A CROSS-CULTURAL STUDY 'OF FACTORS

INFLUENCING HELPING BEHAVIOUR

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Summary

The burgeoning research into altruism and helping behaviour has examined the effect of many variables that enhance or inhibit helpfulness, but little attention has been given to the influence of culture. In the present research, data on various aspects of helping behaviour were collected in both the UK and the Sudan so that the importance of cultural influences could be investigated. In addition this research also tested the validity of current models of helping.

In a repertory grid study, urgency and cost emerged as the main constructs people in the two countries use to distinguish between various helpful situations.

A laboratory experiment designed to test existing models of intervention behaviour found significant main effects of country, group, size, cost and urgency; and a group size/urgency interaction. Subjects in the Sudan intervened faster than subjects in the UK; lone subjects intervened faster than subjects in small and large groups; subjects in low cost intervened faster than subjects in high cost conditions; and subjects in high urgency intervened faster than subjects in low urgency conditions. Group size effect was stronger in low than in high urgency conditions.

Two field studies further investigated the effect of urgency and cost in urban-nonurban context. Significant main effects of urgency and cost were found in cities but not in towns; and people in cities were less helpful than people in towns.

A questionnaire survey found that in both countries there were significant urban-nonurban differences in the incidence of reported social contacts and exchange of helpful acts between acquaintances, neighbours and strangers. However, there were no urban-nonurban differences between relatives and close friends. Finally, attitudes to altruism and helpfulness did not differ between the two countries or between urban and nonurban residents.

The results highlight the need to incorporate urgency and cultural variables in theoretical models of helping behaviour.

Key words

Altruism, helping, intervention
Cross-cultural
Urban-nonurban

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my wife Asia, who showed great patience during the years of research; and to my little daughter Umaima who is always there to cheer me up at periods of low morale. This work is also dedicated to my parents, brothers and sisters.

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Part 'One

,Introduction, Literature review and introducing the present
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1. INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW

1.1 Introduction

Laymen and social scientists alike have frequently been shocked by incidents where a victim of misfortune stands in desperate need of help and where witnesses to the person's plight fail to offer help. Unfortunately this striking deficiency in such social responsibility is now commonplace in cities (Darley and Latane, 1968; Korte, 1971; Schwartz and Clausen, 1970; Bickman, 1971; Weiner, 1976; Korte, 1981). Indeed in a wide range of situations many urbanites now experience difficulty in finding informal support and aid from those around them. Many theoretical analysis of city life emphasise this point and suggest the growth of a basic incivility and indifference in urban social contact in cities (Wirth, 1938; Alexander, 1967; Milgram, 1970; Fischer, 1976).

The tragic death of Kitty Genovese in New York in 1964, gave impetus to renewed interest to research into such phenomenon. Thirty-eight of her neighbours witnessed, from the windows of their apartments, at least part of her attack which took half an hour; nontheless no-one intervened to help her or to scare off her attacker. Perhaps the onlookers were sleepy when they watched this horrible incident! Perhaps so, but what about Eleanor Bradley who was in broad daylight was tripped, fell and broke her leg while shopping on Fifth Avenue in New York, and many passers-by spotted her lying in a state of shock before anyone offered assistance (Aronson, 1976).

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On the basis of many reported incidents of non-involvement, it might be readily concluded that human beings are generally unconcerned with the safety and well being of their fellow humans. However, such a pessimistic conclusion is refuted by the fact that there are many situations where bystanders do indeed rush to the aid of others, often risking their own safety and well being to help strangers in need of their assistance. Thus, it appears that while most people are capable of great generosity and kindness, at times they display cold indifference and unconcern. What determines when, and under what conditions, should, and could, help be offered, and what are the determinants of people's reactions to needy situations? Can we identify the factor(s) which influence our willingness to offer assistance to others in distress, make donations to charity, offer small favours such as giving street direction, change giving, and rescuing people caught in fire etc.

Two prominent social psychologists - Darley and Latane'- undertook the first rigorous studies of the phenomenon of bystander intervention* in search of the causes of onlookers inaction. They set out to test the hypothesis that the failure of human compassion in the events of horrifying incidents and small favours, is not because fellow humans are no longer bonded together, but rather is due to the social psychology of the situation. From numerous laboratory studies

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* This term was coined by Latane' and Darley to mean a witness response to a needy situation.

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of bystander intervention, they have established one major finding - that the greater the number of bystanders in a simulated emergency situation, the less likely intervention becomes, and the longer it takes for any single bystander to intervene (Darley and Latane, 1968; Latane and Darley, 1968; Latane and Rodin, 1969). In their terms an emergency situation means one that 'involves threat of harm or actual harm to life or property', (e.g., accidents, fires), that is 'an unusual and rare event', that is 'unique'; each situation presents a specific problem, that is usually 'unforeseen and unpredictable', and that requires immediate intervention; a delay may result in tragic consequences.

Such experiments have also been carried out in field settings (Latane, 1970; Latane and Dabbs, 1975) investigating mainly the influence of situationsal variables on nonemergency situations, and these have confirmed the laboratory findings. Latane and Darley state that the nonemergency situations in these field studies are characterised in several ways - they donot involve a threat or actual harm to life or property, that they are common events that people frequently face in daily life, they are unambiguous situations, foreseen and do not require urgent or immediate action.

Since this pioneering work, bystander research has primarily focussed on answering the question 'what determines in a particular situation whether a person will, or will not, render help?' Various classifications of independent variables which are said to have an effect in people's apprehension of

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emergencies, and thus their intervention (or help), were employed in this area of research. Some of these are: the temporary psychological states of the potential helper, his personal characteristics or that of the victim or help-seeker, the social norms, the social roles and demographic attributes of the potential helper, and the characteristics of the situation.

Excellent reviews and collections of the extremely extensive work in this area are available (Latane and Darley, 1970; Krebs, 1970; Macaulay and Berkowitz, 1970; Berkowitz, 1972; Wispe, 1972; Staub, 1974; Bar-Tal, 1976; Huston and Korte, 1976; ,
Wispe, 1978; Staub, 1978, 1979; Latane et al., 1981; Piliavin et al., 1981; Rushton and Sorrentino, 1981; Derlega and Grzelak, 1982). Indeed the behaviour under study, which is termed differently by different authors, has become a major area of social psychology, formal recognition of this being the inclusion of whole chapters in most recent American social psychological textbooks (e.g., Baron, Bryne and Griffit, 1974; Freedman, Carlsmith and Sears, 1974; Middlebrook, 1974; Berkowitz, 1975; Lickona, 1976; Baron and Byrne, 1977; Wrightsman, 1977; Hollander, 1981; and part chapters in Smith et al., 1982).

Unfortunately, despite this huge collection of work, there is no consensus among authors and researchers on terminology or definitions of the behaviour under focus. In consequence this problem make the area extremely complex and difficult to survey, but the following sections are an attempt to do this in at least a systematic way.

