate % of others who would Help	52.9%	70.3%	52.4%	63.3%
Actual % Help	90%	94%	58%	72%
Chi Square: (median estimate treated as freq.)	20.08 p<.001	11.82 p<.01	0.48 n.s.	1.20 n.s.

their expectations for others. This pattern of findings was upset only by the Conservative Party members' underestimation of the extent to which people in their area would aid white victims.

Combining the percentage estimates for male and female

victims the Friedman Two-Way Analysis of Variance indicated that Liberals (age corrected, on the basis of reported age) claimed that a greater percentage of people in their area would be willing to assist the white than the black victims ( $X_r^2 = 9.00, p < .01$ ). Also, when the race dimension was collapsed, these Liberals additionally claimed that a greater percentage of others would help the female than the male victims ( $X_r^2 = 6.76, p < .01$ ). Conservatives, however, denied that greater percentages of others would assist the white than the black victims ( $X_r^2 = 0.64, n.s.$ ), but affirmed that a greater percentage of others would help females than males ( $X_r^2 = 4.23, p < .05$ ). In addition, the older Liberals (reported to be older than 50 years) denied that greater percentages of others would help whites than blacks, or females than males.

Table 23 presents data which compares the frequency Liberals (below 50 years) and Conservatives claimed that higher percentages of others would help the white than the black victims and also the frequency each denied that blacks would be at a disadvantage. Table 23 reveals that Liberals more frequently than Conservatives expected a greater percentage of others to help white victims than black victims ( $X^2 = 9.41, p < .01, 1 \text{ df}$ ). Actually, this data includes two Conservatives who expected a greater percentage of others to help the black than the white victim, one of which explained, "In my area there are a lot of Jewish people; and you know how they feel about Negroes." If all Liberals are included (i.e., including those claiming to be over 50 years) the analysis

again indicates that Liberals more frequently than Conservatives expect white victims to have an advantage over blacks in obtaining help from others ( $X^2 = 4.89$ ,  $p < .05$ , 1 df).

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Table 23. The frequency Liberals (below 50 years) and Conservatives expected greater percentages of others to assist the white than the black victims - and the frequency each denied that blacks would be at a disadvantage.

	<u>LIBERALS</u>	<u>CONSERVATIVES</u>
Freq. <u>Ss</u> expected a greater % of others to help whites than blacks.	15	8
Freq. <u>Ss</u> expected that blacks would not be helped less than whites.	10	29
% of <u>Ss</u> that expected whites to be at an advantage in soliciting help from others	60%	21.6%

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G. Another measure of Social Responsibility?

Contrary to expectation, a greater number of Liberal than Conservative Party members were unwilling to cooperate in the survey, "to assess the need for Free Emergency Telephone service." Only 3 Conservatives were unwilling to participate, but 12 Liberals refused. ( $X^2 = 5.40$ ,  $p < .05$ , 1 df).

Chapter IV

DISCUSSION

A. The Norm of Social Responsibility

Evidence reported here along with that of Gaertner and Bickman (1969) has demonstrated that blacks were helped less frequently than whites by white citizens. To claim that a social responsibility norm was violated more frequently for blacks than for whites, however, is still an open question. Is there a social responsibility norm which acts with other characteristics of the situation to govern helping behavior? On the basis of the findings of the reactive-hypothetical situation reported in the present study, there does seem to be such a norm. Jones and Gerard (1968) define "norm" as follows:

"Expected modes of behavior and belief that are established either formally or informally by a group. Positive and negative sanctions are usually applied for normative obedience and disobedience respectively. Norms guide behavior and facilitate interaction by specifying the kinds of responses expected and acceptable in a particular situation."

The key words above are expected and acceptable behavior. In the reactive-hypothetical situation on all but 9 occasions (N=336 trials) Ss expected that they would help each of the victims. That is, 97% of the time the Ss believed that they would actually help, or claimed that they would help, presumably

because such a response was socially acceptable. If these people had been asked whether "Helping" was the proper response in the wrong-number situation, they would almost certainly have said yes. Moreover, when these Ss were asked to estimate what percentage of others in their area would help, the overall median was 61.5% indicating that a majority of others were expected to help. Interestingly, on the occasions that Ss claimed they personally would not call the garage, the median of their percentage estimates for others was only 10%. Regardless of whether or not a person claimed that he would help, he believed that his behavior was generally consistent with that of the majority of people in his area and thus almost by definition acceptable and proper. Since the overwhelming majority of Ss claimed both that they personally would help and that a majority of others could be expected to help, it seems reasonable that a social responsibility norm exists and is applicable to the wrong-number situation.

