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DELAWARE UNIV NEWARK DEPT OF PSYCHOLOGY
THE SUBTLETY OF WHITE RACISM. (U)
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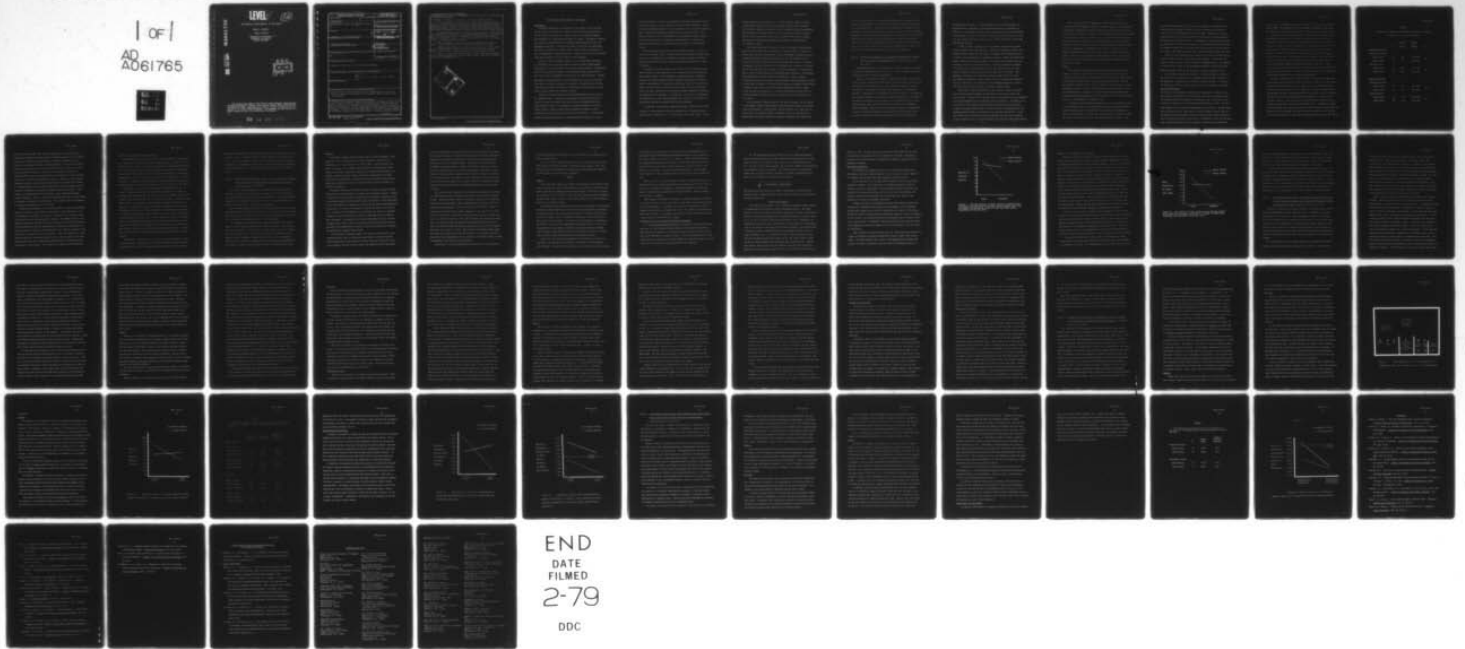
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The Subtlety of White Racism: A Final Report.

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REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE		READ INSTRUCTIONS BEFORE COMPLETING FORM
1. REPORT NUMBER	2. GOVT ACCESSION NO.	3. RECIPIENT'S CATALOG NUMBER
Final Report		
4. TITLE (and Subtitle)		5. TYPE OF REPORT & PERIOD COVERED
(6) The Subtlety of White Racism: A Final Report		(7) Final reptis
		6. PERFORMING ORG. REPORT NUMBER
7. AUTHOR(s)		8. CONTRACT OR GRANT NUMBER(s)
Gaertner, S. L. and Dovidio, J. F.		(15) N00014-70-A-0113-0003 and N00014-76-C-0062
9. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME AND ADDRESS		10. PROGRAM ELEMENT, PROJECT, TASK AREA & WORK UNIT NUMBERS
University of Delaware		NR 170-84
11. CONTROLLING OFFICE NAME AND ADDRESS		12. REPORT DATE
		(11) Oct. 1978
		13. NUMBER OF PAGES
14. MONITORING AGENCY NAME & ADDRESS (if different from Controlling Office)		15. SECURITY CLASS. (of this report)
(12) 39 p.		15a. DECLASSIFICATION/DOWNGRADING SCHEDULE
16. DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT (of this Report)		
Approved for Public Release, Distribution Unlimited		
17. DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT (of the abstract entered in Block 20, if different from Report)		
(10) Samuel L. Gaertner John F. Dovidio		
18. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES		
19. KEY WORDS (Continue on reverse side if necessary and identify by block number)		
Racial Attitudes, Helping Behavior, Help Seeking Behavior Stereotyping Arousal, Conformity, Role Expectations, Dependency Norms, Racism, Racial Discrimination.		
20. ABSTRACT (Continue on reverse side if necessary and identify by block number)		
<p>A series of experiments examined the anti-black attitudes of whites so as to test a proposed, subtle, indirect attitudinal process by which blacks and other minorities may be victimized while allowing whites to avoid a sense of personal responsibility for these consequences and even maintain an egalitarian self-image. Generally, each experiment indicates that whites are more likely to discriminate against blacks in which failure to response positively could be</p> <p>(see over)</p>		

20. ABSTRACT (continued)

attributable to factors other than race. The major findings include:

1. White bystanders are more likely to misattribute emergency generated arousal to a placebo than to an unambiguous emergency when the victim is black than when the victim is white. Hence, black victims were helped less readily when misattribution of arousal was possible. When bystanders did not have the opportunity to misattribute arousal, black and white victims were helped equally.
2. Bystanders alone, help black and white victims equally. However, when other bystanders are believed to be available, bystanders diffuse responsibility more readily (and thus help less frequently) for black than white victims. Heart-rate changes is related to helping and the pattern of heart-rate change parallels the helping behavior measures.
3. White bystanders are more susceptible to conformity pressures to remain inactive during emergencies involving black than white victims.
4. Whites accept help that is offered as frequently from a black partner as from a white partner. However, when help must be actively solicited, whites solicit help less frequently from black than from white partners.
5. Whites respond relatively negatively to black supervisors, regardless of the supervisors competence. However, whites respond especially favorably to blacks in subordinate roles.

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The Subtlety of White Racism: Final Report

Introduction

The Kerner Commission's investigation of the causes of the civil disorders, perpetrated primarily by blacks in several cities across America in the late 1960's, concluded that, "white racism", to a significant degree, was responsible for instigating this protest by blacks. Individually, however, even after the publication of these findings, white Americans did not feel personally responsible. Probably, most whites believe that as individuals, they have never behaved in a manner which actively and/or intentionally served to disadvantage a single black person. Further, they often protest against being held accountable for the actions of their ancestors.

Actually, they are probably correct, i.e., that most white Americans, as individuals, have never intentionally harmed or further disadvantaged a black person. At the individual level, however, white America's responsibility may lie in the passive acceptance of Socio-Political policy that serves to hurt and to further disadvantage blacks as well as other minorities. Perhaps white America's responsibility at the individual level lies not in hurting but rather in failing to recognize the necessity for assistance or in being reluctant to help those oppressed by institutional racism as readily as they would if these victims were regarded as family.

However, even this reluctance to help disadvantaged minorities may not be recognized easily. Instead this motivation may function indirectly in terms of failing to recognize the extent of black victimization and thus the necessity for help. For example, the persistent emphasis on "welfare abuses" seems to suggest a misperception regarding the number of black recipients who do not actually need this type of assistance. A second possibility by which this reluctance to help minorities may function is via an

unwitting propensity to reduce the importance of helping disadvantaged minorities in the presence of other national, local or personal ambitions. That is, helping disadvantaged minorities may be considered to be a relatively important goal. However, its hierarchical position may be easily displaced. Thus, national security, fiscal responsibility or the neighborhood school concept, but not racism, become the recognizable justifications for curtailing or opposing programs aimed at ameliorating the consequences of institutional racism.

The reported research focuses on the anti-black attitudes of whites so as to test a proposed, subtle, indirect process by which these attitudes function so as to perpetuate the victimization of blacks and other minorities, while allowing whites to avoid a sense of personal responsibility for these consequences.

In general, our work is aimed at the subtlety by which the racial attitudes of whites (at the individual level of analysis) affect their behavior with regard to blacks. Some contemporary investigators have accumulated evidence that supports Myrdal's (1944) conclusion regarding the conflicted nature of white America's attitudes toward blacks. Katz and his associates (Katz, 1970; Katz, Glass & Cohen, 1973; Katz, Cohen & Glass, 1975) characterize the racial attitudes of most whites as neither uniformly favorable nor all negative, but as ambivalent. In particular, a high level of ambivalence was hypothesized to exist among individuals who scored high on prejudice towards blacks and high on sympathy with the black underdog.

In addition, it was recently suggested (Gaertner, 1976) that the racial attitudes of many people who claim low prejudice may be characterized by a special type of ambivalence, i.e., "aversiveness" (cf. Kovel, 1970). For the

aversive type there is presumed to be a conflict between negative feelings toward blacks, which are not always consciously salient, and a conscience which seeks to repudiate or dissociate these feelings from their nonprejudiced self-prejudiced on attitude inventories. The results of studies by Dutton and Lake (1973), Dutton and Lennox (1974), Gaertner (1973, 1975) and Weitz (1972) may be interpreted as supporting the concept of aversive racism (cf. Gaertner, 1976).

The thesis underlying our research is that low prejudice scoring people would not usually behave in a manner that is obviously bigoted. Further, it asserts that even many high prejudice scoring individuals, although willing to articulate negative feelings toward blacks, do not view themselves as prejudiced to the extent that they would deliberately refuse help to a victim of an emergency, solely on the basis of the victim's race. Therefore, the attribution of racist motives for failing to intervene in behalf of a black victim may be costly for many high and low prejudiced white bystanders. Consequently, when discrimination occurs it should be mediated by a subtle, indirect attitudinal process which insulates these bystanders from recognizing the extent to which their reluctance to intervene was motivated by antipathy toward blacks. It appears, then, that in a society in which egalitarian norms are highly valued and actively professed, but in which socialization and structural influences frequently foster prejudice, the effects of racial attitudes may be very subtle.