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1.2 LITERATURE REVIEW: DEFINITIONAL PROBLEMS

What is Altruism or Helping Behaviour?*

The question of whether people are capable of a certain kind of behaviour depends, of course, on how that behaviour is defined. Although there is a general agreement among researchers and authors in this area of helping behaviour* on the rough profile of helpful behaviour, there is no agreement on one definition, or term, which covers all aspects of this behaviour. Perhaps the oldest and most widely accepted term to describe the behaviours of interest is altruism. The dictionary meaning of altruism is 'unselfish concern for the welfare of others' (Collins, 1982).

The study of altruism began many decades prior to the mid-1960's when the current trend of research on altruism started to flourish. For example, in 1945 Holmes discussed the origins of altruism in terms of parental care. In fact the term was originated by Comte (1798-1857), who wrote about the development of altruism and sympathetic instincts. The behavioural phenomena to which altruism refers had been the concern of philosophers examining what constitutes human nature (e.g, Hobbes, 1588-1679; Locke, 1632-1704; Marx, 1818-1883). It had also initially been the concern of biological sciences (Darwin, 1871; Haldane, 1932;

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* This part is also a review of other terms and definitions used in this area of research. 'Altruism' and 'helping' are chosen for this title because they are most commonly used.

* Helping behaviour was chosen here to represent all other terms.

Nissen and Crawford, 1936; Wynne-Edwards, 1962). The recent
revival of interest in the study of altruism, from the biological
sciences, comes from sociobiology. Following the tradition of
evolutionary theorists, sociobiology is concerned with altruism
because it appears to pose a paradox for Darwinian theory.
Because the study of altruism in social psychological context,
seems to be borrowed from the sociobiological context, it is
worth to give an account of the sociobiological aspects of altruism.

For evolutionary theorists altruism is behaviour that
enhances the genetic fitness (survival) of others at the expense
of the genetic fitness of the altruist (Wilson, 1975). But since
these theorists favour those organisms producing more and more
offspring, altruistic behaviour, then, should disappear from the
population. However, the existence of widespread altruism creates
a theoretical or definitional problem. So under what conditions
might a gene that tends to make organisms behave altruistically
spread through a population at the expense of a rival gene of,
say, selfishness? To overcome this problem neo-Darwinians have
introduced the idea of natural selection operating at the family
level. However, present day theory recognises three ways in
which natural selection can favour altruistic behaviour.

(1)   Kin Selection: Hamilton (1971) introduced the kin selection
      theory. It means an individual would behave to increase
      the genetic fitness of other members of a certain network
      which includes his offspring or distant relatives. However,
      kin selection theory can be challenged on its own ground.
      Even when relatedness is slight, e.g, a friend, it is

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possible to see an effect of altruism; and even to a non-human entity such as country – a soldier may sacrifice his life for the survival of his country and its people. Human altruism is clearly not limited to relatives. The theory of kin selection has taken the good will out of altruism by limiting its occurrence to a network of relatives. Thus the natural selection theory was extended further into the complex set of relationships that Trivers (1971) has called:

(2)   Reciprocal Altruism: if an individual saves a drowning person, then the rescued person may later save the individual in return, and so both would benefit. The two persons need not be relatives. As the exchange of altruistic behaviour will benefit all individuals, it is likely to operate. But why should one reciprocate? Why not cheat?

(3)   Regulating System: people will bother to reciprocate because there is a regulating system which enhances and maintains altruism. It includes feelings of friendship, moral outrage, guilt, sympathy and gratitude (Wispe, 1978).

The import from sociobiology is a kind of altruism which has a survival value for a specific kin network, or the population as a whole (reciprocal altruism). This means this definition of altruism comes out of the context of a competitive society, not a co-operative one. This kind of altruism is not a common occurrence in everyday life; it is rather an antecedent of some rare life-threatening events. The implication for human altruism is that the difference between cultures may, or may not, show what would

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be predicted from the application of kin selection theory. For instance, in some cultures relatedness may be confined to the small family, in others to the extended family and in a third only to relatives living in the small community. Geographical proximity, interdependence between people, and various other factors may determine and maintain altruism, and not only kin selection.

Although accepting the biologists' usuage of the term 'altruism', some social psychologists who prefer to use the term, extend its usuage to behaviours which are not life threatening. Macaulay and Berkowitz (1970) defined altruism as "behaviour carried out to benefit another without the anticipation of rewards from external sources". By implication, then, any behaviour that benefits another in need, regardless of the helper's motives, is altruistic. However, the biologist's definition does not exclude the altruist intention; that is, to have offspring or to reciprocate. The one most aligned with Macaulay and Berkowitz's definition are Rosenhan (1978) and Schwartz and Howard (1981). These authors exclude material gain or social outcomes from their definition, but accept anticipated self-reinforcement as within the domain of altruism, though they reject the idea that this is the primary intention of altruistic behaviour. Aronfreed (1970) also questions the broad usage of the term altruism, and suggests the existence of a basic motive for altruism (i.e., empathy) and confines the use of the term to that behaviour which meets this motivational standard. It is also agreed by Krebs and Wispe (1974) that a critical criterion of altruism is its motivational base, but they question whether the perception of need in another is in fact sufficient to motiviate altruistic behaviour.

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Regretably all these definitions and remarks result in a concept which is too general because the criteria of benefits and rewards used to define altruistic behaviour will depend on society and culture. In short, altruism is a relative not an absolute concept.

Although definitions vary, the term altruism is usually used to refer to behaviour resulting in substantial benefit to the recipient, and that is performed voluntarily.

Other social psychologists prefer to use the term 'prosocial behaviour'. Staub (1978) defined prosocial behaviour as "behaviour that benefits other people." To behave in such a way a person has to understand another's need, desires or goals and act to fulfil them. However, even this seemingly simple definition can be problematic since it is not clear from the definition whether behaviour is directed towards an individual in a specific situation, or towards, say, the community. Piliavin et al., (1981) used the same term - prosocial - referring to behaviour generally beneficial to other people and to the ongoing social system. However, this merely illustrates a further controversy, namely how are benefits to the ongoing social system defined? Clearly this is dependent on the cultural context as well as the individual who is making the judgement on whether or not to help. For instance, an oppressive government might pass an apparently admirable law requiring people to come to the aid of other people, while their real concern is to require citizens to assist police and secret police to obtain information about possible dissidents movement. Certainly from the viewpoint of the dissidents assisting

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police officers would not be seen as prosocial behaviour. Nevertheless it may be designated as such by the law of the land. In a parallel example, German soldiers may have killed Jews in the Nazi concentration camps believing that they were benefiting their ongoing social system, but were they really acting prosocially?

Because of the ambiguities inherent in the definitions of altruism and the over inclusiveness of their term 'prosocial behaviour', some researchers have recently settled on 'helping behaviour' as the best term for this research area. However, again it can be argued that this is too general as Wispe (1978) refers to all behaviours such as aiding, donating, and intervening as helping behaviour. Thus, helping refers to doing whatever is necessary to assist or relieve someone in need. In this sense, the term 'helping' seems to be useful when referring to everyday common occurrence events such as giving street directions. But still some authors who use the term 'helping' remain dissatisfied. For lack of a better descriptive phrase, these researchers prefer to call all behaviours which are other - directed in a positive sense, positive social behaviour.

Finally, one term which is seemingly useful is 'bystander intervention', coined by Latane and Darley. This simply means a witness to an emergency intervenes to help another person. However, the term does not refer to any underlying motivation behind the intervention act.

