76-30,415

LEWIN, David Alan, 1944-
BYSTANDER INTERVENTION: WHO HELPS WHOM?

City University of New York, Ph.D., 1976
Psychology, clinical

Xerox University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

BYSTANDER INTERVENTION: WHO HELPS WHOM?

by

DAVID LEWIN

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

1976

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Clinical Psychology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

15 July 1976
date

Stanley Milgram
Chairman of Examining Committee

July 15, 1976
date

Florence L. Denmark
Executive Officer

Professor Stanley Milgram

Professor Morton Bard

Professor Laurence Gould
Supervisory Committee

The City University of New York

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In the popular imagination, creative science is the result of solitary individual effort. The present piece of research, having whatever worthiness and originality that it might be judged to contain, owes its merit not to one mind but four. In grateful recognition of this fact, this work is dedicated to my three advisors: Professor Stanley Milgram, Professor Morton Bard, and Professor Larry Gould, whose views and suggestions enlarged upon and crafted the original design of this experiment. Having credited the above gentlemen with the merits of the research, I would like to absolve them of its defects, whatever these may be found to be.

David Lewin

"The true community is thus built to the human scale. Its range is limited to men's capacity for integrated experience. Beyond the limit it breaks down. The human being, on the other hand, is limited by the community. He is keyed to its capacity to coordinate the functions of his life as a whole with other whole persons. At the point where interpersonal relationships are solely between the isolated functions of different persons, the human being disintegrates."

Baker Brownell[1]

---

[1]Baker Brownell, The Human Community (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950), p. 41.

ABSTRACT

BYSTANDER INTERVENTION: WHO HELPS WHOM?

BY DAVID LEWIN

The effects of sex and race on helping behavior in the New York City subways was investigated in a 1200 trial study. A confederate Asker boarded a subway train and asked if the train went to a stop which was just up the line. A confederate Misinformant immediately replied that it did not. The Misinformant insisted one more time on his misinformation if anyone in the subway car ventured to contradict the misinformation. The sex and race of the Asker and Misinformant was systematically varied and the sex, race, estimated age, and location in the car of passengers was recorded in each subway car trial. It was found that male white passengers estimated to be over the age of 31 intervened most often; that black passengers in the subway car tended not to assist male white Askers; that accompanied female white passengers tended not to assist black Askers; that accompanied male black passengers tended to contradict female white Misinformants and to assist female black passengers. Strategy of intervention was found to be associated with particular sex-race passenger groups. In addition, the number of people in the car, the distance between the confederates and the passengers, the seat location, and whether the passenger was standing or sitting, all were found to interact significantly with whether help was offered.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS (cont'd)

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO THE PROBLEM

Throughout the course of human history, individual acts of murder have at times resulted in significant social and political changes, but rarely, if ever, has an individual act of murder resulted in the creation of a separate area of scientific inquiry. The tragic and horrifying murder of Kitty Genovese, in the early morning hours of March 13, 1964 outside of her apartment house in Kew Gardens, Queens, aroused not only the moral indignation of the country but the scientific curiosity of social psychologists as well. The question that was in many peoples' minds as they read their morning newspapers' account of Miss Genovese's futile struggle with her attacker was -- how could the acknowledged witnesses to the assault turn away from her cries for help and do nothing. Social psychologists took this question as their starting point and the body of experimental research that has resulted from their efforts has come to be classified under the name of "Bystander Behavior."

Researchers in the field of Bystander Behavior have pursued many lines of inquiry and their findings indicate that the frequency and speed with which bystanders assist those in trouble are dependent upon, among other things, the following:

The clarity of the crisis (Clark & Word, 1972, 1974; Tilker, 1970; Yakimovich & Saltz, 1971)

The sex and race of the bystanders (Bryan & Test, 1967; Gaertner, 1973; Gaertner & Bickman, 1971; Piliavin, Rodin, & Piliavin, 1969; Schwartz & Clausen, 1970; Wispee & Freshley, 1971); Latane & Dabbs, 1975; West, Whitney, & Schnedler, 1975; Wegner & Crano, 1975; Katz, Cohen, & Glass, 1975; Clark, 1974)

The previous relationship of the bystander to the victim or one another (Darley & Latane, 1968; Latane & Rodin, 1969)

The attractiveness of the victim (Gross, Wallston, & Piliavin, 1975; Piliavin, Piliavin, & Rodin, 1975)

The apparent helpworthiness of the victim (Langer & Abelson, 1972; Piliavin, Rodin, Piliavin, 1969)

Bystander numbers (Darley & Latane, 1968; Latane & Rodin, 1969; Schwartz & Clausen, 1970; Latane & Dabbs, 1975; Piliavin, Piliavin, & Rodin, 1975)

The focus of the appeal (Allen, 1969)

The costs of helping (Allen, 1969; Piliavin, Piliavin, & Rodin, 1975)

We take the view the phenomenon of bystander passivity in an emergency is an unfortunate consequence of the urbanite psychological and social adjustments to living in the industrial city. In order to survive amid the heterogeneity and hyperstimulation of the industrial city, the urbanite has to adopt certain behaviors and strategies which help him

maintain his contact with urban reality without being overwhelmed. It is the view of the experimenter that one indirect consequence of these social and psychological adjustments to the urban setting is that the urbanite tends not to respond when there is an unexpected appeal for help.

Let us consider those psychological and social factors of urban living which discourage the urbanite as a potential bystander from making an intervention:

(1) The urbanite is surrounded by tens of thousands of strangers in his daily life. He lives, works, plays, and is educated among ever shifting masses of people who he does not know nor can know given their number. In the context of man's long communal history, this experience, which only arose about a hundred years ago, is a relatively novel situation. Living among so many strangers, the urbanite passes through the public sphere without any strong ties of identity and commitment to those around him. Thus any appeal for help by a stranger is not responded to as one would respond to an appeal for help by a friend or relative, someone with whom he shares ties.

In addition, the bystander is anonymous in the situation, so that he does not have to fear public opprobrium or suffer its consequences should he not intervene. In a smaller community, if a neighbor did not respond to an appeal for he or she would become the talk of the village; in the

city one's anonymity protects one from becoming a social outcast.

(2) An ethos has evolved within the industrial that helps one survive the hyperstimulation of the city. This ethos is, "Don't get involved." This ethos of the highly populated city is just the opposite of the less densely populated village or town. In village or town the ethos is "Help thy neighbor."

(3) Social responsibilities have been differentially assigned to specific members of the urban population. The police handle social distrubances and emergencies; the fire department puts out fires; welfare takes care of the poor. Such a division of social responsibilities in effect divests the common citizen of his personal responsibility in most emergencies. He does not take a victim of a car accident to the hospital, he does not get his gun and go after a robber, he does not join with his neighbors to put out a fire. He waits for the properly designated authority to do this. He is reduced to being a passive bystander on the periphery in a social emergency.

(4) The urban emphasis on the efficient use of time also discourages the likelihood of an intervention. Living in a capitalist economy and culture where time is money and the pace of life is swift, we have to live on schedules in which our daily tasks are accomplished in alotted time segments. This naturally discourages time consuming

behavioral digressions like becoming involved in a social emergency.

(5) The urbanite in passing through the public domain has to defend against the enormous stimulus bombardment on his senses caused by the enormous number of strangers streaming by. In order to cope with this excessive stimulation, the urbanite adopts certain psychological and social defences.

George Simmel (1950) writing at the turn of the century was one of the first to take note of the psychological effect that the industrialized city was having on the mind of the urban dweller. His thoughts were recorded in his classic essay The Metropolis and Mental Life. He pointed out that the common emotional tone of the urban dweller was "blase." Part of this attitude Simmel attributed to the effects of living in the materialistic atmosphere of the industrial city where social existence was so heavily influenced by the objectifying forces of the money economy. But Simmel also recognized in the blase attitude of the urbanite a psychological defense mechanism that was employed out of necessity to deal with the excessive stimulation of city life. Simmel writes:

> In the blase attitude the concentration of men and things stimulate the nervous system of the individual to its highest achievement so that it attains its peak, through the mere quantitative intensification of the same conditioning factors this achievement is transformed into its opposite and appears in the peculiar adjustment of the blase

> attitude. In this phenomenon the nerves find in the refusal to react to their stimulation the last possibility of accommodating to the contents and forms of metropolitan life. The self-preservation of certain personalities is bought at the price of devaluating the whole objective world, a devaluation which in the end unavoidably drags one's own personality down into a feeling of the same worthlessness....If so many inner reactions were responses to the continuous external contacts with innumerable people as are those in the small town, where one knows almost everybody one meets and where one has a positive relation to almost everyone, one would be completely atomized internally and come to an unimaginable psychic state. Partly this psychological fact, partly the right to distrust which men have in the face of the touch-and-go elements of metropolitan life, necessitates our reserve.[2]

In an article on The Experience of Living in Cities (1970) Milgram specified six psychological strategies that the urban dweller employs in dealing with the over-stimulating environment of city life. Milgram used the terminology of systems analysis in describing these strategies that the urbanite uses to prevent input stimulus "overload." These six strategies are:

1. The allocation of less time to each input
2. High selectivity and disregard of low priority inputs
3. The shifting of input requirements to other parties
4. Blocking of reception of inputs
5. Reduction in the intensity of inputs by filtering
6. Institutionalization of social responsibility to relieve individual input demands

---

[2]Kurt H. Wolff, ed. and trans., The Sociology of George Simmel (New York: The Free Press, 1950), p. 415.

When we examine the seemingly indifferent public behavior of the passive bystander, we can see his inaction very much in terms of his operative enthrallment with these defenses against urban stimulation. He does not try to make himself better understood to the Puerto Rican women who stop to ask him subway directions in broken English (Strategy 1); he steps over the derelict in the street (strategy 2); he suggests to a person asking him for change of a dollar to try the newsstand (strategy 3); he puts on a gruff and stolid face while walking past the tourist couple who are staring up at a street sign in bewilderment (strategy 4); he doesn't catch what the young boy is saying as he is running out of the supermarket crying (strategy 5); and he assumes that the policeman on the beat will find out why that man is walking through traffic shouting to passing motorists that he is a mailman (strategy 6).