This attitudinal framework suggests that white bystanders are more likely to discriminate against black victims in situations where failure to intervene could be attributable to factors other than the victim's race. When the victim is black, the proposed indirect attitudinal process is hypothesized to differentially increase, without the bystander's awareness, the saliency and

potency of those non-race related factors which would tend to minimize the necessity or motivation for the bystander becoming personally involved, even if the victim was white. Thus with a black victim, these bystanders may be more likely to perceive the emergency situation as one in which their personal assistance is either unnecessary, unwarranted, or precluded by other priorities. However, when no non-race related justification to avoid intervention is available, the white bystander would be expected to behave either without regard for the victim's race or in a manner which favors blacks because of the high costs for discriminating against blacks in these situations.

Study 1: The Effects of Ambiguity of an Emergency, Attribution of Arousal, and Race of Victim on Helping Behavior. (Technical Report #1, May, 1976.)

The primary purposes of this research are (1) to investigate the effects of arousal on helping behavior and (2) to test a model concerning how racial attitudes may affect bystander intervention.

A model of bystander intervention in emergency situations introduced by Piliavin, Rodin, and Piliavin (1969) proposes that the primary motivation for responding is not an altruistic one, but is instead a hedonistic desire to rid oneself of an unpleasant emotional state generated by witnessing the emergency. Furthermore, if this assertion is true, arousal is a necessary but not sufficient condition for eliciting bystander responsiveness. The work of Schachter and his many colleagues suggests that bystanders must not only be aroused but must also attribute their state of arousal to the emergency before responding. Thus, if prior to an emergency, people are administered a placebo described as having side effects associated with arousal (e.g., increase in heart-rate), they may misattribute the arousal generated by

the emergency to the pill. If misattribution occurs, then according to the Piliavins' model, responding to the emergency would not be instrumental in reducing the unpleasant emotional state. Thus, subjects given the opportunity to misattribute the source of arousal to the placebo would be expected to intervene less readily than would subjects given a placebo described as having non-arousing side effects.

A study by Harris and Huang (1973) on bystander intervention obtained results consistent with this reasoning. However, the findings of Nisbett and Schachter (1966) suggest that the degree of ambiguity of the emergency may be a critical factor mediating the attributional effects. Nisbett and Schachter's results indicate that there are limits to the extent that a person could misattribute arousal to an artificial source. The range is apparently bounded on the lower end by situations with at least some arousal and at the upper limit by situations that generate extremely high levels of arousal. Since unambiguous emergencies are reported to generate higher levels of arousal than ambiguous emergencies (Clark & Word, 1972) it is expected that misattribution of arousal will be less likely in the unambiguous emergency and thus will have a less pronounced effect on bystander responsiveness.

With regard to the second purpose of this research a number of studies have shown that white bystanders are more prone to help white victims than black victims. Gaertner (1975) suggested that the attitudinal process responsible for this discrimination may be extremely subtle and indirect. According to the first stage of this indirect model the white bystander with black and white victims is motivated differentially to seek alternative interpretations of the emergency which preclude the necessity for his personal intervention. If however, this search is fruitless, the white bystander will then help regardless of the victim's race so as to avoid acting in a way obviously tinged with bigotry.

In the present study, for example, the indirect model would lead us to expect that in the Ambiguous emergency situation, which is more susceptible to alternative interpretation, white bystanders would help white victims more readily than black victims. However, racial discrimination would not be expected in the Unambiguous emergency situation, per se, unless the bystander had yet some other potential rationale to avoid intervention. We expect that this additional rationale might be offered even in the Unambiguous emergency situation by the opportunity to misattribute the source of arousal to the pill having arousing side effects. Thus, a race x pill x ambiguity interaction might be expected. In any event, the lowest degree of help is expected for Ss given a pill with arousal side effect; witnessing an Ambiguous Emergency, with a black victim.

Method

After approval for the study was obtained from the University Ethics Committee, 160 white female subjects were selected on the basis of their scoring in either the upper or lower quartile of an eleven item Likert format questionnaire designed to assess their attitudes toward blacks. These Ss were randomly assigned (10 per cell) in a 2x2x2x2 factorial design. Factors manipulated included: (1) race of victim--white or black, (2) type of emergency--unambiguous or ambiguous, (3) placebo description--introduced with symptoms associated with arousal, and (4) prejudice score of subject--scoring in upper or lower quartile of prejudice scale.

All subjects, participating individually, were received under the guise of an experiment in E.S.P. in which subjects were led to believe that they would be attempting to receive messages from a sender, Brenda Evans, in a cubicle across the hall. Actually, the sender, who was to become the victim, was a tape recorded voice sent over the intercom system. The race of the

victim was manipulated by the picture on the college I.D. presented to the subject upon an exchange to determine if the participants were strangers. Also, the voice was identifiable as black or white. Subjects were then informed that one aim of the study would be to determine if certain substances could increase receptivity to E.S.P. Consequently, a placebo in capsule form was administered. For half the subjects it was described as causing symptoms of autonomic arousal and for the other half the side effects were presented as not rousing. The experimenter then left the subject alone to begin the task.

After the first seventeen thirty-second E.S.P. trials, the sender got up to fix a stack of chairs, as a prelude to the emergency. The subject then heard the sound of chairs falling followed by prolonged silence. As suggested by Clark and Word (1972), in the unambiguous emergency the crash was accompanied by screams, while in the ambiguous situation no screams occurred.

Two dependent measures were employed. A helping response was scored if the subject left the room within a six-minute period from the occurrence of the emergency. In addition, the latency of help was recorded. If, however, the subject did not help in that period a score of six minutes was assigned.

Results and Discussion

The efficacy of the ambiguity manipulation was supported by subjects' post-experimental evaluations of (1) how sure they were that the victim was hurt, (2) how much help they believed the victim needed, and (3) how serious they assessed the situation to be (multivariate $F(3,142)=8.12, p<.001$). The data also suggest that the attribution manipulation was successful. Although there was no difference in the total number of arousal symptoms reported, subjects receiving the arousal placebo description attributed more arousal symptoms to the pill ($F(1,144)=6.06, p<.02$) and more to a combination of both pill and emergency ($F(1,144)=10.20, p<.01$), while subjects presented with the nonarousal

placebo induction attributed more arousal symptoms to the emergency ($F(1,144)=3.80, p=.053$). No difference in the total number of nonarousal symptoms nor any differential attribution occurred due to the placebo description factor.

The analyses of the latency measure of helping and the frequency of helping responses produced a nearly identical pattern of results (see Table 1). Consequently, only the results of the latency analyses will be presented. A 2 (Race of Victim) x 2 (Type of Emergency) x 2 (Placebo Description) x 2 (Prejudice Score of Subject) analysis of variance was performed on the latency measure of helping. This revealed a main effect for the type of emergency ($F(1,144)=56.42, p<.001$). In addition, subjects receiving the arousal description for the placebo helped the victim significantly slower than subjects given the nonarousal placebo introduction ($F(1,144)=6.27, p<.02$). A race of victim by emergency type by placebo description interaction also tended to emerge ($F(1,144)=2.93, p<.09$). No main effect nor any significant interactions involving the prejudice score of subject were obtained.

In order to provide a test of the Piliavin et al. model most consistent with previous helping behavior research, a test for simple effects was employed involving only those subjects with the white victim. As predicted, subjects helped the victim more quickly in the unambiguous emergency situation than in the ambiguous emergency conditions ($F(1,144)=31.25, p<.001$). Also as predicted, subjects with the white victim reported the unambiguous as opposed to the ambiguous emergency situation as more upsetting ($F(1,144)=6.90, p<.01$) and as causing more symptoms of arousal ($F(1,144)=8.89, p<.01$). Furthermore, significant correlations were obtained such that: the more symptoms of arousal subjects attributed to the emergency the faster the speed of helping ($r=.36, df=78, p<.001$), and the greater the upset subjects reported the more quickly they helped

Table 1

The Effects of Ambiguity of Emergency, Attribution of Arousal,
and Victim's Race on Helping Behavior

	N	PERCENT <u>HELP</u>	LATENCY <u>OF HELP</u>	p<
UNAMBIGUOUS EMERGENCY				
NON-AROUSAL PLACEBO				
WHITE VICTIM	20	95%	62.9 SEC.	NS
BLACK VICTIM	20	95%	63.6 SEC.	
AROUSAL PLACEBO				
WHITE VICTIM	20	100%	50.1 SEC.	.05
BLACK VICTIM	20	85%	114.5 SEC.	
AMBIGUOUS EMERGENCY				
NON-AROUSAL PLACEBO				
WHITE VICTIM	20	85%	148.1 SEC.	.09
BLACK VICTIM	20	65%	196.1 SEC.	
AROUSAL PLACEBO				
WHITE VICTIM	20	55%	253.8 SEC.	NS
BLACK VICTIM	20	55%	237.4 SEC.	

the victim ($r=28$, $df=78$, $p<.01$). Thus, as suggested by the arousal model, a significant relationship between arousal and helping appears to exist. However, a test of the proposed causal relationship resides in the analysis of the effects of attribution of arousal on helping behavior. This analysis revealed a significant emergency type by placebo description interaction for the white victim ($F(1,144)=4.97$, $p<.05$). Analogous to the findings of Nisbett and Schachter (1966) there was no difference due to attribution of arousal on helping when the situation was unambiguously critical. However, in the ambiguous emergency situation subjects given the opportunity to attribute their arousal to a placebo helped the victim significantly slower than did subjects not provided this attributional opportunity ($t(144)=2.95$, $p<.01$, one-tailed). These results are indeed supportive of the proposed causal relationship between arousal and helping. That is, subjects helped faster when they were more likely to attribute the arousal to the emergency. Thus, helping would be instrumental in reducing the unpleasant state of arousal.

Although the manipulation of the perceived source of arousal significantly affected the amount of help subjects with the white victim exhibited, it did not systematically influence the subjects' evaluations of the emergency situation as reflected by their post-experimental responses. No emergency type by pill induction interaction ($F(3,70)=0.72$, $p<.50$) nor main effect for placebo description ($F(3,70)=0.50$, $p<.50$) were obtained when a multivariate analysis was conducted on subjects' ratings of the seriousness of the situation, amount of help needed, and certainty that the victim was hurt. Thus, the opportunity to attribute the arousal to the placebo appeared to affect the perception of the emergency's impact upon the S, rather than influencing the Ss' perception of the seriousness of the emergency. This tendency too, supports they hypothesized

causal relation between arousal and helping.