The main problem with all definitions is their generality.
Although they all share the conclusion that the antecedent
behaviour is one which will benefit other people, no definition
refers to behaviour that is directly beneficial to specific people
or a specific individual. Thus, stating general definitions is
of limited use because the subset of acts to which they refer do
indeed vary quite considerably. Furthermore, variations in
culture and differing aspects of the environmental situation
which are relevant to helping behaviour, or altruism, make a
general definition unworkable.

The current trend of research has tried to avoid problems
associated with the validity of measures of altruism, helping,
prosocial etc., by operationally defining the behaviour in which
they are interested. Faced with the task of selecting a prosocial
behaviour, for those who prefer to use this term, the typical
investigator appears to be guided more by practical facility than
concern with conceptual appropriateness. Most of these behaviours
are easily adaptable to laboratory and field settings – such as
measures of donating to charity, sharing candy with children,
helping a confederate in an experimental setting. However, one
should be aware of the fact that measures of such behaviours are
not interchangable. For example, a child was asked to donate money;
it will make a difference whether the child has won the money or
has simply been given some money by a parent, whether the recipient
is a friend or a stranger, whether a poor child or a number of
poor children. Thus, single measures are not useful for
generalisation. Only a sample of different kinds of behaviours
across different situations would help in generalising.

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In the following survey of the literature all the terms which have been discussed in this section will appear when referring to previous studies as used by particular authors. However, for the purpose of the present study operational definitions will be used, e.g., opening the door for the knocker, mailing the lost letter and completing a questionnaire are defined as helpful acts; and the term "helping behaviour" is preferred because the behaviours under focus are commonplace and are of non-emergency nature in both cultures studied.

1.3   Review of the Literature: Research and studies

Researchers in this area have explored so many variables
that it is difficult to present any integrated perspective on
their work. However, it is possible to look at the various
independent variables which have been studied according to their
level of generality, and five distinct levels can be described.

The first, and most specific, level involves temporary
psychological states such as those accompanying experiences of
success or failure, dependency, similarity with the help-seeker
and the observation of models. Independent variables of these
types have an immediate, temporary and relatively limited effect.
The second level involves personality characteristics, such as
social responsibility, need for approval, authoritarianism,
ascription of responsibility, awareness of consequences. These
generally correlate rating-scale or questonnaire - derived measures
of personality traits with some index of altruism. The third
level of generality involves social norms such as the norm of
social responsibility, the norm of reciprocity, the norm of
giving, and other internalised social norms. the fourth level
involves social roles and demographics variables such as age,
sex, race and social class. The level of generality is even
greater here. Social roles and demographic variables differ from
trait variables in that they are permanent, stable and basically
characteristic. The final level of generality, least general,
involves the characteristics of the situation such as the number
of bystanders, emergency - nonemergency nature, cost-benefit, and
the situation being in an urban or non-urban setting. Research at

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this level constitutes by far the largest body of studies in this area which will be reviewed.

1.3.1 Temporary psychological states

Studies at this level have manipulated variables in which induced psychological states on the potential helper is the prime factor that mediates helpful responses. They are about what is going on inside the individual himself. What internal factors of the individual, which are particularly his at the time of the needy situation, will determine or contribute to his act of help?

Several studies have attempted to establish that affective, positive or negative, states have far-reaching consequences on helpful behaviour. Most studies have indicated that a prior successful experience can increase a person's willingness to help others at some cost to himself (Staub, 1968; Midlarsky, 1968a; Isen, 1970; Aderman and Berkowitz, 1971; Kazdin and Bryan, 1971; Aderman, 1972; Isen and Levin, 1972; Isen et al., 1973; Levin and Isen, 1975; Hornstein et al., 1975; Greenwald, 1975; Isen et al., 1976; Isen et al., 1978). Aderman (1972), for example, asked one group of subjects to read statements describing feelings of elation, and another group to read statements describing feelings of depression. Those who were elated were much more willing to volunteer subsequently for an unpleasant experiment than those who were depressed.

Other studies were concerned with the effects of negative states of helpfulness. The effects of negative moods are more

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complex than positive mood. Some negative moods, such as shame
and guilt seem generally to facilitate helping behaviour, whereas
others, such as sadness, retard it. In general though, transgression
increases helpfulness. This holds true for a variety of
transgressions, such as shocking a confederate, killing a laboratory
animal, or knocking over a box of index cards. Also this holds
true for different helpful behaviours, including helping to score
exams, participating in subsequent experiments, and donating
blood. Helpfulness is increased regardless of whether the
transgression is intentional (Carlsmith and Gross, 1969; McMillan,
1971; Keating and Brock, 1976) or unintentional (Konecni, 1972;
Cialdini, Derby and Vincent, 1973; Harris and Samrotte, 1976).
It does not matter whether the harm-doing is public and known
(Darlington and Macker, 1966; Keating and Brock, 1976) or quite
private (Freedman, Wallington and Bless, 1967). It does not
matter whether help is directly requested (Regan, 1971) or not
directly requested (Rawlings, 1968; Regan, et al., 1972).

Feelings of sadness, of personal rejection, and of failure
appear to have quite different effects from transgression or
shame, in that they either retard or do not affect helping behaviour.
In laboratory studies, as well as in naturalistic settings,
children who were asked to reminisce on things that had made them
sad, and adults who attended a saddening movie, were less likely
to donate money than controls who were instructed to think about
happy things or watched an effectively neutral movie (Moore,
Underwood and Rosenhan, 1973; Rosenhan, Underwood and Moore,
1974; Underwood et al., 1977). What holds true for sadness
applies also to the experience of failure. Several studies

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(Berkowitz and Connor, 1966; Isen, 1970; Berkowitz, 1972; Isen, Horne and Rosenhan, 1973) confirm that failure either retards helping behaviour, or makes its incidence indistinguishable from controls. For example, Isen et al., 1973, found that task failure led to fewer anonymous contributions than did a neutral outcome task.

Why should affects enhance or retard helping behaviour? One possibility is that positive affects enhance helpfulness because it makes one more attentive to occurrences outside the self, whereas negative affect retards helpfulness because it directs the eye and attention inward. This explanation was proposed by Thompson, Cowan and Rosenhan (1980). They speculate that focus of attention operates on the first few cognitions that come to mind. Confronted with the decision to help, a person who has attended to the plight of another may think first about the problems and needs of others, whereas others while focussing on their own difficulties by contrast, may think first of themselves and their own needs.

The third part at this first level of generality encompasses studies on modelling effects. Krebs (1970) suggests that models "supply information about what is appropriate in various situations by setting an example, by helping to create a normative standard, and by helping to supply a definition of the situation [p. 268]." Most of the modelling research has been carried out in the context of the laboratory experiments, with few field studies. Simply stated, people imitate the helpful behaviour of those they observe whether they are children (Bryan and Walbeck, 1970; Elliot and

Vasta, 1970; Grusec, 1971; Staub, 1971a; Yarrow and Scott, 1972; Rushton, 1976) or adults (Bryan and Test, 1967; Sole _et al._, 1975; Solomon and Grota, 1976). Bryan and Test had a person stand on the side of the road beside a car with a flat tyre, and at a point earlier on the road another person with a flat tyre was being helped by someone. The observation of the model significantly increased the frequency of drivers who stopped. However, in this and most other studies there is no direct evidence about the motives or internal processes that are aroused in observers, for example, that thoughts about standards or norms or societal expectations, arise as a result of exposure to a model.