Milgram is suggesting that we need not interpret the urban bystanders inaction as only being a result of the lack of social relatedness in the city but as also an unfortunate byproduct of the psychological adjustment we have had to make while passing through the urban public sphere. Milgram writes:

> The ultimate adaptation to an over loaded social environment is to totally disregard the needs, interests, and demands of those whom one does not define as relevant to the satisfaction of personal

> needs, and to develop highly efficient perceptual means of determining whether an individual falls into the category of friend or stranger (italics mine).[3]

We may see the phenomena of the impassive bystander as the result of several convergent social and psychological forces which are a direct consequence of urban existence. The urban individual is unacquainted with almost all of the people he encounters publically, and therefore shares public space with them in an "out-group" relationship. A stranger in need of assistance is not a positive relation and elicits less personal identification and thus less impact on our urge to give aid. In addition, the urban individual is preoccupied in his defense against the stimulation of the public city environment, and any appeal for help has to break through and circumvent the psychological mechanisms that the urbanite is employing to reduce the threat of "overload."

These psychological adaptations to urban living seem to discourage the urbanite from making an intervention when a social crisis occurs. Thus it may be seen that the urbanite psychological adaptation to the urban setting may account for the phenomenon of the passive bystander. And yet, there is one psychological adaptation that the urbanite makes to living in the city that actually might encourage the likelihood of an intervention in an emergency.

---

[3]Stanley Milgram, "The Experience of Living in Cities," Science, 167 (1970): 1462.

Milgram suggests that one additional psychological strategy used by the urbanite to counter the potential overload is the perceptual organization of the visual heterogeneity of daily life into stereotypic categories. This suggestion is in accord with the American philosopher Baker Brownell's description of the urban mentality. Professor Brownell writes:

> An urban man is increasingly indifferent to the value of the human community and careless of its disintegration. His life is scattered across the shattering machine of the city. He is a cluster of uncoherent fragments, and what unity he has tends to be abstract and fictitious....He belongs to many publics but to no community. In that crowded world men become, not men with concrete contexts and differences, but 'labor' or 'veterans' or 'audience' or 'commuters'....We know human beings not as emotionally unique, contextually differentiated face-to-face experiences; we take them as a class (italics mine).[4]

And yet if people living in cities do tend to classify people according to "categories", then this would encourage identification with strangers in the public setting who shared similar characteristics. If people do categorize strangers in public then they might more readily identify with a victim in a social emergency who they shared mutual category characteristics.

One of the most obvious ways of perceptually forming categories in the public setting is to classify people according to sex and race, since these two characteristics

---

[4]Baker Brownell, The Human Community (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950).

are so highly visible. Gaertner and Bickman (1971) found that whites had a better chance of receiving help from whites than blacks in an alleged social crisis situation. Milgram (1970) suggests that these findings may show:

> ...ethnic allegiance may well be another means of copying with overload; the city dweller can reduce excessive demands and screen out urban heterogeneity by responding along ethnic lines; overload is made more manageable by limiting the 'span of sympathy.'[5]

If black and white tend to identify with people of the same visual characteristics as sharing a common "in group" status then we would expect more intra-race group helping behavior in a social emergency. Likewise if male and female tend to identify on sexual grounds with strangers and see themselves as more related, then we would expect that males would tend to help males more and females would tend to help females more in a social emergency.

It is the purpose of the present study to see if such easily identifiable characteristics as sex and race do generate like sex-race group helping. If the individuals are predisposed to identify with strangers in the social milieu on the basis of easily classifiable features, then we would suggest that the combination of sex and race qualities would offer the most visible group features to find an identification with. For this reason we choose as our hypothesis the following two expectations:

---

[5]Milgram, "The Experience of Living in Cities," p. 1463.

1. Sex and race bias will be shown by people in giving assistance

2. People will tend to assist those of like sex-race characteristics

We have pointed out at the beginning of this chapter that there have been several studies done in which the race interaction between bystander and "victim" has been examined. The results of these studies, juxtaposed one against the other, are equivocal. Gaertner and Dickman (1971) and Gaertner (1975) found a race effect for Whites, i.e., Whites tended to help whites more than Blacks. Piliavin, Rodin, & Piliavin (1969), Wispe & Freshley (1971), and Latane & Dabbs (1975) did not find a clear and reliable race effect.

We shall now proceed to present our reservations about many of these studies. The type of helping behavior required in each varied from study to study -- from the innocuous assistance asked in helping a confederate pick up coins (Latane & Dabbs, 1975) or groceries (Wispe & Freshley, 1971) or dropped computer cards (Wegner & Crano, 1975) to assisting a derelict or invalid who has fallen in a subway car (Piliavin, Rodin, & Piliavin, 1969). The requirements in these situations are hardly comparable and Piliavin et al. (1975) suggests that a cost factor may interact significantly with variables under study in determining the studies outcome. Sucha a suggestion is consistent with Milgram's understanding of the situation;

high cost requiring high input stimulation and low cost requiring little stimulus input. Low cost helping requirements such as picking up a few coins entails little social confrontation, physical effort, or time expenditure. Lifting a drunk or invalid to his feet requires risk of confrontation, physical effort, and the possible expenditure or a great deal of time since the individual might need further assistance.

Our point is that in low cost situations the psychological adaptation of ethnic identification may not be utilized since the requirements of the situation are so minimal. Therefore, in evaluating studies that use low cost helping situations in their attempt to elicit a race effect, we cannot be sure that a negative finding means that race has no effect on helping behavior in general. Helping behavior in these studies might have just been engaged in as a quick means of avoiding the tension of the situation and required no further identification of the environment.

A second limitation that we find in these studies is that the interaction between the sex and race of the bystander and the sex and race of the "victim" was not examined; black and white confederates were often either all male or female. For example, both Gaertner and Wispe & Freshley used only females as confederates in their study of the effects of race on helping behavior. Thus

the effect or non-effect that they reported was contaminated by their oversight in not sorting out the individual sex-race group interactions.

Wegner & Crano (1975) make an important criticism of many studies that attempt to investigate the interaction of sex and race on helping behavior. They write:

> Confederate victims were typically nested within the sex and race conditions of the study; that is, one black and white confederate of each sex constituted the total victim population; this confounding renders the interpretation of results completely problematic.[6]

This criticism applies to such recent studies as Thayer's (1973) study, Katz, Cohen, & Glass' (1975) study and West, Whitney, and Schedler's (1975) study. Piliavin, Piliavin, and Rodin (1975) have serendipitously found a large effect of victim's natural appearance on the rendering of help.

Wegner and Crano's (1975) attempt to circumvent this problem by using many confederates in each sex-race condition was vitiated by the fact that they performed their study at a Midwestern university where the 43,000 student population contained only a very limited number of black students. That black students in such an isolated situation would be aware of a black student in need of help was a foregone conclusion.

---

[6] D.M. Wegner and W.D. Crano, "Racial Factors in Helping Behavior: an Unobtrusive Study," Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 32 (May, 1975): 902.

Finally, it should be remarked that Piliavin et al. (1969, 1975) in his subway studies of helping behavior has had notoriously bad luck with his confederates, since in both studies he found that confederate teams were not staging the incident as they were assigned to do. It is not clear to the present investigator what effect this had on his results. In any event, it would be important to re-stage some variation of his experiment because it is felt that his victim staging site had a lot to recommend for itself as a social psychology laboratory. A subway car contains in a restricted environment strangers of various sex and race who have no personal commitment or responsibility to what goes on before them (since it is an transient and anonymous situation) and therefore can respond or not respond freely according to intrinsic motivation.

Piliavin (1975) in reviewing the literature on the sex effect in helping concludes:

> Although the relation of sex to helping may depend on the specific type of help requested, it is clear that in the preponderance of settings tested to date, males help more than females, and females receive more help than males.[7]

In analyzing the results of our own bystander behavior study we shall keep this finding in mind, especially looking out to see if it holds for the different sex-race group pairings.

It was with these considerations in mind that we decided it would be appropriate to make an additional study of the sex-race effect on helping behavior. The social setting that we chose to do our research on this issue was in The New York City Transit Authority subway cars. The idea and location for the study arose after the experimenter had witnessed the following real life exchange in a subway car one morning. A man entered the subway car at a train station and asked if the train went to a particular station which was further up the line. A passenger inadvertently gave him wrong information, and although the route of the train was quite well known to most of the passengers since they travel it twice daily coming to and from work, no one in the train readily volunteered the correct information, until a heroic student of psychology finally intervened. This small social emergency suggested a procedure for studying bystander behavior. In reviewing the literature it was found that a similar experimental design had occurred to Harvey Allen of NYU in a bystander intervention study that he did for his Ph.D. dissertation published in 1968. Allen, however, was interested in the <u>effects of the focus</u> of the appeal by the Asker and the <u>threat characteristics</u> of the Misinformant on bystander behavior.

Using the same Asker-Misinformant exchange, it was decided that we would investigate the effects of sex-race

of the Asker and the sex-race of the Misinformant on the sex-race bystander behavior with the expectation that like would help like.

CHAPTER II

METHOD

Overview

Passengers sitting in a subway car at an end of the line station waiting for the train to depart witnessed the following incident. A person came through the center door and asked if the train stopped at Newkirk Avenue. Immediately a seated passenger said it did not, which was not true because Newkirk Avenue was the very next stop on the line. The person who asked the question (the Asker) paused and then if no one said anything walked off the train and out of sight. If someone said that the train did go to Newkirk Avenue during the pause, the person who gave the misinformation (the Misinformant) reiterated his or her misinformation. The Asker then paused and if nothing further was said, walked off the car and out of sight. If the passenger who supplied the correct information or any other passenger in the subway car insisted during the second pause that the train did go to Newkirk Avenue, the Misinformant then remained silent and the Asker walked through the subway car into the next car. The Asker who boarded was either Male or Female and either Black or White. The Misinformant was either Male or Female and either Black or White. An observer sitting on the train sur-

reptitiously recorded the characteristics, location and behavior of the passengers in the car during the Asker-Misinformant exchange.

Subjects

Subjects were New York City subway riders traveling on the Flatbush Avenue IRT train. On the cars on which the incident occurred there were on the average 51% males and 49% females. The distribution of Whites to Blacks was 71% to 29% on the average. The average number of Male Whites (MWs) was 37%; the average number of Female Whites (FWs) was 34%; the average number of Male Blacks (MBs) was 14%; and the average number of Female Blacks (FBs) was 15%. Subjects ranged in estimated age from 6 to 70 with a mean of 33.90. The number of people in the car ranged from 3 to 26 with an average of 9.48 over all cars. A total of 1200 trials were run during the hours of 10 A.M. to 11 P.M., except during the rush hours from 5 P.M. to 7 P.M. during the week in which no trials were run. Trials were run on all seven days. Trials were run starting on January 1971 and run intermittently until May 1974.

