ATTRIBUTION OF RESPONSIBILITY AND ATTRACTION IN THE ETHNICITY-HELPING RELATIONSHIP

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The study determined the effect of common or different ethnicity between a dependent person and potential helper on the latter's responsiveness to the former's request for help. The ethnic group studied was Filipinos in Chicago, U.S.A. Three dependency situations were created: request for a face-to-face interview, request for an interview on the telephone, and dependency situations in two vignettes. Support for the hypothesized intervening effects of attribution of responsibility and attraction in the relationship between ethnic similarity and helping behavior was obtained in the dependency situations in the two vignettes but not in the face-to-face and telephone request,

Introduction

Similarity has appeared as a significant concept in helping and in other areas of interpersonal behavior. Studies on helping have employed various measures of similarity between the potential helper and the person in need of help. For example, there is evidence that similarity of attitudes between oneself and another person (Baron 1971; Sole and others 1975), similarity in physical appearance (Emswiller and others 1971; Graf and Riddell 1972), and common group membership such as sex (Schopler and Bateson -1965; Gruder and Cook 1971) and nationality (Feldman 1968) are associated with helping behavior. However, the results are not entirely consistent. It appears that the relation of similarity to helping is a function of the type of similarity measure used; some similarity measures have more consistent relationships with helping than other measures.

It is noteworthy that ethnicity as a measure of similarity has not been adequately studied in relation to helping behavior. The concept by definition is based on similarity. "An ethnic group consists of those who conceive of themselves as alike by virtue of their common ancestry, real or fictitious, and who are so regarded by others" (Shibutani and Kwan 1965:47). Furthermore, ethnicity

is a realistic basis for categorizing people especially in ethnically heterogeneous societies. Α of set ex periments demonstrated that a person's categorization of his/her social world into distinct social groups can be sufficient condition for introducing in his/her behavior certain forms of in-group favoritism and bias (Tajfel and others 1971; Billig and Tajfel 1973; Allen and Wilder 1975).

Categorization of our social world on the basis of ethnicity forms the point of departure for rather far reaching inferences about individuals which ultimately determine social conduct. For example, one's inferences regarding a dependent person would be influenced by the ethnicity of that person. Cases in point are the inferences one makes about assignment of responsibility dependency and evaluation of the attractiveness of dependent persons. These two inferences may consequently shape and determine the responsiveness of potential helpers.

The present study focuses on ethnicity as a relevant and important dimension of similarity in the context of helping behavior. The processes of attribution of responsibility and interpersonal attraction are invoked to elucidate any effect of ethnicity on helping behavior. The ethnic group chosen for study

are Filipinos in the United States. The study is designed to allow for comparisons in helping behavior of Filipinos directed to Filipino and to non-Filipino dependent persons.

Hypotheses

Research on helping behavior reveals that the effects of similarity depend on the particular similarity dimension used. Greater help was given to dependent persons who were similar to the potential helper in physical appearance (Emswiller and others 1971; Graf and Riddell 1972), in attitudes (Sole and others 1975), and in personal traits (Karylowski 1976; Krebs 1975). Sex either did not have any independent effect on helping (Schopler and Bateson 1965; Gruder and Cook 1971) or males were more likely to help females (Latane and Dabbs 1975). The only study that examined the effects of ethnicity on helping found no significant relationship (Karpienia and Zippel 1974). Using a stronger ethnicity manipulation, the effect of this form of similarity is examined as the first hypothesis.

Hypothesis I: The more ethnically similar a dependent person is to an individual, the greater the likelihood of that individual giving help to the dependent person.

Motivational factors have been invoked in explaining attribution of responsibility for negative outcomes. Defensive attribution is an attributive strategy to protect the self from harm or blame under conditions where similar negative outcomes could befall the observer. This principle has accounted for the negative relationship obtained between personal and/or situational similarity and attribution responsibility (Shaver 1970; Chaikin and Darley 1973). Less responsibility has been assigned to attitudinally similar others (Veitch and Piccione 1978). The influence of ethnicity as a form of similarity will be tested as the second hypothesis.

