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The Subtlety of White Racism: The Likelihood of
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a Black or White Fellow Worker

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July, 1977

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20. Abstract

who were simply available to be asked were rated more favorably than similar blacks. When a relative measure was obtained (partner rating-self rating), blacks, regardless of condition, were rated less positively than white partners. Furthermore, for black partners who initiated involvement, a negative relationship between perceived willingness to help and favorableness of evaluation was obtained.

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INTRODUCTION

Researchers studying white people's behavior toward blacks, however, have traditionally conceptualized racial attitudes as univalent and unidimensional. Thus, for these theorists, the generally weak correlation between scale measures and other behaviors is difficult to reconcile. This failure of attitude-behavior correspondence is typically attributed to imperfections in measurement technique or to complicating situational factors. Nevertheless, it may also reside in their fundamental assumptions concerning the nature of prejudice.

Recently, Katz (1970) postulated that many whites' attitudes toward blacks are primarily ambivalent. Applying Freudian dynamics, he suggests that this ambivalence creates a tendency toward behavioral instability. Thus, many whites' behavior toward blacks is characterized by an amplification of both positive and negative responses, depending on the nature of the consequences of the black's behavior. For example, Katz, Cohen, and Glass (1975) found that blacks displaying socially desirable characteristics were helped more than comparable whites. However, when confederates engaged in a behavior that was not socially acceptable, blacks were helped less than whites. In support of the ambivalence concept, then, white

reactions were more extreme, in both a positive and a negative direction, when their interaction involved a black.

In addition, Gaertner (1973, 1976) suggests that the racial attitudes of many self-professed liberals may be characterized by a special type of ambivalence, called aversiveness (see Kovel, 1970). In particular, a conflict between negative feelings toward blacks, which are rarely salient, and a conscience which seeks to repudiate or dissociate such feelings from the egalitarian self-image is hypothesized. Thus, aversive racists are "impelled by a strong social conscience, consider themselves liberals, and despite their sense of aversion (which may not even be admitted inwardly) do their best within the given structure of society to ameliorate the conditions of the Negro" (Kovel, 1970, p. 55). Nevertheless, they are also motivated to avoid close, personal involvement with blacks, particularly in situations which threaten their status. This type of racism is presumed to be most prevalent in those regions of the country or in those institutions in which official norms favor non-discrimination.

Although aversive racists may believe that they are not prejudiced, they are motivated to seek alternative interpretations to situations in order to avoid personal

involvement with blacks. Furthermore, these alternatives must be justifiable to avoid threatening their egalitarian self-image. If, however, no justifiable alternative is available, as when normative prescriptions for appropriate behavior exist, the aversive racist will not discriminate against blacks.

This research investigates interracial behavior in a non-emergency situation. In particular, whites' willingness to solicit or accept help from blacks and whites is explored. In the present study, white subjects are given the opportunity to ask for assistance on a letter-search task from a black or a white partner who is available for assistance or who actively offers help.

Although helping behavior has been studied quite extensively (see Krebs, 1970; Bryan, 1972) and has often been employed in research on racial attitudes (Gaertner, 1973; West, Whitney, and Schnedler, 1975), help seeking behavior has stimulated little empirical inquiry. Nevertheless, a help-seeking paradigm may be particularly suitable for investigating interracial behavior since asking for help may not only require involvement with a black, but may also imply the relative subordination of

the seeker to the expertise of the person being asked. Since it is believed that one of the causes of individual racism is related to needs for self-esteem and relative status, ethnocentric whites may be especially resistant to asking help from blacks.

Gaertner (1976) suggests that an important determinant of whether racism will be manifested is the salience of norms in the behavioral context. Consequently, when norms prescribing appropriate behavior are ambiguous, conflicting, or weak, the aversive racist is likely to discriminate against a black. For example, Gaertner (1973), using a wrong number technique, found that white liberals terminated a telephone call with a black caller significantly more often than with a white caller before the person had an opportunity to express need for assistance. However, once help was solicited, liberals assisted blacks and whites almost equally. Gaertner suggests that the morality of hanging up on a person reaching a wrong number is difficult to specify. That is, norms dictating behavior are ambiguous. In this situation, discrimination occurred. Once the caller communicated the need for assistance, however, liberals behaved in a manner consistent with the norm of social responsibility (Berkowitz and Daniels, 1964). Thus, when the norms were salient,

liberals behaved in a manner consistent with their egalitarian self-image.

An important theoretical consideration of the aversive racism concept is that it allows prediction not only of situations in which racism will be manifested, but also of contexts in which racist behaviors would not be expected to occur. One implication of Gaertner's (1973) wrong number study, then, is that white liberals in situations in which appropriate behavior is clearly defined may be motivated to maintain and, if necessary, restore their egalitarian self-image which may not only result in the person's not discriminating against blacks, but may also produce reverse discrimination. In order to reaffirm the threatened self-concept, the individual may discriminate in favor of blacks.

In a series of studies, Dutton (1971, 1973, 1974) found evidence of reverse discrimination in situations which potentially threatened an individual's egalitarian self-image. In a field study of white restaurateurs' reactions to inappropriately dressed blacks and whites seeking admittance to the restaurants, he found that blacks were allowed entrance 75% of the time while whites were admitted only 30% of the time. Dutton suggests that the restaurateurs' reverse discrimination was an attempt to

avoid the attribution (by others and possibly himself) that he was refusing service on the basis of race rather than dress. Consistent with this explanation, when blacks were preceded by a white dress violator 45 minutes earlier, the rate of admittance for blacks dropped to 40%. Presumably, the restaurateur had demonstrated his role as the enforcer of the dress code to others and himself so his egalitarian image would not be threatened.

Similarly, in a laboratory experiment, Dutton (1973) found that self-professed egalitarians donated more money to blacks when their self-image was threatened than when it was not. In fact, these image-threatened subjects were more altruistic to blacks than they were to whites, while the groups experiencing no threat contributed less to blacks than to whites. Thus, subjects who experienced threat to their valued self-concept exhibited reverse discrimination in an effort to restore their image.

Within the theoretical framework provided by the concept of aversive racism, then, whether or not an individual will discriminate against a black is systematically related to the behavioral context. When the situation provides latitude for interpretation, as when

norms are ambiguous, an individual may readily find a justifiable reason for avoiding involvement with a black, without threatening his egalitarian self-image. Thus, discrimination may occur, and yet the individual is insulted from feeling personally responsible for the consequences. However, when norms prescribing appropriate behavior are salient, rejection of involvement with a black may threaten an egalitarian's self-image. Consequently, depending on the severity of the threat, reverse discrimination or no discrimination would be expected.

In the present study, white male subjects will be introduced into a situation in which they will first work alone and then be allowed: (a) to ask for assistance from a partner who is black or white and whom they know is available to help, or (b) to accept assistance that is actively offered by their black or white partner. In the first situation, therefore, subjects will have to actively solicit help from a stranger, if it is desired. Presumably, norms pertaining to males' asking for help in this type of context are weak and may, in fact, favor individual effort. When help is offered, though, not accepting help may imply the rejection of the benefactor.

Based on the theoretical framework provided by

the concept of aversive racism, it is predicted that when the subject must initiate interaction to obtain assistance, help will be solicited less from blacks than from whites. However, it is also predicted that when help is offered by a black or white partner, not only will there be more help accepted overall, but help from black benefactors will be accepted more than from white offerers. As in Dutton's (1971) restaurant study, rejection of the black may particularly threaten an individual's egalitarian image. Consequently, a race of partner by offer-or-no-offer of help interaction is hypothesized for subjects' help seeking behavior. This pattern is expected to be most pronounced for low prejudice scoring subjects.

As another dependent measure, subjects will also be asked to volunteer additional time to participate with the same partner at a later date. Since no compensation for participation will be offered, it is expected that subjects can readily justify non-compliance without threatening their egalitarian self-image, when the partner is black. Consequently, for the number of hours volunteered, a pattern of results similar to the predictions for the no offer conditions is hypothesized. When subjects have the opportunity to justify non-involvement, it is expected that they will respond less positively to black

partners than to white partners.

In addition, subjects will be requested to complete semantic differential descriptions of their partners. In general, it is expected that partners in the active offer conditions will be described more favorably than will partners in the no offer conditions. However, since black partners who offer assistance may create a situation which threatens the subject, it is predicted that they will be evaluated less positively than will white partners who offer assistance.

METHOD

Subjects

Eighty white, male subjects who were enrolled in introductory psychology classes at the University of Delaware were selected to participate in the study, in partial fulfillment of their course requirements. All subjects were chosen on the basis of their scores on an 11-item Likert format questionnaire, administered at the beginning of the semester, 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.

Design

The present study employed a 2x2x2 factorial design. One factor manipulated included the race of the subject's partner. Subjects were led to believe that the other subject involved in the session was either a white or a black male. As a second factor, the subject had an opportunity to seek assistance from a partner who either actively offered help or who was simply available to be asked.

Finally, the subjects' scores on the 11-item prejudice inventory were employed to select as high and low prejudice samples those individuals scoring in either the top or the bottom third of the distribution.