Confederates

The confederates were male and female, Black and White undergraduate students attending Brooklyn College. Five different confederate teams were run in each of the 16 different Asker-Misinformant conditions of sex-race

Asker--sex-race Misinformant. While a confederate could play either the Asker or Misinformant in each appropriate A-M condition, he or she could not play the same role twice in the same A-M condition. Most confederates appeared in more than one A-M team condition, but very few appeared in more than two A-M team conditions. Each confederate team ran 15 trials in an approximately one hour session of staging.

Observer

The experimenter served as the observer in all trial runs. The observer, sitting in the car as unobtrusively as possible, recorded on a diagram sheet (see Figure 1) the sex, race, estimated age, and location of each passenger in the car. Whether the Asker was helped was left to the determination of each Asker. If the Asker felt he or she was assisted, they entered the car, if not they walked away from the car. The observer recorded who said what and if any doubt existed in the observers mind he consulted the Asker.

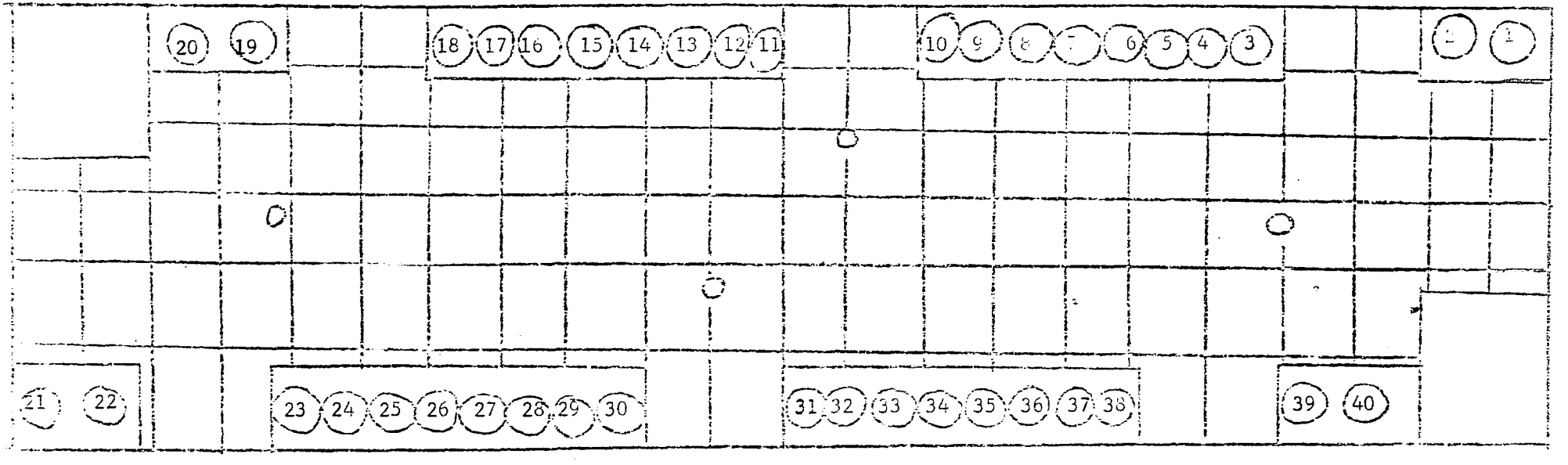
The confederates were blind to the experimental hypotheses. The day and time of day that the team ran their trials was left to the chance of mutual convenience for the three participants to get together.

Procedure

The observer and the Misinformant boarded indepen-

dently the same subway car of the waiting train at the Flatbush Avenue station. The observer sat facing the open doors in a seat removed from the other passengers if possible. The Misinformant sat in either seat 24 or 37 (see Figure 1), which ever was more available. The observer filled out the trial sheet describing the sex, race, estimated age and location of the passengers in the car. Having finished he made eye contact through the car windows with the Asker who was standing on the station platform. The Asker then stepped one step through the open denter door and said in a sufficiently loud voice, directing his attention to all of the people in the car, "Does this train go to Newkirk Avenue?" Immediately, the Misinformant answered in a loud but neutral voice, "No, it doesn't." The Asker counted to five and then, if nothing else had been said, stepped off the train and out of sight. If a passenger during the pause said that the train did go to Newkirk Avenue, the Misinformant would one more time say in a neutral voice to the Asker, "No, it doesn't." If the passenger or other passengers in the car remained silent, after five seconds the Asker then stepped off the train and walked down the platform. However, if any passenger in the subway car insisted to the Asker that the train did go to Newkirk Avenue, then the Misinformant remained silent and the Asker thanked the passenger and boarded the car. The Asker then walked through the car into the next car where

FIGURE 1 SEAT NUMBERS



Asker-Misinformant Informant

Sex

Race

Age

Place

he or she could step back onto the platform without being observed. After a minute the Misinformant got up and walked up into the next car and took a seat. A moment later the observer got up and walked into the next car and took his or her assigned seat. The next trial was ready to begin.

Since people often boarded the train via one car and then walked up into other cars, the walking through the car by the Asker, Observer, and Misinformant was in no way out of the ordinary.

Since the average waiting time of the train in the station was twelve minutes, an average of three subway car trials could be run. When the train was about to leave a yellow station light would go on and the observer and confederates would leave the train and walk to the other side of the station where another waiting train was standing on which the trials would be continued to be run until it too would be about to depart. Trials would be run consecutively until fifteen trials had been accumulated using the confederate team.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

Glossary of Terms

The results of the experiment about to be presented are quite elaborate. The fecundity of our experimental results is a direct correlate of the depth and extent of our analyses. Unfortunately, the results need technical terms to make the presentation of the several variables studied comprehensible, for without them, the study would become a labyrinth of several hundred pages. We therefore offer the following glossary of our experimental terms to serve as a guide.

The Helping Behaviors:

Primary Intervention: After the Asker-Misinformant exchange, a passenger informs the Asker that the train does go to Newkirk Ave. When the Misinformant again repeats, "No it doesn't," the passenger again insists to the Asker that it does.[8]

Secondary Responder: After the Asker-Misinformant exchange, a passenger in the car informs the Asker that the train does go to Newkirk Ave. When the

---

[8] As the major dependent variable we will treat as having helped only those who persist with the correct information in the face of the Misinformants arguing, because only such persistence results in effective help.

Misinformant again repeats "No it doesn't," the passenger becomes mute. Another passenger in the subway car at this point informs the Asker that the train does go to Newkirk Ave. This second passenger is credited with the helping intervention.

Goes & Gets Response: After the Asker-Misinformant exchange, no one in the subway car says anything and the Asker is allowed to leave unassisted. A passenger then gets up and goes to the open door and privately calls to the Asker that the train does go to Newkirk Ave. In this way the Misinformant is bypassed.

The Non-Helping Behaviors:

Silence: The passenger remains silent during and after the Asker-Misinformant exchange.

Ineffective: The passenger either talks inaudibly, mumbling his intervention to himself, or discusses with the Misinformant the train's destination, allowing the Asker to leave. Also those cases where a passenger agreed with the Misinformant were classified under this heading.

Backs Down: After the Asker-Misinformant exchange, the passenger tells the Asker that the train does go to Newkirk Ave. When the Misinformant says a second time, "No it doesn't," the passenger remains mute, allowing the Asker to leave the subway car.

Talks After:

Passenger Characteristics:

Alone: The passenger is traveling unaccompanied by a friend, husband, or

wife, and thus is a stranger to all the rest of the passengers in the subway car.

Accompanied: The passenger is traveling accompanied by one or more acquaintances in the subway car.

Other Variables:

Unrest-Response: A combination of the Secondary and Goes & Gets Responses. We take these responses as an indication of social unrest in the car, a social tension that is mastered by a delayed but effective intervention.

Unrest-No Response: A combination of the Ineffective, Backs Down, and Talks After responses. We take these responses as an indication of social unrest in the car, a social tension that is unmastered and spills over into non-intervention behaviors.

Confirmation Behavior: Once a successful passenger intervention has been made, the public support of the intervention by another passenger. This is treated as a variable because it varies with sex and race of the participants.

Introduction to the Results

The following is an analysis of the recorded behavior of 5500 people present in the 1200 subway cars in which the Asker-Misinformant exchange was staged. Before presenting the study's findings, a number of important points need to be considered which stem directly from the observation that certain chance factors in the subway car were found to influence bystander helping behavior. These un-

controlled subway car environment factors among others include: passenger seat location; whether the passenger was alone or accompanied; the physical distance between the passenger and our confederates; and, the number of people in the subway car.

As it was impossible to select subway cars that were exactly equal in population and seat occupancy, each trial was run in subway cars chosen at random. The environmental condition encountered on each trial often changed radically from trial to trial in terms of the above mentioned significant factors. In one subway car a confederate team could stage the Asker-Misinformant exchange in the present of two acquainted white women sitting quite near the Misinformant. On the next subway car trial the same team could encounter, let us say, two white women unacquainted with each other sitting quite close to the center door where the Asker makes his entrance. Based on the overall results, these two conditions would be expected to produce quite a different effect on the helping behavior of the occupants of the car, despite the fact that the Asker-Misinformant condition was the same. With each team sampling only fifteen cars, a wide variety of environmental conditions with significant effects on helping behavior were encountered by each team. This makes the comparison of the intra-team response rate inappropriate since the five teams within each Asker-Misinformant

condition were not subject to equivalent stimulus conditions.

In accord with this fact, the intra-team response rate varies considerably within each Asker-Misinformant condition. It was hoped that by running five teams with fifteen trials each in each Asker-Misinformant condition for a total of seventy five trials for each of the sixteen Asker-Misinformant conditions, a sufficiently large sample would be obtained to equalise the environmental effects across all conditions and to minimize any effect caused by the individual personal qualities of any one confederate. The fact that internally consistent Asker-Misinformant effects were found seems to support this assumption.

The findings of the study have been organized under main variable topic headings, each topic comprising a separate section. The analysis of the data revealed that there were significant interactions between strategies of intervention and main variables. For this reason, two strategies of intervention categories will be used as the basis of helping behavior when main variables are analyzed, and it is against both of these two helping behaviors that the interaction with the variable will be assessed. The first strategy of intervention that will be used is the Primary Intervention, the intervention

in which a passenger directly and persistently challenges the Misinformant to assist the Asker. The second intervention category that will be used as the helping behavior when assessing main variables will be the General Response intervention, which is a composite of Primary Intervention, Secondary Responders, and Goes & Gets interventions, those interventions that resulted in the Asker being successfully helped.