Consideration of the race of the victim yielded a pattern of results which was, in general, consistent with indirect influence model. When the effects of ambiguity of the emergency were analyzed independent of misattributional effects (i.e., the non-arousal placebo group), there was, as predicted, no difference in the amount of help black and white victims received when the situation was unambiguously critical. However, when the emergency was ambiguous, a situation susceptible to multiple interpretation, white bystanders tended to help black victims somewhat slower than white victims ($t=1.34$, df , 144, $p<.09$, one-tailed).

Furthermore, as suggested by the marginally significant 3-way race of victim by emergency type by placebo interaction, the pattern of results for the opportunity to misattribute the source of arousal is somewhat different for subjects with black victim than for Ss with the white victim. According to the indirect model the opportunity to misattribute the arousal generated by the emergency to a placebo may provide an alternative appraisal of the situation for bystanders motivated not to become involved. Consistent with this notion, for subjects with the black victim, a main effect for the placebo description was obtained ($F(1,144)=3.31$, $p<.07$). However, unlike the results for the white victim a Pill x Ambiguity interaction was not obtained with the black victim. Even when the emergency was unambiguously critical, black victims were helped more slowly by Ss given the opportunity to misattribute the source of arousal to the placebo than by Ss given the non-arousal pill ($t(144)=1.80$, $p<.05$, one-tailed).

The analysis of the effects of the race of the victim produced one rather surprising finding. Unsupportive of the prediction that the slowest helping time would occur for Ss in the ambiguous emergency-arousal placebo condition

when the victim was black, there was no difference here between black and white victims. In fact, the white victim was helped somewhat slower than the black victim. This result appears primarily due to the rather dramatic decrement in responsiveness for bystanders with the white victim in the ambiguous emergency-arousal pill condition. In essence, this group may have created a basement effect.

Study II: The Subtlety of White Racism: Race of Victim, Diffusion of Responsibility, Heart Rate & Helping Behavior in an Emergency Situation.
(Technical Report #2, July 1977.)

The general framework guiding this research asserts that while racial attitudes might find direct expression in behavior they are more typically expressed in subtle and more readily rationalizable ways. Also, this research explores the role played by the psychophysiological arousal induced by witnessing an emergency upon a bystander's responsiveness.

Our orientation toward racial attitudes applied to the arena of bystander intervention proposes that most whites desire to avoid a special cost incurred for failing to assist a black victim: The personal recognition that the failure to intervene may have been motivated by racial antipathy.

Some contemporary investigators have accumulated evidence that supports Myrdal's (1944) conclusion regarding the conflicted nature of white America's attitudes toward blacks. Katz and his associates (Katz, 1970; Glass & Cohen, 1973; Katz, Cohen & Glass, 1975) characterize the racial attitudes of most whites as neither uniformly favorable nor all negative, but as ambivalent. In particular, a high level of ambivalence was revealed among individuals who scored high on prejudice towards blacks and high on sympathy with the black

underdog.

In addition, Gaertner (1976) suggested that the racial attitudes of many people who claim low prejudice may be characterized by a special type of ambivalence, i.e., "aversiveness" (cf. Kovel, 1970). For the aversive type there is presumed to be a conflict between negative feelings toward blacks, which are not always consciously salient, and a conscience which seeks to repudiate or dissociate these feelings from their non-prejudiced self-image. Nevertheless, the magnitude of negative feelings toward blacks among aversive types may be equivalent to that of people who score as highly prejudiced on attitude inventories.

The thesis underlying the current research is that low prejudice scoring people would not usually behave in a manner that is obviously bigoted. Further, it asserts that even many high prejudice scoring individuals, although willing to articulate negative feelings toward blacks, but because of their ambivalence do not view themselves as prejudiced to the extent that they would deliberately refuse help to a victim of an emergency, solely on the basis of the victim's race. Therefore, the attribution of racist motives for failing to intervene in behalf of a black victim may be costly for many high and low prejudiced white bystanders. Consequently, when racial discrimination occurs it should be mediated by a subtle, indirect attitudinal process which insulates these bystanders from recognizing the extent to which their reluctance to intervene was motivated by antipathy toward blacks.

This attitudinal framework suggests that whites are more likely to discriminate against blacks in situations where failure to respond favorably toward blacks could be attributable to factors other than the person's race. In an emergency, when the victim is black, the proposed indirect attitudinal

process is hypothesized to increase, without the white bystander's awareness, the saliency and potency of those non-race related factors which would tend to minimize the necessity or motivation for the bystander becoming personally involved, even if the victim were white. Thus with a black victim, these bystanders may be more likely to perceive the emergency situation as one in which their personal assistance is either unnecessary, unwarranted, or precluded by other priorities. However, when no non-race related justification to avoid intervention is available, the white bystander would be expected to behave either without regard for the victim's race or in a manner which favors blacks because of the high costs for discriminating against blacks in these situations.

This specific study concerns the likelihood that bystanders will diffuse responsibility among other bystanders more readily for black than for white victims. Darley and Latane (1968) have shown that the presence of other bystanders with whom bystanders cannot communicate nor observe may affect the likelihood of intervention. In the present study, the presence of other bystanders with whom the subject cannot communicate is introduced so as to present the subject with a justifiable, non-race related, reason to remain inactive (i.e., the belief that one of the other bystanders may intervene and help). Thus, it is expected that both high and low prejudiced subjects will help white victims more readily than black victims when they believe other capable bystanders are available. However, they will not discriminate against blacks when they believe that they are the only witness to the emergency since they bear 100% of the responsibility and the search for justifiable reasons to avoid intervention is more likely to be unsuccessful.

Furthermore, to avoid confounding the perceived race of the victim with

the victim's perceived social status, the social status of the victims will be varied systematically.

Also, to provide information relevant to the relationship between psychophysiological arousal and bystander responsiveness the subjects' heart rates will be monitored continuously via bio-telemetry, which permits the subject to be fully mobile at the time of the "emergency".

Method

Subjects

Sixty-four white females were selected to participate on the basis of their scoring in either the upper or lower quartile of scores on an eleven-item Likert format questionnaire regarding attitudes toward blacks. This scale for assessing prejudice correlates highly ($r=.83$) with three subscales from the Woodmansee and Cook (1967) scale: (1) ease of interracial contacts, (2) subtle derogatory beliefs, and (3) private rights.

All subjects were received under the guise of an experiment in extra-sensory perception in which subjects were led to believe that they would be attempting to receive messages from a sender, Brenda Evans, in a cubicle across the hall. Actually, the sender, who as to become the victim, was a tape-recorded voice sent over the intercom system. The purpose of the experiment, as explained to the subject, was to test the "physiological synchrony" theory of E.S.P. which proposed that on trials when a participant successfully received a message from the sender, their autonomic nervous system would be in greater synchrony than on trials on which the message was not successfully received.

The race of the victim was manipulated by the picture on a college I.D. presented to the subject upon an exchange to determine if the participants were strangers. The voice of the sender was also identifiable as black or white.

In addition, the socio-economic status of the victim was manipulated by presenting the subject with background information identifying the occupation of the sender's father as a doctor or as a janitor. Finally, half the subjects were informed that they would be the only receiver, while half were told that two other receivers would also be participating, in separate cubicles, also adjacent to the sender's and were shown two additional I.D. cards of white, female "subjects". The experimenter then left the subject alone to begin the task.

After the first 17 trials (the last 60 seconds of which also served as the baseline period for the heart-rate measure), the sender got up to fix a stack of chairs, as a prelude to the emergency. During the emergency situation, the sound of chairs falling accompanied the victims' screams. "They're falling on me...(scream)...(scream)."

Three measures of helping were recorded. A helping response was scored if the subject left the receiving room within a three minute period from the occurrence of the emergency. In addition, the latency of the subject to react by standing and the latency for opening the door of her cubicle (located nine feet away) were recorded. If the subject did not help within a three minute period, a latency score of 180 seconds was assigned.

Calculation of Heart-Rate Changes Following the Emergency

(1) A Mean Overall Escalation measure was obtained by calculating the mean heart-rate for each on-second interval during the 60 second baseline period which precedes the emergency, and subtracting this from the mean heart-rate for each second following the emergency's onset. This post emergency period is concluded either one second prior to the S standing for those Ss who help, or at the end of the 180 second post emergency period for the non-helpers.

(2) The Mean Overall Deviation (MOD) score is the absolute difference between the mean heart-rate during the baseline period and heart-rate for each second following the emergency's onset, (until one second before S helps or for a full 180 seconds) ignoring whether the heart-rate change is an acceleration or deceleration relative to baseline. The difference score is squared then summed across seconds, divided by the number of seconds, following which the square root is obtained, as indicated by the formula:

$$\sqrt{\frac{\sum (\bar{X} \text{ Emergency} - \bar{X} \text{ Baseline})^2}{i}}$$

This Mean Overall Deviation then provides an indication of variability most compatible with a standard deviation score, except it focuses on the deviation from the baseline mean.

Results and Discussion

The results of the analysis of the frequency of helping responses supports the predictions derived from the indirect attitudinal process. Chi Square analysis revealed that subjects who had the opportunity to diffuse responsibility helped the victim less frequently than bystanders who heard the emergency alone (56.3% vs. 87.5%, $\chi^2(1)=6.26$ with Yates correction, $p<.02$). Furthermore, although there was no main effect for the race of the victim nor for the prejudice score of the subject on the proportion of helping responses, the predicted Race of Victim X Presence of Others interaction was obtained ($z=2.88$, $p<.01$, see Langer & Abelson, 1972). As indicated by Figure 1 this interaction revealed that when bystanders believed that they were the only witness, black victims (93.8%) were helped slightly more often than white victims (81.3%). However, when subjects believed that two other witnesses existed, black victims were helped less often than white victims (37.5% vs. 75%, $\chi^2(1)=3.17$ with Yates cor-

rection, $p < .10$). No main effects nor interactions associated with the status of the victim or prejudice score of the subject were obtained. Multivariate analysis of the latency measures corroborated the findings associated with the frequency of helping.

Heart-Rate and Helping

The findings also indicate that there is a statistically significant relationship between the cardiac measures of the psychophysiological impact of the emergency and the speed with which bystanders intervene to help.

The two measures (i.e., the Mean Overall Escalation and the Mean Overall Deviation) correlate $-.61$ ($p < .001$) and $-.45$ ($p < .001$) respectively with the latency to help (i.e., open door). Thus considering the mean escalation from baseline of the absolute deviation, one way or the other from baseline, the findings indicate that the greater the psychophysiological impact of the emergency, the faster the bystander intervenes.

Although the previous correlations were based upon changes in heart-rate recorded for a reasonably long period after the emergency, the relationship between these changes and the speed of intervention was actually in full force during the initial ten second period following the emergency's onset as indicated by the $-.56$ and $-.45$ correlations between these measures and the latency to help (i.e., open the door). Furthermore, baseline heart-rate levels were not related to the magnitude of heart-rate change induced by the emergency or to the latency of intervention.