Hypothesis II: The more ethnically similar a dependent person is to an individual, the less the attribution of responsibility for a

negative outcome to the dependent person by that individual.

relation The between responsibility attribution and helping behavior has been studied in terms of causal locus of dependency, Schopler and Matthews (1965) and Berkowitz (1969) found that internal attributions led to less helping behavior than external attributions. Reciprocal help was also greater when the previous help received was seen as freely or intentionally given rather than when it was required or just accidental (Goranson and Berkowitz 1966; Greenberg and Frisch 1972). That internal attributions are i associated with ascriptions responsibility is implicit in the above studies, Thus, the third hypothesis reads:

Hypothesis III: The less the attribution of responsibility for a negative outcome to a dependent person, the greater the likelihood of giving help to that person.

Positive affect is theoretically linked to similarity. Heider's (1958) balance principle suggests that we like persons who are similar to us and that liked persons are perceived as more similar than disliked ones. Byrne and Clore's (1970) reinforcement-affect model of interpersonal attraction proposes that similarity between another person's characteristics and attitudes and one's own makes the other person attractive thereby increasing his/her reinforcing value. There is tremendous empirical support for the positive relationship between similarity and interpersonal attraction (Newcomb 1961; Schachter 1951; Berkowitz and Howard 1959; Worchel and McCormick 1963; Byrne 1961, 1962; Byrne and Nelson 1964, 1965; Byrne and Clore 1966; McWhirter and Jecker 1967; Griffitt and Jackson 1973; Byrne and Griffitt 1966; Byrne and others 1969; Griffitt 1966; Duck 1973; Byrne and McGraw 1964). From this theoretical and empirical base, it is expected that

Hypothesis IV: The more ethnically similar a dependent person is to an individual, the greater the attraction of the individual to that person,

Cognitions and affect tend to be in rough correspondence with intentions and overt behavior (Festinger 1957; Heider 1958; Newcomb 1968). As cited above, there is some empirical support for the hypothesis that greater help is given to persons perceived as similar to oneself. Such positive behavior toward similar others is consistent with positive cognitions and evaluations of them. Friends or liked persons were given more help than non-friends or disliked persons (Daniels and Berkowitz 1963; Staub and Sherk 1970; Baron 1971; Gross and others 1975; Kelley and Byrne 1976). Thus, the expectation that:

Hypothesis V: The greater the attraction to a dependent person, the greater the likelihood of giving help to that person.

The "just world" hypothesis (Lerner 1970) proposes an appropriate fit between the individual's actions and character on the one hand and his/her outcomes on the other. A person is responsible for his/her own negative outcome because it is his/her own doing or because he/she has a despicable character. If a person is an innocent (i.e., not responsible) victim of a negative outcome, he/she is devalued or derogated because the condition poses a threat to one's belief in a just world. Support for this hypothesis is provided by Lerner and Matthews (1967). However, the proposition that victims of negative outcomes who have brought about their own suffering and are thus responsible, would be evaluated more positively than innocent victims, seems counterintuitive. There is empirical evidence that a victim's responsibility for his/her suffering is positively associated with devaluation of the victim (Stokols and Schopler 1973; Godfrey and Lowe 1975). The sixth hypothesis tests the responsibilityattraction relationship:

Hypothesis VI: The greater the attribution of responsibility to a dependent person, the less the attraction to that person.

Each of the six hypotheses posits a direct relation between two variables in a particular causal order. More specifically, ethnic similarity is expected to determine attribution of responsibility, attraction, and helping behavior; attribution of responsibility and attraction in turn, would directly affect helping; and attribution of responsibility would have a negative effect on attraction. Figure 1 is a schematic presentation of the causal structure of the four variables.