Each main variable will be assessed therefore using the Primary Intervention as an indication of helping behavior and then the General Response as an indication of helping behavior. A detailed analysis of main variable interactions with strategies of intervention will be presented under a separate chapter heading.

A variable that was found to have an important interactional effect on helping behavior had to do with whether the passenger was travelling alone or accompanied by an acquaintance in the subway car. So powerful was this variable found to be in our study that it is important to consider its effect when examining the interaction between helping behavior and main variables. For this reason, in each chapter the main variable's effect on helping behavior will be assessed for (1) Combined Alone and Accompanied passengers, (2) only Alone passengers, and (3) only Accompanied passengers.

In summary, the results of the study will be presented under main variable topic headings, each main variable comprising a section. Each section will present the analysis of the particular factor as it effects both Primary Intervention and General Response intervention rates. Each section analysis will deal with three sets of passenger data: Combined Passenger Data, Alone Passenger Data, and Accompanied Passenger Data.

It is hoped that this arrangement of the rather complex mass of data to be presented will most readily facilitate its comprehension.

SECTION ONE

Who Helps Whom?

Logically, the first piece of information that should be presented in a helping behavior study is whether all of our confederate "victims" were helped. In all, 1200 subway car incidents were staged. The Asker received some form of assistance in 45 percent (537) of the trials, of which 33 percent (393) were Primary Interventions, 6 percent (75) were Secondary Responder interventions, and 6 percent (70) were Goes & Gets interventions.

Was the likelihood that a person would be helped affected by the person's sex or race? It does not seem so if we look at the overall figures. Men and women, blacks and whites were, overall, equally likely to be helped (x^2 = .49, p = .92). On the other hand, the source of help for an Asker was indeed dependent upon his sex and race. Table 1 presents the Combined Passenger Data, Alone Passenger Data, and Accompanied Passenger Primary and General Response helping behavior of the different passengers for the different Askers across all misinformant conditions with the percent of the available population responding as indicated in each cell.

For example, we found:

1. Accompanied male blacks tend to assist female black Askers (p - .001).

TABLE 1 -- The combined passenger data, alone passenger data, and accompanied passenger data primary and general response helping behavior of the different passengers for the different Askers across all misinformant conditions with the percent of the available population responding as indicated in each cell (i.e., 8.3% of the male whites available intervened to help all askers, 6.3% of the female whites available intervened to help all Askers).

Data	Intervention	Asker	P. Level	Chi Square	Passengers Available Responding					
					MW	FW	MB	FB	Sex	Race
		ALL	.05	7.85	8.3%	6.3%	7.2%	6.0%	.01	
		MW	.006	12.63	9.4%	6.9%	5.2%	2.3%		.005
	Primary	FW								
		MB								
		FB	.04	8.43	8.9%	5.0%	9.2%	5.0%	.004	
Combined		ALL								
		MW	.02	10.40	12.3%	10.0%	5.8%	6.0%		.004
	General	FW								
		MB								
		FB								
		ALL								
		MW	.02	9.75	10.4%	7.2%	4.8%	3.3%		.008
		FW								
		MB								
		FB								
Alone		ALL								
		MW	.02	9.71	13.1%	11.5%	4.8%	7.4%		.003
	General	FW								
		MB								
		FB								
		ALL	.02	9.89	7.8%	4.2%	9.8%	4.2%	.005	
		MW								
	Primary	FW								
		MB	.07	7.15	13.0%	3.5%	11.4%	10.0%		
		FB	.001	18.27	5.8%	1.3%	17.9%	6.4%		
Accompanied		ALL	.008	12.01	10.5%	5.6%	12.3%	8.8%	.004	
		MW								
	General	FW								
		MB	.02	10.54	17.4%	4.2%	14.3%	11.4%		
		FB	.009	11.58	6.8%	3.1%	17.9%	8.5%		

2. Overall, male whites help significantly more than other passengers of given sex and race characteristics ($p = .05$).

3. Unaccompanied Blacks tend not to assist when the Asker is a male white ($p = .000$).

4. Accompanied female whites tend not to assist when the Asker is Black ($p = .001$).

5. Overall, the Males helped more than chance would lead us to expect while the Females helped less than chance would lead us to expect ($p = .01$).

Our first hypothesis seems to have been confirmed. People do categorize strangers in public places according to sex and race and use these classifications when responding to them. Our second hypothesis, that in a hyperstimulating environment, people help mostly those of their own sex and race, does not hold up: this hypothesis failed to take into account the heterogeneity of the social forces at work and the psychological reality of people of different sex and race. In our discussion section we will offer a speculative interpretation of the data based on psychological studies of sex and race in America.

When we examine the effect of estimated age on helping behavior in our study, we find that for the Combined Passenger and Alone Passenger Data, passengers estimated to be over the age of 31 helped significantly more, using the Primary Intervention and General Response

as our criteria for intervention (p = .001). This Age effect disappears when the passenger is accompanied by another person.

Since passenger age has been found to have such a powerful effect on helping behavior in our subway study, the logical step would be to integrate the sex and race effects with the age effect. When this is done we find that in the Combined Passenger Data the Primary Intervention and General Response chi square values are both significant (p - .002) and that in the Alone Passenger the chi square values are also significant (p - .005), but that the Accompanied Passenger Data is not significant (p - .08). Table 2 presents the Combined Passenger Data Primary Intervention helping behavior of passengers classified according to sex, race, and age.

It can be seen from the table that the middle and older male white passengers are helping more than expected while the younger female white passengers are helping less than expected. Interestingly, the black passenger population doesn't show this age effect as regards helping behavior. This table is the same using the Alone Passenger Data except that the oldest female white passengers show a tendency to also extra-assist.

TABLE 2 -- The combined data primary intervention assistance behavior of the different sex-race-age subject groups.

Race-Sex-Age		Primary Intervention NO	Primary Intervention YES	ROW TOTALS
MWY	1	982 975.0 0.1	68 75.0 0.7	1050
MWM	2	326 342.6 0.8	43 26.4 10.5	369
MWO	3	569 583.2 0.3	59 44.8 4.5	628
FWY	4	854 832.0 0.6	42 64.0 7.6	896
FWM	5	263 260.9 0.0	18 20.1 0.2	281
FWO	6	620 628.7 0.1	57 48.3 1.5	677
MBY	7	517 516.3 0.0	39 39.7 0.0	556
MBM	8	115 117.0 0.0	11 9.0 0.4	126
MBO	9	58 57.6 0.0	4 4.4 0.0	62
FBY	10	565 558.1 0.1	36 42.9 1.1	601
FBM	11	152 152.3 0.0	12 11.7 0.0	164
FBO	12	63 60.4 0.1	2 4.6 1.5	65
TOTAL N		5034	391	5475

CELL CONTENTS ARE...
CELL COUNTS
EXPECTED VALUE
CELL CHI SQUARE

CHI SQUARE = 30.2349 (PR=0.0021)
WORST EXPECTED VALUE = 4.4278
D.F. = 11.0000

SECTION TWO

Who Contradicts Whom?

The encounter between the passenger in the car who decides to intervene and the Misinformant is a socially aggressive one. To assist the Asker, a passenger in the subway car must publically contradict the misinformation that the stranger Misinformant has supplied the Asker. To make a successful intervention, the passenger must persist in asserting that his or her view is correct and that the Misinformant's view is wrong in the face of the Misinformant's contrary persistence. To the passenger in the subway car, the situation is possibly a dangerous one since the Misinformant is a stranger whose potential for violence after being persistently contradicted is unknown. Passenger perception of this danger is reflected in the fact that in only a third of our 1200 subway cars did a passenger directly and persistently insist to the Misinformant that the Misinformant's information was incorrect. Taken from another point of view, there were thousands of passengers utterly reduced to silence by the Misinformant's behavior in those 660 subway cars in which no intervention was made. Harvey Allen (1969) has shown, using the same experimental staging, that the potential threat of the Misinformant (whether he is verbally or physically abusive) affects passenger

willingness to intervene. In our study, the potential threat characteristics of the Misinformant lay in the fact that the Misinformant was a stranger of a given sex and race.

Table 3 presents the Combined, Alone, and Accompanied Passenger Primary Intervention and General Response helping behavior of the different passengers with the different misinformants across all asker conditions with the percent of the available population responding indicated in each cell.

1. The Combined Passenger Data showed that male passengers exhibited a tendency to contradict female black Misinformants while female passengers were less inclined to do so ($p = .03$).

2. Unaccompanied female black passengers were reluctant to contradict a male black Misinformant ($p = .03$).

3. Accompanied male black passengers were strongly disposed to contradict the female white Misinformants ($p = .001$).

4. Accompanied female white passengers were reluctant to contradict female white Misinformants ($p = .001$).

Finally, we might note that whenever a category of passenger showed a reluctance to contradict the Misinformant, the male white passengers became extra-assistive.

TABLE 3 -- The combined passenger data, alone passenger data, and accompanied passenger data primary and general response helping behavior of the different passengers with the different misinformants across all asker conditions with the percent of the available population responding indicated in each cell.

Data	Intervention	Asker	P. Level	Chi Square	Passengers Available Responding					
					MW	FW	MB	FB	Sex	Race
Combined	Primary	ALL MW FW MB FB	.11	5.97	9.4%	5.7%	6.6%	5.9%	.03	
		ALL MW FW MB FB								
Alone	Primary	ALL MW FW MB FB	.06	7.80	8.5%	6.6%	5.5%	2.1%		
	General	ALL MW FW MB FB								
Accompanied	Primary	ALL MW FW MB FB	.001	19.40	13.8%	3.1%	21.7%	7.%		
	General	ALL MW FW MB FB	.001	18.20	14.9%	4.3%	23.9%	8.4%		

SECTION THREE

Who Helps Whom Against Whom?

We next turn to examine the interactional effect of the Asker's and Misinformant's sex-race on the helping behavior of the male white, female white, male black, and female black passengers in our subway study. Table 4 presents the significant Asker-Misinformant conditions in the Combined Passenger, Alone Passenger, and Accompanied Passenger Data as caused by the disportionate passenger primary and general response helping behavior with the percent of the available population responding indicated in each cell.