Procedure

All subjects were received, by one of two female experimenters under the guise of an experiment investigating the effects of communication on group performance entitled the COM study. Subjects were then escorted into the experimental cubicle and seated in front of a panel containing a timer, a buzzer, and several lights and switches (see Figure 1). On the left hand side of the panel, three lights signaled the time to begin, when five minutes had elapsed, and the time to stop, respectively. In the center of the panel a timer allowed the subject to monitor how much time remained. Finally, on the right hand side there were three switches which the subject could control and three lights. One light indicated to half the subjects that their partner had successfully completed the task. For half the subjects, the label informed them, in addition, that the partner was offering help. Another set of two lights and accompanying switches could be used to communicate that the subject wanted help from the partner or, in the active offer conditions, that the subject was willing to give help to his partner. Since

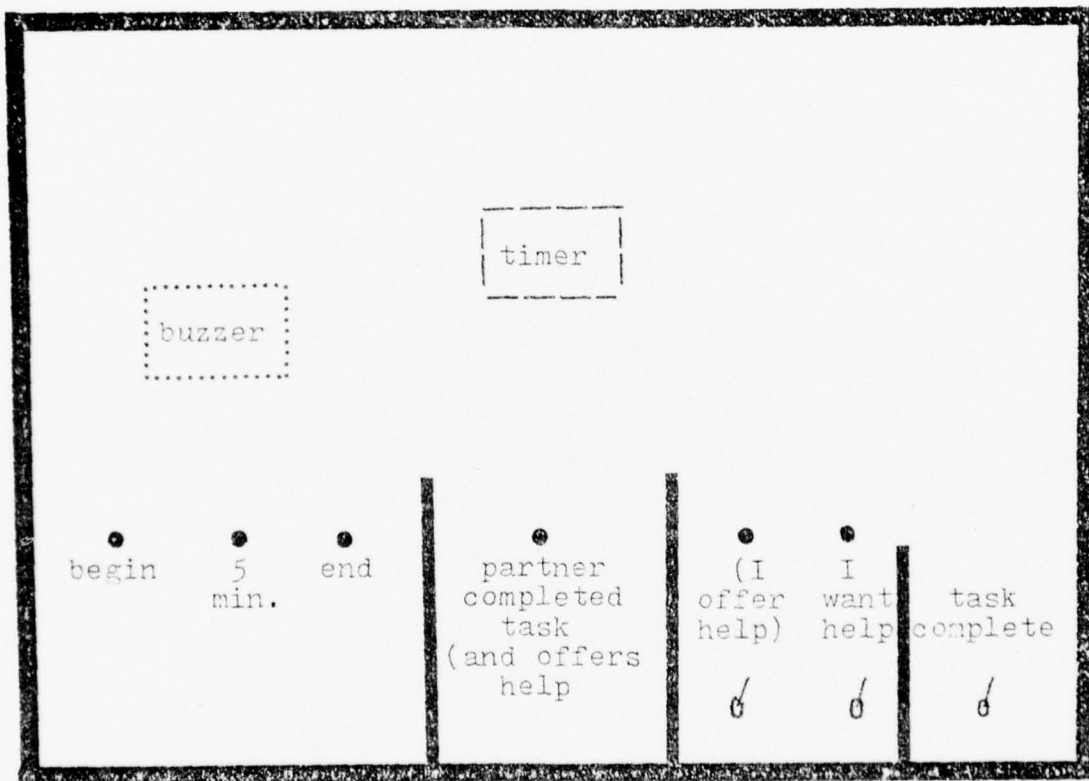


Figure 1. The apparatus the subject employed to communicate with his partner and with the experimenter.

the experiment was designed such that the partner always completed the task before the subject, no subject had an opportunity to use this switch. Finally, on the far right hand side of the panel was a switch the subject could employ to indicate that he had finished the task.

All subjects were led to believe that this apparatus would be used when communicating with the partner. In reality, though, no other subject existed, and the subject's panel was connected instead to the experimenter's control panel outside the cubicle.

The experimenter then activated a tape recording of the instructions for the study:

Tape Transcript

We are primarily interested in the effects of communication on group performance. Therefore, for the remainder of the study, you will be part of a two person group, and we will be comparing your group's performance to the performance of other groups in various communication conditions. In particular, you and your partner, the other subject, will be in a limited communication condition. That is, some groups will be able to work together for the entire session. For other groups, no interaction is permitted. And for other groups, like yours, interaction will be permitted for only the last

part of the session.

Let me now explain the procedure in more detail. The actual work session will last 15 minutes. You will be able to monitor the time with this clock. For the first five minutes of the session you and your partner must work on the tasks individually. When you finish your task, please signal this by pressing the task completed button. This will signal to me, the experimenter, to record the time. At the end of the first five minutes, a light on your panels and a buzzer will signal to you and your partner that the first part of the session is completed.

Active Offer Conditions

At this time, if you have signaled to me that you have completed your task, you may press the button that signals your partner that you are willing to help him if he has not finished. Similarly, when your partner gets done, he may offer help to you, if you are not done, by activating the light and buzzer on your panel. Two important points: (1) you cannot offer or ask for assistance until after the first five minutes; and (2) you don't have to offer or ask for help--in fact, many of the tasks we are using are designed to be more

confusing when two people work on them.

Once help is offered, before you are actually allowed to work together, the other person must also have activated the "help wanted" button. Remember, even though a person hasn't finished the task and knows that help is available, he may choose to continue to work alone for as long as he wants. Again, many times the nature of the task is a critical factor.

No Offer Conditions (Subject must actively solicit help)

At this time, if one person has successfully completed the task, the other person may, at any time, ask for help by pressing the button that activates the light and buzzer on the partner's panel. Two important points: (1) you cannot ask for assistance until after the first five minutes; and (2) you don't have to ask for help--in fact, many of the tasks we are using are designed to be more confusing when two people work on them.

Once one person is finished, before you

are actually allowed to work together, the other person must also have activated the "help wanted" button. Remember, even though a person hasn't finished the task, he may choose to continue working alone for as long as he wants. Again, many times the nature of the task is a critical factor.

The experimenter then continued, "If I see that both the "help wanted" lights are activated on my panel, the time clock will temporarily be stopped while I enter the cubicles and organize you both to work together.

In summary, then, we are looking at the effects of communication on group performance. Therefore, we will be comparing your group's performance to the performance of other groups. The task session will last 15 minutes, and for the first five minutes you and your partner must work alone in separate cubicles. After five minutes, which will be signaled, if you are not done you may signal, under certain conditions, that you want your partner's assistance. You may also prefer to work alone. This is perfectly acceptable. (For the active offer conditions: "When you finish your task, you may also offer assistance, although this is not required.") Only when one subject requests help and the other subject offers it

(or, has completed his task) will you be allowed to interact. At that point, time will be stopped while I, the experimenter, tell you what to do before you continue together."

After listening to the tape recorded instructions, subjects were allowed to ask any questions for clarification. The experimenter then re-emphasized that since the subject was in a limited communication condition, no response could be made before the signal that five minutes had elapsed. In addition, she reviewed the meaning and operation of the lights and switches, ensuring that the subject understood that the ask-for-help switch also activated the microphone for a short period. If the subject selected this switch, he was also told that he should verbally ask for assistance into the microphone to "get the subject's and my attention."

The experimenter then gave the subject a task booklet and explained the procedure. The booklet contained six pages of sets of five to ten random letters. On the top of the page, in addition, were different instructions. On the first page, subjects were instructed to find 24 I's, on the second page 44 N's, on the third page 34 A's, on the fourth page 60 K's, on the fifth page 13 Q's, and on

the sixth page 38 O's. All subjects were informed that there were at least the specified number of the critical letter on the appropriate page, and often there were more. Their task was to follow the instructions at the top of the pages to the best of their ability, developing any system they wanted to find or keep track of the target letter. The task was successfully completed when they had finished all six pages. This task was selected on the basis of piloting which indicated that it minimized intersubject variability due to skill or intelligence. The length of the task was selected because during piloting no subject completed it in less than 18 minutes.

In order to increase subjects' involvement with this rather tedious task, the experimenter called the subject's attention to the front page of the booklet and explained that the task had been selected because it had been demonstrated to be related to abstract cognitive ability. Abstract cognitive ability, as presented to the subject, is "a decision making or puzzle solving capacity in which recognition of patterns in complex fields is of primary importance." In addition, each subject was informed that his partner would be working on the exact same task, except that, based on a random selection procedure, his would be slightly shorter. If

subjects wished to continue in the study, they were then asked to complete a certificate of informed consent.

Finally, the experimenter explained that since the study involved communication, it was important that the subjects participating did not know each other or even meet before they decided whether or not to work together. Consequently, to make certain that they did not know each other, subjects would exchange I.D. cards before the study began. The subject was then given the I.D. card of one of two white or two black male confederates and asked to look at the picture very carefully to determine whether or not he knew his partner. After informing the experimenter that he did not know the confederate, the experimenter then took the subject's I.D. to show it to the other "subject" before beginning the task. The confederate's I.D. was left on the table in front of the subject for the remainder of the study. Three minutes after the experimenter left the subject's cubicle, she activated the light and buzzer which signaled the subject to set his timer and begin his task.