Still problematic is whether this social responsibility norm guides behavior when people are actually in a situation in which somebody needs help. If this norm has the potential to affect behavior, what conditions influence its saliency? Perhaps in real emergencies the "surprise" or "startle" effect (e.g., fear, anxiety) experienced upon encountering a victim decreases the likelihood of its becoming salient. Perhaps in actual emergencies, other factors (e.g., apparent danger or cost) affect the elicitation of helping behavior in spite of

the saliency of the social responsibility norm. In any case, why should this apparent norm be violated more frequently for blacks than for whites, with this racial effect greater for Conservative than for Liberal Party members? Does a negative attitude toward the victim decrease one's motivation to act in accord with the social responsibility norm, or does this attitude decrease the salience of the norm through some ego-defensive or face saving process?

This investigator regards the role of the social responsibility norm as an important issue in the study of altruism inspite of its apparent lack of predictive utility. Clearly the tone of Not Helping is quite different if it occurs with conscious violation of a social responsibility norm than if other, perhaps more subtle processes lower its saliency (e.g., tending to interpret the situation as one in which help is unnecessary). The former smacks of purposefulness, selfishness and callousness (particularly in situations involving minimal cost or threat to the personal safety of the bystander), while the latter suggests unintended and/or well justified noninvolvement.

B. Possible Effects of Attitudes Toward the Victim Upon Helping.

If in fact the social responsibility norm was purposefully violated more frequently for black than white

victims, then it is reasonable to conclude that attitudes toward the victim simply and directly affected the willingness to help, i.e. the motivation to act in accord with the norm. Here the bystander's dislike and hostility towards the victim could have been expressed by purposefully remaining passive, by Not Helping. In a civilized society, Not Helping (e.g., in emergencies, or through passive acceptance of socio-political policy that disables a particular group) is perhaps an adaptively effective expression of aggression toward the "victim(s)." By doing nothing, the bystander avoids many of the distasteful consequences of overt, directly expressed hostility, e.g., legal penalties or possible physical injury. In that Ss in the wrong-number situation should have believed they were anonymous, there was no threat of negative social sanctions if they chose to violate the social responsibility norm, a condition that strongly encourages behavior which reflects one's real attitudes.

In addition, attitudes toward the victim could influence the extent to which one could sympathize with or have compassion for him. It is frequently true that a feeling of sympathy for the victim must be aroused before the bystander becomes mobilized or willing to help. Coser's notion of a "Span of Sympathy" (1969) attempts to explain why the most altruistic of us fail to stop or become involved each time our assistance or sympathy is solicited. Coser claims that our capability to experience sympathy for others increases as our similarity (i.e. geographic and/or cultural)

to the victim increases. Furthermore, the "Span of Sympathy" serves as an adaptive device permitting one to ignore many of the cries of the less fortunate, thereby conserving one's emotional energies for a select few. Thus a person can maintain relatively uninterrupted satisfaction of his personal needs by a "Span of Sympathy."

On the other hand, perhaps when attitudes toward the victim mediate the elicitation of helping behavior their operation is more passive and less direct. Perhaps these attitudes toward the victim (or strangers in general) affect the bystander's interpretation of the situation in terms of "Whether or not help is needed," (more precisely his help)....  
....rather than...."Should he or should he not help." If the bystander maintains favorable attitudes toward the victim, perhaps he is more likely to believe the victim is in need of (or in greater need of) assistance.

Milgram and Hollander (1964) point out that bystanders who witnessed the murder of Kitty Genovese did not completely comprehend what was happening. They faced an ambiguous, frightening and confusing situation. While one person may have thought he was witnessing a murder, another may have thought it was a lovers' quarrel. Perhaps more favorable attitudes toward a victim increase the importance of the decision regarding "Whether or not help is needed," because here one has greater concern for the consequences if he incorrectly decides that "Help isn't needed." With favorable attitudes toward a possible victim, a bystander

might be less apt to gamble that help is not needed. In the present study, perhaps blacks received less help than whites because some people assumed the telephone encounter was a prank more frequently for the black than for the white caller. Interpreting the situation as a hoax would have defined it as one in which help was unnecessary.

It seems reasonable to assume that the social responsibility norm first becomes salient when the bystander interprets the situation as one in which help is needed. A study by Bickman (1969) indicated that a second bystander can decrease the frequency or delay the onset of helping behavior by providing the S with a "help not needed" definition of the situation. Bickman's interpretation assumed that the saliency of the social responsibility norm was low when the S accepted the suggestion that help was not needed. Thus in the present study, attitudes toward the victim might have differentially affected the saliency of the social responsibility norm.

Specifically, as part of a general avoidance strategy, perhaps based upon fear, a bystander with negative attitudes toward a victim might be predisposed to interpret any personally unsolicited encounter with the victim's "kind" as one in which interaction with..or approach gestures toward.. or behavior having favorable consequences for...this"kind," are generally unnecessary and unwarranted.