It seems reasonable to inquire as to the extent to which examples of helpful behaviour generalise beyond the specific modelled act. Obviously such generalisation is desirable in order to make the effects of socializations more efficient. Yarrow _et al._ (1973) failed to find that the effects of symbolic modelling of altruism generalise to real-life situations. However, it has been argued that observation of models allows children to generate abstract rules that govern future behaviour in dissimilar situations (Rosenthal and Zimmerman, 1978). The data on the modelling of altruism, however, seem to be somewhat equivocal on this point. Rice and Grusec (1975) and Rushton (1975, 1981) have demonstrated that the effects of modelling show great durability, being evident in retests over a 2-4 months period. In other laboratory experiments (e.g., Elliot and Vasta, 1970) it was found that children trained to share candies did not give up a preferred toy to a stranger. However, the general import from modelling studies is that the more examples of helping behaviour provided, the easier it becomes

for children to abstract general rules about the importance of showing concern for others. This is because models, at the most elementary level, make behavioural characteristics clear - they draw attention to particular courses of action and they supply information about what is appropriate in various situations by setting an example. Moreover, modelling has an effect in the internalisation of helpful dispositions. Hoffman (1975) found that altruistic children have at least one parent who is altruistic.

Also at this first level of generality, the effects of temporary psychological states of the help-seeker have been studied. Dependency and similarity with the help-seeker were the two variables explored here.

Berkowitz and his associates (Berkowitz and Daniels, 1963; Berkowitz et al., 1964; Berkowitz, 1968, 1969, 1972) conducted a number of experiments to explore how the degree of dependence for help affects behaviour. Several characteristics of the experimental situations are important to consider. A distinction was made between dependence and need. The degree of dependence is the degree to which another person's help is necessary if someone is to achieve a goal. Degree of need, in contrast, refers to the state of deficiency of the person who requires help; the greater the deficiency, the greater the need. Another aspect of these studies is that the cost of providing aid is low e.g., whether the subject will work a little faster or a little slower in making boxes for a supervisor. These studies consistently showed that in high-dependence conditions the subjects worked harder and produced more boxes than in low-dependence conditions. Other

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authors have studied the effect of dependency and sex (Pomazal and Clove, 1973), and dependency and threat on helping behaviour (Harris and Meyer, 1973; Lesk and Zippel, 1975). All these studies have concluded that dependency generates help.

Similarity in attitudes, opinion and personalities were presumed to have effects on helping behaviour. Several studies have provided evidence that variations in similarities between oneself and another person affect later helping behaviour. For example, Karabenick, Lerner and Beecher (1973) found that on Election Day, 1972, passersby were likely to help a confederate pick-up dropped Nixon or McGovern placards if they had the same political preference. Also similarity in views, either pro or anti-Israeli views (Hornstein et al., 1971); similarity in attitudes (Sole, Martin and Hornstein, 1975); similarity in feelings (Stotland, 1969; Krebs, 1975) were found to contribute positively to helpful behaviour. There is little question that similarity sometimes affects helping behaviour. However, it is not clear to what extent similarity or agreement on issues increase, and dissimilarity decreases helping behaviour.

1.3.2 Personality characteristics

Research here is concerned with naturally occurring correlations rather than experiementally induced relationships, such as do personality differences operate in determining a bystander's reaction? A number of measures have been used in answering such questions; some researchers have used the rating of others, some have used scores on pencil-and-paper tests, and

some have used behavioural measures to find what personality traits correlate with altruism.

Darley and Latane (1968) gave subjects the Marlowe Crowne (1960) Need for Approval Scale and the Social Responsibility Scale of Berkowitz and Daniels (1963), and also asked them to fill a battery of scales including some like the Authoritarian Personality Scale (F-scale). While the subjects were discussing personal problems associated with college life, one of the subjects (a confederate) underwent what appeared to be a serious nervous seizure similar to epilepsy. It was found that none of the personality variables predicted helping. Thus, Latane and Darley (1970) concluded that personality should be rather unimportant in determining people's reaction to emergencies, because the situational forces affecting a person's decision are so strong. In line with Darley and Latane's conclusion, Krebs (1978) wrote: "just about everyone will help in some situations; just about nobody will help in other contexts; and the same people who help in some situations will not help in others."

Other studies, however, have established the effect of personality measures on helpfulness. It was found that subjects who score high in the 'Fear of Embarrassment' test were less likely to help than subjects who score low on that test (McGovern, 1976); high 'approval-need' indicates that the person is more likely to help (Satow, 1975); the greater the tendency to ascribe responsiblity to self, the stronger the relationship between personal norms and overt helping behaviour (Schwartz, 1973, 1977); those who believe in a 'just-world' show greater altruistic

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behaviour (Zukerman, 1975); willingness to donate blood correlates positively with actual blood donations measured two months later (Zukerman et al., 1977).

Given this evidence for personality correlates with altruism Staub (1978, 1979) has suggested that there may be an altruistic personality and that people differ in the degree to which they have this general 'prosocial orientation'. He emphasises the need for an interactionist approach in which general prosocial values interact with specific situational norms to determine helping behaviour in harmony with the demands of the particular situation and the personality characteristics of the actor (e.g., competence, need for achievement). Thus different people may be altruistic in different situations. Staub (1974) had subjects fill out a large number of scales such as 'Social responsibility', 'Machiviavellianism', and a measure of how a person rank ordered such values as 'helpful' and 'equality' in a long list of alternatives. Subjects were later given the opportunity to intervene in an emergency, and it was found that all of the measures predicted helping behaviour. Indeed all of the different measures grouped significantly and positively together on a single factor along with high scores on measures of helping behaviour. Thus, a broad prosocial orientation emerged. In different experiments subjects of high prosocial orientation helped a distressed confederate, who told a story about her boyfriend who had broken up with her, more than subjects of low prosocial orientation (Feinberg, 1977; Goodman, 1978).

These findings and others (e.g., Dlugokinski, 1974; Ruston, 1976) seem to argue for a trait of altruism. Some people are consistently more generous, helping and kinder than others. However, a composite index of prosocial orientation has still to be compiled and investigated, rather than simply studying the correlation between helpfulness and any of the personality measures independently. While a summary profile has been proposed by Huston and Korte (1976), revealing that the Good Samaritan has a strong sense of moral and social responsibility, a spirit of adventurousness and unconventionality, and sympathy for others, the degree to which the profile will accurately predict helping behaviour across a wide variety of, e.g., emergency situations, remains to be seen. By and large, the picture emerging from this perspective needs considerably more refinement, and it will always be limited by the fact that sometimes emergencies are so sudden and so aversive that there is little room for individuals to reflect personality traits in their decisions to intervene.