Four minutes and 50 seconds into the task, the experimenter signaled the subject with the light and the buzzer that the first five-minute period was over. Ten

seconds later, she activated the light and the buzzer that indicated to the subject that his partner had successfully completed his task, and, for half the subjects, that he was offering his assistance. If at any time in the next 10 minutes the subject indicated with his switch that he wanted help from the subject, the experimenter recorded the latency, and entered the subject's room to make sure that he had stopped working on the task. She then explained to him that after she stopped the other subject she would return to set up the room so that they could work together for the second part of the study. In addition, before she left she gave the subject two sets of semantic differential items and described the procedure for completing them while he was waiting. The first set of 10 adjective pairs was used to describe the task. The second set of 26 adjective pairs were employed to indicate his impressions of his partner. If the subject did not ask for help, the semantic differentials were administered to the subject in his cubicle after the 15-minute time period had elapsed.

Shortly after the experimenter left the subject's room, a female debriefer entered and introduced herself as the experimenter's assistant. As soon as the subject

completed his descriptions of the task and his partner, she explained that she would like to ask him a few more questions about the task in another room while the experimenter set up in his cubicle. She then escorted the subject to a nearby cubicle to conduct a brief interview and to ultimately debrief the subject.

The first part of the debriefing phase involved gathering more information about the subject and his responses to the task and his partner. The debriefer first asked the subject to complete another semantic differential form which was identical to the one employed to describe his partner except that this time the subject was asked to describe himself. In addition, subjects were asked to volunteer additional time to participate with the same subject. Finally, subjects were asked to evaluate how much help they felt they needed from their partner on a seven point rating scale (1=very little, 4=moderate, 5=very much) as well as how willing they thought their partner was to help (1=very unwilling, 4=neutral, 7=very willing).

Debriefing then proceeded employing a funnel technique, as the debriefer began with "just a couple of questions about the procedure before we continue (or end)."

She first asked the subject to describe what he expected to do next. This was followed by questions asking the subject to speculate about the hypotheses of the study. Then the subject was asked if there was "anything unusual about the way the study was run."

Debriefing then focused on why subjects did or did not ask for help. This was asked using an open-ended question and subjects were encouraged to verbalize their feelings. Finally, in another attempt to get subjects to express any suspicions, subjects were asked what they would do if they were informed that there was nothing more for them to do (i.e. for those who asked for help, there would be no second task phase) and they would still receive credit.

At this point, the true nature of the study was revealed. Subjects were encouraged to ask questions and to make comments, and the remainder of the session was devoted to addressing the individual subject's ideas and feelings.

Several measures of subjects' willingness to ask for help were employed. The latency with which subjects asked for help, after the first five minute period, was recorded as well as whether or not the subject asked for help. If the subject did not ask for help in the 10

minute period in which it was available, a latency score of 600 seconds (10 minutes) was assigned. In addition, two other measures were used to assess how much help the subject was willing to solicit. The number of items, out of the initial 213, that were left when the subject asked for assistance was used as a dependent measure. If the subject did not ask for help, a score of 0 was assigned. Also, the participant's subjective impression of how much help they felt they needed was employed in subsequent analyses.

RESULTS

Five subjects, distributed fairly evenly across conditions, completed their task alone within the experimental session. One of these subjects was in the Active Offer-White Partner condition, two were in the No Offer-White Partner condition, and two were in the No Offer-Black Partner condition. Furthermore, these subjects completed their task, on the average, only 36.3 seconds before the end of their 15-minute session. For subsequent analyses of the latency of asking for help, then, these subjects were assigned the time it took to complete the task, instead of the 600 seconds assigned to other subjects who did not solicit assistance.

A multivariate analysis performed on the primary dependent measures employed in the study revealed no main effect nor interactions associated with the experimenters. Consequently, this factor was not included in subsequent analyses. Similarly, a preliminary nested-factor analysis of variance showed no systematic effects due to the particular I.D. card picture employed. This factor was also excluded in later analyses.

Multivariate analysis of subjects' semantic differential description of the task revealed no systematic effects associated with the experimental conditions. In general, though, the letter circling task was described on seven point scales as more simple than complex ($\bar{X}=2.86$), more concrete than abstract ($\bar{X}=3.60$), more unintelligent than intelligent ($X=2.93$), more rigid than flexible ($\bar{X}=2.95$), more boring than exciting ($\bar{X}=2.53$), more dislikable than likable ($\bar{X}=2.96$), more cold than hot ($\bar{X}=3.64$), more easy than difficult ($X=3.25$), more weak than strong ($\bar{X}=3.59$), and more long than short ($\bar{X}=5.49$).

As expected, subjects attributed greater willingness to help to partners in the Active Offer conditions than to partners in the No Offer conditions ($\bar{X}s=5.68$ vs. 4.53 , $F(1,72)=11.513$, $p=.001$). No main effects nor interactions involving the race of the partner were obtained for this measure.

A Sutcliffe (1957) technique for partitioning chi squares was employed to evaluate the effects of the race of the partner, the type of offer, and the prejudice score of the subject on the frequency of asking for help. The frequency associated with each cell is presented in Table 1. Although no main effect for race was obtained

this analysis revealed the predicted Race by Offer interaction ($\chi^2(1)=4.18, p<.05$). As illustrated in Figure 2, subjects who received an active offer of assistance asked for help more often from a black partner (80%) than from a white partner (55%). However, white subjects were less likely to solicit help, when it was not offered, from a black (40%) than a white (60%) partner. Thus, when the partner offered assistance, and thereby defined appropriate behavior, white subjects were more willing to accept help from blacks than from whites; but when the subject had to solicit help and relevant norms dictating interaction were less salient, subjects were less likely to initiate interaction with blacks. In addition, 2(race of partner)x2(type of offer)x2(prejudice score of the subject) analyses of variance were performed on the latency with which subjects asked for help and the subject's assessment concerning how much help was needed. Another analysis also concerned the number of letters the subject had left to circle in the session as a measure of the amount of help for which subjects were willing to ask. The means associated with each cell, for these three measures, are presented in Table 1. Analogous to the results for the frequency of asking, the race x offer interaction was also demonstrated for the number of letters ($F(1,72)=4.88, p=.031$), for the time to request

TABLE 1

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>Hours</u>
<u>Active Offer</u>				
White Partner				
Low Prejudice	70%	256.8	109.2	2.40
High Prejudice	40%	409.7	59.1	1.00
Black Partner				
Low Prejudice	70%	230.3	119.9	1.10
High Prejudice	90%	231.8	128.6	1.90
<u>No Offer</u>				
White Partner				
Low Prejudice	50%	347.7	80.0	2.10
High Prejudice	70%	314.5	91.9	1.30
Black Partner				
Low Prejudice	10%	539.2	16.8	1.60
High Prejudice	70%	337.2	88.9	1.80

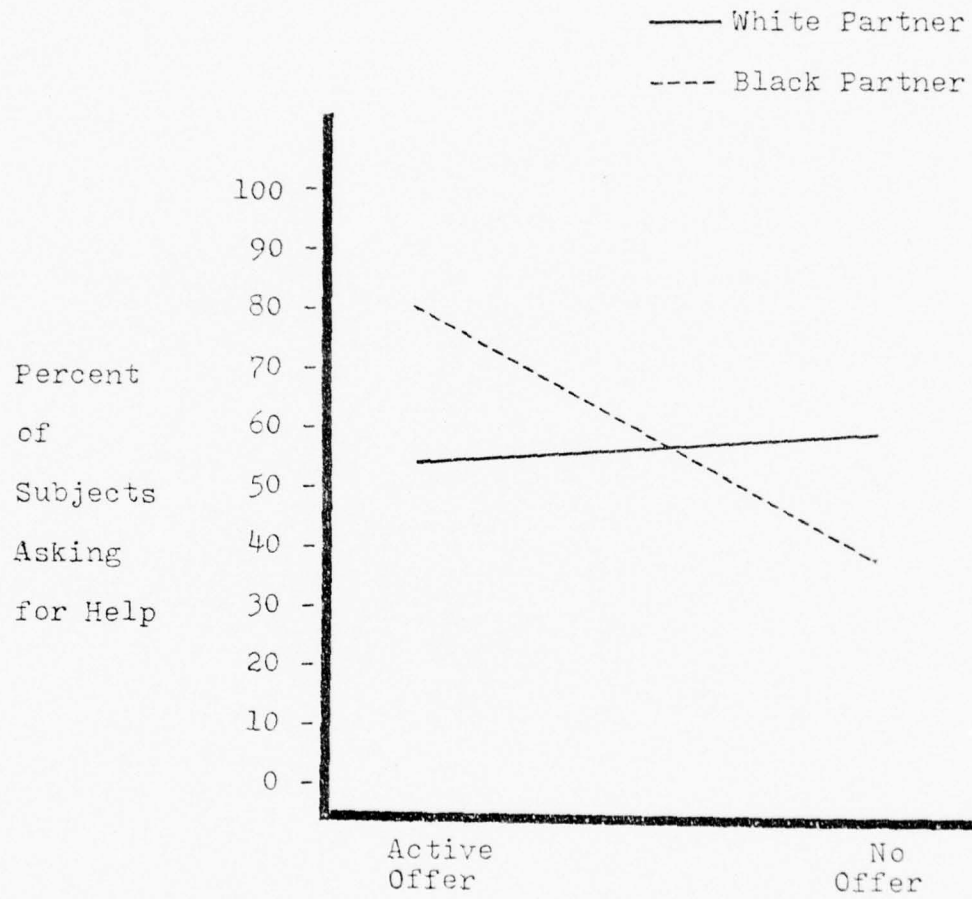


Figure 2. The percentage of subjects asking for help based on the race of the partner and the type of offer.

assistance ($F(1,72)=3.75$, $p=.057$), and for the subjects' evaluations of the amount of help required ($F(1,72)=5.09$, $p=.027$). Thus, when the partner offered assistance subjects were willing to accept more help and more quickly from blacks than from whites. When subjects had to actively solicit help, however, they were more hesitant and asked for less help from blacks.