In addition, negative attitudes toward the victim's "kind" might affect the likelihood of believing that the

victim's circumstances, although unfortunate, are well deserved and/or due to some flaw in his character. Schopler and Matthews (1965) have shown that helping behavior is more likely when the dependent other is perceived to be a victim of circumstances beyond his control than when he is perceived to be personally responsible for his dependency. If the victim's circumstances are believed to represent his just deserts, then the bystander might believe that his help is not only unnecessary but unwarranted. Lerner's principle of the "Need to perceive a Just World" applies here. Lerner and Simmons (1966) observed that Ss derogated a martyred victim to a greater extent than less nobly motivated victims. Cognitively, Ss made an unjust situation "Just."

Thus, in the present study attitudes toward the victim might have differentially affected the saliency of the social responsibility norm by differentially affecting a bystander's interpretation of the situation.

Since the overwhelming number of Ss in the reactive-hypothetical situation claimed they would help each of the stranded motorists, it seems to have been important to maintain a self-image as the type of person willing to help others in times of trouble...or at least the type of person willing to make a phone call to help another person needing assistance. Furthermore, except for those with extreme anti-black attitudes, it seems unlikely that most of those who failed to help the black victim perceived themselves as bigoted to the point where they would intentionally

deny help to an inconvenienced black person, particularly when the personal cost for helping was so minimal. Therefore, when a person failed to help, he could have maintained his self-image as a "helpful person" or as an "unbigoted person" if he simply defined the situation (initially, or afterwards) as one in which his help was unnecessary.

C. Attitudes, Altruism and the Situational Structure

As in the case of the perceptual defense phenomena, the attitudes of the bystander toward the victim might be expected to have a greater influence on whether or not he helps as the ambiguity about whether or not help is needed increases. Supportive of this notion is the inconsistency regarding the effects of race upon helping behavior in the studies of Piliavin et al. (1969), and Gaertner and Bickman (1969), and the study reported here.

Piliavin et al. reported that in a New York City subway, white and black victims, carrying a cane and falling apparently unconscious were assisted as frequently by bystanders of the same race as by those of a different race. However, when the victims were portrayed as drunk, there was a non-significant trend for same race helping. Although with drunk victims the bystanders might have felt greater fear and less sympathy for someone of a different race, they also might have believed that help wasn't as necessary here.

In the drunk condition the cause of the victim's unconsciousness was obvious and also he could be expected to improve with time. In the cane condition, by contrast, the source of the victim's ills could have been believed to be more serious, e.g., a heart attack. That is, the greater the apparent emergency the clearer it is that help is needed. Thus the drunk and cane conditions might have presented the bystanders with situations of differential ambiguity regarding the extent of the victim's trouble. When ambiguity was low (i.e., the cane condition), the racial identity of the victim was an inert determinant of helping behavior.

Furthermore, in the Gaertner and Bickman (1969) study and in that presented here, white citizens accorded black victims less help than white victims. In the wrong-number situation the S must trust the "word" of a stranger in a situation in which pranks are not uncommon, while in the study of Piliavin et al. the S could see the victim lying on the floor of a subway car. Furthermore, the wrong-number situation was not a critical emergency. It is reasonable to suppose that the wrong-number and subway situations differed, among other things, in the extent to which the bystander could believe that help was really needed. Thus it appears that the bystander's attitude toward the victim may be a more important factor in situations which more easily permit him to interpret the situation as one in which help is not really needed.

D. Helping Behavior of Liberal and Conservative Party Members.

Previous research, i.e., Adorno, et al. (1950), McClosky (1958) and Free and Cantril (1967) have demonstrated with paper and pencil procedures that political and economic conservatism is positively related to more extreme anti-black attitudes. In the present study these previous findings were apparently replicated in a real life, non-reactive situation. That is, the discrepancy in behaviors toward blacks and whites was greater among Conservative than among Liberal Party members.

Were members of the Conservative Party then less capable of sympathy for, or less willing to give aid to those needing help, as suggested by McClosky's findings that Conservatives scored higher on Alienation, higher on Intolerance for Human Frailty, and lower on Social Responsibility? Not at all! Overall, Liberals (age corrected) and Conservatives each helped approximately 80% of the time. Differences in the levels of helping behavior became apparent only when the differential rates of responding to black and white victims were examined. Members of each group were equally helpful; the race of the victim was simply a more potent determinant of helping behavior for Conservative than for Liberal Party members.

One explanation for these findings, and perhaps the most documented, is that the extent of anti-black sentiment is greater among conservatives. However, perhaps these

differences arose not because Liberals have more favorable attitudes towards blacks than do Conservatives, but because both groups tend to operate under fundamentally different moral principles or levels of moral judgement.

Perhaps Conservatives tend to have greater social responsibility, feelings of sympathy for, a more lenient sense of justice towards "others" of their own kind. In a practical sense, this is the essence of ethnocentrism. Conservatives might feel perfectly justified in more frequently assisting victims more similar to themselves or victim's they like rather than dissimilar or disliked victims.