These findings are compatible with and offer strong support for portions of a model of bystander intervention suggested by Piliavin, Rodin, and Piliavin (1969). This model proposes that a state of psychophysiological arousal must precede a bystander's intervention and the speed of responsiveness will be a

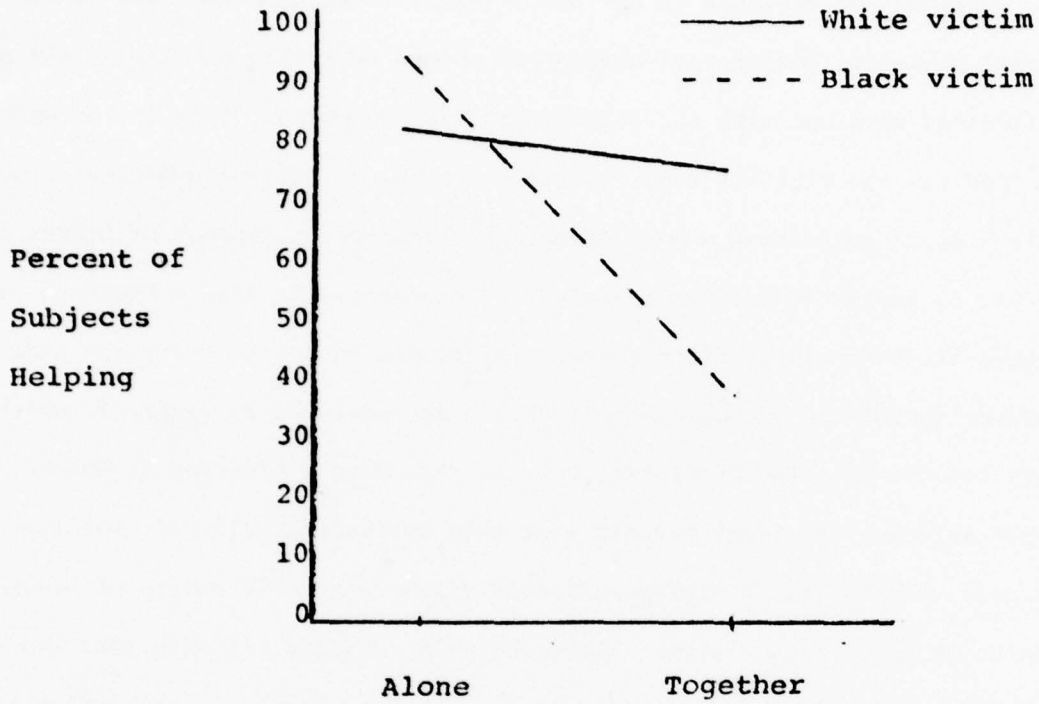


Figure 1. The percentage of white subjects helping black and white victims based on whether they believed that they witnessed the emergency alone or with two other white bystanders (N=16 per cell).

function of the magnitude of this arousal.

Analyses of variance on the Mean Overall Escalation and also on the Mean Overall Deviation measures of heart-rate change generally paralleled the pattern of findings obtained with the helping behavior measures. That is, no main effects obtained for the victim's race, victim's status, or subject's prejudice score while a trend suggesting a main effect for Presence or Absence of Others ($p < .08$ and $p < .16$, respectively) was revealed. Furthermore, the Race x Presence or Absence of Others interaction effect also tended to emerge for these heart-rate measures ($p < .09$ and $p < .05$, respectively). As indicated by Figure 2, which presents the Overall Mean Escalation scores, this Race x Presence or Absence of Others interaction effect reveals that when bystanders believed that they were the only witness, black victims elicited slightly greater levels of heart-rate escalation than white victims. However, when subjects believed that two other bystanders existed, white victims elicited greater levels of escalation than did black victims. Similar findings were obtained on these heart-rate measures when only the first ten seconds following the emergency are considered.

In this study, when white bystanders believed themselves to be the only witness to an emergency their helping behavior and psychophysiological responsiveness were quite high for both black and white victims. The presence of other apparent bystanders, however, radically altered this pattern of findings in a manner which was of particular disadvantage to the black victims. With a sufficient justification to avoid involvement, no longer did high proportions of Ss intervene quickly in behalf of black victims, as they did when Ss were alone.

Of particular significance in this study is the dampening of cardiac responsiveness for black victims initiated by the belief that other bystanders are available to intervene. This dampening did not only emerge over time, but

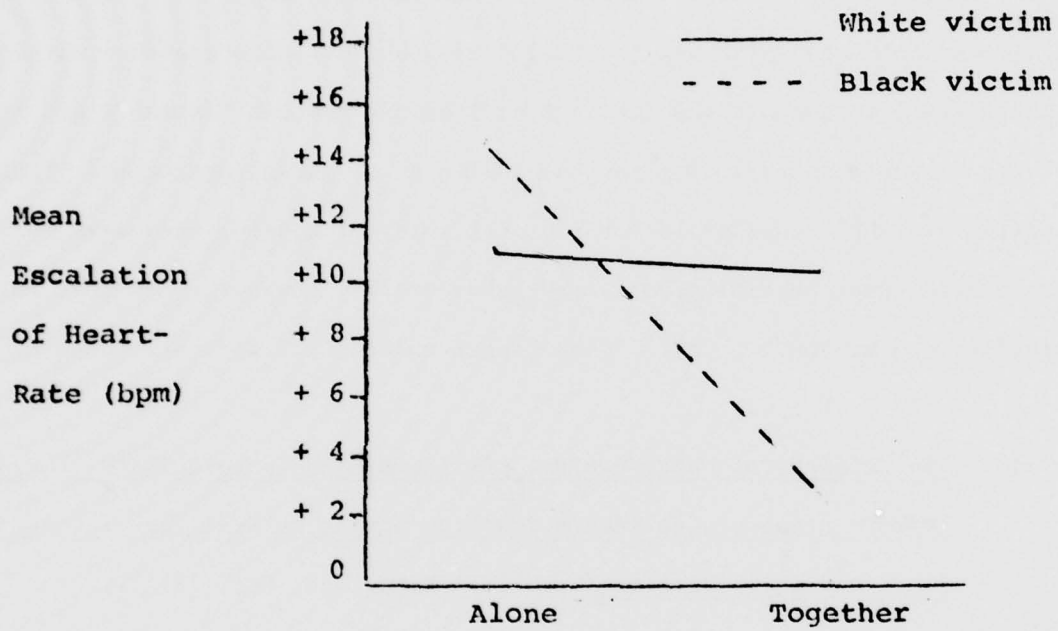


Figure 2. The effects of the victim's race and the belief that others are present on Subject's change in heart-rate following the emergency (N=16 per cell).

was present almost immediately following the onset of the emergency. Thus, the victim's race did not merely affect the S's decision to intervene or to remain inactive, but indeed inhibited the psychophysiological impact of the emergency itself, but only when the S believed other bystanders were present.

The finding that helping behavior and cardiac responding were lower for black victims only when high and low prejudiced subjects were together with other bystanders seems to support the indirect attitudinal process framework and its underlying assumptions regarding the "ambivalence" of racial attitudes. That is, when whites are 100% responsible for the well being of blacks, they seem genuinely concerned both psychophysiological and behaviorally; however, when this responsibility can be shared, there is no longer evidence of personal concern.

Study III: The Subtlety of White Racism: Differential Susceptibility to Conformity Pressures to Remain Inactive During an Emergency Involving Black and White Victims (Technical Report #5, Oct. 1978).

The focus of Study II was the white bystander's differential proclivity to diffuse responsibility for black and white victims. Furthermore, as in the present study if the presence of other bystanders is noted and it is obvious that these bystanders have no intention of helping they are, in a sense, establishing a norm of nonintervention. According to the indirect model, the white bystander would be more apt to succumb to group pressures not to intervene for black victims than for white victims. Thus white victims would be helped more frequently than black victims in the face-to-face presence of other passive bystanders.

The research which will be reported involve two experiments in which bystanders witnessed an emergency involving either a black or a white victim.

The bystander either witnessed the emergency alone or in the face-to-face presence of three confederate bystanders (a la Lantane & Rodin, 1969) who remained passive throughout the emergency. In Study One, the bystander merely overheard the emergency. In Study Two, however, the bystander overheard and also visually observed on a television monitor this same emergency sequence presented in Study One. The video presentation in Study B is used to rule out the possibility that the passiveness of the bystanders may be differentially influencing the subjects definition of the situation. With video, subjects can see the victim lying unconscious following the emergency. Still though they could be differentially influenced to succumb to the norm of non-intervention in behalf of black and white victims.

Also, in both the audio and video studies, the subjects heart rate was recorded. This heart rate data was used to indicate the utility of the Piliavins model of arousal effects in helping behavior. As mentioned earlier, the Piliavins suggest that helping is stimulated by a desire to reduce an aversive arousal experienced by the bystander. It was hoped that heart rate might tap this arousal, and suggest the usefulness of their model. In fact, Gaertner and Dovidio (1977) found that heart rate changes were associated with helping latencies of emergency victims. Both studies were presented to the S under the guides of being ESP studies, in which the subject would either be sending ESP symbols alone or with other senders. It was explained that previous ESP research was confounded by the physical presence of the sender and receiver, or their ability to communicate with each other. Thus the sender(s) and receiver would be in different rooms for the experiment, and that further so that the experimenter could not influence the results, he would not be present. In both studies, the subject was either alone as the

only sender, or there were three confederates of the experimenter present. The subject was always the first receiver of the symbols, spending time in a room with a precariously balanced stack of chairs. After ten uneventful trials as receiver, the potential victim became the receiver. After seven trials, she mentioned, over the microphone available to her to control the pace of the ESP task, that the stack of chairs was about to fall. She moved to the other side of the room, on this prerecorded tape, and soon thereafter yelled that the chairs were falling on her, screamed twice, and fell silent. This event was either overhead only in Study One, or both overheard and seen on television in Study Two. If there were other bystanders (confederates) present they were instructed to remain passive, shrug their shoulders if questioned, and appear to be ready to continue the ESP task. Subjects were recorded as giving a helping response if they left the sending room within three minutes after the onset of the emergency. Furthermore, the time to stand from the chair and the time to reach the door were both recorded. During this entire interval the subject's heart rate was recorded. Following the experiment, the subject was asked questions about the experience she had just gone through, and an extensive debriefing procedure was given.