Furthermore, it appears that whether or not assistance was actively offered had little effect when the partner was white. For subjects with a white partner, no significant differences due to the type of offer were obtained for the frequency of asking for help (Active Offers=55% vs. No Offer=60%), for the latency of asking ($\bar{AO}=333.2$ vs. $\bar{NO}=331.1$ seconds), for the number of items ($\bar{AO}=84.2$ vs. $\bar{NO}=86.0$), or for subjects' assessments of the amount of help needed ($\bar{AO}=3.30$ vs. $\bar{NO}=3.15$). Nevertheless, when the partner was black the context made a significant difference. Black partners in the Active Offer condition, relative to black partners in the No Offer condition, were asked for help more often (80% vs. 40%, $X^2(1)$ with Yates correction=5.10, $p<.01$). In addition, they were asked with a shorter mean latency ($Xs=231.1$ vs. 439.2 secs, $F(1,72)=7.345$, $p<.01$) and on a greater number of items ($Xs=124.3$ vs. 52.9, $F(1,72)=9.289$, $p<.01$). Thus, it

appears that white subjects were particularly sensitive to contextual demands when the partner was black.

The analyses of the frequency of help also revealed a race of partner by prejudice score of subject interaction ($\chi^2(1)=4.18, p<.05$). Rather surprisingly, high prejudice subjects asked for help more frequently from blacks (80%) than from whites (55%), while low prejudice subjects requested help more from whites (60%) than from blacks (40%). No significant race by prejudice score interaction, however, was revealed by the analysis of the number of items ($F(1,72)=3.2221, p=.077$), of the latency for requesting help ($F(1,72)=2.194, p=.143$), or of the evaluation of need ($F(1,72)=0.516, p=.475$).

In addition, though, subjects were asked to volunteer additional time to participate with the same subject, at a later date. An analysis of the number of hours subjects volunteered did not support the predicted main effect for the race of the partner ($F(1,72)=0.092, p=.763$). However, a significant race of partner by prejudice score of subject interaction was obtained ($F(1,72)=5.863, p=.018$). This pattern was similar to the one obtained for the frequency of helping. Low prejudice subjects volunteered fewer hours for black ($\bar{X}=1.35$ hours) than for white ($\bar{X}=2.25$ hours) partners; high prejudice

subjects compiled with more hours for black ($\bar{X}=1.85$ hours) than for white ($\bar{X}=1.15$ hours) partners. Thus, in this context which readily provides justification for avoiding involvement, low prejudice subjects, relative to high prejudice subjects, exhibited greater discrimination against black partners.

In order to further investigate the relationship between subjects' prejudice and responses, correlations were performed employing each subject's score on the 11-item prejudice inventory administered at the beginning of the semester. For subjects with a black partner, a significant relationship between the prejudiced score and whether or not the subject asked for help emerged (point-biserial, $r(38)=-.38$, $p<.01$). Again, lower prejudiced subjects tended to ask for help less often from a black partner than did higher prejudice subjects. When the partner was white, virtually no relationship between prejudice score of subject and frequency of help existed (point-biserial, $r(38)=+.03$, $p=.44$). Furthermore, lower prejudice scoring subjects also tended to ask for help on fewer items when the partner was black ($r(38)=.27$, $p=.042$), while no similar relationship occurred for subjects with the white partner ($r(38)=-.05$, $p=.38$). Finally, lower prejudice scoring subjects tended to volunteer less

time with the black partner ($r(38)=.22$, $p=.084$), while this relationship was reversed for subjects with the white partner ($r(38)=-.23$, $p=.074$). These analyses again suggest that low prejudice subjects discriminated against blacks in the present study in a greater extent than high prejudice scoring subjects did. A nearly identical pattern of results, although slightly less pronounced, was obtained when the single prejudice item was correlated with subjects' responses.

Although this inverse relationship between prejudice and involvement with blacks is quite surprising, the theoretical framework provided by aversive racism suggests that this effect should be most prevalent in situations that have latitude for interpretation. Consequently, this pattern would be expected to be most pronounced in the no offer conditions. Indeed, as represented in Table 2, the magnitude of the correlations is greatest for subjects with the black partner in the no offer conditions. Nevertheless, contrary to expectations derived from the notion of aversive racism, the inverse relationship also exists in the active offer conditions, although not to a degree that is statistically reliable.

Impression Formation

Factor analysis was performed on subjects'

TABLE 2

Correlations between the subject's score on the eleven item prejudice inventory and whether or not the subject asked for help, the number of letters on which the subject asked for help, and the number of additional hours volunteered for subjects with white or black partners in the active offer or no offer conditions.

	<u>N</u>	<u>Asking for Help</u>	<u>Number of Letters Remaining</u>	<u>Hours</u>
Active Offer				
White Partner	20	+.28	-.26	-.29
Black Partner	20	-.34	+.17	+.32
No Offer				
White Partner	20	-.23	+.16	-.16
Black Partner	20	-.48**	+.44*	-.10

*p<.05

**p<.01

semantic differential ratings of their partner and on subjects' self-evaluations. These analyses yielded similar factor structures. For both sets of ratings, the most important factor appeared to be related to Osgood, Suci, and Tannenbaum's (1957) evaluative dimension. Adjective pairs that loaded primarily on this factor included good-bad, kind-cruel, trustworthy-untrustworthy, ambitious-lazy, and responsible-irresponsible. A second factor emerged that was related to potency. Adjective pairs such as hard-soft, severe-lenient, dominant-submissive, and tenacious-yielding were associated with this factor. The third dimension revealed by factor analysis techniques was related to intelligence and included intelligent-unintelligent, wise-foolish, successful-unsuccessful, and competent-incompetent adjectives. Finally, a fourth factor, accounting for the least amount of variance, was obtained. Although it did appear to be somewhat related to an activity dimension, it was not as clearly interpretable as the first three factors. Based on the results of these factor analyses, factor scores were computed for each subject. Thus, six composite scores were generated representing subjects' evaluative, potency, and intelligence description of their partners and themselves.

Analyses of variance were performed on the three factor scores associated with subjects' descriptions of

their partners. Partners who actively offered assistance were rated more positively on the evaluative dimension than were partners in the No Offer condition, although this difference was not statistically reliable ($F(1,72) = 2.627, p < .11$). Nevertheless, based on the individual adjective pairs, partners in the Active Offer condition, relative to partners in the No Offer condition, were rated as more active ($p < .03$), as kinder ($p < .02$), as more lenient ($p < .03$), and as more intentional ($p < .06$).

Although no statistical differences due to race of the partner were revealed for the evaluative and intelligence factors, subjects did evaluate black partners as being more potent than white partners ($\bar{X}s = +.188$ vs. $-.189, F(1,72) = 3.981, p = .049$). On the semantic differential items related to potency, blacks were rated as being more dominant ($p < .02$), more heavy ($p < .03$), and slightly more masculine ($p < .10$).

In addition, the analysis of the evaluative factor revealed a Race by Offer interaction that paralleled the findings for the asking for help measures ($F(1,72) = 6.225, p = .015$). In the No Offer condition, white partners were evaluated more positively than were black partners ($\bar{X}s = +.1675$ vs. $-.5083, F(1,72) = 5.205, p < .05$); in the

Active Offer condition, though, black partners were described slightly more positively ($\bar{X}_s = +.3538$ vs. $-.0156$, $F(1,72) = 1.550$, $p < .25$). The adjective pair items that demonstrated this interaction were responsible-irresponsible ($p < .002$), important-unimportant ($p < .05$), trusting-untrusting ($p < .02$), active-passive ($p < .02$), kind-cruel ($p < .02$), trustworthy-untrustworthy ($p < .04$), hot-cold ($p < .05$), reputable-disreputable ($p < .03$) and strong-weak ($p < .06$). It was, however, predicted that black partners in the Active Offer condition would be evaluated less favorably than comparable white partners, since they were creating a situation that was potentially threatening to white subjects.

Similar to the pattern obtained for the asking for help measures, subjects' responses were more extreme when they were with a black partner, as illustrated in Figure 3. Although there was no difference in the evaluation of the white partner based on the type of offer ($F(1,72) = 0.38$, $p > .50$), black partners who actively offered assistance were evaluated more favorably than were black partners who were simply available to be asked ($F(1,72) = 8.47$, $p < .01$). This amplification of responsiveness by subjects with the black partner is consistent with Katz' (1975) conceptualization of "ambivalence."