On the other hand, perhaps the Liberal operates under a different moral principle, one that dictates that one must help others regardless of whether they are liked and/or are similar. An example of this phenomenon is the zeal with which the American Civil Liberties Union defended the rights of George Lincoln Rockwell and George Wallace. Apparently the Liberal's sense of social responsibility, ability to sympathize, or sense of justice overlooks the personal characteristics of who requires assistance and attends conscientiously to the general principle involved. Liberals may thus apply such a principle in an egalitarian manner.

Although the findings on the extent to which the victim's sex affected Liberals and Conservatives differently failed to attain statistical significance ( $X^2 = 0.84$ ), the pattern of these findings is interesting and relevant to a

discussion of the extent to which the victim's personal characteristics affect the elicitation of helping behavior from Liberals and Conservatives. Ignoring the racial characteristics of the victim, 81.5% of the Liberals (age corrected) helped the females only 1.5% more than helped the males. However, 83.3% of the Conservatives helped the female victims, a difference of 9.8% over the male victims. Thus the general effects of the victim's sex upon the elicitation of helping behavior was somewhat stronger for Conservatives than Liberals. Although these findings could have been due to chance, once again Liberals tended to ignore the personal characteristics of "who" needed assistance to a greater extent than Conservatives. This pattern remains quite stable for both race and sex when all Liberals rather than only age-corrected Liberals are considered (see Tables 2 and 4).

Supportive of the moral reasoning interpretation, Haan, Smith and Black (1968) observed a relationship between the position on a Radical-Conservatism political dimension and the level of moral reasoning employed. In terms of Kolberg's typology for moral reasoning the investigators noted that those persons judged to have reached the Principled Level of moral development were politically more Liberal, while Conservatism tended to typify the political beliefs of those at the Conventional Level.

Adapted from Kolberg (1967) the Principled Level has been characterized as: Moral value resided in the conformity

by the self to shared or shareable standards, rights or duties. The Conventional Level has been described as: Moral value resides in performing good or right roles in maintaining the conventional order and the expectancies of others. Furthermore, Haan, et al. (1968) state that at the final stage of moral development within the Principled Level, i.e. the Individual Principled stage, "the person takes on the role of others in a most inclusive, abstract and ideal sense. The "others" may frequently be all of mankind and are not only those personally known or directly observed...as with those at the Conventional Level." (p. 199).

If liberals and conservatives tend to maintain different definitions of who relevant others are, we might expect their overt behavior to reflect this. In particular the Liberal Party members' apparent tendency to help others on the basis of some principle which apparently ignores the racial identity of the victim is a most impressive demonstration of the "consistency, objectivity, universality and impersonalness which characterizes the thought processes of the Individual Principled state of moral development." (Haan, et al., 1968, p. 199)

In fact the overall findings of this study suggest that the first explanation, i.e. Liberals maintain less anti-black sentiment, is insufficient to account for the overall behavior of Liberal and Conservative Party members with respect to the black and white victims. Specifically, to claim that Liberals harbor less anti-black sentiment than Conservatives

could not be supported completely in the present study because only the Liberals hung up prematurely (i.e., before the word "Dime") more frequently on black than on white victims. Once these Liberals had the opportunity to realize that help was needed, however, the race of the victim had little effect on their behavior, particularly compared to Conservatives. Still, prior to this opportunity to realize that help was needed, the Liberal was apparently more anxious to terminate the encounter with the black than with the white caller.

Perhaps Liberal anti-black sentiment can be observed more clearly in situations where there are few if any clearly definable standards or norms to govern behavior. In these situations the Liberal needn't be concerned with the application of a general principle in a fair and egalitarian manner. For example, is it appropriate or inappropriate to hang up on a person reaching the wrong number after informing him of his error? What further involvement is necessarily prescribed? Is there a clearly definable principle to direct one to continue listening to the ramblings of a person who has reached the wrong number? There is, however, a clearly definable principle, i.e., the social responsibility norm, that dictates appropriate behavior in situations in which it is recognized that somebody needs assistance. Hence, Liberals that remained on the phone long enough to realize that their help was needed behaved in accord with the social responsibility norm in a relatively

egalitarian fashion in spite of their possibly less than favorable attitudes toward blacks. Similarly, Liberals hung up prematurely more frequently on males than on females, perhaps indicating greater fear of males, as with blacks, but nevertheless extended equivalent help to victims of each sex once having the opportunity to realize that their help was needed.

Possibly there is an artifact here. Perhaps the finding that the extent to which whites were helped more frequently than blacks was greater for Conservatives than for Liberals because those Liberals who would not have helped anyway were eliminated by E's procedure for categorizing Helps:No Helps and Premature Hang-Ups. Because Liberals offered more premature hang-up responses than Conservatives, the majority of which were received by the black victims, the possibility of an artifactual finding here must not be dismissed. However, this explanation must assume that most of those Ss hanging up prematurely would not have helped anyway, an assumption this investigator regards as rather tenuous.