1.3.3 Social norms

Studies which adopt the normative approach attempts to explain helpful behaviour as being dictated by societal norms. The term "norm" is typically used to refer to a set of expectations members of a group hold concerning how one ought to behave. Several theorists (e.g., Berkowitz, 1972; Staub, 1972) have suggested that helpful behaviour is guided by prescriptions of social norms, especially the norm of giving and the norm of social responsibilty. Most of the norms are internalised during the early phases of socialisation.

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1.3.3.1 Norm of social responsibility

Some studies have demonstrated that people tend to help those who are dependent on them. Such helping is attributed to the influence of the norm of social responsibility (Berkowitz and Daniels, 1963; Berkowitz, 1966; Berkowitz, 1972; Berkowitz, 1976) according to which people should aid others who are perceived as being dependent on them. This perception of the dependency relationship is presumed to arouse feelings of responsibility towards others. In contrast to the norm of reciprocity, the norm of responsibility guides people to help others without expectation of gain or reward (Schwartz and Clausen, 1970; Clark and Ward, 1974; Schwartz, 1975; Geer and Jarmecky, 1973; Schwartz and Ben-David, 1977).

1.3.3.2 Norm of giving

This norm assumes that people want to give help without anticipating any return, but rather for its own value; for example, Schwartz (1970a) has shown that a fairly high percentage of people are willing to donate their bone marrow even though they know that they would suffer some physical discomfort. However, research on this is implicitly included in others areas, since many helping situations require giving without expecting reciprocation.

1.3.3.3 Norm of reciprocity

This norm is based on the belief that people should help those who have helped them. Studies have shown that subjects

feel more positive towards people who have helped them if they have
the chance to reciprocate (Castro, 1975), and willingness to ask
for help is reduced when people do not expect to have an opportunity
to provide help in return (Greenberg, 1968; Greenberg and Shapiro,
1971). Feelings about reciprocal and non-reciprocal exchange
were found to be similar between USA, Sweden and Japan (Gergen et
al., 1975). The general explanation for this phenomenon is that
indebtedness, the felt obligation to repay a benefit, is thought
of as an unpleasant psychological state that people will attempt
to minimise.

1.3.3.4 Personal norms

Schwartz (1973) suggested that altruistic behaviour is
guided to a large extent by personal norms, which are defined as
the self expectations which derive from socially shared norms.
These norms are products of the interaction between learned
expectations of societal norms and personal experience in the
socialisation process. The hypothesis derived from the theory of
personal norms is that individuals who are aware of the consequences
of their acts and who feel personal responsibility to carry out
altruistic acts tend to be more altruistic (Schwartz, 1968, 1970,
1973, 1977; Schwartz and Fleishman, 1978; Schwartz and Howard,
1981).

However, the norm centred explanation has been rejected on
the ground that there are a number of contradictory norms that
apply to any one situation, and thus one cannot really predict
which norm will determine behaviour (Latane and Darley, 1970).

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1.3.4 Social roles and demographic attributes

Social roles and demographic attributes such as sex, age, race, social class and nationality have been studied as incidental correlates of helping behaviour.

1.3.4.1 Sex

The helping behaviour of males and females is likely to be affected by how sex-appropriate particular kinds of behaviour are regarded by the culture. In most cultures the male is less likely to be perceived as being in need because of circumstances beyond his control than is the female whose locus of dependence is often seen as being beyond her control. Moreover, the cost of helping a female is seen as lower because females are perceived to be less likely or capable of inflicting personal harm to the helper.

Findings to date indicate that females help less than males in emergencies (Piliavin et al., 1969; Wispe and Freshly, 1971), especially as the number of bystanders increases (Darley and Latane, 1968; Shwartz and Clausen, 1970; Latane and Dabbs, 1975). Also a major finding is that females are more likely to be helped than males (Latane, 1970; Morgan, 1973; Pomazal and Clove, 1973; Clark and Word, 1974; Latane and Dabbs, 1975; West et al., 1975).

1.3.4.2 Age

It was found that as the age of children increased, helping behaviour first increased and then decreased (Staub, 1970b). As

a result of socialisation, children initially learn that adults
expect them to help when help is needed, but subsequently their
help decreased when they are concerned with acting properly in
situations. Green and Schneider (1974) investigated age differences
in altruistic behaviour in subjects in four age groups: 5-6, 7-8,
9-10 and 13-14 years old. They found that sharing candy bars
with other children in the school increased with age. Other
research shows that variables that seem related to deserving
rewards affect behaviour among children as young as 4 to 5 years
of age (Masters, 1971; Staub, 1973; Long and Lerner, 1974; Miller
and Smith, 1977; Staub and Noerenberg, 1978). Generally, children
shared earned and deserved rewards less than undeserved rewards.
Also children were found to inhibit helping of college students
more than did the presence of two adults.

Another line of investigation has established that older
individuals are perceived as more dependent and less agile, and
therefore in greater need of help than younger individuals,
Tipton and Browning (1972) found that 50-60 year olds who dropped
groceries were helped more than 20-30 year olds.

1.3.4.3 Race

Individuals tend to help others who are similar to them,
therefore it is not surprising to find that the race of the person
in need is an important determinant of helping behaviour. It is
possible that the attribution of responsibility is also a function
of race. Whites and blacks helped equally when the person was not
to be blamed for his distress; however, when the person was drunk

people helped those of their own race substantially more often (Piliavin et al., 1969), when white and black experiments dropped groceries in a multi-racial city centre, the white experimenter was helped significantly faster than the black experimenter (Yousif, 1979), black females wearing Salvation Army uniforms received fewer donations from white shoppers than did white females wearing the same uniform (Bryan and Test, 1967), this latter result has been replicated by Gaertner and Bickman (1971), Gaertner (1973), and Penner et al., (1973). However, several other studies have found no discrimination by people in helping others of the same or different race (Wispe and Freshly, 1971; Thayer, 1973; Bickman and Kamzan, 1973). Also it has been argued that the activities of minority groups may be aimed at fellow members of the group (Wegner and Crano (1975). In a field study in a large midwestern university in the USA, Wegner and Crano had black and white confederates drop a large number of computer cards in front of white and black students. An interaction was found between the race of the confederate and the race of the subject; white subjects helped white and black confederates equally, whereas black subjects helped white confederates less than black confederates.

A different conception to that of most of the preceding studies was given by Katz, Cohen and Glass (1975). They assumed that white Americans' attitudes toward blacks are essentially ambivalent rather than clearly positive or negative. They note that whites helped blacks who actively sought help for humanitarian cause more than they helped whites. Thus, the circumstances

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under which helping behaviour is studied is more crucial than
effects of national or racial differences.

1.3.4.4 <u>Physical appearance</u>

Under some conditions the dress of the requester, hair-
length, presence of a moustache and dress of the subject may be
correlated with compliance to a request (Morgan, 1973). In a
study replicating Latane's (1970) study, Morgan found that
"straight" dressed requesters do seem to have a slight advantage
over "hip" dressed requesters in finding positive respones when
asking for time and names. Also girls with short-medium length
hair and males with no moustache are more likely to secure the
compliance, of whom they ask, to their request than do girls
with long hair and males with a moustache. This conclusion was
confirmed in another study by Graf and Riddell (1972).