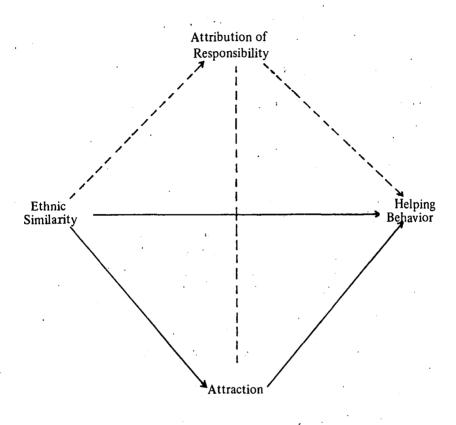
Research design

A non-probability sample of 190 Filipinos residing in the city of Chicago, U.S.A. was studied. The sample was selected by first identifying areas in Chicago where a sizable number of Filipinos reside. In each of the six areas, Filipinos were sought out and those who met the sample requirements were interviewed. The 190 respondents were female within the age range of 18 to 65 years. Limiting the respondents to females simplified the design and eliminated the confounding effects of sex roles. This design rules out that could result from cross-sex interaction with an all female interviewer team and from exposure to scenarios featuring female dependent persons.

Data were collected in two separate phases: the first through face-to-face interviews and the second through telephone interviews. One hundred and fifty of the total 190 Filipinos were approached by female interviewers using a "Study of Asian Attitudes and Reactions" as a cover story. One hundred and fifteen of these consented to a 30 minute face-to-face interview. The interview presented vignettes of dependency situations where the ethnicity of the dependent person was manipulated in each vignette; she was either similar (Filipino), less similar (Indian), or dissimilar (Anglo) to the respondent. The assessed attribution interview also responsibility, interpersonal attraction, helping behavior, and demographic information.² The were gathered by four female interviewers: two Filipinos and two Whites or Anglos. These same interviewers made the calls for the second phase.

Figure 1

Hypothesized Paths in the Causal Model
of Helping Behavior



Legend: Positive relation Negative relation

After a period of 6 to 8 weeks, ninety³ of the 115 respondents were telephoned by either a Filipino or Anglo caller. The call was designed in such a manner that half of the respondents interviewed by a Filipino were called by a Filipino and the other half by an Anglo. Likewise, half of those interviewed by an Anglo were called by a Filipino and the other half by an Anglo. No respondent was interviewed and called by the same person. The cover story for the calls was a "Study of Attitudes and Adjustments of Immigrants to the U.S." The content of the telephone questionnaire was not relevant to the study. The call was designed as an additional

dependency situation that provided a measure of actual help using a different modality, i.e., the telephone.

Of the 90 respondents called, only 54 consented to be interviewed on the telephone. To see if the previous interview had any effect on responsiveness to the calls, a comparison group of 40 uninterviewed respondents was contacted by telephone. Of these only 24 consented to respond to the telephone questionnaire.

Two vignettes depicting females in dependency situations were used as stimulus

materials for the face-to-face interviews. The first vignette depicts a woman who lost her wallet while shopping in a department store. Using the only money she could find in her purse, she attempted to make a telephone call to her husband. In her nervousness, she dialed a wrong number, so she requested the person who answered to make the call and give her husband the message. The other vignette is about a woman who slipped and fell on thepavement while catching a bus. The accident resulted in a broken right leg which incapacitated her for her current job. She later got a temporary job doing telephone surveys for a consumer agency. The ethnicity of the dependent person in each vignette was varied in such a way that it reflected variations in similarity of the dependent person to the The of dependent respondent. type person-respondent similarity was the same in both vignettes,4

A dependency scenario was also created for the calls. The caller described herself as a student in need of respondents for her thesis. She is pressed for time in getting her telephone interviews done because she has applied for a job and her acceptance depends on her getting the degree. The respondent is asked if she is willing to be interviewed on the telephone for 15 minutes on attitudes and adjustment of immigrants to the U.S. The ethnicity of the caller was also varied. The Anglo callers in addition to their natural Anglo accent also introduced themselves using Anglo names. For the Filipino callers, their Filipino names and accent were reinforced by an additional identification as a foreign student from the Philippines.