Nevertheless, why should Liberals seek to cut the caller off (i.e., hang-up prematurely) more frequently than Conservatives? Perhaps as an adaptive device Liberals generally seek early disengagement from situations in which their personal involvement may become necessary. That is, since Liberals apply principles universally, and since Liberals and Conservatives living in a large metropolitan area are

probably equally bombarded with situational demands for help or personal involvement, the Liberal might be forced to a greater extent than Conservatives to erect devices to thwart the impact of this bombardment lest the satisfaction of his own needs be frustrated. Thus compared to the Conservative, who is capable of applying general principles on the basis of the personal characteristics of the "others" involved, the Liberal might develop a higher threshold for the elicitation of helping behavior and/or seek early disengagement from situations that might develop into ones requiring personal involvement. The greater frequency with which a white victim elicits helping behavior from Conservative than from Liberal Party members implies this. Furthermore, Liberals to a greater extent than Conservatives refused to participate in the "Survey to assess the need for Free Emergency Telephone Service from all public telephones."

#### E. Sex Difference and Altruism

Considering the minimal levels of effort and threat to physical safety involved in helping the stranded motorist the extent to which males helped more frequently than females (approximately 10%) was surprising. Evidently, Darley and Latane (1968) are incorrect in expecting equivalent levels of helping for males and females when helping involves simply reporting the incident to someone qualified to handle it, such

as the police.

The difference here, for males and females can perhaps be attributed to three sources. First, females probably failed to identify with the stranded motorist to the same extent as males, because females constitute only 40% of the licensed drivers in New York State.

Second, females might have helped less frequently because they may have a greater fear reaction to strangers, which reasonably could inhibit the motivation to help or the saliency of the social responsibility norm. Perhaps Darley and Latane (1968) failed to observe a sex difference in helping because their victim, a fellow college student of the bystander, failed to elicit a fear response, i.e., of the victim himself.

Finally, sex-role prescriptions assign females a more passive role which may permit some females the luxury of guiltless non-intervention. The extent to which the Older Liberals helped less overall than the Younger Liberals (below 50 years) might similarly be attributed to the fact that society relegates its older citizens to a more passive role.

F. Comparison of the Non-Reactive and Reactive-Hypothetical Situations.

As hypothesized, less helping behavior was elicited in the Non-Reactive situation than expected on the basis of Sg' responses in the Reactive-Hypothetical situation. This disparity

could have resulted from a Guinea Pig effect in which Ss in the Reactive-Hypothetical situation purposefully selected the socially acceptable response to impress the interviewer favorably. Given the subjects' sincerity, spontaneity and additional remarks, however, the investigator suspects that most Ss truly believed that they would, if called upon, help each of the motorists, regardless of race. Why then the disparity between what people expect they would do and the actual level of helping accorded each of the motorists?

In the Reactive-Hypothetical situation the E defined and the S apparently accepted the premises that 1) the wrong-number call was accidental, and 2) the victim was really stuck along some highway having expended his last coin. Thus the situation was initially defined as one in which the S's help was really needed. In the Non-Reactive situation, by contrast, Ss were more likely to suspect that the encounter was a prank or perhaps perpetrated by a motorist actually stranded but unwilling to expend an additional dime.

Also, the disparity could have arisen because Ss in the Reactive-Hypothetical situation were incapable of anticipating their possible fear, disgust, annoyance, etc. at being actually interrupted by the wrong-numbered telephoned plea for help (particularly when called by the black victims).

Furthermore, the Ss in the Reactive-Hypothetical situation might not have fully appreciated the subtle characteristics of the actual Non-Reactive situation which could have led to

Not Helping. These characteristics might include: the ease with which one could terminate the encounter, the S's apparent anonymity, and the relative lack of social influence or restraint upon socially unacceptable behavior.

The demand characteristics of the Reactive-Hypothetical situation may also account for some portion of the discrepancy between self-reports and actual behavior. The results indicated that although these Ss were poor predictors of their own behavior, they rather accurately predicted the behavior of others. Possibly the latter task was a less reactive measure of the S's opinion about his own behavior. However, previous studies using this indirect approach toward attitude measurement (e.g., Weitz and Nuckols, 1953) obtained poor predictive efficiency. Perhaps in the present study Ss had some realistic external basis upon which to make predictions about the behavior of others. In a large metropolitan area where the existence of widespread altruism is suspect, it would be unrealistic to expect 97.3% of others (percentage of what Ss personally would do) to help the stranded motorists. Only 8% of the Ss expected at least 97% of others to help.