1.3.4.5 <u>Nationality</u>

There is hardly any research on differencies in peoples'
responsiveness to compatriots and to foreigners who seek help.
Feldman (1968) appears to be the only study to date. Given a
variety of different opportunities to respond to compatriots and
foreigners, Parisians and Bostonians helped compatriots more, and
Athenians helped foreigners more. In general, the results
indicated that although members of different cultures differed in
their helpful behaviour, their acts were determined to a large
extent by the specific conditions of the situation. It may be,
however, that Athenians also acted according to the principle of

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helping in-group members more. To the Greeks the concept of in-group includes family, friends, friends of friends, and tourists (Staub, 1978).

1.3.5 <u>Characteristics of the situation</u>

The early research of Latane and Darely (1968, 1970) on why do people intervene found that seemingly appropriate personality tests are not good predictors of helping behaviour. They, thus, suggested that the characteristics of the situation have a more important influence on the intervention behaviour. When the situation needs immediate action, e.g, reporting a theft, the bystander may not live up to his responsibility (Gelfand <u>et al</u>., 1973; Bickman, 1976). Therefore, as contented by Latane and Darley, it is not always who you are, but where you are, which influences an individual's intervention or helping behaviour. There are no "good guys" or "bad guys", given the right situation anyone could come to derogate an innocently suffering victim (Sorrentino <u>et al</u>., 1979). Several studies have demonstrated that the presence of others, the presence of a friend, someone in physical distress, cost of helping etc are important factors in determining help. It is, therefore, important to examine the extent to which situational determinants like the mentioned ones, and others, contribute to the likelihood that a subject will give a particular kind of help. Various variables have been studied here.

1.3.5.1 <u>Group size effect</u>

One of the most consistent findings in bystander intervention research has been that the probability of an individual offering help in an emergency situation decreases as the size of the group in which he witnesses the event increases. The evidence for this

group size effect comprise a large body of studies, involving a wide variety of experimenters and experimental situations, in both laboratory and field settings. This holds true when someone faints (Smith, Smythe and Lien, 1972; Beaman and Diener, 1976; Solomon et al., 1978), when subjects are expected to report smoke in the room (Latane and Darley, 1968; Ross and Braband, 1973); when there are sounds of distress from a lady or a child in the adjacent room (Staub, 1970; Thalhofer, 1971); when there is a crash (Latane, 1969; Bickman, 1971; Clark and Word, 1972; Staub, 1974), when there is theft (Latane and Elman, 1970; Moylan and Greenwood, 1972; Howard and Crano, 1974), when there is an explosion (Wilson, 1976) and when someone falls (Piliavin et al., 1969, 1972, 1975; Konecni and Ebbesen, 1975; Gaertner and Dividio, 1977).

Why should the actual or believed presence of others inhibit helping? It has been suggested that the presence of other people results in a diffusion of responsibility, so that every individual no longer feels the responsibility for acting as would be the case if he were alone (Latane and Darley, 1970; Latante, Nida and Wilson, 1981). Other mechanisms which explain negative responses on the part of bystanders are 'social influence' and 'audience inhibition' (these will be elaborated on later in the next section of this first part).

Other research, however, casts doubt on the generalisability of group size effect. For example, the presence of a friend was found to be less inhibiting than the presence of a stranger (Latane and Rodin, 1969). Furthermore, Piliavin et al., (1969)

and Piliavin and Piliavin (1972) found that people's reaction to an emergency in the subway in New York was not affected by group size. They offered a different explanation where the cost of helping, rather than group size, is seen as the determining factor.

1.3.5.2 Emergency/nonemergency nature

Related to the situational factor is the effect of the emergency/nonemergency nature of the situation. Emergencies are characterised as rare events that happen suddenly, that involve a threat or actual harm to life or property, in which there is a limited time for decision-making because immediate action is required. The word "emergency" carries a feeling of unpredictability, instability, uncertainty and a risk, plus a sense of urgency and time pressure (Piliavin et al., 1981). Nonemergencies, however, are seen as daily routine events which are foreseen, that do not involve threat or harm to life or property, and do not require immediate action (Latane and Darley, 1970; Bar-Tal, 1976; Shotland and Huston, 1979).

Emergency situations that concern us generally have two basic qualities: the distressed person's need is potentially severe; and bystander action is required immediately. Researchers have not lacked imagination in creating and/or exploring such emergency situations. Dramatic instances have included field studies investigating the rescue of Jews in Nazi Germany (London, 1970), donations of bone marrow (Schwartz, 1970) and kidneys (Fellner and Marshall, 1970), confronting onlookers with a collapsed subway

rider (Piliavin et al., 1969; Piliavin and Piliavin, 1972), a
person groaning and lying in a doorway (Darley and Batson, 1973),
someone who twisted a knee or ankle and fallen to the ground
(Shotland and Johnson, 1974) and a violent theft (Schwartz and
Gottlieb, 1976).

Laboratory research on emergency intervention has faced
subjects with a variety of horrors including a physical assault
(Borofsky, Stollak and Messe, 1971; Shotland and Straw, 1976),
signs of fire (Latane and Darley, 1968; Ross, 1971) a loud crash
(Staub, 1971a, 1971b, 1974) someone falling from a ladder (Bickman,
1972; Darley, Teger and Lewis, 1973) fainting (Solomon et al.,
1978), and the experimenter falling (Yousif, 1979).

On the other hand, the nonemergency studies (e.g., Merrens,
1973; Kriss, Indenbaum and Tesch, 1974; Gross et al., 1975; Latane
and Dabbs, 1975) have utilised frequently occuring, natural
situations. For example, passersby were asked for direction,
change; subjects were confronted with dropped groceries or folders.

Most investigators have explained the failure of bystanders
to help in emergencies by referring to social variables such as
group size, presence of others, relationship among bystanders,
rather than the personal characteristics of bystanders. However,
some of these variables have been embodied in nonemergency
situations yet still a group size effect can be demonostrated
(Levy, 1972), and so this alone cannot account for the characteristics
of helping in emergencies. Although Bickman (1972) found that
help was offered to a victim when the situation was clearly

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defined as an emergency rather than possible or no emergency, still the ambiguity inherent in some emergencies has been found to inhibit hepling (Clark and Word, 1972, 1974; Solomon, Solomon and Stone, 1978). It is, thus, not conclusively established that people are more likely to help in emergencies rather than nonemergencies or vice versa.

1.3.5.3 Cost-Benefits

The person in a situation to help may calculate the relationship between the possible costs and rewards of his helpful act. In particular, he may try to assess the negative consequences of a helpful act; engaging only in acts which involve no or low costs. Although by definition helpful behaviour precludes any possibility of expecting external benefits (Macaulay and Berkowitz, 1970), an individual may expect internal rewards such as pride, enhanced self-esteem, or good feelings (Rosenhan, 1976; Schwartz and Howard, 1981).