It was predicted that subject's alone, with no other bystanders present and thus with no non-race related reasons to fail to intervene on behalf of the black victim, would help the black and white victims equally fast. However, with other bystanders present, the subjects should be able to find non-race related reasons not to assist the black, thus helping her less than the white victim. Furthermore, in the audio study, it was predicted that the subject's prejudice pretest score would not be predictive of her helping of the black victim. This is because it is suggested that both low and high

scores harbor anti-black attitudes, and that given an opportunity to behave in an anti-black manner with a non-race related justification available both groups will do so. However, in Study Two, contrary to almost all studies of helping black and white victims, it was hypothesized that the behavior of the subjects might be predicted by their prejudice pretest scores. Those who score low on the pretests would probably include many of the aversive racist type individuals. In Study Two, with the continuous video image of the fallen black victim present, it was predicted that this image would simply be too much for the aversive racist to accept, and that the cost for not helping would become very large for her---thus it was suggested that if ever prejudice pretest scores were going to predict helping, it would be in this study, and that the low scorers would help the black victim as fast as they helped the white victim.

Study A

Results on the frequency of helping showed that: (1) victims are helped more in the Alone condition than in the Together condition (100% in the Alone condition vs. 68% in the Together condition); (2) white victims are helped more than black victims (96% vs. 71%); (3) the expected interaction between race and Alone/Together condition obtained (both 100% in the Alone condition, but whites 92% and blacks 47% in the Together condition). Thus the results for frequency of helping clearly support the indirect model of racial attitudes, with equal helping in the Alone conditions, but with whites helped more than blacks in the Together conditions.

The exact same pattern of results obtained when the latency to stand from the chair and the latency to reach the door were considered using multivariate techniques.

When the latencies were considered separately, only the alone-together

main effect was statistically reliable. The main effect for race and the interaction of race and Alone-Together failed to reach significant levels, even though they were in the predicted direction, for both stand time and door time. Probably the most interesting finding, purely serendipitous, in Study One was found when this pattern of results for latency was further analyzed. To repeat, it was found that the black victims in the Together were helped less frequently than the white victims (92% and 47% respectively). However, when only the data from those subjects who helped in this condition was examined, it was found that the black victims who were helped were helped more quickly than the white victims who were helped (18 seconds and 64 seconds, respectively), a statistically significant difference. Thus, when the victim was black, one of two patterns apparently occurred: Either she was helped quickly (with a latency that is not different from the Alone condition latencies), or she was not helped at all. However, the white victims were helped more slowly in this Together condition, but they were almost all helped. Thus, when the victim was black either the subject responded, in behavioral terms, in a way which was indistinguishable from those subjects in the Alone condition, or else they didn't help at all. It was as if the subject either didn't respond to the presence of the confederate bystanders as a salient feature of the situation, and helped quickly, or else she did respond to the presence of others, and didn't help at all. However, when the victim was white, the subject was retarded in her help by the presence of others, but she was able eventually to help in spite of her noticing their presence.

Finally, when subjects were asked after the emergency to rate the severity of the emergency, and their suspicion that the entire event was staged, there were no statistically reliable differences across the race and Alone/Together

conditions.

Thus the behavioral and questionnaire results from the audio study indicate that the subjects: (1) were not accepting response tendency one of the Gaertner and Dovidio model, and differentially defining the severity of the emergency depending on the victim's race, but (2) they were responding to blacks and whites differently in the Together conditions, and must therefore have been finding other non-race related reasons for not helping the black victim (response tendency two of the Gaertner and Dovidio model).

The subjects' immediate heart rate response (the heart rate change in the first ten seconds after the onset of the emergency, as compared to the pre-emergency baseline) was correlated with the stand time (p. 06) and door time (p. 07). These correlations indicated that greater heart rate changes were associated with faster helped times. This finding was not present when the overall heart rate response was analyzed. Gaertner and Dovidio (1977) found that both of these measures were associated with helping latency, and further found much greater amounts of change.

When heart rate changes were examined using analysis or variance techniques, it was found that a marginal ($p < .09$) race by Alone/Together interaction was present for overall heart rate response, indicating that in the Alone condition, the heart rate response was the same for black and white victims, but that in the presence of others, the heart rate response for the white victims was greater than that for the black victims. This interaction was not found for the immediate heart rate response.

Conclusion to Study

Firstly, the expected race by condition interaction did obtain. Blacks and whites are helped equally in the Alone condition, but blacks are helped

less often and less quickly than whites in the Together condition. Thus, it appears that some indirect explanation of the effect of racial attitudes on helping is appropriate, as it is not the case that blacks are always helped less than whites. There is evidence also about what specific process mediates this effect. Firstly, subjects are not differentially perceiving the severity of the emergency, at least as detected by asking subjects to rate the perceived severity of the emergency after the fact. Furthermore, the subjects do not differentially rate their suspicion to the emergency. Nor does it seem possible that subjects are using a diffusion of responsibility reason to inhibit their helping--that is, since the only others who could help, the confederate bystanders, were doing nothing, the subject could not say someone else might do it rather than me, and thus give the others a portion of the responsibility.

A final explanation might be that the others, in the Together condition, were defining a norm of nonintervention which subjects more readily violated when the victim was white. There is data consistent with this explanation. First, subjects responded to the black victims in the Together condition, either by helping quickly or not helping at all. Similarly, the immediate heart rate response in this condition showed no difference between the black and white, but did show that when he was black when overall heart rate was analyzed. Thus, these two pieces of evidence suggest that there are two processes operating: in one of these, the black victim is helped quickly and the subject's arousal is the same as for the white victim--apparently the subjects are helping without the presence of the others being a salient feature of the situation, and thus she could not be aware of their nonintervention norm. However, when the subject does not help immediately, she never helps the black victim, does help the white victim, and has heart rate responses which are different for the black and white victims. This would be consistent with the notion that

the norm defined by the others was felt by the subject, and precluded her helping of the black victims, apparently with little arousal. However, when the victim was white, she became aware of this norm, experienced arousal as indicated by greater heart rate response, but was eventually able to overcome this norm and help the white victim. Thus there appears to be a hierarchy of values present, including wanting to help a probably injured individual and also not wanting to appear deviant from the others in the group. When the victim is white, the hierarchy appears to become that she would rather deviate from the group than not help the victim. However, when the victim is black, while still wanting to help respond to their desire to not appear deviant.

Study B

Study B, with its video presentation of the emergency, was designed to eliminate many of the ambiguous elements in the audio only presentation of the emergency. Paralleling Clark and Word (1972) who found that fewer ambiguous elements in an emergency leads to equal frequency of helping across Alone/Together conditions, the frequency of helping measure showed no differences for race, Alone/Together, or the interaction between these variables, as almost all subjects helped.

However, when the latency to intervene was examined, the predicted effects were present. While there were some differences when multivariate analysis of both latencies, and univariate analysis of the latencies were done, both showed that victims were helped more quickly if: (1) the emergency was heard and seen by the subjects alone, and (2) the victim was white. Furthermore, the predicted interaction of race and Alone/Together was found, with black and white victims helped equally fast in the Alone condition, but with white victims helped faster in the Together condition. Finally, there was marginal evidence that the subject's prejudice pretest score was predictive of helping

latencies in this study (p. 09), with the race by Alone/Together effect more pronounced for high than low prejudice subjects.

Therefore, the video study also showed the predicted behavioral effects when helping latency was considered. Once again, there appears to be support for the indirect model in that blacks are not always helped less than whites, but only in certain situations.

Once again, the question is what is the process by which these racial attitudes effect helping behavior. Study Two is somewhat more complex than Study One in this regard, as it appears that the subjects were using a variety of non-race related reasons for not assisting the blacks.

The video study showed evidence that subjects were differentially suspicious that the emergency was staged, depending upon the race of the emergency victim. It is certainly consistent with the Gaertner and Dovidio model that subjects could differentially feel suspicious, and thus have a non-race related reason not to help the black victim. Therefore, to determine the importance of the subject's suspicion ratings, analyses of variance on helping latencies were redone with suspicion covaried out. The pattern of results remained the same with this pattern covaried out, and in fact the marginal prejudice by race by Alone/Together condition now appeared statistically reliable. SEE CHART THREE. Thus the predicted pattern of results, with differential helping of black and white victims in the Together condition, remained even after the effects of the subject's suspicion scores were removed.

Another reason for not assisting the black victim would be if the severity of the emergency was perceived as less. In fact, there was a marginal effect for race (p. 09), indicating that blacks were seen as being involved in less severe emergencies than whites. Thus, if it were the case that latency to

help and severity were associated, with faster helping in more severe emergencies, this would be a sufficient non-race related reason not to assist the blacks as quickly. The data, however, do not support this conclusion. For both black and white victims in the Alone condition, and for white victims in the Together condition, faster helping was associated with emergencies perceived as more severe. However, when the victim was black and in the Together condition, this relationship was not present, and in fact, slower latencies showed a slight association with severely perceived emergencies. Thus, while subjects do tend to misperceive the severity of the emergency, their helping latencies are not associated with this misperception--thus, there must be something else which is effecting their helping of the black victims in the Together condition.

Thus the behavioral results in the video study suggest that the indirect model is once again predicting the correct pattern of helping latencies. Furthermore, while there is some evidence for subjects accepting response tendency one, and differentially perceiving the severity of the emergency, this does not account for the slower helping of the black victims. Furthermore, since the subjects do in fact respond to the blacks differently from the whites, they must be finding other non-race related reasons not to assist the black as quickly. While differential suspicion is one possibility, this does not appear to account for all of the differences in the helping latencies either.

It was found that baseline heart rate showed a significant race by Alone/Together interaction; therefore, the following heart rate analyses have removed the effects of baseline heart rate. One set of findings for heart rate was particularly interesting in the video study. In the Alone conditions,

greater immediate and overall heart rate response was associated with faster helping for both the black and white victims, with faster helping being associated with greater heart rate changes. However, in the together condition, greater heart rate responses were no longer associated with faster helping, but if anything, tended to be associated with slower helping.

Conclusions to Study Two

Paralleling the results in the audio study, the video study found an effect for race of the victim, the absence or presence of others, and an interaction between these two variables. However, the difference was not found in the frequency of helping, but rather in the latency to help. In this study, white victims were helped more quickly than black victims, and victims in the Alone condition were helped more quickly than victims in the Together condition. Also, black and white victims were helped equally quickly in the Alone conditions, but whites were helped more quickly than blacks in the Together conditions.