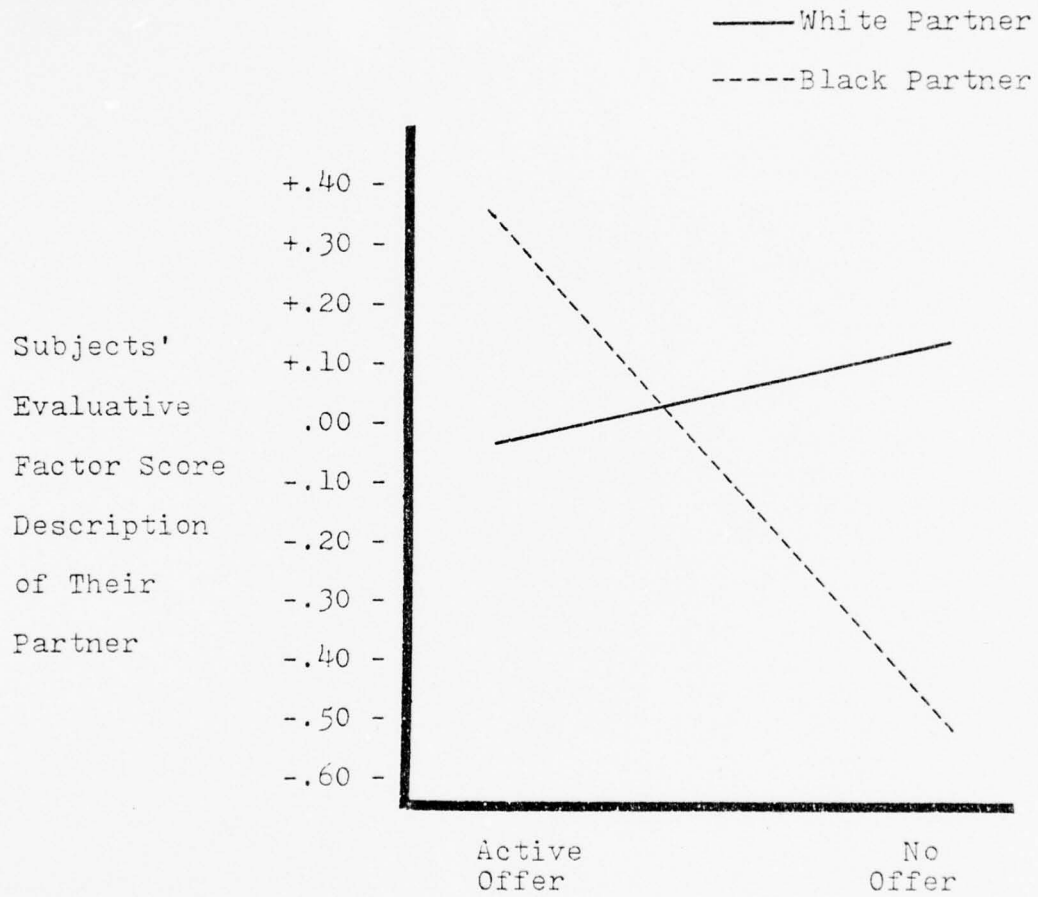


Figure 3 . Evaluative factor score descriptions of black and white partners in the Active Offer and the No Offer conditions.

Completing a semantic differential description of a partner, especially a black partner, may be a rather reactive measure. Particularly with evaluative and intelligence items, socially desirable responses are evident to the subject. Thus, according to the theoretical framework provided by the concept of aversive racism, subjects might be expected to discriminate against blacks in the favorableness of the description only when it is perceived as justifiable. When the partner offers assistance, an apparently charitable act, derogation of a black partner may not be justifiable, and therefore in this situation in which the appropriate response is so clearly defined no discrimination would be expected. Thus, the pattern of results for the evaluative factor is not inconsistent with the notion of aversive racism. However, if subjects were indeed responding aversively, then discrimination would be expected in some more indirect measure.

As an alternative measure of subjects' impressions of their partners, a relative rating index was calculated simply by subtracting the self-score from the partner's score. Thus, on an absolute scale a subject may describe a black as intelligent, and thereby reinforce his egalitarian self-concept. However, on the relative

scale, the same subject may be resistant to rating the same black as being more intelligent than himself, and thus manifest his prejudice unwittingly.

The same analyses were performed on the relative rating indices as were conducted on the direct partner ratings. The means associated with each cell are presented in Table 3. The pattern of results, illustrated in Figure 4, though, was remarkably different--when race was concerned. Similar to the findings for the direct measure, partners in the Active Offer condition were described more positively on the evaluative dimension than were partners in the No Offer condition ($F(1,72)=3.169$, $p=.079$). However, no Race by Offer interaction was obtained for the relative evaluative measure ($F(1,72)=0.055$, $p=.816$), as was revealed for the direct measure. Instead, a significant main effect of race was demonstrated ($F(1,72)=11.706$, $p=.005$). Not only were black partners evaluated less favorably than white partners in the No Offer condition ($F(1,72)=4.84$, $p<.04$), but, as predicted, blacks tended also to be described less positively than whites in the Active Offer condition ($F(1,72)=3.49$, $p<.068$). Furthermore, no effect for type of offer was obtained for subjects' relative evaluations of white partners ($F(1,72)=1.19$, $p<.27$) or for subjects'

TABLE 3

Subjects' Evaluative Scores for their Partner, their Self, and the Difference between their Partner and Self Scores, Based on the Type of Offer and the Race of the Partner

	<u>Partner Evaluative Score</u>	<u>Self Evaluative Score</u>	<u>Relative Evaluative Score</u>
Active Offer			
White Partner	-.016	-.604	+.588
Black Partner	+.354	+.468	-.115
No Offer			
White Partner	+.168	-.009	+.177
Black Partner	-.508	+.142	-.650

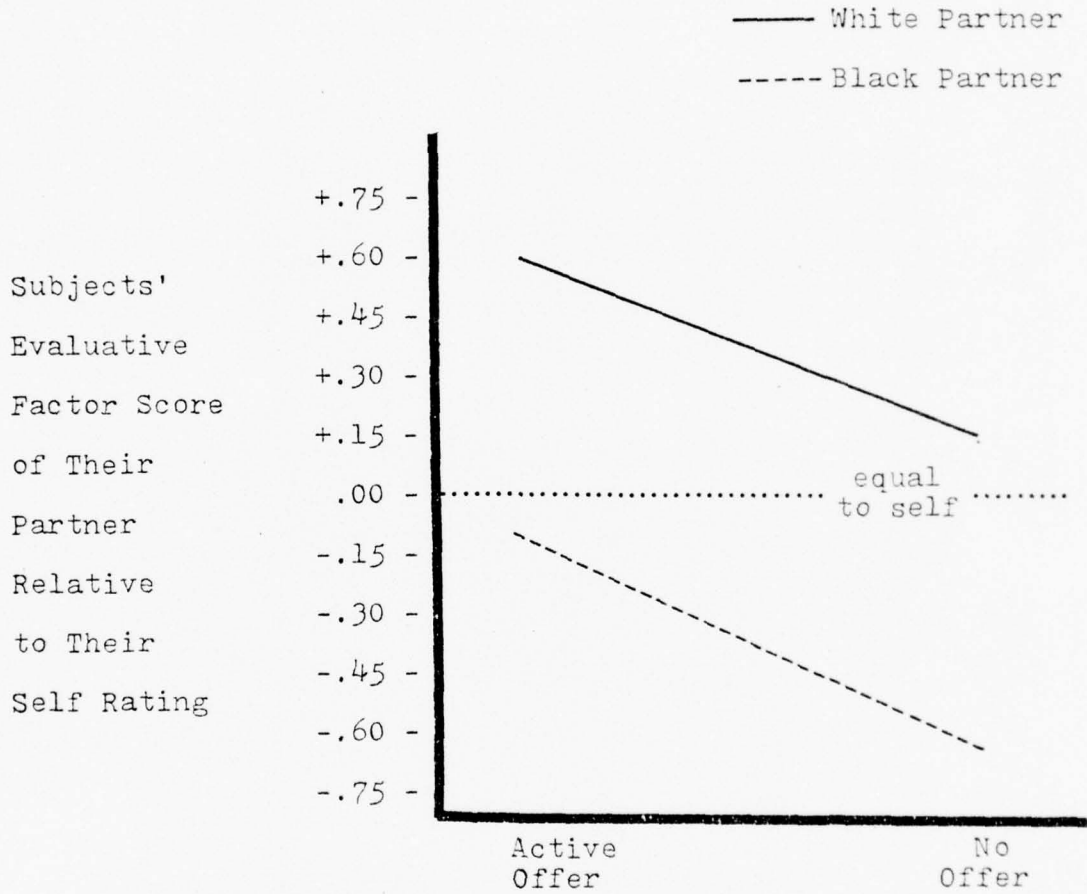


Figure 4. Evaluative factor score descriptions of partners relative to subjects' self ratings for black and white partners in the Active Offer and No Offer conditions.

relative evaluations of black partners ($F(1,72)=2.08$, $p<.17$). Thus, this pattern of results contrasts with the findings of the direct measures.

In addition, differences in findings for the direct and relative measures were also evident for many individual adjective items. For example, subjects rated black and white partners equally on the direct measure for intelligence, 4.55. Nevertheless, blacks were rated less intelligent than whites on the relative measure ($\bar{X}=-.325$ vs. $+.075$, $F(1,72)=3.853$, $p=.053$). In fact, out of the 26 adjective pairs, black and white partners were evaluated differently on the direct measure on only three: heavy-light ($p<.03$), dominant-submissive ($p<.02$), and excitable-calm ($p<.07$). For the relative measure, black partners, as compared to white partners, were described as being less kind ($p<.02$), less trustworthy ($p<.06$), less excitable ($p<.04$), less good ($p<.02$), less complex ($p<.02$), less intelligent ($p<.06$), and less competent ($p<.06$).