It is apparent, then, that the basis (i.e., internal or external) for the Ss' estimates of the behavior of others in the present study is difficult to specify. Nonetheless, differences in the relative extent to which others would assist the black and white victims emerged in the percentage estimates for Liberals and Conservatives. Specifically, Liberal

Party members expected greater percentages of "others" to assist the white than the black victim; whereas Conservatives denied that the race of the victim would influence the willingness of "others" to help. Regardless of the basis for the Conservatives estimates (i.e. based upon his own beliefs and feelings about his own behavior or beliefs about the actual behavior of others), the fact that they deny that "others" would discriminate on the basis of race seems consistent with a belief that if Blacks are at an economic and/or social disadvantage it is not the result of "others" acting upon them. Rather these differences result from internal sources such as lack of motivation to work or lack of intelligence, etc. However, the Liberals' desire to improve societal institutions along with their expectation that "others" would behave differentially towards Blacks and Whites is consistent with the premise that causes of poverty and dependency are external to the persons afflicted.

APPENDIX A.

Traditional Themes Permeating Scales of Liberalism  
and Conservatism

(Agreement: indicates Conservatism)

- a) The Federal Government is interfering too much in state and local matters. (Adorno et.al.; Free & Cantril)
- b) Government strength is particularly too strong in areas of social welfare legislation. (Adorno et.al.; Free and Cantril)
- \*c) The "American way" is working very well and the system need not be changed because there are few defects in this system. (McClosky; Free & Cantril)
- d) Business and private ownership of property deserves greater power compared to labor and governmental power and is necessary if we are to have a strong nation. (McClosky; Adorno, et. al.)
- e) The practical man (e.g. business man) is of greater value to society than the artist or the man of ideas. (Adorno, et al.; McClosky).
- \*f) It is dangerous to cooperate with Russia and also there is too much left wing and communist influence in government. (Adorno et al.; Free & Cantril)
- \*g) Emphasis should be placed upon duty, conformity, discipline, ambition, effort, and hard work. (Adorno et al.; Free & Cantril)
- \*h) Failure in society is due to laziness, lack of character and will power rather than to external circumstances. (Adorno et.al.; Free & Cantril)
- \* Although these items were not included in Free & Cantril's scale to differentiate ideological conservatives and liberals, these particular items were positively related to the responses on that scale.

APPENDIX B.

Public Positions of the Liberal and Conservative Parties

A. The Role of Government

Conservative Party

"The Conservative Party believes that our Federal Government must learn to live within its means and within the limits of legitimate constitutional authority. Centralization of government power, monopoly union power, deficit spending and oppressive taxation must be curbed, both to protect the liberties of American citizens, and to liberate the energies of our free enterprise system for greater economic advancement." (Introducing: The Conservative Party of New York State, IV. What Does the Conservative Party Stand For?)

Liberal Party

"We must recognize that the fastest growing area of economic activity is in federal, state and local government.....Only a revolution in services and a total commitment by the state to provide those services for the people, can effectively counter the imbalances of our economy..In the creation of such services the role of Government must be paramount." (1968 Legislative Program, Liberal Party, p.4).

B. Government Strength In Welfare Legislation

Conservative Party

"The very real problem of poverty will not be solved by the proliferation of federal welfare programs. The call for massive federal expenditures on wasteful, largely unworkable poverty programs simply perpetuates the cruel hoax foisted on the poor by the spokesman of liberalism. A fresh approach is required - one which will return responsibility to the states and local communities and make maximum use of the extraordinary vitality of the American system of free enterprise. Existing programs and laws must be modified to restore incentives to work, and to permit teenagers to participate in on-the-job apprenticeship programs. ....The war on poverty must be waged by offering to those on welfare the incentives, training and opportunities to move from the relief rolls in to productive roles in society. Federal and State taxes have risen to pay for a welfare system which is not working. The need is for a radically new approach." (Here's Where Jim Buckley Stands on the Issues, 1968).

## Liberal Party

"The Liberal Party believes N.Y. State should take the lead by becoming the first state in the union to guarantee a job to every man and woman willing and able to work as a matter of right and of public policy." (1968 Legislative Program, Liberal Party, p.4)

"The time has come for a massive long range commitment of economic resources for the creation of equal opportunity for the economic and social and cultural advance of all Americans regardless of their race, geographical location or social condition. American affluence must be harnessed, through social planning and political decision to the task of rebuilding our cities, providing good housing and decent communities for all of our people and medicare for all..." (A call to Liberal Action. Liberal Party, 1968)

"...If we are to save our cities and urban areas, if we are to fulfill our responsibilities to the poor and to our conscience we must move forward against poverty with greater speed. More is needed in federal programs, and our state must become a full fledged partner in the war against poverty." (Legislative Program, Liberal Party, 1968, p. 6)

### C. The Role of Government: Racial Balance in the Educational System.

## Conservative Party

The Conservative Party proposes:

1. "The enactment of legislation prohibiting the assignment of pupils on the basis of race, without the written consent of parents or guardians, and the elimination of state financial support for any program directed to maintaining any so-called "racial balance" in individual schools."  
(Legislative Program, Conservative Party, p. 2, section 2, #8)
2. "Prohibition of redrawing of school district lines without the approval of voters in the districts affected." (Legislative Program, Conservative Party, p. 2, section 2, # 10)
3. "There must also be public recognition of the fact that schools are not playgrounds for social theorists who would solve the problems of society at large by tinkering with school populations. By any objective criteria - in spite of unfounded claims by those who have managed experiments in busing and sharing pupils about improvements in intangible, unmeasurable, and subjective conditions such as pupil attitudes - every program which sought to improve the education of the impoverished by busing them away from their neighborhood schools has been proven a failure. Clearly, the answer must be sought in the impoverished areas themselves. Money will be needed, but money alone has not met, and will not meet the need. A massive program aimed at real, basic education will."

(Legislative Program, Conservative Party, p. 2.)

4. "Support of the principle of decentralization of the New York City school system into neighborhood school districts." (Legislative Program, Conservative Party, p. 2, section 2, # 7.)

### Liberal Party

"The state should provide emergency aid for the earliest possible elimination of de facto school segregation in all school districts at all levels. New approaches to school system organization such as the State Education Commissioner's proposal for three school levels of four years each, should be effectively tested. New means of achieving excellence and integration in schools, including rezoning, district mergers, pairing, educational parks and transportation and exchange of pupils should be tried out in schools and districts where appropriate." (Legislative Program, Liberal Party, 1968, p. 12).

### D. Social Welfare

#### Conservative Party

"The Conservative Party recognizes the moral obligation to provide assistance to those in need. But the numbers of people on relief, the fact that the numbers increase monthly, the fact that 75% of the money goes to Aid to Dependent Children (ADC) of whom at least 80% are illegitimate, the staggering cost of the program, and the fact finally that even stupendous expenditures to date have contributed nothing to a solution of the basic problem, demand that there be a complete reappraisal of the philosophy underlying public relief. Welfare must be brought back under control, and the recipients must be given realistic incentives and motivation to become self-sufficient and self-supporting."

To these ends the Conservative Party proposes:

1. "Mandatory programs of training and education to fit relief recipients for available job opportunities." (Legislative Program, p. 3, section IV, # 1c)
2. "Legislation to give local communities effective control over local welfare programs, including control over welfare standards, in recognition that criteria of need vary in different regions of the state. (section IV, # 3)
3. "Adoption of a minimum residency requirement of one year for welfare eligibility with appropriate provisions for emergency assistance on a temporary basis." (section IV, #7)

4. "Repeal of N.Y. State Medicaid legislation since existing law makes ample provision of those who are genuinely indigent." (section IV, # 4).

### Liberal Party

"Social welfare should not be based on a "Charity" or sustenance approach. It must become a tool for breaking out of the cycle of dependency. All who are in need must be cared for, but the job only begins with economic support. Every effort must be made to gear the welfare departments and personnel for the task of maximizing the individual and social potential of people on welfare, involving the poor and welfare clients in obtaining jobs and in the general process, and getting them back on the road to being taxpayers. We must continue to aid the needy -- and even expand that aid to provide a more decent living standard -- but more must be done to fully realize the human potential which is wasted on the welfare rolls." (State Legislative Program, Liberal Party, 1968, p. 25).

"We believe assistance should be granted to every needy individual domiciled in the state without regard to length of residence here. (Legislative Program, p. 26)

"The Liberal Party commends the States's new "Medicaid" program...but there is still much to be done to assure every New Yorker...rich or poor..the right and the opportunity to receive the best health care available." (Legislative Program, 1968, p. 28)

"The State should use its facilities to raise not lower standards. A child's financial need cannot be determined by whether or not he was born out of wedlock. All dependent children especially, ust be protected by the State through the receipt of adequate funds and whatever special counseling services they and their families require. Human values, not statistics,, should guide us." (State Legislative Program, 1968, p. 26)

### E. Communism and Foreign Policy

#### Conservative Party

"The Conservative Party realizing that international Communism is intrinsically and ruthlessly determined upon world domination, stands for a total reassessment of American foreign policy. ...We can achieve this strength only if our foreign policy is conducted solely by the government of the United States, in concert with faithful allies rather than by shifting coalitions of the United Nations. Foreign aid should be given only to our friends. And decisive military superiority over the Communist bloc must be main-

tained." (Introducing the Conservative Party of New York State, section IV).