Furthermore, there is also evidence as to how racial attitudes mediate this process of helping. Firstly, while subjects tend to see emergencies with white victims as more severe than those with black victims, there appear to be other processes operating which reduce the helping of black victims, as even those black victims seen as involved in severe emergencies when others are present are not helped quickly. Secondly, while subjects are more suspicious that the emergency was staged when the victim was black, this does not appear to account entirely for the difference in behavior toward the black and white victims--when this variable is covaried out in further analyses, there continue to be the same differences in behavior toward the black and white victims. Furthermore, as in Study One, there does not appear to be the opportunity to

diffuse the responsibility to other helpers, as subjects in the video study could see that the other bystanders were not helping, and reported later that they did not expect anyone else to help. As in Study One, we seem to be left with the explanation that the subjects were differentially responding to the implied norm of nonintervention--they were more willing to violate this norm when the victim was white, and less willing to violate it when she was black.

Summary and Conclusions

Both the audio study and the video study showed the predicted effects of race on helping behavior. Black victims were helped less often and less quickly in the audio study, and less quickly in the video study. This effect occurred only when others were present, and not when the subject experienced the emergency by herself. It has been argued that the subjects found, in differential conformity to the implicit norm of nonintervention, a non-race related reason for failing to assist the black victim. It would appear that finding this non-race related reason for not helping is essential for the white bystanders to discriminate against the black victim. There appears to be a very high cost associated with not helping the black victim when this not helping is attributable to racial antipathy. If, however, the bystander can find some non-race related reason for not assisting the black victim, so this racial antipathy cost is avoided, she will tend to help the black victim less than the white victim. This cost analysis, coming from the Piliavin's model, was extremely important in predicting a prejudice pretest score effect in the video study. Prejudice pretest scores have been notably useless in predicting differential behavior toward blacks and whites. However, it was predicted that the continued visual presence of the black victim lying on the ground would be so costly to the low prejudice scorers (i.e., the aversive racists) that they could not tolerate

it. In fact, the results indicated that these individuals helped the black victims in the together condition with approximately the same latency as the white victims.

Thus, taken together, both of these studies lend strong support to the Piliavins cost/reward model. However, its application to racial effects in helping behavior studies appears not to work unless the Gaertner and Dovidio indirect model of the effect of racial attitudes on helping behavior is also applied.

Study IV: The Subtlety of White Racism: The Likelihood of Whites to Request or to Accept Help from a Black or White Fellow Worker. (Technical Report #3, July 1977).

Some contemporary investigators have accumulated evidence that supports Myrdal's (1944) conclusion regarding the conflicted nature of white America's toward blacks. Katz and his associates (Katz, 1970; Katz, Cohen & Glass, 1975; Katz, Glass & Cohen, 1973) characterized the racial attitudes of most whites as neither uniformly favorable nor all negative, but as ambivalent. In particular, a high level of ambivalence was found to exist among people who scored high on prejudice toward blacks and also high on sympathy with the black underdog. In addition, it has been suggested by Gaertner (1976) and Gaertner and Dovidio (1977) that the racial attitudes of many low prejudiced scoring people may be characterized by a special type of ambivalence, termed aversiveness (cf. Kovel, 1970). For the aversive type there is presumed to be a conflict between negative feelings toward blacks, which are not always consciously salient, and a conscience which seeks to repudiate or dissociate these feelings from a non-prejudiced self-image. Thus, the aversive type would not be ex-

pected to discriminate against blacks in situations in which wrong-doing would be obvious (e.g., a situation with clear normative proscriptions). This would be in contradiction with their egalitarian self-image. In fact, here aversive-type racists may respond more favorably to a black than to a white given the added moral pressure to avoid wrong-doing with regard to a black person. Thus, reverse discrimination is likely to be manifested. However, the aversive type may be expected to discriminate against blacks when norms dictating appropriate behavior are ambiguous or non-existing. In this situation, the egalitarian self-image is neither confronted nor challenged.

For the present study, a survey administered to university students revealed that in non-emergency situations the act of accepting assistance that is offered is regarded as normatively appropriate, while the appropriateness of actively soliciting assistance was considerably less clear.

The present study investigates the willingness of high and low prejudice scoring people to accept assistance, and thus subordinate themselves to a black or a white partner. This partner is available to assist the subject complete a task under conditions in which: (a) the partner spontaneously offers his unsolicited assistance, or (b) the subject must actively solicit the partner's assistance if help is to be forthcoming. In particular, it was expected that the extent to which high and especially low prejudiced scoring subjects would accept assistance from a black relative to a white partner would be greater in a situation in which help was offered than in a situation in which help must be actively solicited. Thus, a Race x Offer interaction is predicted.

Subjects

Eighty white males who scored at the bottom or top thirds of an eleven item inventory regarding attitudes toward blacks were selected and were assigned

to one of the conditions in the experiment which manipulated race of the partner (white or black) and whether help was offered or had to be solicited.

Procedure

Subjects, informed that the experiment investigated group performance, were presented with a tape-recorded introduction which explained that they would be part of a two-person group with limited communication. They would work alone for the first five minutes and then they would have the opportunity to work with their partner--if they so desired. The experimenter next demonstrated a system of switches and lights that the subject could use to communicate to his partner in the other room the intention of working together (see Figure 3).

In the condition in which the subject had the opportunity to accept unsolicited help, a light on the subject's panel was illuminated after the initial five minutes which indicated that his partner had successfully completed the task and was offering help. In the condition in which the subject would have to solicit help actively, the light indicated only that the partner had successfully completed the task. In both conditions, the subject could communicate his desire for help by activating a switch and talking into a microphone. In addition, upon an exchange of I.D. cards "to determine if the participants were strangers", the subject was presented with a picture of one of two black or two white confederates. This was the race manipulation.

Finally, subjects were given a "pattern recognition" task for which they received a booklet containing six pages of random letters. They were instructed to circle a specified number of target letters (e.g., 24 I's) on each page. After completing the task or signalling the desire for help, the subject was asked to complete semantic differential descriptions of his partner and then

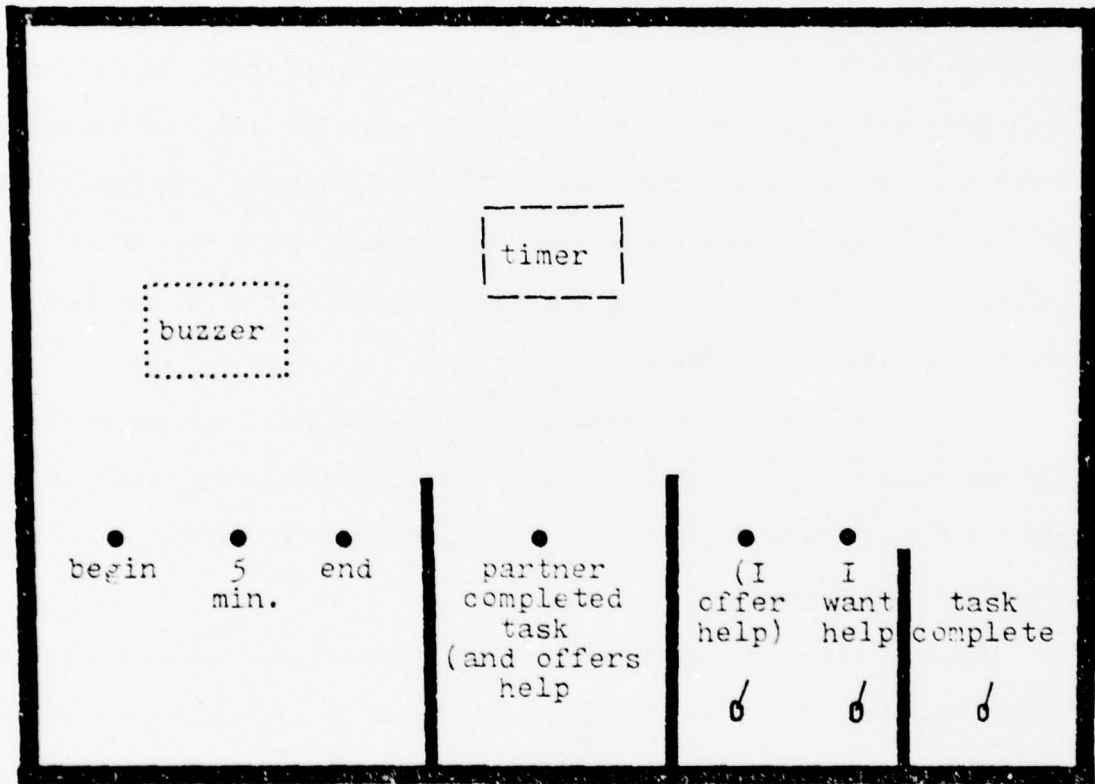


Figure 3. The apparatus the subject employed to communicate with his partner and with the experimenter.

of himself.

Results

The analysis of the frequency of actions to obtain help revealed no main effects for the type of offer (i.e., offer or no offer), race of partner, or prejudice of the subject. However, as expected, a significant race of partner x type of offer interaction, illustrated in Figure 4, was obtained ($\chi^2(1)=4.18$, $p<.05$). This pattern emerged for high and particularly for low prejudice scoring subjects (see Table 2). As presented in Figure 4, subjects who received an unsolicited offer of assistance accepted help more often from a black partner (80%) than from a white partner (55%). However, subjects were less likely to solicit help, when it was not offered, from a black (40%) than a white (60%) partner. A similar race x offer interaction was obtained for the latency of asking ($F(1,72)=3.75$, $p=.057$).

Two sets of impression formation indices were also employed in the study: (1) the subject's direct semantic differential evaluations of their partner, and (2) a relative score which was simply the subject's rating of his partner minus his self-evaluation.

The analysis of variance performed on subjects' evaluation factor scores (based on factor analysis) of the direct partner ratings revealed a race by offer interaction ($F(1,72)=6.23$, $p<.02$) that paralleled the findings of the asking for help measures. As illustrated in Figure 5, blacks who offered assistance were evaluated more favorably than were whites, while in the no offer conditions, blacks were described less favorably than whites.