Summarizing the Combined Passenger Data:

The Combined Passenger Data showed Primary Response assistance behavior effects in two of the sixteen Asker-Misinformant conditions:

1. When the Asker was a male black and the Misinformant was a male white, the female black passengers were found to assist more than chance ($p = .03$).

2. When the Asker was a male black and the Misinformant was a female black, male white passengers were found to extra-assist while the rest of the passenger groups tended to withhold assistance ($p = .02$).

TABLE 4 -- The significant chi square asker-misinformant conditions in the combined, alone, and accompanied data as caused by the disportionate passenger primary and general response helping behavior with the percent of the available population responding indicated in each cell.

Data	Intervention	A/M Cond.	P. Level	Chi Square	Passengers Available Responding					
					MW	FW	MB	FB	Sex	Race
Combined	Primary	ALL							.009	
		MB/MW	.03	9.30	8.9%	5.9%	5.7%	21.6%		
		MB/FB	.02	9.93	13.3%	4.8%	2.2%	3.8%		
	General									
Alone	Primary	MB/MW	.004	13.42	7.9%	6.1%	7.1	28.5%		
		MB/FB	.04	8.59	13.6%	6.7%	2.6	2.1%		.0
		FB/MB	.06	7.64	12.6%	4.8%	7.3%	0.%		
		MW/MB	.005	13.09	12.5%*	0%	5.7%	0.%	.001	
	General	MB/MW	.03	9.17						
		MW/FW	.05	7.95	7.8%	17.6%	2.4%	7.9%		
Accompanied	Primary	ALL							.004	
		FB/FW	.008	11.88	12.5%	1.8%	35.9%	4.5%		
		MW/FW	.04	8.56	17.8%	2.%	13.3%	0%	.01	
	General									

*Of the 14 interventions, 12 were made by MWs.

Summarizing the Data of the Passengers travelling Alone:

The data for unaccompanied passengers showed Primary Intervention helping behavior effects in four of the Asker-Misinformant conditions. Two of these Asker-Misinformant conditions were the same as found above in the Combined Passenger findings and the pattern of the findings were the same only stronger ($p = .004$). The other two Asker-Misinformant conditions found to be significant were:

3. When the Asker was a female black and the Misinformant was a male black, the male white passengers helped more and the female black passengers helped less than was expected by chance ($p = .06$). A Combined Passenger Data analysis of this Asker-Misinformant condition showed that male and female black passengers engaged in a lot of Secondary Responder and Goes & Gets Response (Unrest-Response) interventions in dealing with Asker-Misinformant array ($p = .02$), which we take as an indication of the social unrest experienced by black passengers in the subway car when they witnessed a male black give public misinformation to a female black in need of assistance.

4. When the Asker was a male white and the Misinformant was a male black, we found that male white passengers strongly assisted above chance ($p = .005$)

and that male black passengers travelling with someone on the train engaged in Talks After, Ineffective, and Backs Down behaviors (Unrest-No Response, p = .004) which we take as an indication of the social unrest experienced by black passengers in the subway car when they witnessed a male black give public misinformation to a male white in need of assistance.

The General Response analysis of the helping behavior of those passengers travelling unaccompanied on the subway reproduced the male black Asker-male white Misinformant findings only in a weaker form (p = .03) and one new significant Asker-Misinformant condition:

6. When the Asker was a male white and the Misinformant was a female white, the female white passengers tended to assist more than chance (p = .05).

Summarizing the Data of the Passengers travelling Accompanied by Another:

The Accompanied Passenger Primary Intervention analysis showed a passenger effect for two of the sixteen Asker-Misinformant conditions:

1. When the Asker was a female black and the Misinformant was a female white, it was found that accompanied male black passengers assisted in greater numbers than expected by chance (p = .008).

2. When the Asker was a male white and the Misinformant was a female white, the accompanied male white

passengers assisted in greater numbers than expected by chance ($p = .04$).

We now turn to consider whether any of the Asker-Misinformant conditions produced more passenger intervention than any of the others. An examination of the Combined Passenger Data, the Alone Passenger Data, and the Accompanied Passenger Data, using both the Primary Intervention and General Response as criteria of helping behavior, turns up a negative answer. No Asker-Misinformant condition elicited more or less helping when compared simultaneously against all the other Asker-Misinformant conditions.

Another question one might ask in making comparisons between the different Asker-Misinformant conditions is whether certain Asker-Misinformant conditions produced more indirect and delayed forms of intervention (Unrest-Response) as a means of pointing out possible social tension caused by the Asker-Misinformant condition. Comparing the different Asker-Misinformant conditions against one another on this variable shows that no Asker-Misinformant condition produced differentiable amounts of indirect and delayed forms of intervention.

It will be recalled that we combined certain variables (Ineffective Response, Backs Down, and Talks After) also as a means of finding possible social unrest among the passengers in the car caused by our

Asker-Misinformant exchange. We call this variable Unrest-No Response. The difference we interpret between Unrest-Response and Unrest-No Response is that in the former the social tension is mastered so that an intervention takes place, while in the latter variable, the tension is left unmastered and it spills over into social behaviors that do not result in the Asker receiving assistance.

When we compare the different Asker-Misinformant conditions as to the incidence of Unrest-No Response behaviors, we find a significant result ($p = .001$). Table 5 presents the Combined Passenger Unrest-No Response behavior of passengers in the sixteen different Asker-Misinformant conditions.

An increase over the expected Unrest-No Response rate in the cell we interpret as a possible indication of greater released social tension in the Asker-Misinformant condition. A decrease from the expected Unrest-No Response rate we take as an indication of less social tension either generated by or released in the Asker-Misinformant condition.

Using these criteria, we might say that the least socially tense Asker-Misinformant condition might have been when the Asker was a female black and the Misinformant was a female white. Two other Asker-Misinformant conditions that seem to generate little social tension

TABLE 5 -- The combined passenger data unrest-no response behavior of passengers in the sixteen different asker-misinformant conditions.

CELL CONTENTS ARE...
 CELL COUNTS
 EXPECTED VALUE
 CELL CHI SQUARE

AM

UNREST-NO RESPONSE

ASKER / MISINFORMANT	1 MW / MW	2 MW / FW	3 MW / MB	4 MW / FB	5 FW / MW	6 FW / FW	7 FW / MB	8 FW / FB	9 MB / MW	10 MB / FW	11 MB / MB	12 MB / FB	ROW TOTALS
0	322	333	294	288	258	337	285	365	322	300	361	308	4980
	0.0	0.0	0.0	299.2	267.6	333.6	277.5	359.8	317.3	307.4	363.4	297.4	
	0.0	0.3	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.4	
1	36	25	40	43	38	32	22	33	29	40	41	21	529
	0.0	0.0	0.0	31.8	28.4	35.4	29.5	38.2	33.7	32.6	38.6	31.6	
	0.1	2.6	2.0	4.0	3.2	0.3	1.9	0.7	0.7	1.7	0.1	3.6	
	358	358	334	331	296	369	307	398	351	340	402	329	5509

UNREST-NO RESPONSE

ASKER / MISINFORMANT	13 FB / MW	14 FB / FW	15 FB / MB	16 FB / FB	ROW TOTALS
0	285	332	281	309	4980
	0.0	0.0	0.0	312.8	
	0.2	1.2	0.3	0.0	
1	38	14	40	37	529
	0.0	0.0	0.0	33.2	
	1.6	11.1	2.7	0.4	
TOTAL N	323	346	321	346	5509

CHI SQUARE = 40.4774 (PR=0.000)
 WORST EXPECTED VALUE = 28.4233
 D.F. = 15.0000

are when the Asker is a male white and the Misinformant is a female white, and when the Asker is a male black and the Misinformant is a female black. It is interesting to note that in both these two conditions the Askers are males who were given misinformation by females of their own race. Referring back to earlier tables, we can find that when the Asker was a male white and the Misinformant was a female white, female white passengers traveling unaccompanied on the train strongly assisted the male white Askers. When the Asker was a male black and the Misinformant was a female black, male white passengers strongly intervened to assist the male black Asker. Thus the female white passengers in the MW-FW Asker-Misinformant condition and the male white passengers in the MB-FB Asker-Misinformant condition were the ones who readily came forward and intervened to terminate the social tension of the exchange.

The reverse of the above two Asker-Misinformant conditions, namely, when the Asker was a female white and the Misinformant was a male white, and when the Asker was a female black and the Misinformant was a male black, generated more Unrest No Response behaviors. When a male gives a female of the same race public misinformation, it seems to generate social tension. When a female gives a male of the same race public misinformation, it seems to generate less social tension.

The final Asker-Misinformant condition that appears to produce social tension, when the Asker is a male white and the Misinformant is a female black, is also of interest in view of the previously discussed data. It will be recalled that it was found that female black subway passengers were reluctant to assist male white Askers. In the MW-FB Asker Misinformant condition, the female black is not only not assisting a male white, she is seen to give him misleading train directions. This produces social unrest among the passengers. It is suggested that people may be aware at some level of the hostility that some female blacks have for male whites and this awareness is expressed in the uneasiness shown in the greater Unrest-No Response behaviors exhibited when a female black is seen to give public misinformation to a male white subway passenger.

SECTION FOUR

Strategies of Intervention

It was decided at the outset of the experiment that the mode by which a person chose to make an intervention would be recorded. During a pilot run of the experiment we were able to sort out eight readily discernable behaviors that bystanders engaged in after the Asker-Misinformant exchange. It is the purpose of this section to examine whether any one of the four passenger groups classified according to sex and race employed one of these strategies to a greater or lesser extent than the others. Table 6 presents the Combined Passenger Data, Alone Passenger Data, and Accompanied Passenger Data chi square analyses of the passenger helping and non-helping behaviors with the percent of the available population responding indicated in each cell.

Summarizing the Primary Intervention Data, we found:

1. Male white passengers helped more than expected when using the Primary Intervention strategy to intervene ($p = .05$).

2. Female white passengers when traveling in the subway accompanied by someone showed a strong disinclination to become involved in Primary Intervention behaviors ($p = .02$).

TABLE 6 -- The combined passenger data, alone passenger data, and accompanied passenger data chi square analyses of the passenger helping and non-helping behaviors with the percent of the available population responding indicated in each cell.