Piliavin and associates (Piliavin and Piliavin, 1972; Piliavin, Rodin and Piliavin, 1969, 1975) attempted to demonstrate the effects of cost on helping, and elaborated a model to explain people's reactions to emergencies accordingly. In one experiment conducted in a subway train in New York, four teams consisting of a victim, a model, and two observers staged an accident in which the victim staggered forward and collapsed. The victim remained on the floor waiting assistance. In one condition the victim appeared sober, and in another he smelled of liquor and carried a liquor bottle. In another experiment, also carried in the subway

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train, the victim was either bleeding or not bleeding. The results were consistent; the perceived cost of helping a drunk or a bleeding person inhibited the bystanders. This cost-reward matrix is a counteracting force, the authors believed, which may operate in a given situation, irrespective of the number of bystanders. The main finding on which they develop a model of helping, is that observation of an emergency creates an emotional state in the bystander which increases or decreases helping (see the next section).

However, there are several problems with the Piliavin et al., (1969) data. First, the number of cases was small as the experiment was terminated early because of irrational actions on the part of real bystanders. Secondly, blood is bound to increase costs of intervention because it arouses feelings of revulsion.

Costs to the helper are of two kinds: the cost of helping and the cost of not helping. The cost of helping include physical and material costs, time, embarrassment, and feelings of inadequacy if help is ineffective. The costs of not helping include self-blame, shame and guilt and public censure. Rewards of helping are both internal and external; such as joy, enhanced self-esteem and, say, a write-up in a newspaper. Rewards for not helping include all the rewards for activities that would be interrupted if one were to help; also this may include rewards associated with lack of involvement (Walster and Piliavin, 1972).

Research which has varied the degree of need and cost has confirmed a cost hypothesis, which states that people are more

likely to help the lower the cost. In a series of studies, the would be victim (a) collapsed on the side-street that the passerby was crossing, (b) grabbed his knee and collapsed holding his knee, and (c) grabbed his chest over his heart and collapsed (Staub and Baer, 1974). About 50% of the passersby helped in the first two conditions, but no-one stopped to help in the third condition. Possibly, people perceived the cost of helping a person with a bad heart as very high. Other empirical studies (e.g., Wagner and Wheeler, 1969; Schaps, 1972; Darley and Batson, 1973; Gross et al., 1975; Weyant, 1978) have demonstrated that when the potential cost of helping is great, people will be less likely to help, even if the need for help is great.

Although costs reduce helping, the limits of their influence are not known. For example, will variation in relatively minor costs affect helping even if the need is great? What differences in personality lead to more or less sensitivity to costs? How much effort, energy, time, emotional burden, physical pain or danger, or material loss do people think it is reasonable to expend for others? How much do people believe is expected of them, and how does this amount vary as a function of the relationship with the person in need? Also it is important to be aware of the subjective and objective costs of helping, for helping other people can be highly rewarding. When a person is committed to helping another, what appears to an outsider as increase in cost may be perceived by him as a source of satisfaction and enjoyment. Like other terminology in this area of research, 'reward' and 'cost' are too general as concepts if not operationally defined in each particular research context.

1.3.5.4 Urban-nonurban

A major shift in the trend of researching into helping behaviour was prompted by the findings of Milgram (1970). Like others, who followed, he concluded that unhelpfulness is primarily a problem of city dwelling. He reported two measures on which urbanites were less helpful than nonurbanites: willingness to admit to the house strangers at the door asking to use the telephone, and willingness to assist wrong-number callers seeking information.

Given the array of situational factors that inhibit helping behaviour, it may be expected that the general impact of urbanisation on helpfulness will be negative rather than positive; and several studies have found evidence for less frequent help in the urban environment. Most of these studies used naturalistic measures that test individual responses to situations in which assistance is needed, and they have compared the helpfulness of urbanites and nonurbanites. A famous mishap that has been employed as a measure of helpfulness is the lost-letter technique. Here, stamped addressed envelopes are usually left in various places so as to appear lost by the persons intending to mail them. This makes it possible to test whether urbanites are less helpful even in a situation involving no danger. Many studies using this technique have confirmed that city people are less helpful than their small town counterparts (Krupat and Coury, 1975; Korte and Kerr, 1975; Hanson and Slade, 1977; Kamman, Thomson and Irwin, 1979), although other studies have reported no difference between city and town (Forbes and Gromoll, 1971; Korte et al., 1975).

However, the reliability of city-town difference in helpfulness between strangers has also been demonstrated in studies that have used a variety of other helpfulness measures, e.g., doing small favours such as asking for name and direction (Latane, 1970; Merrens, 1973; Rushton, 1978); helping a lost child (Takooshian et al., 1977); responding to wrong number callers (Stern, 1974; Korte and Kerr, 1975; McKenna, 1976; Kamman et al., 1979); letting a stranger to use the telephone (Levine et al., 1976); reporting shoplifters (Gelfand et al., 1973); increased likelihood that bank clerks will double-check the amount of money paid in by customers (Lowin et al., 1971). All of these findings indicate an absence of trust in the city and this reinforces the belief that there are factors operating to differentially influence the helpfulness that occurs in cities versus towns.

A number of studies have examined urban versus nonurban background itself as a predictor of helping behaviour, usually in the context of a laboratory setting (Darley and Latane, 1968; Schwartz and Clausen, 1970; Korte, 1971; Gelfand et al., 1973; Weiner, 1976; Hanson et al., 1978). For the most part, these studies test whether the impact of living and growing up in a city is evident even when urbanites are somewhat removed from a city environment (i.e., in the laboratory). The results of these studies offer only limited support for what may be called the 'urban personality' explanation of helpfulness.

The question as to why there should be a difference between urbanites and nonurbanites in helpfulness toward strangers remains. Korte et al., (1975) believed in a situational explanation. They

have examined helpfulness as a function of urbanisation and environmental input level. To evaluate the input level of a locale they have used the following measures:

(a)   sound level

(b)   traffic count

(c)   pedestrian count, and

(d)   building count.

Four different locales, two for high input and two for low input level, were chosen in Amsterdam and the Hague in Holland. Significantly greater helping in sidewalk short interviews, finding a lost key and helping a lost person to find his way, was reported under conditions of low input than high input level. Further support for the detrimental effects of high input levels on helpfulness came from studies by Krupat and Epstein (1973), Sherrod and Downs (1974), Mathews and Cannon (1975), Weiner (1976), Page (1977) and Korte and Ayvalioglu (1981). For instance, Mathews and Cannon found that an increased level of environmental noise in both laboratory and natural field settings resulted in decreased helpfulness. All these studies indicate that as the quality of environmental stimulation goes up, helpfulness goes down. This factor seems to be enhanced by urbanisation and thus it is reasonable to expect city people to be less helpful than town people who do not encounter such high level of bombardment.

There are different explanations for why input levels may have a detrimental effect on helping behaviour. Pedestrians walking down a street with a high input level may be more likely

(a) not to notice the needy person, (b) may be too exhausted to
help, (c) to be in too much of a hurry, and (d) committed to
noninvolvement as an appropriate course of action (Korte, 1981).
Awareness of certain objects in the surrounding environment,
including a person in need of assistance, may be lessened because
of say a high noise level resulting in a narrowing of attention,
may also contribute to urban-unhelpfulness thesis. When pedestrians
in the Scottish city of Dundee were asked about novel objects
they had just passed by, such as a group of brightly coloured balloons
tied to a tree, they were aware of 56% of the items when the
traffic noise level was low and only 35% when it was high (Korte
and Grant, 1980). Consequently one might expect more urbanites,
more frequently in similar noisy situations, to pass a needy
person unaware of his plight.