When subjects' ratings of their partner relative to their self-rating was analyzed, a very different pattern of results emerged. For this more subtle measure, using the self as a referent, no race x offer interaction was

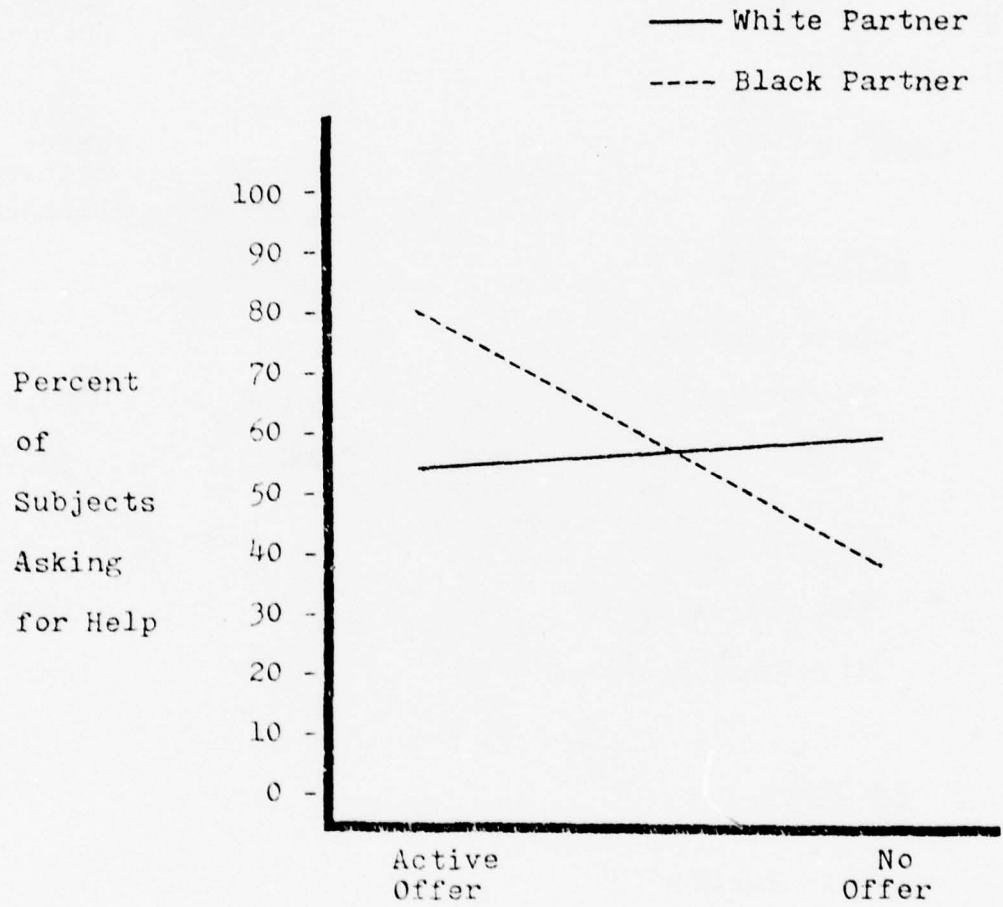


Figure 4. The percentage of subjects asking for help based on the race of the partner and the type of offer.

TABLE 2

Subjects' responses based on the type of offer, the race of the partner, and the prejudice score of the subject.

	<u>% Asking for Help</u>	<u>Latency (in sec.s)</u>	<u>Number of Letters Remaining</u>
<u>Active Offer</u>			
White Partner			
Low Prejudice	70%	256.8	109.2
High Prejudice	40%	409.7	59.1
Black Partner			
Low Prejudice	70%	230.3	119.9
High Prejudice	90%	231.8	128.6
<u>No Offer</u>			
White Partner			
Low Prejudice	50%	347.7	80.0
High Prejudice	70%	314.5	91.9
Black Partner			
Low Prejudice	10%	539.2	16.8
High Prejudice	70%	337.2	88.9

obtained ($p < .80$), but rather a significant main effect for race was demonstrated ($F(1,72) = 11.71, p < .01$). As presented in Figure 6, blacks were not only evaluated less favorably than whites in the No Offer condition ($p < .04$), but also when they actively offered assistance ($p < .07$).

Implications and Conclusions

In general, the pattern of asking for help was consistent with the theoretical framework provided by the concepts of ambivalence and aversive racism. As predicted, when the partner actively offered assistance, high and low scoring subjects accepted help more from black partners than from white partners. Nevertheless, when the partner was available, but did not spontaneously offer assistance, subjects solicited help less from black partners than from white partners. In this situation, participants could justifiably choose to work alone since the norms governing actively soliciting task assistance are relatively ambiguous.

In addition, the apparently contradictory patterns of results for the direct and relative impression measures may also be interpreted within this framework. Completing a semantic differential description of a partner, especially a black partner, may be a rather threatening and thus reactive measure. Thus, when a partner offers assistance, an apparently charitable act, the appropriate response for direct evaluation is clearly implied, and white subjects exhibit reverse discrimination. Furthermore, describing a black partner favorably on the direct measures may allow an individual to reinforce an egalitarian image. However, these same subjects appear unwilling to admit that the black is better, or even as good, as themselves. Consequently, they manifest their prejudice on the more indirect and subtle relative measure.

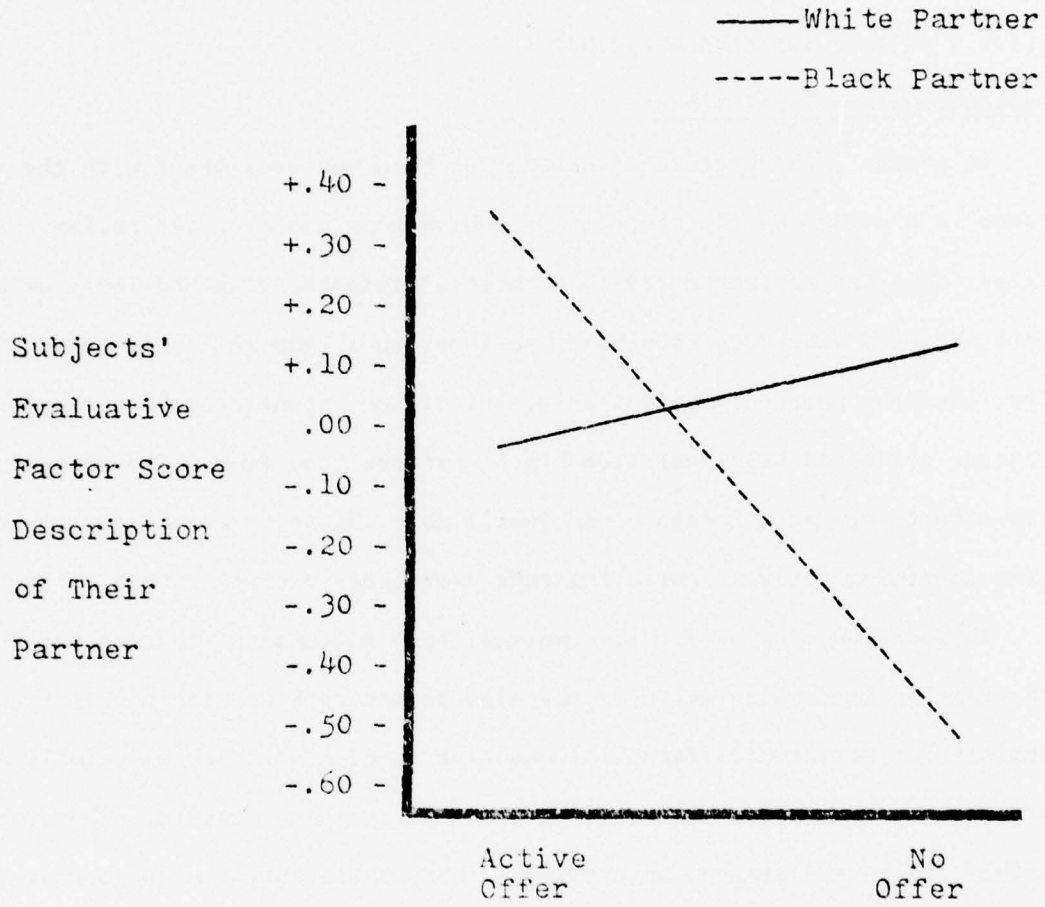


Figure 5. Evaluative factor score descriptions of black and white partners in the Active Offer and the No Offer conditions.

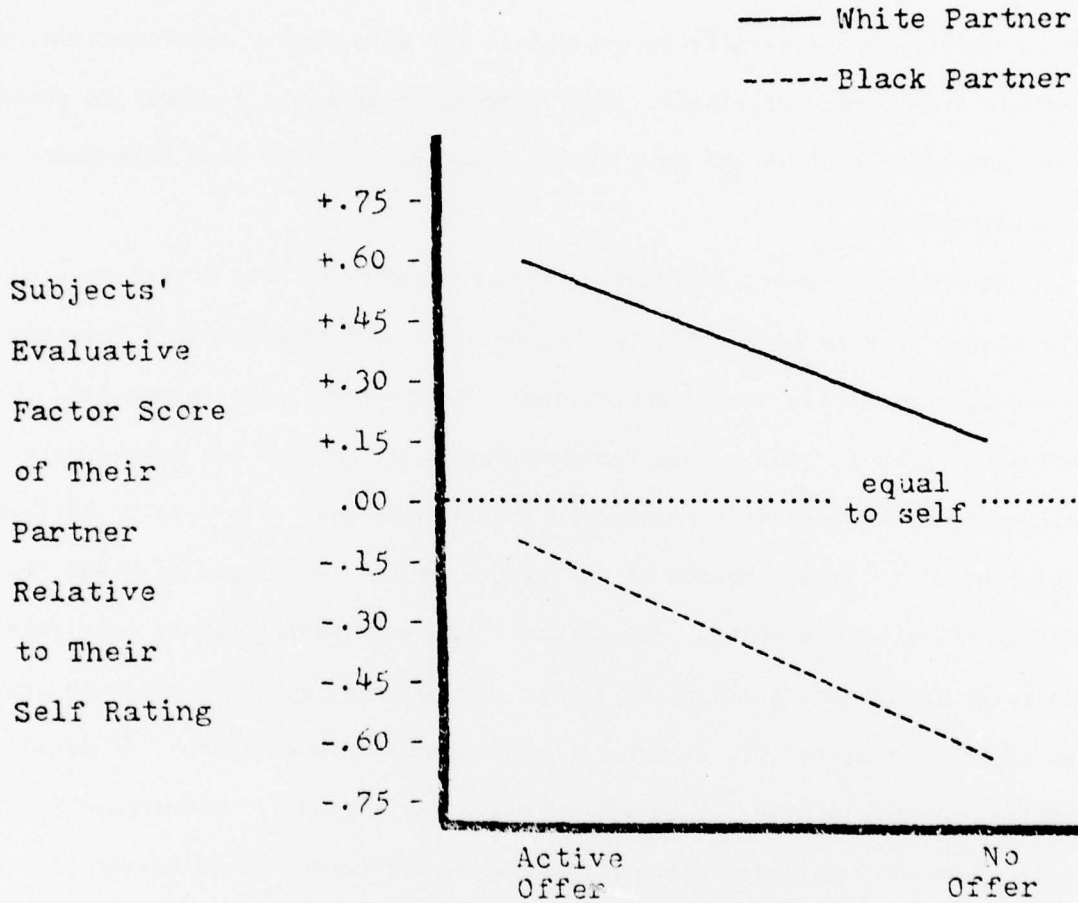


Figure 6. Evaluative factor score descriptions of partners relative to subjects' self ratings for black and white partners in the Active Offer and No Offer conditions.