				Passengers Available Responding				
	Helping Behaviors	P.Level		MW	FW	MB	FB	Sex Effect
Combined Data	Primary Response	.05	7.85	8.3%	6.3%	7.2%	6%	*
	Secondary Response	.03	8.52	1%	1.7%	.7%	2.%	*
	Goes & Gets Response							
	Non-Helping Behaviors							
	Silence	.002	14.89	73.8%	72.2%	79.4%	74.6%	
	Ineffective							
	Backs Down	.01	11.81	4%	4.6%	1.8%	3.3%	
	Talks After	.009	11.52	2.7%	4.3%	2.6%	4.5%	*
Alone Data	Helping Behavior							
	Primary Response							
	Secondary Response	.003	13.95	1%	2.4%	.5%	1.8%	*
	Goes & Gets Response							
	Non-Helping Behaviors							
	Silence	.001	19.72	75.4%	72.3%	81.6%	77.3%	
	Ineffective							
	Backs Down	.02	10.56	3.9%	4.3%	1.7%	2.8%	
	Talks After							
Accompanied Data	Helping Behaviors							
	Primary Response	.02	9.89	7.8%	4.2%	9.8%	5.8%	
	Secondary Response	.08	6.70	1%	.5%	1.2%	2.5%	
	Goes & Gets Response							
	Non-Helping Behaviors							
	Silence							
	Ineffective							
	Backs Down							
	Talks After							

3. When the Combined Passenger Data was assessed it showed that female passengers were disinclined to make Primary Interventions ($p = .05$).

Summarizing the Secondary Responder Data, we found:

1. Male passengers traveling on the train unaccompanied showed a strong disinclination to intervene once someone else had backed down in the subway car after the Asker-Misinformant exchange ($p = .003$). This disinclincation disappears when the male passengers are accompanied.

Female white passengers traveling on the subway train unaccompanied were found to show a very strong inclination to make an intervention once someone else had backed down ($p = .003$), but this inclination disappears when the female white passenger is accompanied.

3. Female black passengers showed a tendency to make Secondary Responder interventions when they were traveling on the subway accompanied by someone ($p = .08$).

Thus we may see that the distinction we have made between a Primary Intervention and a Secondary Responder Intervention has been found to be a useful one. The Goes & Gets Response was found however to be an intervention strategy that was not exclusively associated with any passenger group classified according to sex and race.

Summarizing the Non-Helping Behaviors, we found:

1. Male black passengers travelling unaccompanied on the subway train preferred to remain silent when they did not assist the Asker ($p = .001$).

2. Male black passengers travelling unaccompanied on the subway train Backed Down significantly less often than expected ($p = .02$) once they engaged the Misinformant, while female white passengers who were traveling on the subway unaccompanied Backed Down significantly more often than expected after engaging the Misinformant ($p = .02$).

3. Female passengers tended to Talk After an unsuccessful intervention while male passengers tended not to Talk After an unsuccessful intervention ($p = .009$).

We would now like to consider a behavior exhibited by certain passengers in the subway car during our staging that falls somewhere between the Helping Behaviors and the Non-Helping Behaviors. This behavior we have called "Confirmation Behavior."

Very often the successful intervention of a passenger was spontaneously supported by other passengers in the subway car. Once the intervention had been made, other people in the car began to tell the Asker or Misinformant that the train did go to the stop requested.

We recorded the passenger and sequence characteristics of the Confirmation behavior. Table 7 presents

TABLE 7 -- The combined passenger data confirmation behavior of sex-race passengers when a previous response has been made by a sex-race informant.

CELL CONTENTS ARE...
CELL COUNTS
EXPECTED VALUE
CELL CHI SQUARE

SUBJECT		1 MW	2 FW	3 MB	4 FB	ROW TOTALS
MW	1	77 60.9 4.3	68 71.3 0.2	12 19.1 2.6	18 23.8 1.4	175
FW	2	69 73.8 0.3	103 86.3 3.2	17 23.1 1.6	23 28.8 1.2	212
MB	3	17 17.4 0.0	12 20.4 3.4	17 5.4 24.5	4 6.8 1.1	50
FB	4	19 29.9 4.0	30 35.0 0.7	11 9.4 0.3	26 11.7 17.6	86
TOTAL N		182	213	57	71	523

CHI SQUARE = 66.3650 (PR=0.000)
WORST EXPECTED VALUE = 5.4493
D.F. = 9.0000

the Combined Passenger Data Confirmation behavior of the passengers classified according to race and sex when a previous intervention response has been made by a passenger in each sex-race category.

It can be seen from the table that male black passengers confirmed the interventions of other male black passengers far over their expected rate, and that female black passengers also confirmed the interventions of female black informants far above their expected rate ($p = .001$). This like-confirms-like tendency among blacks is not observable in the Alone Passenger Data, but is strongly present in the Accompanied Passenger Data ($p = .001$).

SECTION FIVE

Characteristics of the Subway Car & Intervention

We now turn to a presentation of the effects that certain physical aspects of the environment of the subway car were found to have on the passenger helping rate. The results are as follows:

1. The number of people in the car had a direct effect on the likelihood of any one person in the subway car providing help. Consistent with Darley & Latane's (1968) findings, we found that the more people in the subway car, the less the likelihood of any one passenger making an intervention. With three people in the subway car (a passenger, the Misinformant, and the Observer), the percentage of trials in which the passenger made a Primary Intervention was 48 percent. This trial rate of response was not significantly different when the number of people in the car was 4 or 5 or 6 or 7 or 8 etc. We would expect that the number of trials in which an intervention would take place would increase as the passenger population in the car increased, since there were more people available to make an intervention. Since the trial rate of intervention remained more or less unchanged, this indicated that the likelihood of an intervention by a passenger in the subway car decreased as the population in the car increased. This phenomenon

held true whether we analyzed the Combined Passenger Data, the Alone Passenger Data, or the Accompanied Passenger Data.

2. When we examined the data to see if the racial or sexual balance of the subway car influenced the likelihood of a particular sex, race, or sex-race group responding, we found no effect. The sex-race passenger balance of the entire car had no effect on the rate of responding by sex-race passengers in the car. If the car was filled with female whites, it did not increase the likelihood of a female white passenger making an intervention.

3. The distance between the Asker and a seated passenger in the subway car was found to have an effect on the likelihood of helping; the Combined Passenger Data Primary Intervention analysis ($p = .001$), the Alone Passenger Primary Intervention analysis ($p = .001$), and the Accompanied Data Primary Intervention analysis ($p = .005$), all producing significant chi square tables. In analyzing the Asker-passenger distance, we demarcated four distance ranges between the Asker and passenger. Two of these distance rangers were responsible for the significant chi squares: the distance range in which the Asker and passenger were closest to one another and the distance range in which the Asker and passenger

were furthest apart from one another. When the passenger was furthest from the Asker, the passenger showed a helping rate far below the expected value. When the passenger was closest to the Asker, the passenger showed a far greater than expected helping rate. Thus it would appear that proximity acts as a stimulous to elicit a helping response.

4. The distance between the Misinformant and seated passenger in the subway car was found to also influence the likelihood of the passenger helping. Again, four distance ranges between the Misinformant and passenger were demarcated, and then the data was analyzed to see how distance affected the Primary Intervention helping rate. The Combined Passenger Data analysis ($p = .001$), Alone Passenger Data analysis ($p = .001$), the Accompanied Passenger Data analysis ($p = .02$) all proved significant. Passengers who were closest to the Misinformant and passengers who were furthest away from the Misinformant produced the least amount of helping. Passengers who fell into the intermediate distance ranges provided the most help. Thus in terms of a passenger dealing with the Misinformant, passengers felt most comfortable at an optimal distance from him; at a distance that was neither too close nor too far away.

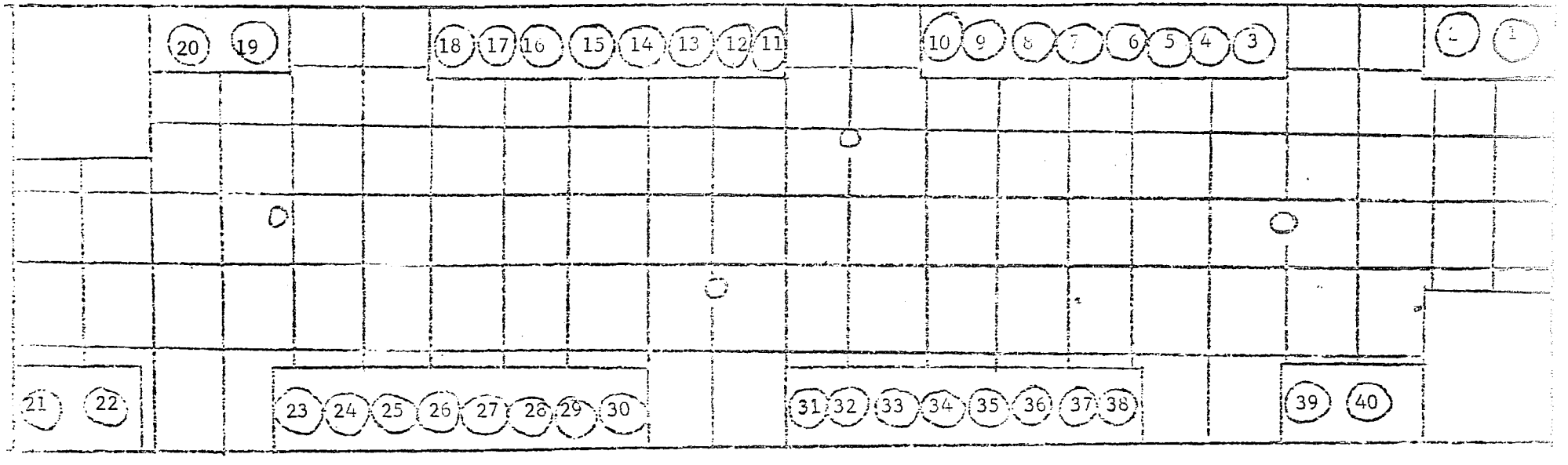
5. Three seats in the subway car, all by the middle

doors, were associated with an enormous percentage of the help given, nearly 38 percent of all Primary Interventions ($p = .001$). On our subway seating chart these seats are labeled seats 10, 30 and 31. Figure 2 presents the numbered seat locations of the New York Transit Authority subway car in which all trials were run.

A passenger seated only six inches to the side of one of these seats was dramatically less likely to offer assistance. Other seats in the car placed the passenger just as close to the Asker as these three seats. Since these seats are in the middle of the car right along side of the central doors, we speculate that it is the type of person who chooses these seats, rather than the seat orientation given the passenger, that produces the extra-assistance effect. Perhaps more socially active and secure individuals choose to sit "in the thick of things" and choose these socially prominent seats.