Results

The first test of the direct link of ethnic similarity to helping compares the proportions of Filipinos who agreed to personal interviews sought by Filipino compared to Anglo interviewers. The assumption is that the request for an interview is a dependency situation and that granting the request is

helping behavior. In addition, a Filipino interviewer would be perceived as more similar to Filipino respondents than an Anglo interviewer. The result of a difference of proportions test (z=1.74, p>.05, Table 1) indicates that there is no significant difference in willingness to be personally interviewed by fellow Filipinos compared to Anglos.

The relation of ethnic similarity to helping is also tested through the telephone. For all 90 calls, consent given to Filipino callers does not differ significantly from that given to Anglo callers (Table 1). Specific comparisons for call backs and fresh calls vielded similar results: Filipinos are not significantly more responsive to Filipino callers than to Anglo callers. To determine if the earlier personal interview had any effect on responsiveness, the call back group is compared with the fresh call group using a difference of differences of proportions (z=0.27, p>.05). In other words, the previous interview did not influence willingness to be interviewed over the telephone.

Thus, for both personal and telephone contacts, the proportions are not significantly different. Nevertheless, these are in the predicted direction, i.e., slightly higher proportions of Filipinos consented to be interviewed when requested by Filipino interviewers or callers as compared to Anglo interviewers or callers.

The link between ethnic similarity and helping was also assessed through the use of two vignettes presented to respondents. The first vignette described a woman who lost her wallet and needed to make a call. The ethnic similarity of the dependent woman to the respondent correlated positively willingness to make the call for her (r=.31, p<.01). On the second vignette, a woman met with an accident, could not go back to work and had to take a temporary job conducting telephone surveys. As in the lost wallet situation, respondents were more willing to comply with the request for a

Table 1.	Tests of Differ	rence of Proj	portions on	Consent t	o Personal
and Telep	hone Interview	s Sought by	Filipino and	d Anglo I	nterviewers

Interviewers	Number Contacted	Number Consented	Proportion	z-value
Personal Interviews	,	•		
Filipino .	75	62	.83	
Anglo	75	53	.71	7.74
Tele phone Interviewe	ers		• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	
A. All Calls				
Filipino	68	45	.66	
Anglo	62	33	.53	1.51
B. Call Back*				
Filipino	48	32	.67	
Anglo	42	22	.52	1.38
C. Fresh Call**				
Filipino	20	13	.67	
Anglo	20 ·	11	.55	0.65

^{*}Calls to respondents who have been previously interviewed in person.

telephone interview from a Filipino than from a non-Filipino (r=.31, p < .01).

Consistent with Hypothesis I, there is a greater willingness to give help to the ethnically similar than to the dissimilar dependent person. The simple relationship between ethnic similarity and helping behavior is open to alternative interpretations because ethnic similarity is a complex concept. For instance, the effects of immigrant status may be confounded with those of ethnic similarity. Because the dependent person of same ethnicity is also of the same immigrant status as respondent, it is possible that it is immigrant status and not ethnic similarity that accounts for differential helping. To test this interpretation, the relative effects of ethnic similarity and immigrant status are compared using multiple regression analysis (Kerlinger and Pedhazur 1973). This procedure allows prediction of the values of the dependent variable from a linear function of the variables. Results independent reveal significant effect of ethnic similarity but not of immigrant status on helping behavior. For the lost wallet situation, ethnic similarity has a Beta=.35, p < .05 and for the accident situation, a Beta=.43, p > .05. In contrast, immigrant status has a Beta=-.06, p > .05, for the former situation and a Beta=-.19, p > .05 for the latter. These results tease out the immigrant factor from the ethnic similarity variable and demonstrate that variation in helping behavior is attributable to ethnic similarity and not to immigrant status.