It appears, then, that impression formation indices associated with race vary with the reactivity of the measurement technique. Furthermore, the discrepancy in the pattern of responses may, in fact, be systematic. Analogous to the processes hypothesized for the asking for help measures, whites may be unwilling to evaluate

a black poorly on a direct and obvious measure without proper justification. However, on more subtle measures, discrimination against blacks may be manifested.

Finally, it was hypothesized that white subjects in the Active Offer condition would evaluate black partners less favorably than white partners because they were creating a situation in which the subject had little justification for avoiding involvement. If this indeed was the underlying process, it would be expected that, in the Active Offer condition, subjects' perceptions of the black partner's willingness to help would be inversely related to the favorableness of their evaluation. That is, the more willing the black partner was to create a situation that was potentially threatening to the subjects, the less positively the subject would evaluate him. For the white partner who actively offers assistance, little reactance would be expected. Finally, in the No Offer condition, in which subjects can justifiably avoid involvement, willingness of the partner and evaluation would be expected to be directly related.

The results for the direct evaluation measure, as presented in Table 4 are largely consistent with the predictions. Indeed, there was, as expected, a statistically significant negative correlation between the perceived

TABLE 4

Correlations Between Subjects' Perceptions of the Willingness of their Partner to Help and Subjects' Direct and Relative Evaluations of their Partner.

	<u>Willingness with:</u>	
	Direct Evaluation r(18)=	Relative Evaluation r(18)=
Active Offer Condition		
White Partner	+ .11	- .05
Black Partner	- .56**	- .01
No Offer Condition		
White Partner	+ .48*	+ .06
Black Partner	+ .20	+ .15

willingness and the direct evaluation of the black partner by subjects in the Active Offer condition. In the other three cells, the correlations were positive, as expected. The correlations based on the relative evaluative measure (partner-self evaluation), showed no relationship with the partner's perceived willingness to help, however. Although not unequivocally, the pattern of results does suggest that subjects may have been reacting negatively to black partners because they were creating a situation that precluded subjects justifiably avoiding involvement.

DISCUSSION

Kovel (1970) and, more recently, Gaertner (1976) have suggested that many whites experience a conflict between negative feelings toward blacks and a conscience which seeks to repudiate or dissociate these feelings from the individual's self-image. People who are characterized by this conflict are considered to be "aversive" racists. In general, this type of racism is presumed to be most prevalent in those regions of the country or in those institutions in which official norms favor non-discrimination. The liberal environment of the college campus may, indeed, foster aversive racism as opposed to a more direct manifestation of individual racism.

Furthermore, Gaertner (1976) suggests that an important determinant of whether or not an aversive racist will discriminate against blacks is the salience of norms in the behavioral context. In situations in which appropriate behavior is clearly defined, an aversive racist would be expected to behave in a manner that would avoid challenging his/her egalitarian image. However, when norms are weak or ambiguous an individual may readily find alternatives that would justifiably allow him/her to

avoid involvement with a black.

In general, then, the findings for the asking for help measures in the present study are consistent with the theoretical framework provided by the concept of aversive racism. As predicted, when the partner actively offered assistance, subjects accepted help more from black partners than from white partners. Presumably, rejecting help from a black would threaten an individual's egalitarian image. Nevertheless, when the partner was simply available, subjects solicited help less from black partners than from white partners. In this situation, participants could justifiably choose to work alone, since the task did not require two people.

This pattern of results is also consistent of Katz' (1970) notion of "ambivalence." Katz postulated that many whites' attitudes toward blacks are characterized by both antipathy and sympathy. Furthermore, applying Freudian dynamics, he suggests that this ambivalence creates a tendency toward behavioral instability. Thus, whites' behavior toward blacks might be expected to be characterized by an amplification of both positive and negative responses, depending on the consequences of the black's behavior. For example, Katz, Cohen, and Glass

(1975) found that blacks displaying socially desirable characteristics were helped more than comparable whites. However, when confederates behaved in a manner that was not socially acceptable, blacks were helped less than whites.

The Race of Partner x Type of Offer interaction obtained in the present investigation, then, is also consistent with Katz' conceptualization of ambivalence. In addition, in support of the ambivalence notion, black partners who offered assistance were evaluated more positively, on the direct measure, than were comparable white partners. When the partner was only available, though, black partners were evaluated less favorably than were white partners. Thus, on both the asking for help measures and the direct evaluation measures white reactions were more extreme, in both a positive and a negative direction, when the interaction involved a black partner.

Contrary to ambivalence theory, but consistent with the notion of aversive racism, white participants appeared in some ways to react negatively to the black partner's willingness to help. For example, an "ambivalent" individual would be expected to respond more positively to a black the more willing to help the black was perceived to be. However, based on the concept of

aversive racism, it was hypothesized that subjects in the Active Offer conditions would evaluate willing blacks less favorably, since they were creating a situation which potentially threatened the subject. Indeed, a significant negative correlation was obtained between the black partner's perceived willingness to help and the favorableness of his evaluation. The more willing the black partner seemed to be, the less positively he was rated. For white partners, willingness and evaluation were positively, although not significantly, related. Thus, this pattern of results suggests that individuals may have been behaving aversively.

Furthermore, since it was hypothesized that completing a semantic differential description of a partner, especially a black partner, may be a rather reactive technique, a second type of evaluation measure was calculated. This relative measure was simply the subject's rating of the partner minus his self-rating. Thus, on an absolute scale the partner might be described quite positively, thereby allowing the subject to reinforce an egalitarian image. However, these same subjects may be unwilling to admit that the black partner is as good or better than himself, and thus manifest his prejudice indirectly and unwittingly. Employing this measurement

technique, blacks were evaluated less positively than whites. Even when the black partner actively offered assistance, he was rated less favorably than a comparable white partner. This pattern, then, is consistent with the predictions derived from the concept of aversive racism. It does, nevertheless, contrast not only with expectations based on the notion of ambivalence, but also with the pattern of results obtained from the direct assessment method.

In addition, differences in findings for the direct and relative evaluation measures were evident for many individual adjective items. For example, black and white partners were rated as exactly equal in intelligence on the direct measure. However, when whites were asked to compare themselves to their partner, blacks were rated significantly less intelligent than whites on the relative measure. Similarly, based on the relative measures, blacks as compared to whites were described as being less kind, less trustworthy, less good, less complex, and less competent. The discrepancy in results due to whether the direct or relative evaluative measures were employed may lead one to speculate "Which method is most valid?" To assume that the validity of one type of measure necessarily invalidates the other measure, though, may be mistaken. That is, they may both be equally valid

measures, but of different underlying processes. For example, for both measures partners who actively offered assistance were evaluated more positively than those who did not overtly offer help. It was only for the comparisons involving the race of the partner as a factor were discrepancies in the obtained patterns observed. Consequently, the reactivity of the direct measurement technique or the necessity of ego involvement for the relative measure may systematically account for the differences. The concepts of ambivalence and aversiveness imply that interracial behavior of a single individual may vary qualitatively but systematically from situation to situation depending on the constraints. It is also likely that an individual's impressions may be manifested differently, but not independently, from one assessment device to another. Therefore, it may be more fruitful to interpret each set of results as representing different, but equally meaningful, behaviors under different conditions, rather than conceptualizing them as two inconsistent techniques aimed at measuring one absolute, dependent, and unchanging disposition. Thus, subjects' responses on the direct measure may be considered to be dynamically related to other interracial behavior in situations in which socially appropriate responses are clearly defined.

One enigmatic result of the present study is the interaction between race and the prejudice score of the subject which occurred both for the asking for help and the volunteering additional time measures. On both these responses, low prejudice subjects were less willing to get involved with a black than a white partner. For the help seeking behavior, this effect was most pronounced when the partner did not actively offer assistance. Only 10 percent of the low prejudice individuals solicited assistance from the black partner, while 50 percent asked the white partner for help. When the partner offered assistance, though, low prejudice subjects accepted help from black and white partners equally often, 70 percent. Thus, it appears that when contextual cues defining appropriate behavior are weak or ambiguous, low prejudice individuals were somewhat less willing to get involved with a black than a white partner. Similarly, low prejudice subjects volunteered fewer additional hours to participate with a black partner than with a white partner. Since no compensation was offered for additional participation, it was expected that non-compliance could be readily justified. Thus, this pattern of results is consistent with expectations based on the notion of aversive racism.

Somewhat more problematic, however, was the finding that high prejudice individuals volunteered more hours with black partners than with white partners, and also asked for help from black partners 25 percent more often. The subjects classified as high prejudice on the 11 item scale clearly were not discriminating against blacks. This unexpected result may suggest that the prejudice scale employed did not accurately assess subjects' attitudes. At the beginning of the semester, though, subjects were also administered a 20-item test of authoritarianism and were asked their agreement (1=strongly disagree, 3=neutral, 5=strongly agree) to the statement "I am prejudice against blacks." The 11-item prejudice scale correlated moderately with the authoritarianism scale ($r=+.40$) and highly with the prejudice item ($r=+.73$). It appears, then, that there was consistency in subjects' pencil and paper responses.