Study V: The Subtlety of White Racism: Helping Behavior and Stereotyping by Whites Toward Black and White Supervisors and Subordinates.

(Technical Report #4, July 1977)

Given over 200 years of cultural, institutional, and individual racism, white America is apparently accustomed to the dependency, subordination, and assumed inferiority of blacks. Furthermore, large scale attempts to remedy the consequences of racism have by and large perpetuated this dependency and subordination.

Recently, however, affirmative action as well as less formal pressures for change seem to have initiated black-white relationships which may not be bound by stereotypic role expectations. Increasingly, whites may find themselves in school, job, or other situations in which they are subordinate to blacks possessing greater competence than themselves. Since it is believed that one of the major causes of individual racism is related to needs for self-esteem and relative status, any attempts to reverse stereotypic role relationships would present a severe threat to many whites, who then could be expected to respond negatively to blacks in these nontraditional roles. In addition, whites interacting with black subordinates may initially be expected to respond quite favorably to this relationship because it serves to reinforce previous relative-status expectations.

For example, in the sex-role literature, Hagen and Kahn (1975) demonstrated the importance of stereotypic expectations on responses to males and females. They found that male subjects responded less favorably to competent females than they did to competent males. However, males also responded more favorably to incompetent females than they did to incompetent males.

The purpose of the portion of the research to be presented is to investigate

the manner in which whites initially confront these nontraditional and traditional role relationships with black supervisors and subordinates, respectively.

Given the findings of Hagen and Kahn (1975) as well as the apparent threat engendered by reversing the traditional role relationship that has characterized black-white interactions, it is expected that in a non-emergency helping situation white subjects will respond less favorably to black than to white supervisors. In addition, whites are expected to respond more favorably to black than to white subordinates. Thus, a Race x Role interaction is hypothesized.

Subjects

Forty-eight white male subjects were selected for participation in partial fulfillment of their introductory psychology course requirements. All subjects were administered an eleven item Likert format questionnaire at the beginning of the semester regarding their attitudes toward blacks. Subjects were assigned to one of eight experimental conditions in a 2 (race of partner) x 2 (relative role of partner) x 2 (Prejudice score of subject, i.e., above or below median) factorial design.

Procedure

The subject and his partner (one of two white or two black confederates) were informed that the purpose of the experiment was to study the effects of the intellectual composition and group structure on group performance. Consequently, one person would be a supervisor and the other a worker.

In addition, subjects were led to believe that they scored about average on a test of abstract intelligence, a capacity related to performance on the group tasks. Furthermore, their partner was described as scoring well above average when the partner was to become the supervisor, while he was described as scoring well below average when he was to become the worker.

After completing a brief questionnaire while the experimenter was not present, the confederate, while reaching to replace his pencil, "accidentally" knocked a container of 75 pencils to the floor. He leaned over, mumbled, and proceeded around the table to pick up the pencils at a constant rate. This provided the subject with an unsolicited opportunity to be of assistance.

Prior to beginning the tasks, the subject was asked to complete six-point semantic differential descriptions of his partner, and then of himself.

Results

Two measures of helping were employed: (1) whether or not the subject helped, and (2) the number of pencils the subject assisted in picking up. An analysis of the frequency of helping responses revealed no main effect for race of the partner nor any main effect or interaction associated with the prejudice score of the subject. However, as illustrated in Table 3, the predicted race of partner x role of partner interaction was obtained ($X^2(1)=7.06$, $p<.01$). Although black partners of superior status were helped less than white supervisors ($p = ns$), subordinate blacks received help significantly more often than did white workers ($X^2(1)=6.04$, $p<.02$). The analysis of the number of pencils picked up yielded a nearly identical pattern of results ($F(\text{interaction})=4.09$, $p<.05$). It appears, then, that subjects did respond relatively more favorably to blacks when interacting in a manner consistent with stereotypic expectations.

In addition, subjects' semantic differential ratings of their partners, relative to themselves, suggest that black supervisors were responded to less favorably than were white supervisors. Actually, two sets of semantic differential descriptions were employed during the study. Subjects were first asked to rate their partner, and then later in the session they were asked to rate themselves. The results to follow are based on the difference between the

subject's partner rating and his self description. In general, the partner ratings yielded a similar but much less pronounced pattern of results.

During the introduction to the study, all subjects were told that they had scored about average in abstract cognitive intelligence and that their partner had scored very high when their partner was their supervisor, or that their partner had scored very low in abstract intelligence when the partner was to be the subordinate. As illustrated in Figure 7, however, subjects evaluated high ability blacks as being significantly less intelligent than white supervisors ($p < .04$). Furthermore, although subjects were willing to admit that high ability whites were slightly more intelligent than themselves, they described high ability blacks as being much less intelligent than themselves ($p < .05$). That is, whites were not only unwilling to admit that blacks were more intelligent than themselves, but they were even unwilling to admit that blacks were equal in intellectual ability.

For subjects who interacted with blacks within the stereotypic role relationship (i.e., with subordinate partners), black and white workers were evaluated equally low in intelligence. Both were rated as significantly ($p < .05$) less intelligent than the subject.

In addition, using the relative to self measure, black supervisors as compared to white supervisors were described not only as less intelligent, but also as less kind ($p < .03$), less important ($p < .05$), less good ($p < .12$), less reputable ($p < .07$), less reliable ($p < .007$), and less responsible ($p < .13$). Again, when the partner was subordinate, black and white workers were evaluated no differently on any of these dimensions.

Implications and Conclusions

As expected, white subjects responded differentially to the role relation-

White Racism

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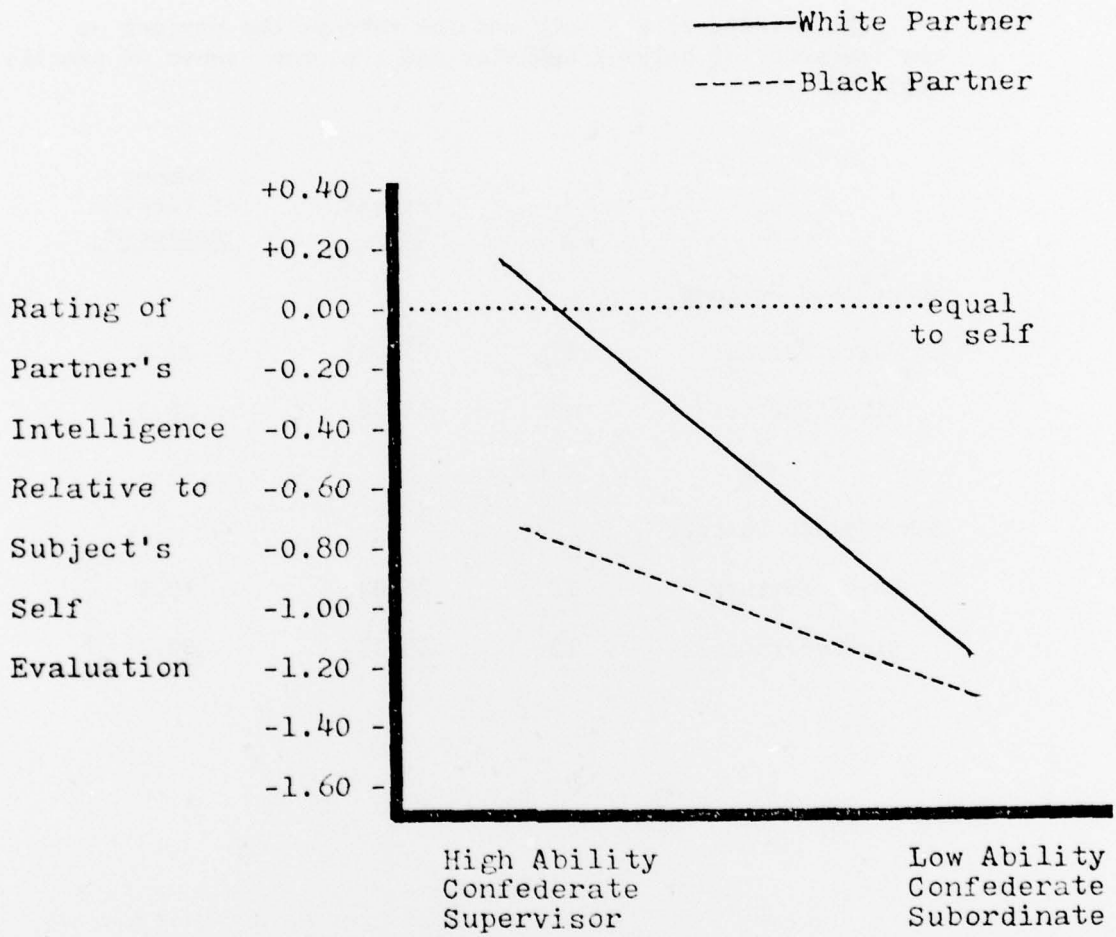
ship as a function of their partner's race. Based on the subject's helping behavior and personal evaluations, black supervisors were responded to less favorably than were white supervisors, while black subordinates were responded to more favorably than were white subordinates. In other words, whites responded negatively to blacks who assumed nontraditional roles, whereas whites responded positively to blacks assuming traditional subordinate and dependent positions. Thus, based upon stereotypic expectations, whites may continue to foster the perpetuation of the subordination of blacks.

Table 3

The effects of the role and the race of the partner on the frequency of helping behavior and the mean number of pencils assisted.

	<u>N</u>	<u>Percent Help</u>	<u>Number of Pencils Assisted</u>
Supervisor Partner			
White Partner	12	75.0%	27.8
Black Partner	12	58.3%	26.3
Subordinate Partner			
White Partner	12	25.0%	10.0
Black Partner	12	83.3%	32.2

Figure 7



Subjects' relative rating of intelligence
(partner minus self rating) for black and white partners.

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Publications and Paper Presentations Based Upon
O.N.R. Supported Research

- A. Gaertner, S. L. and Dovidio, J. F. The Subtlety of White Racism, Arousal and Helping Behavior. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 1977, 35(10) 691-707. (featured article)
- B. Paper Presentations
- Dovidio, J. F., & Gaertner, S. L. Effects of arousal attribution, ambiguity and victims race on helping. Paper presented at the Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association, September, 1976.
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