Having established that ethnic similarity has a positive influence on helping behavior in support of Hypothesis I, the subsequent analyses are designed to determine if attribution of responsibility and interpersonal attraction mediate the established causal relationship. The zero-order correlations among the four variables are presented in Table 2. It is evident that each variable is significantly correlated with every other variable. The hypothesized causal structure of the four variables has been presented as a

^{**}Calls to a new group of respondents with no previous contact,

Table 2.	Correlation* Matrix of Research Variables	i
	for Two Dependency Situations	

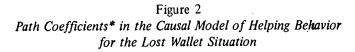
I. Lost Wallet Situation	Attribution of Responsibility	Attraction	Helping
Ethnic Similarity	 36	.48	.31
Attribution of Responsibility		62	54
Attraction			.53
II. Accident Situation	Attribution of		
	Responsibility	Attraction	Helping
Ethnic Similarity	48	.62	.31
Attribution of Responsibility		.57	51
Attraction			.46

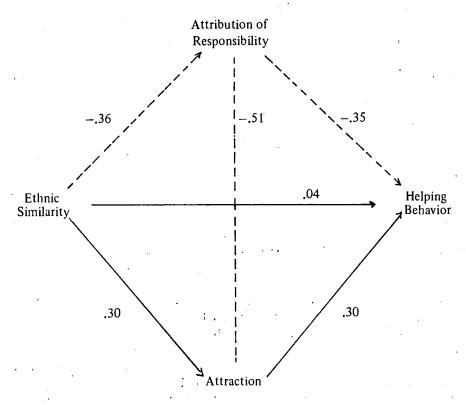
^{*}Pearson product-moment correlation; all coefficients are significant at the .01 level.

patch model in Figure 2. The model assumes a causal ordering of the variables. Ethnic similarity is expected to have direct effects on attribution of responsibility, attraction, and helping behavior; it would have indirect effects both on attraction through attribution of responsibility and on helping through attribution of responsibility and attraction.

The hypothesized links among variables in the model are tested using path analysis (Kerlinger and Pedhazur, 1973). This is a method for decomposing zero-order correlation coefficients into direct effects, indirect effects, and residual effects. The direct effect between an antecedent variable and a consequent variable constitutes that part of their zero-order correlation that is not influenced by other variables in the causal model: indirect effects constitute those parts of the correlation that are accounted for by causally mediating variables in the model; and residual effects constitute those parts of the correlation that are due to variables not included in the model. To simplify the description of results and their discussion, residual effects will not be included in the presentation and discussion of results.

The path coefficients for the causal model applied to the lost wallet and the accident situation appear in Figures 2 respectively. These are standardized partial regression coefficients representing the direct effect between each predetermined pair of antecedent and consequent variables. Examination of Figures 2 and 3 reveals strong support for the hypothesized relations in the causal model for both dependency situations, Ethnic similarity has negative effects on attribution of responsibility (Hypothesis II). It accounts for 13.2 percent of the variation in responsibility in the lost wallet situation and percent in the accident situation, Attraction is affected negatively by attribution responsibility (Hypothesis VI) positively by ethnic similarity (Hypothesis IV). The two predictors together explain 46.2 percent of the variation in attraction in the lost wallet situation and 47.9 percent in the accident situation. Helping behavior is affected negatively by attribution of responsibility (Hypothesis III) and positively by attraction (Hypothesis V). However, the path coefficient representing the relation of ethnic similarity to helping is not significant (Hypothesis I). All three predictors account for 36 percent of



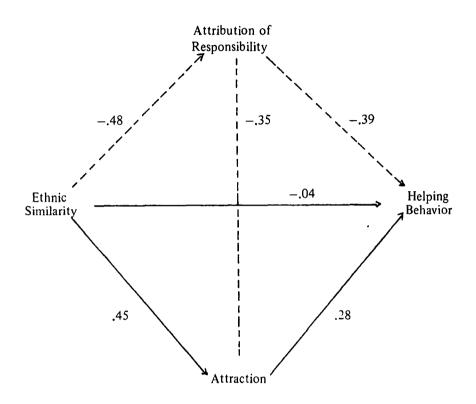


*All coefficients are significant at the .05 level except the ethnic similarity to helping behavior path coefficient (.038)

variation in the willingness to make a call for a dependent person and 30.7 percent of variation in responsiveness to a telephone survey.