Based on the subject selection procedure, though, it might have been possible that those subjects classified as high prejudice may only appear prejudiced in the context of a college campus. That is, although the high prejudice group was more prejudiced than the low prejudice group, the prejudice scale did not indicate their degree of prejudice on an absolute measure. The single prejudice

item, though, did ask subjects to classify themselves as prejudiced or unprejudiced. Based on this index, only 12.5 percent of the high prejudice subjects strongly agreed with the prejudice statement, 32.5 percent slightly agreed, while 55 percent were neutral or in slight disagreement with the statement. Thus, the high prejudice group, in this reactive situation, may have more appropriately been considered a slightly prejudice group.

One problem remains. It is likely that an individual who reports to be prejudiced on such a direct measure as the prejudice statement, actually is prejudiced. In fact, a person who openly responds in this way is likely to be a dominative racist (Kovel, 1970). Nevertheless, subsequent analyses on only those subjects who agreed either strongly or slightly with the prejudice statement demonstrated that they also were more likely to ask for help from a black partner than from a white partner and were more willing to volunteer time with a black partner. Thus, even those individuals who reported to be prejudiced did not discriminate against blacks.

It appears that there is a rather large discrepancy between paper and pencil attitude measures and actual behavior in the interracial situation. It is a disturbing inconsistency, in particular, if the attitude measure

is employed primarily to predict subsequent behavior. However, attitude scale responses may be conceptualized as one kind of overt response, while volunteering and help-seeking behaviors as other types of behaviors. In each situation may reside different contextual demands. Within the three paper and pencil responses, subjects demonstrated a high degree of consistency. On the asking for help and the volunteering measures, the pattern of responses also appeared systematic. Inconsistency only exists when behavior in one context is compared to different types of responses in another context. Therefore, a verbal statement of prejudice is not necessarily related to racist behavior in all situations.

In general, the results of the present experiment seem paradoxical. At one level, a concept of racial attitudes, aversive racism, provides predictions for behavior in interracial situations that are largely supported. At another level, though, self-professed racial attitudes show little, and sometimes an inverse, relationship with actual behavior. It appears, then, that situational demands are an important intervening variable. This is not to suggest that situational factors dominate attitudinal factors or necessarily complicate attitudinal effects, but rather that racial

attitudes may be manifested differently, but systematically, under different types of conditions. In particular, individuals did not discriminate in situations in which appropriate behavior was clearly defined. However, in situations in which norms were ambiguous discrimination tended to occur.

Subjects also tended to discriminate against blacks in their semantic differential descriptions when they were asked to evaluate blacks in relation to themselves. Thus, ego-involvement may be another factor affecting involvement with blacks. Furthermore, if ego-involvement is important, it is likely that subjects may have performed differently if they had the opportunity to offer assistance rather than ask for assistance. The latter situation implies the relative subordination of the help seeker to the benefactor. A better understanding of the important dimensions of interracial situations may lead to a more complete understanding of racism.

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APPENDIX A
Supplement to the Methods for
Subtlety of White Racism: Requesting and
Accepting Help

The following is a sample of the letter-circling task:

Circle 24 I's

POIUYTRLEQ INBVCXZRNQ VCHYTREDSW CGHJMUXTRD SRTHT
MNEJFGYTRD XDRTPQVGIW MNOIJNBHUY WDVGYUJMKC POUHY
NJKIYAGHUF CDRTYUKJEG XSNQAFGHJK NHTGVFREDS NJKPY
MKIUYTGHEK BVFREDXSER BHJKL YRND XHYTKJSEPV VFRED
LPOIJHTRDW CSAMRGTHUJ VGHKRENSLO BGRFEDMLJK BGRF
DTGNHYJUTF MLPOJUHVCB BCKXJUXWQ VGNMKIJUZD LPOUG
VFGHJKIYU XSNQAZMKLP VFRDHUJTH BJKLJUTGR CSWAF
VQXMKJUYTG CQWNSGHJKU AGRJUHGINZ XMLONUYDE CSWQH
CNHMHYUJGR TGRHFCBERT MKLOIUYTGR VNHJTERND GWSCH
MLKHTCDWET BCTHREDECS NJKLOJMHYT CDTBNHSJKI CDFGR
CBNKYJTFRE MMLLOIUYHT CFEDJTBMLPOIFGIUREDFV GFREW
RUVCYUCKUJ VGHNTRESVH BHTGRDESJK NMLLOIUYTG VFEYH
CBJKLIJNH VGRFTNJKU GPCHTJJKI CDFONJKIU SEWDG
CFBCNUJHGT XDFVGHYTEE BMLONHYTF VEGTRNSAVJ BGNKU
VGHYGRPEJ NKMJHYTRF VGRJXONYSW VGHKJNJGT XZSAW
MPIGKXSWAL BHHOIUYTGR CGNHYRDESW VGHJMKIUYI XSPGH
XSERFONNHG XDRVGYEYUJ OKMJUYHTEB CDEWERTHLOP CDSNE
CFENSLFGHS LGFTREMSZL ZBROKMHGT CTRHJKJUYH CDWQS
YFGWLRGAT BHTGVFRDCE MLPOKJNHDE ZSDVGHJYU CDSWQ
XAVSCHUJYI BFREDWJXMK LPOLJYTFRE MNEVCAZQQU BHGRF
VGTWDRJNKU VPSDFKOPY BNMJHGTFRS CSAWERTYUJ MKLPO

Using the following scales, please describe your
impression of your partner:

- | | | |
|-------------------|--------------------------|---------------|
| 1. cruel | ___:___:___:___:___:___: | kind |
| 2. trustworthy | ___:___:___:___:___:___: | untrustworthy |
| 3. hard | ___:___:___:___:___:___: | soft |
| 4. cold | ___:___:___:___:___:___: | hot |
| 5. reputable | ___:___:___:___:___:___: | disreputable |
| 6. fast | ___:___:___:___:___:___: | slow |
| 7. weak | ___:___:___:___:___:___: | strong |
| 8. excitable | ___:___:___:___:___:___: | calm |
| 9. bad | ___:___:___:___:___:___: | good |
| 10. lenient | ___:___:___:___:___:___: | severe |
| 11. heavy | ___:___:___:___:___:___: | light |
| 12. submissive | ___:___:___:___:___:___: | dominant |
| 13. wise | ___:___:___:___:___:___: | foolish |
| 14. passive | ___:___:___:___:___:___: | active |
| 15. reliable | ___:___:___:___:___:___: | unreliable |
| 16. untrusting | ___:___:___:___:___:___: | trusting |
| 17. simple | ___:___:___:___:___:___: | complex |
| 18. lazy | ___:___:___:___:___:___: | ambitious |
| 19. masculine | ___:___:___:___:___:___: | feminine |
| 20. successful | ___:___:___:___:___:___: | unsuccessful |
| 21. intelligent | ___:___:___:___:___:___: | unintelligent |
| 22. yielding | ___:___:___:___:___:___: | tenacious |
| 23. irresponsible | ___:___:___:___:___:___: | responsible |
| 24. important | ___:___:___:___:___:___: | unimportant |
| 25. incompetent | ___:___:___:___:___:___: | competent |
| 26. intentional | ___:___:___:___:___:___: | unintentional |

Interview Form

Subject #: _____

Date: _____

Time: _____

Condition: _____

- I. Have subject do the self descriptive index.
- II. If we considered the total time you and your partner will take on your tasks, and we compared your group's performance to the performance of 100 other groups, how many groups do you think your group will do better than? _____
- III. We are looking for some groups to participate longer than just this session, but we can't give you any more credits. Would you volunteer to come back and work with the same partner for any additional time in the next few weeks?
If so, for how many hours? _____
- IV. Did you complete your task? Did the time limit expire?

How much help would you estimate that you would need?

1	4	7
very little	moderate	very much

How willing do you think your partner was to help?

1	4	7
very unwilling	neutral	very willing

- V. Now, just a couple of questions about the procedure before we continue (end).

Interview Form (cont.)

- A. Briefly describe what you expect to do next.
- B. What do you think this study is about?
- C. What do you think we are trying to study?
- D. Is there anything unusual about the way the study was run--anything you would like me to clarify?
- E. (If the subject asked for help or not) Why or why not?
- F. What would you say if I told you that you had nothing more to do but would still get full credit for participating?

APPENDIX B

Supplement to the Results for
Subtlety of White Racism: Requesting and
Accepting Help

Attitudes Toward Helping Survey

The following questions were a subset of items administered to 32 male undergraduate students to assess general norms relevant to the Active Offer and to the No Offer conditions. Subjects were asked to indicate their agreement with each statement on a 1 (disagree strongly) to 5 (agree strongly) scale with a neutral midpoint. Chi square analyses were conducted and t-tests were performed to evaluate the null hypothesis that subjects would be neutral in their responses.

Relevant to Active Offer

	<u>% Reject Help</u>	<u>% Accept Help</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>t(31)</u>
People typically ought to accept help when other people offer it.	13%	53%	8.05*	2.75*
People should not refuse help from people who offer it.	28%	34%	0.20	0.35
When I work on projects, I often accept help from people who offer it.	22%	53%	4.17*	2.43*
When I work on projects, I often refuse help from people who offer it.	<u>22%</u>	<u>50%</u>	<u>3.52</u>	<u>1.83</u>
Total	21%	48%	13.13*	

Attitudes Toward Helping Survey (cont.)