Liberal Party

"It is time that the policy of containment be replaced by a more flexible and creative policy of peaceful competition and the maximum degree of cooperation with our communist adversaries of the world. This requires a continuation of the the bridge building which began with the nuclear test ban treaty and should be followed through with the nuclear non-proliferation treaty. It requires steps toward the normalization of relations with mainland China." (A Liberal Call to Action, 1968)

APPENDIX C.

Stimulus Person Rating Sheet

I the rater am Male\_\_\_ Female\_\_\_

Judging as best you can from the recording fill in the following information about the person stuck on the highway:

sex: \_\_\_\_\_

age: \_\_\_\_\_

race: \_\_\_\_\_

Married: yes\_\_\_ no\_\_\_

last completed year of school\_\_\_\_\_

social class (check appropriate alternative)

lower: Lower\_\_\_1

lower: Middle\_\_\_4

lower: Upper\_\_\_7

middle: Lower\_\_\_2

middle: Middle\_\_\_5

middle: Upper\_\_\_8

upper: Lower\_\_\_3

upper: Middle\_\_\_6

upper: Upper\_\_\_9

Check the box on the scales below that most closely approximates your impression of the person whose car is stuck.

GOOD NATURED \_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_

BAD NATURED

UNSOCIABLE \_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_

SOCIABLE

RELIABLE \_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_

UNRELIABLE

DISCOURTEOUS \_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_

COURTEOUS

CARELESS \_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_

CAREFUL

FRIENDLY \_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_

UNFRIENDLY

DECEITFUL \_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_

TRUTHFUL

IMAGINATIVE \_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_

UNIMAGINATIVE

SINCERE \_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_

INSINCERE

THREATENING \_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_

NOT THREATENING

UNPERSUASIVE \_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_

PERSUASIVE

HOSTILE \_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_

NOT HOSTILE

ANXIOUS \_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_

RELAXED

QUICK TEMPERED \_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_

CALM

APPENDIX D.

S Phone \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

1. Caller race: White 1 Black 2

2. Caller sex: Male 1 Female 2

3. Caller name: \_\_\_\_\_ Code: # 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

4. " " Code: # 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Hello..Ralph's garage? This is George Williams..Listen I'm stuck out here on the parkway...and I'm wondering if you'd be able to come out here and take a look at my car?

This isn't Ralph's Garage!? Listen I'm terribly sorry to have disturbed you but listen.. I'm stuck out here on the highway and that was the last dime I had! I have bills in my pocket..but no more change to make another call...Now I'm really stuck out here. What am I going to do now?

Listen..do you thik you would do me the favor of calling the garage and letting them know where I am... I'll give you the number....They know me over there.

Prod A: Oh Brother...Listen I'm stuck out here..couldn't you PLEASE help me by simply calling the garage for me.

Prod B: Listen..If YOU were in my situation wouldn't you want someone to help you.

TIME CALL COMPLETED \_\_\_\_\_ LOCATION \_\_\_\_\_

5. Premature hang-up (before "dime"): yes 1 no 2

6. Volunteered to make call: yes 1 no 2

7. Complied after first request: yes 1 no 2

8. Complied with Prod A: yes 1 no 2

9. Complied with Prod B: yes 1 no 2

10. Agreed to call: yes 1 no 2

11. Actually called: yes 1 no 2

12. Sex of S : Male 1 Female 2

13. Age of S : 18-20 1 21-30 2 31-40 3 41-50 4 51-60 5 61-70 6 71-.. 7

14. ATTITUDE: Positive 1 Neutral 2 Negative 3

15. Ethnic group of S: Jewish 1 Italian 2 Irish 3 Scandinavian 4 other 5

16. REJECT S: YES 1 NO 2



APPENDIX E.

Ratings of Stimulus People

	<u>Mean for White Vs.</u>	<u>Mean for Black Vs.</u>	<u>t score</u>	<u>p</u>
Age:	2.70	3.16	-3.03	<.01
Education	3.77	3.06	9.80	<.001
Social Class	5.25	3.74	7.67	<.001
Bipolar Scales	$\frac{\quad}{1} : \frac{\quad}{2} : \frac{\quad}{3} : \frac{\quad}{4} : \frac{\quad}{5} : \frac{\quad}{6} : \frac{\quad}{7}$			
Goodnatured	2.85	2.51	1.63	
Unsociable	5.29	5.36	-0.34	
Unreliable	2.83	3.30	-2.00	<.05
Discourteous	5.29	5.96	-2.99	<.01
Careless	4.37	4.18	0.69	
Friendly	3.11	2.44	3.11	<.01
Deceitful	5.43	5.56	-0.56	
Imaginative	3.81	3.73	0.33	
Quick Tempered	4.55	5.52	-3.91	<.001
Sincere	2.59	2.67	0.28	
Threatening	5.58	6.16	2.46	<.02
Unpersuasive	5.50	5.03	1.90	
Hostile	5.43	6.12	-3.04	<.01
Anxious	3.58	4.28	-2.27	<.05

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