Table 3 presents the direct effects and total indirect effects of predictor variables in the model. Attribution of responsibility is directly affected by ethnic similarity. Looking at attraction as a dependent variable, we see that direct effects of attribution the responsibility and of ethnic similarity are stronger than the indirect effects. Thus, ethnic similarity affects attraction more directly than through the mediation of attribution of responsibility. Turning to helping behavior as a dependent variable, we find that attribution of responsibility has a strong direct effect and a rather weak indirect effect. The indirect effects of attribution of responsibility can be broken down into two components: its effects on helping through attraction and spurious effects due to a common antecedent variable, ethnic similarity. In other words, the effects of attribution of responsibility on helping are more likely to be direct than through the intervening effects of attraction or because of a common causal factor. On the other hand, the magnitude of direct effects of attraction on helping is not substantially different from the indirect effects. Indirect effects here are mainly spurious effects because of ethnic similarity, an antecedent variable to both attraction and helping. Thus, the effects of

Figure 3
Path Coefficients* in the Causal Model for Helping Behavior
for the Accident Situation



*All coefficients are significant at the .05 level except the ethnic similarity to helping behavior path coefficient (-.044).

attraction on helping can be traced to both its direct effect and a common causal factor. The path coefficient representing the direct effects of ethnic similarity on helping are nonsignificant because a substantial portion of the correlation between the two variables consists of indirect effects. Therefore, ethnic similarity affects helping only through the intervention of the two variables, attribution of responsibility and attraction. These results are true for both the lost wallet and the accident situation.

Discussion

The strong negative association between ethnic similarity and attribution of

responsibility provides support for the defensive attribution hypothesis (Shaver 1970). Dependent persons who are of the respondent's ethnic group membership are assigned less responsibility for their negative outcomes than those who are of different ethnic group membership. In both the lost wallet and the accident situation, ethnic similarity may have evoked ego-protective motives in the respondent which resulted in the low levels of responsibility ascribed to the similar dependent person. By making the dependent person less responsible. respondent in effect may have acted to avoid future blame on herself should she be in a comparable situation.

Table 3.	Direct Effects	and Total	Indirect	Effects of	Predictor	Variables
4	on Dependent	Variables fo	r Two I	Dependency	Situation	ıs

Dependent Variable	Predictor Variable	Direct Effect	Total Indirect Effect	Total Effect
Responsibility	Similarity	36	0	36
Attraction	Responsibility Similarity	52 .30	11 .19	62 .48
Helping	Responsibility	35	20	54
,	Attraction	.30	.23	.53
	Similarity	.04	.27	.31
II. Accident Situat	ion			
Responsibility	Similarity.	48	0	48
Attraction	Responsibility	35	21	57
•	Similarity	.45	.17	.62
Helping	Responsibility	38	14	51
	Attraction	.28	.19	.46
	Similarity	04	.35	,31 ⁻

The positive link between ethnic similarity and attraction is consistent with results of myriad of studies on the similarity-attraction relation. However, the present study makes a significant contribution by way of demonstrating the relevance and effectiveness of the ethnicity dimension of similarity.

Attribution of responsibility has been found to have a strong negative relationship with attraction. These results are consistent with previous findings (Stokols and Schopler 1973; Godfrey and Lowe 1975) and render questionable Lerner's (1970) proposition that less responsible victims of suffering are devalued more than highly responsible ones in order to maintain one's belief in a just world.