Relevant to No Offer

	<u>% Not Asking</u>	<u>% Asking</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>t(31)</u>
People typically ought to ask others for help on projects they are working on.	25%	25%	0.00	0.23
People should not ask strangers for help unless it is important.	19%	59%	6.76*	2.70*
When I work on projects, I often ask others for help.	53%	34%	1.29	1.07
I rarely ask anyone for help unless I really need it.	63%	28%	4.17*	-2.62*
Total	40%	37%	0.16	

*p<.05

The Effects of the Race of the Partner, the Type of Offer, and the Prejudice Score of the Subject on the Frequency of Asking for Help.

Source	df	χ^2
Race of Partner (A)	1	0.0516
Type of Offer (B)	1	2.5274
Prejudice Score (C)	1	2.5274
A x B	1	4.1779*
A x C	1	4.1779*
B x C	1	4.1779*
A x B x C	1	0.1484

* $p < .05$

The Effects of the Race of the Partner, the Type of Offer, and the Prejudice Score of the Subject on the Latency of Asking for Help.

Source	df	ms	F	p
Race of Partner (A)	1	118.34	0.01	.964
Type of Offer (B)	1	210135.25	3.60	.062
Prejudice Score (C)	1	8146.67	0.14	.710
A x B	1	218896.43	3.75	.057
A x C	1	128088.02	2.19	.143
B x C	1	189764.42	3.25	.075
A x B x C	1	380.63	0.01	.936
Error	72	58392.77		

The Effects of the Race of the Partner, the Type of Offer, and the Prejudice Score of the Subject on the Number of Remaining Letters on which the Subject Asked for Assistance.

Source	df	ms	F	p
Race of Partner (A)	1	245.00	0.04	.833
Type of Offer (B)	1	24220.80	4.41	.039
Prejudice Score (C)	1	2268.45	0.41	.523
A x B	1	26791.20	4.88	.031
A x C	1	17701.25	3.22	.077
B x C	1	19656.45	3.57	.063
A x B x C	1	2.45	0.01	.983
Error	72	5495.46		

The Effects of the Race of the Partner, the Type of Offer, and the Prejudice Score of the Subject on the Subject's Assessment of How Much Help He Needed.

Source	df	ms	F	p
Race of Partner (A)	1	0.00	0.00	.999
Type of Offer (B)	1	31.25	6.58	.013
Prejudice Score (C)	1	3.20	0.67	.415
A x B	1	24.20	5.09	.027
A x C	1	2.45	0.52	.475
B x C	1	16.20	3.41	.069
A x B x C	1	0.45	0.09	.759
Error	72	4.75		

The Effects of the Race of the Partner, the Type of Offer, and the Prejudice Score of the Subject on the Assessment of the Partner's Willingness to Help (1=Very Unwilling to 7=Very Willing) and on the Evaluation of the Amount of Help Needed (1=Very Little to 7=Very Much).

	<u>Willingness</u>	<u>Help Needed</u>
White Partner		
Active Offer		
Low Prejudice	6.4	3.8
High Prejudice	4.8	2.8
No Offer		
Low Prejudice	5.1	2.6
High Prejudice	4.8	3.7
Black Partner		
Active Offer		
Low Prejudice	6.1	4.4
High Prejudice	5.4	4.4
No Offer		
Low Prejudice	4.0	1.3
High Prejudice	4.2	2.8

The Effects of the Race of the Partner, the Type of Offer, and the Prejudice Score of the Subject on the Assessment of the Partner's Willingness to Help.

Source	df	ms	F	p
Race of Partner (A)	1	2.45	1.07	.305
Type of Offer (B)	1	26.45	11.51	.001
Prejudice Score (C)	1	7.20	3.13	.081
A x B	1	5.00	2.18	.145
A x C	1	2.45	1.07	.305
B x C	1	6.05	2.63	.109
A x B x C	1	0.20	0.09	.769
Error	72	2.30		

The Effects of the Race of the Partner, the Type of Offer, and the Prejudice Score of the Subject on the Number of Additional Hours Volunteered.

Source	df	ms	F	p
Race of the Partner (A)	1	0.20	0.09	.763
Type of Offer (B)	1	0.20	0.09	.763
Prejudice Score (C)	1	1.80	0.82	.367
A x B	1	0.20	0.09	.763
A x C	1	12.80	5.86	.018
B x C	1	0.00	0.00	.999
A x B x C	1	1.80	0.82	.367
Error	72	2.18		

The Effects of the Race of the Partner, the Type of Offer, and the Prejudice Score of the Subject on Subjects' Evaluative Factor Score Descriptions of Their Partner.

Source	df	ms	F	p
Race of Partner (A)	1	0.47	0.54	.467
Type of Offer (B)	1	2.31	2.63	.110
Prejudice Score (C)	1	0.23	0.26	.614
A x B	1	5.46	6.23	.015
A x C	1	0.00	0.00	.999
B x C	1	0.03	0.03	.856
A x B x C	1	0.14	0.16	.690
Error	72	0.88		

The Effects of the Race of the Partner, the Type of Offer, and the Prejudice Score of the Subject on Subjects' Evaluative Factor Score Self-Descriptions.

Source	df	ms	F	p
Race of Partner (A)	1	7.49	9.25	.003
Type of Offer (B)	1	0.36	0.44	.507
Prejudice Score (C)	1	0.26	0.32	.572
A x B	1	4.23	5.24	.025
A x C	1	0.27	0.33	.567
B x C	1	0.14	0.17	.681
A x B x C	1	0.17	0.01	.907
Error	72	0.81		

The Effects of the Race of the Partner, the Type of Offer, and the Prejudice Score of the Subject on Subjects' Relative (Partner Minus Self) Evaluative Description of Their Partner.

Source	df	ms	F	p
Race of Partner (A)	1	11.71	8.27	.006
Type of Offer (B)	1	4.48	3.17	.079
Prejudice Score (C)	1	0.01	0.01	.977
A x B	1	0.08	0.05	.816
A x C	1	0.28	0.19	.661
B x C	1	0.04	0.03	.867
A x B x C	1	0.62	0.44	.512
Error	72	1.42		

The Effects of the Race of the Partner, the Type of Offer, and the Prejudice Score of the Subject on Subjects' Direct and Relative Intelligence Descriptions of Their Partner.

Source	df	Direct Rating			Relative Rating		
		ms	F	p	ms	F	p
Race of Partner (A)	1	0.00	0.00	.99	3.20	3.85	.05
Type of Offer (B)	1	1.80	3.15	.08	1.25	1.51	.22
Prejudice Score (C)	1	0.80	1.40	.24	0.00	0.00	.99
A x B	1	1.80	3.15	.08	0.20	0.24	.63
A x C	1	0.00	0.00	.99	0.05	0.06	.81
B x C	1	0.00	0.00	.99	0.20	0.24	.63
A x B x C	1	0.20	0.35	.56	0.05	0.06	.81
Error	72	0.57			0.83		

Semantic Differential Evaluative Factor Loadings and
Factor Score Coefficients Based on Subjects' Ratings of
Their Partner.

	<u>Evaluative Factor Loading</u>	<u>Evaluative Factor Coefficient</u>
kind-cruel	.683	0.0834
trustworthy-untrustworthy	.280	0.0065
hard-soft	-.501	-0.0423
hot-cold	.773	0.3040
reputable-disreputable	.279	-0.0190
fast-slow	.213	-.02655
strong-weak	.644	0.0876
excitable-calm	-.231	0.0176
good-bad	.709	0.1468
severe-lenient	.103	0.0823
heavy-light	-.187	0.0001
dominant-submissive	.125	0.0215
wise-foolish	.095	-0.0224
active-passive	.636	0.0699
reliable-unreliable	.241	-0.0183
trusting-untrusting	.793	0.2568
complex-simple	.592	0.0454
ambitious-lazy	.708	0.1458
masculine-feminine	.186	-0.0385
successful-unsuccessful	.167	-0.1264
intelligent-unintelligent	.347	-0.0205
tenacious-yielding	.021	0.0409
responsible-irresponsible	.665	0.0683
important-unimportant	.443	-0.0186
competent-incompetent	.561	0.0670
intentional-unintentional	.530	0.0476

Semantic Differential Evaluative Factor Loadings and
Factor Score Coefficients Based on Subjects' Self-Ratings.

	<u>Evaluative Factor Loading</u>	<u>Evaluative Factor Coefficient</u>
kind-cruel	.642	0.1088
trustworthy-untrustworthy	.708	0.1603
hard-soft	.005	-0.0149
hot-cold	.028	-0.0707
reputable-disreputable	.723	0.1561
fast-slow	.202	-0.0633
strong-weak	.401	0.0327
excitable-calm	.038	-0.0183
good-bad	.489	0.0384
severe-lenient	-.050	0.0356
heavy-light	.063	0.0252
dominant-submissive	.041	-0.0356
wise-foolish	.239	-0.0147
active-passive	.391	0.0468
reliable-unreliable	.759	0.1763
trusting-untrusting	.464	0.0441
complex-lazy	.032	-0.0689
ambitious-lazy	.569	0.0612
masculine-feminine	.579	0.0662
successful-unsuccessful	.701	0.1537
intelligent-unintelligent	.530	0.0453
tenacious-yielding	-.121	-0.0044
responsible-irresponsible	.733	0.1940
important-unimportant	.527	0.0467
competent-incompetent	.639	0.0611
intentional-unintentional	.444	0.0274

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