6. Often enough during the course of our staging, a passenger would be walking through the car to move up into the next car. Forty of such instances occurred and the helping behavior of these ambulatory passengers was recorded. A Yate's chi square analysis of the Combined Data Primary Response assistance behavior of the ambulatory passengers proved significant at $p = .001$. Ambulatory passengers helped far more than expected. This relation-

FIGURE 2 SEAT NUMBERS



Asker Main Informant Informant

Sex

Race

Age

Place _____

ship between helping behavior and standing in the subway car was produced by the unaccompanied ambulatory passengers ($p = .001$) since an analysis of the accompanied ambulatory passengers data was not significant ($p = .76$). Thus passengers who were walking unaccompanied through the car were highly likely to intervene. Being with an acquaintance while walking through the car apparently dampened down this impulse to assist for the ambulatory passengers.

A Final Note to the Results

It is readily acknoledged that the major drawback in the present study is the fact that only one observer recorded the characteristics of the bystanders and the events that transpired furing and after the A-M staging. The obvious criticism is that we cannot know what margin of error was involved in the rater's observation. While recognizing the validity of this criticism, we would like to present our reasons for tending to trust the record maintained by the observer.

1. The observer did not judge whether an intervention was made or not made. This crucial variable in our study was left to the judgment of the different Askers. If the Asker felt that they were helped they boarded the train. If not, they walked away. All the observer had to record for this most important variable was whether the Asker stepped on or off the train, a quite easily discernable event.

2. Probably the most difficult variable to judge and the one most open to bias was estimated age of the bystanders. Piliavin et als. (1975) using twelve observers to estimate the age of the subway riders in his 116 trial bystander behavior study found the mean estimated age of the subway passengers to be 35.8. Remarkably, the mean estimated age in the present study was 33.90. Even the fact of the slightly lower estimated age mean is consistent with the fact that the train station contained more younger passengers because it was located right next to a college.

3. Harvey Allen (1969) in his subway study using the A-M exchange found that the overall intervention rate of bystander helping in his "group" focus of appeal condition was 44 percent. This is almost <u>exactly</u> the same response rate obtained in the 1200 trial run in the present study (45 percent).

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION AND SUMMARY

In evaluating the results of our 1200 trial study, we found that passengers on the train did show significant sex-race bias in their helping of the different sex-race confederate "victims" or Askers. Thus our first hypothesis was confirmed. Urban dwellers did display a significant tendency to base their social behavior in a public situation on the sex and race of those people they encountered. And what form did this sex-race bias take? Did like help like? The answer to this was found to be "no." Instead we found a complicated individual pattern of helping for each sex-race category of subway passengers.

Like any researcher who finds one of their hypotheses disproved, we were at first somewhat dismayed. But upon examining the data more closely we realized that we had not extended our first hypothesis far enough. For, if people do respond to the sex-race characteristics of those around them in order to simplify the social field, then they too must have stereotypic attitudes that go right along with the stereotypic social categories. Not only do people categorize other stereotypically to reduce the intense social stimulation of so many diverse strangers, but they

also respond to them in a stereotyped fashion to achieve the same end. Our second hypothesis should not have been "like helps like" but "each sex-race group has certain psycho-social bias' that they use to reduce down the social heterogeneity of life, and that they use these attitudes as guidelines in dealing with strangers; these bias' will be expressed in their provision of help to strangers." Of course the problem was that we didn't know what sex-race bias passengers of given sex-race characteristics might have.

When we closely examined each pattern of helping behavior of each of the classifications of passengers, we found that their behavior was consistent with certain psychological and sociological descriptions of their behavior in American society. It is now our purpose to give a summarized description of each passenger group's pattern of helping behavior as found in our study, and to try to relate this behavior to the psychological and sociological understandings of the sex-race groups behavior as found in the literature. One note of caution before we proceed. What we are about to do is to present the recorded helping behavior of each of the sex-race classifications of passengers and then try and speculate as to the "why" of the behavior. From a scientific standpoint, we have not demonstrated a "why" of the behavior because our hypothesis "likes helps like" was shown to be incorrect. The following

interpretations of the behavior patterns of the sex-race passenger groups are only speculations, not demonstrations of actual underlying causes of that behavior. We are inspired to make our interpretation of each group's behavior because their behavior fits so well popular and scientific descriptions of the psychologies of the sex-race groups.

The Male White Passenger Pattern of Behavior

The first pattern of helping behavior that we will deal with is that of the male white passengers. This is fitting since the male whites expressed the highest degree of social responsibility of the several groups. The male white passengers did a disportionate amount of the helping, providing compensatory assistance when other passenger groups tended to withhold assistance from Askers of specific sex and race.

To cite particular instances, black passengers in the car, both male and female, tended not to help our male white confederates (only 5.2% of the available male blacks helping and only 2.3% of the female blacks available helping). The male white passengers in the car compensated for this helping deficit by extra-assisting the male white Askers (with 9.4% of the available male whites helping). Female white passengers in the subway car, when traveling with an acquaintance, tended not to assist our male black Askers (only 3.5% of the available accompanied female whites helping). Again it

was the male white passengers who compensated and extra assisted to make up for the deficit in available help (with 13% of the available male white population helping). This suggest that perhaps male whites see themselves as a group who are responsible for the maintenance of social order in times of social disruption.

When we examine the helping behavior of the male white passengers in our study to see what effect their age had on their helping behavior, we find an interesting fact that parallels an aspect of American social life. Mlae white passengers who were estimated to be over the age of thirty one were found to do a disportionate amount of all helping relative to the other sex-race-age groups (10.3% of the older male white passengers providing help as contrasted to a 6.4% average helping rate of the other groups). The older male whites showed a higher degree of social responsibility than the other groups.

The idea that male blacks may be viewed by male whites as potential rivals for social pre-eminence is used to explain what happened when subway passengers witnessed our male black Misinformant give his incorrect train information to our male white Asker. In that particular situation, male white passengers made one of their strongest interventions. Male white passengers strongly assisted the male white Asker who had been given misleading information by our male black Misinformant (more than 13.5% of the unaccom-

panied male white population providing assistance). We suggest that the situation in our confederate staging may have inadvertently taken on the aspect of a dominance confrontation in the eyes of the passengers of the train.

The older male white passengers engaged in the direct confrontation behavior we classified as a Primary Intervention far more often than statistically expected and proportionally far more often than the other passenger groups (10.% of the older male white population making a Primary Intervention, $p = .002$). The male white passenger use of the direct confrontation strategy is consistent with their pre-eminent social role. They dealt with the situation directly, single-handedly forcing the misinforming stranger to back down, and providing direct assistance to the person who asked for help. Thus, not only were the male white passengers the most socially helpful group, they were the most direct group.

A second strategy of intervention that we noted and recorded involved a passenger in the subway car challenging our Misinformant once another passenger in the car has backed down. This type of intervention was called a Secondary Responder. It was a socially more secure mode of intervention because the second person who intervened had more time to view and assess the situation, and was also aware that at least one other person in the subway car, the passenger who initially responded, supported their view.

When we examined the male white passenger use of this Secondary Responder intervention strategy, we noted that the male whites tended not to use this strategy (only 1% of the available male white population intervening in this way). Put in another way, male white passengers did not get involved in the social encounter once they had witnessed another passenger back down before the insistent Misinformant. Males in general exhibited this reluctance to get involved once another passenger had backed down while females strongly tended to become involved once someone backed down ($p = .01$).

The Female White Passenger Pattern of Behavior

We now turn to a presentation of the female white pattern of helping behavior. First we have to make a distinction in the female white data because we found female white passenger helping behavior was affected by whether the passenger was alone or accompanied. We have not stressed this distinction in discussing the male white helping behavior because its effect was found to be marginal. For example, the unaccompanied female white passengers in our study did not show a bias in helping our black Askers. However, when we examine the helping behavior of those female white passengers who were accompanied on the train, a strong anti-black helping bias is quite evident. Female white passengers who were accompanied strongly tended not to assist our black Askers (less than 3% of the available

female whites helping), and were especially disinclined to assist our female black Askers (only 1.3% of the available female whites helping).

We are hard put to explain this phenomenon, which, incidentally, is not new. Gaertner (1975) in a study of helping behavior also found that female whites in one another's company were less likely to help a female black thought to be in need of help than when the female white was alone. He found that his phenomenon did not occur when the "victim" was thought to be white.

Unaccompanied female white passengers showed a strong predilection for making helping behavior interventions using the Secondary Responder strategy (accounting for 49% of all Secondary Responder interventions made by persons traveling alone). When our Misinformant's second "no, it doesn't" statement caused a passenger in the car to back down, the unaccompanied female white passengers were aroused to extra-intervene. Perhaps white women see themselves as a back up team for white men. We have seen that male whites act as restorers of public order in a social crisis. Since white women are the traditional mates of the socially prominent sex-race group in American society, white women may see themselves as next in lineof responsibility to maintain public order. The white woman may see herself as a person who must act when male whites are either absent or falter.

It will be recalled that female white passengers when accompanied by an acquaintance showed a negative bias in helping our black Askers (less than 3% of the available female white passengers helping). One piece of evidence in our study suggests that female whites may have a good right to feel socially threatened by blacks, and thus be reluctant to help them. Only one of our sex-race Misinformant groups was challenged significantly often by a particular sex-race passenger group to stand out. When a female white was the Misinformant, black male passengers who were traveling on the train accompanied often contradicted them (almost 24% of the available accompanied male black population contradicting the female white Misinformant). This suggests that male blacks who were accompanied on the train showed some elan in taking advantage of the opportunity to publically contradict a female white in error. This behavior and the attitude behind it may be the counterpart to the female white's disinclination to assist blacks.

The Male Black Passenger Pattern of Behavior

Next, we turn to an examination of the pattern of helping behavior of the male black passengers in our subway study. The behavior of the male black passengers was also found to be very much affected by whether they were accompanied by an acquaintance or traveling by themselves on the subway.

Male blacks traveling alone on the train exhibited a tendency not to assist our male white Askers (only 4.8% of the male blacks traveling alone assisting the male white Asker as opposed to 10.4% of the male whites traveling alone assisting the male white Asker). Male blacks who were accompanied by an acquaintance on the train exhibited a preference for assisting our female black Askers (almost 18% of the available accompanied male black population assisting the female black Asker). It is important to emphasize that while the male black passengers showed a preference for helping female blacks and a disinterest in helping male whites, we cannot attribute their behavior solely to racial prejudice. We cannot do this because the male black passengers showed no bias in helping our female white Askers and male black Askers. These two Asker groups were helped by black passengers no more nor no less than statistically expected.