Ethnic similarity increases expressed willingness to help in the hypothetical situations of the vignettes but not actual help in the interview and the call dependency condition. This difference may arise from the nature of the situations. While all three are dependency situations, the vignettes more

clearly reflect negative outcomes. Consequently, attribution of responsibility is more salient in the vignette situations than in the interview and the call situation. It may be that the ethnicity-helping relation becomes manifest only in negative situations that highlight the need for ascription of responsibility. The potency of this variable is evident in the magnitude of its path coefficients.

The overall results present compelling evidence of the intervention of attribution of responsibility and attraction in the relation of ethnic similarity to helping behavior. Ethnic similarity per se is not an adequate explanation for differential helping. results of the study suggest the operation of a cognitive process. The perception of an ethnically similar dependent person gives rise to ego-protective motives to attribute less responsibility to that person and at the same time feel a positive attraction to her. The attribution and evaluation consequently incline the perceiver to positive behavior toward the dependent person such as obliging to her request. A corollary is that greater attribution of responsibility and negative attraction are evoked by an ethnically dissimilar dependent person leading to a disinclination to give help.

The study using female Filipinos in particular dependency situations provided support for the causal model of helping behavior. The results of the study are limited in applicability to Filipinos and to helping situation where (1) help is directed to a

person, (2) the person in need of help explicitly asks for it, and (3) the type of help needed involves a minimum of time and effort and no monetary cost on the part of the helper. It is the task of future research to determine the applicability of the causal model on various ethnic groups and among males and between the sexes. It would also be salient to find out if the causal model will be supported under conditions of spontaneous help, monetary help, and help that is costly in time and effort.

Notes

This article is based on the author's doctoral dissertation, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, March 1980.

¹This was how ethnic similarity was manipulated in the vignettes. Each vignette started with "The story is about (1) a Filipino woman. She was born in the Philippines and immigrated recently to the U.S. [or] (2) a woman born in Bombay, India, [or] (3) a White woman from Iowa..." In addition, the ethnicity of the dependent woman was again mentioned around the middle of the vignette and in the last statement.

²This was how attribution of responsibility, interpersonal attraction, and helping behavior were measured. Two measures of responsibility attribution were taken. One was a 7-point scale ranging from not personally responsible to personally responsible for the act that produced the dependency; for the first vignette, it was responsibility for losing the wallet while for the second vignette it was responsibility for the accident. The other measure was a 4-point scale ranging from no responsibility to very much responsibility for being in the dependency situation. These two measures being highly associated (Gamma=.87, for the first vignette; Gamma=.51, for second the vignette) were combined to form an attribution of responsibility index. Construction of the index involved three steps. The first was a dichotomization of scores on each of the two scales at the median. Then scores were categorized into low, moderate, and high levels of responsibility in the following manner: scores below the median on both scales comprise the low category; the moderate category consists in scores which are below the median on one scale and above the median on the other scale: scores above the median on both scales are assigned to the high category. Finally, the three levels of responsibility were dichotomized into high and low by collapsing categories to represent a distribution that is as close as possible to a 50-50 split.

On interpersonal attraction, a 7-point scale was designed to elicit a general impression of the dependent person. The scale ranged from very unfavorable to very favorable impression of the woman. In addition, the dependent person was evaluated on two semantic differential scales: unfriendly-friendly and unlikeable-likeable. The high intercorrelation of scores on the three scales (Pearson correlations ranged from .57 to .70) warranted the construction of an attraction index. Scores on each of the scales were summed to form the attraction index.

Helping in the vignette situations required the respondent to imagine herself in the position of a potential helper so that her willingness to comply with requests for help represented expressed intention to help. This was measured through three response alternatives, (1) No, I would not, (2) Yes, I might, and (3) Yes, I definitely would. All responses were dichotomized into No and Yes responses.

³The 25 respondents in the less similar dependency condition were not called.

⁴It should be pointed out that the use of vignettes does not sacrifice realism for expediency. Although the description of the dependency event is brief and symbolic rather than live and lengthy, this state of affairs is not uncommon in everyday life. We often hear or read of events involving a person in distress and with very scanty information we readily make evaluations and attributions regarding the dependent person.

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