We would like to put forth the view that the behavior of the male black passengers recorded in our study may reflect important aspects of black culture. Black racial discrimination has been most often dealt out by the male white portion of American society. Perhaps male blacks generalize and blame all male whites for black oppression, and thus are reluctant to assist a male white in need of help. (It is appropriate to note here that female blacks also showed this selective discrimination only against helping male whites.)

Professor Jessie Bernard, a researcher who has long studied black culture points out that:

> Slavery was more destructive to men than to women....Slavery had two terrible effects on men: it prevented their coming to emotional maturity by inflicting on them a perpetual childhood, and by imposing their master's ideology on them, resulting in their identifying themselves with their masters...; the slaves' acceptance of the master's conception of themselves as inferior.[9]

Perhaps the psychological effects of racism on the male black psyche can be seen in the male black passengers' apparent need in our subway study to be allied before he could publically exhibit their helping preference.

Male blacks also tended to remain silent more than other groups during the social confrontation of our staging (almost 80% of the available male blacks remained mute as contrasted to 74% in the other groups). Male blacks seemed to have preferred to "play-it-cool" in the situation.

Black psychiatrists Dr. William H. Grier and Dr. Price M. Cobbs provide a history and interpretation of this behavior in the male black:

> Starting with slavery, black people and more particularly black men, have had to devise ways of expressing themsleves uniquely and individually and in a manner that was not threatening to the white man. Some methods of giving voice to aggressive masculinity have become institutionalized. The most stylized is the posture of 'playing it cool.... A man may be overwhelmed with conflict, threatened with an eruption of feelings, and barely maintaining his composure, but he will present a serene exterior.[10]

---

[9]Jessie Bernard, Marriage and Family Among Negroes (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966), p. 69.

[10]Dr. William H. Grier and Dr. Price M. Cobbs, Black Rage (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1968), p. 68.

Still another behavior of male black passengers we found in our study might also be interpreted as an expression of the psychologically insecure state of the male black in socially unfamiliar circumstances. When one person in the subway car made a successful intervention, quite often other passengers in the car would spontaneously confirm the informant's view. We called this behavior by other passengers "confirmation behavior," and when we examined who confirmed whom we found that male black passengers in the car overwhelmingly tended to confirm the interventions of other male blacks (male black confirmation of male black interventions was more than 300% in excess of the statistically expected rate, $p = .001$). The only other group to show this like confirms like tendency was the black female passenger group, but the strength of this tendency was not equal to the magnitude shown by male blacks.

It is interesting to note that we found that male black passengers were oriented to confirm other male black passengers (34% of male black interventions being confirmed by male black passengers), but they were not especially oriented to help another male black passenger (only about 7% of the available male black passengers helping the male black Asker). Confirming the interventions of others is a safer social task then engaging the Misinformant directly.

When a female white was the Misinformant, we found a

strong tendency on the part of accompanied male black passengers in the subway car to contradict the female white Misinformant to give aid to the Asker (almost 24% of the available accompanied male black population engaging in this behavior). No other passenger group showed any preference for contradicting any of our Misinformant groups. Obviously, the female white as a socially visible class represented a special entity to the male black passengers. Dr. William H. Grier and Dr. Price M. Cobbs suggest what the female white represents to the male black:

> For the black man, the white woman represents the socially identified female ideal and this an intensely exciting object for his sexual possession. She has been identified as precisely the individual to whom access is barred by every social institution....But at the same time (he) perceives her as white and as a representative of all the white oppressors who have made his life so wretched. In a sense then, she becomes the target for a hatred which far transcends the encounter between this man and this woman.[11]

When we examine what happens when a female white on a subway train gives misleading train information to a female black, we find that the accompanied male black passengers strongly intervene (almost 36% of the accompanied male black passengers making an intervention as contrasted to a 7% intervention rate for all Asker-Misinformant conditions).

The Female Black Passenger Pattern of Behavior

We now turn to an examination of the female black

---

[11]Grier and Cobbs, Black Rage, p. 91.

passenger pattern of social behavior during our experimental study of helping behavior on the New York subways. Female black passengers showed a clear and strong disinclination to help male whites in need of assistance (only 2.3% of the available female black passengers assisted the male white Askers). In contrast, when a male black was seen to be given misdirections on the subway by a male white, female black passengers intervened quite strongly (21.6% of the available female black passengers making an intervention). We feel the strength of female black passengers response is indicative of the special meaning male whites and male blacks have for a black woman; she extra-helps one and tends to ignore the other.

We turn now to a summary of the effects that certain physical aspects of the environment of the subway car were found to produce on passenger helping. We summarize the results as follows:

(1) The number of people in the car had a direct effect on the likelihood of any one person in the subway car helping. This effect was consistent with Darley and Latane's (1968) finding that the more people present during an emergency, the less the likelihood of any one person helping. We found that this effect was much stronger on people who were traveling alone in the subway car than on people who were traveling with an acquaintance.

(2) We found that the racial and sexual balance of the car had no effect on the rate of helping by any one of the sex-race classifications of passengers.

(3) The distance between the person who asked for help (the Asker) and a seated passenger in the car had an effect on the likelihood of helping. The closer the passenger was to the Asker, the greater the likelihood of helping. Piliavin et al. (1975) suggested this relationship but used only a paper and pencil test to empirically support the idea.

(4) The distance between the Misinformant and a seated passenger in the car had an effect on the likelihood of helping. There seemed to be an optimal distance between the passenger and Misinformant for help to be most frequently proffered. The passenger could not be too close nor too far away from the Misinformant for he or she to be most willing to contradict the Misinformant.

(5) Three seats in the subway car, all by the middle doors, were associated with an enormous percentage of the help given. A person seated only six inches away from one of these seats was dramatically less likely to offer assistance. We suggested that these seats were occupied by people who were psychologically geared to feel more comfortable in the "thick of things" and for this reason the seats generated so much help. Strodbeck and Hook (1961) and others have shown that dominant members in a group of strangers assume positions of visual prominence when seating themselves.

(6) Finally, we found that if a passenger was standing in the car during our crisis staging, then, there was an emormously high likelihood that this person would be the one who intervened. We explain this as being a consequence of the greater physical prominence of a person standing.

In summarizing our overall study, we feel justified to say that we have substantiated one of our hypotheses, namely, that people do tend to offer help in a social crisis based on the cues of sex and race. People apparently do note the sex-race characteristics of the people around them and base their response in terms of related stereotypic identifications. This finding is consistent with Milgram's suggestion that people do use gross visual cues to categorize the masses in public situations in order to reduce the hetereogeneity and intensity of social stimulation.

Our second hypothesis, that like sex-race group would help like sex-race group, was not confirmed; instead we found individual sex-race group helping behavior patterns that were consistent with described behavioral characteristics in the literature.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

Bernard, Jessie. Marriage and Family Among Negroes. New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1966.

Brownell, Baker. The Human Community. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950.

Grier, W.H., and Cobbs, P.M. Black Rage. New York: Basic Books, 1968.

Latane, B., and Darley, J.M. The Unresponsive Bystander: Why Doesn't He Help? New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1970.

Articles

Bryan, J.H., and Test, M.A. "Models and Helping: Naturalistic Studies in Aiding Behavior." Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 6 (1967): 400-407.

Clark, R. "Effects of Sex and Race on Helping Behavior in a Nonreactive Setting." Representative Research in Social Psychology 5 (1974): 1-6.

Clark, R.D. III, and Word, I.E. "Why Don't Bystanders Help? Because of Ambiguity?" Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 24 (1972): 392-400.

_____. "Where is the Apathetic Bystander? Situational Characteristics of the Emergency." Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 29 (1974): 279-287.

Darley, J.M., and Latane, B. "Bystander Intervention in Emergencies: Diffusion of Responsibility." Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 8 (1968): 377-383.

Gaertner, S., and Bickman, L. "The Effects of Race on the Elicitation of Helping Behavior: The Wrong Number Technique." Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 20 (1971): 218-222.

Gross, A.E., Wallston, B., and Piliavin, I.M. "Beneficiary Attractiveness and Cost as Determinants of Response to Routine Requests for Help." Sociometry 38 (1975): 131-140.

Katz, I., Cohen, S., and Glass, D. "Some Determinants of Cross-Racial Helping Behavior." Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 32 ( ): 964-970.

Langer, E.J., and Abelson, R.P. "The of Asking a Favor: How to Succeed in Getting Help Without Really Dying." Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 24 (1972): 26-32.

Latane, B., & Dabbs, J.M. "Sex, Group Size and Helping in Three Cities." Sociometry 38 (1975): 180-194.

Latane, B., and Rodin, J. "A Lady in Distress: Inhibiting Effects of Friends and Strangers on Bystander Intervention. Journal of Experimental Social Psychology 5 (1969): 189-202.

Milgram, S. "The Experience of Living in Cities." Science 167 (1970): 1461-1468.

Piliavin, I.M., Rodin, J., and Piliavin, J.A. "Good Samaritanism: An Underground Phenomenon? Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 13 (1969): 289-299.

_____. "Costs, Diffusion, and the Stigmatized Victim." Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 32 (1975): 429-438.

Schwartz, S.H., and Clausen, B.T. "Responsibility, Norms, and Helping in an Emergency." Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 16 (1970): 299-310.

Strodbeck, F., and Hook, L. "The Social Dimensions of a Twelve Man Jury Table." Sociometry 24 (1961): 397-415.

Simmel, Georg. "The Metropolis and Mental Life." In The Sociology of Georg Simmel. Edited and translated by Kurt Wolf. New York: The Free Press, 1950.

Wegner, D.M., and Crano, W.D. "Racial Factors in Helping Behavior: An Unobtrusive Field Experiment." Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 32 (1975): 901-905.

West, S.G., Whitney, G., and Schnedler, R. "Helping a Motorist in Distress: The Effects of Sex, Race, and Neighborhood." Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 31 (1975): 691-698.

Wispe, L.G., and Freshley, H.G. "Race, Sex, and Sympathetic Helping Behavior: The Broken Bag Caper." Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 17 (1971): 59-65.

Unpublished Sources

Allen, Harvey. "An Exploratory Study into Bystander Intervention and Helping Behavior in the Subway." Doctoral Dissertation, New York University, 1968.