However, the major plausible explanation offered of the
urban-rural difference is that of stimulus overload (Milgram,
1970). The overload hypothesis links helpfulness in an urban
environment to the level of inputs - stimuli, demands, opportunities,
etc. that characterises that environment. An environment with
high levels of inputs such as a big city is difficult to live in
without adopting tactics that reduce the physical bombardment.
Among these tactics may be a reduced willingness to respond to
strangers who need assistance, considering them as a low priority
input. This input overload hypotehsis suggested a very concrete
explanation for how the urban environment affects helpfulness,
and it is also an explanation amenable to experimental evaluation.
Several studies have found support for the overload hypothesis
(Krupat and Epstein, 1973; Sherrod and Downs, 1974; Mathews and

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Cannon, 1975; Weiner, 1976; McCauley and Taylor, 1976; Rotton, 1977; Newman and McCauley, 1977; Cohen, 1978; Boles and Hayward, 1978; Hanson et al., 1978). The situations involved were: offering help to a stranger in a high and low levels of overloading noise, offering help in a staged accident under conditions of sensory bombardment versus low stimulus overload, the walking speed of individuals in the street under the natural ambient noise level, asking subjects for help immediately after the completion of experiments of various levels of distraction, and eye contact with strangers when coming off a commuter train in a city and in a suburb.

Although the overload explanation is appealing, it presents a methodological difficulty, namely the difficulty of defining overload in situational terms. Overload must result from the composite action of numerous stimuli e.g., noise, number of people, time pressure, traffic volume and so on. Most research here has tried to overcome this problem by operationally defining the overload situation. For example, in the Mathews and Cannon (1975) study subjects were exposed to a small mishap in a room with either ambient noise (48 dB), low noise (65 dB) or high noise (85 dB). However, in some studies such as McCauley and Taylor (1976) it is not possible to know whether the fact that more subjects exit—ing a train in the city avoided eye contact with strangers than did so in the suburbs is because they were in a hurry or because of the increased density of people.

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Only few studies have failed to find urban-nonurban differences in helpfulness (e.g, Forbes and Gromoll, 1971; Schneider and Mockus, 1974; Korte et al., 1975). But these are only few studies compared with the huge evidence for urban-nonurban differences. Taken as a whole, the considerable number of studies on helpful behaviour support the conclusion that there is a clear decline in the treatment of strangers as one goes from a nonurban to an urban environment.

1.3.6   Helping behaviour as a function of other forms of interpersonal relationships

All the previously mentioned studies have concentrated on helpfulness towards strangers, which suggests that contacts with strangers are impersonal. This has led to the popular view that urbanites are socially isolated. But do the behavioural consequences attributed to city living extend to all forms of interpersonal relationships? May be the different interpersonal relationships e.g., between relatives, friends, neighbours etc., are influenced by somewhat different factors, and hence are subject to different explanations which may not necessarily sustain the expected differences between urban and nonurban environments as demonstrated in the bulk of studies mentioned earlier.

A few studies have tried to compare social contact between relatives in urban and nonurban settings, but they have consistently showed a lack of difference between these two settings (Fischer, 1976; Korte, 1976). Also when geographical distances of relatives was controlled for (Bultena, 1969), and time spent was measured (Key, 1968) no differences were evident.

A picture similar to this is also evident in the social contact between friends. Frequency of association with friends was found to be similar between urban and nonurban respondents (Reiss, 1959: Key, 1968), no association was found between friendship ties and residential location (Sutcliffe and Crabbe, 1963); individual contacts with acquaintances in cities were longer in length and equally intimate to those reported by town

respondents (McCauley and Taylor, 1976); newcomers to a city or a
town have equal number of friends and no difference in frequency
of contact, after they have lived there for seven or eight months
(Franck, 1980).

A shift in the results of comparison occur when dealing
with social contacts between neighbours. Key (1968) study found
significant increases in frequency of contact with neighbours as
community size decreased. An analysis of survey data by Fischer
(1973) showed that urban respondents were considerably less well
acquainted with their neighbours (i.e., knowing them by name).

In view of the available studies to date comparing the
nature of contacts in urban and nonurban environments, a preliminary
overall conclusion is that city living is characterised by less
frequent and less positive contacts with strangers and neighbours,
whereas there are no differences between city and town people in
the extent of social contact occurring between relatives and
friends. The inference from this is that, with regard to
helpfulness, the city dwellers may care only about relatives and
friends, and hence be more likely to help and exchange help with
them than with strangers and neighbours. However, whether this
is a universal phenomenon remains to be seen.

1.3.7 Cross-cultural research:-

In the broadest sense, cross-cultural studies in the social
sciences refer to the study of members of various culture groups.
However, it is difficult to choose one commonly accepted definition
of culture since over 150 definitions of culture were given by
Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952). Researchers into the area of
helping behaviour mostly used the term 'culture' to denote two
different countries, or loosely to mean research conducted outside
the United States. However in the strict sense cross-cultural
should be 'confined to peoples contrasting sharply in modes of
life and ecology such as Ashanti and Scots, excluding comparative
studies of culturally similar populations like French and English
who are probably called 'cross-national' [Jahoda, 1970, p.57].

Korte et al. (1975) conducted a field study in what they
thought a different cultural setting from that of the United
States, namely, Holland. They were mainly concerned with the
generality of 'urban incivility' hypothesis. Korte et al. applied
three measures of helpfulness – cooperation in an interview,
returning a lost key, and assisting a person with street directions
– in the different locales of Amsterdam and the Hague, and some
towns in Holland. No difference was found between cities and
towns in help given to a stranger. This suggests that specific
features within a culture may influence the social behaviour of
people in that culture. Korte et al. (1975) suggested that the
smallness of the country, the homogeneity of the population, or a
norm of urban civility may explain the lack of urban-nonurban

differences in helpfulness towards strangers. However, these are
only speculative arguments.

Apart from Korte et al. (1975) there are other studies
which have tested the urbanization - unhelpfulness in cultures
other than the United States. Schneider and Mockus (1974) failed
to find a difference between cities and towns in helpfulness
shown towards strangers in Canada, whereas in a study conducted
also in Canada (Rushton, 1978) the urbanization - unhelpfulness
hypothesis was confirmed. Here, helping behaviour was studied as
a function of urban density. Four requests for help - for the
time, directions, change, and for the person's name - were
solicited in Toronto, in the suburbs of Toronto, and in a small
town outside the city. The percentage of helping decreased as
density increased. The author suggested that life in big cities
may provide people with so many stressors (e.g noise) that led to
decreased altruism. Amato (1980) supports Rushton's explanation
in a study conducted in Australia. He concluded that there exists
a decrease willingness to communciate with strangers in the more
crowded urban environment. A recent evidence for the generality
of urban - nonurban differeneces in helpfulness came from a
culture quite different from the previously examined (Korte and
Ayvalioglu, 1981). A field study was carried out in Turkey in order
to compare the level of helpfulness in towns, cities and squatter
settlements in big cities. The two major cities of Turkey,
Instanbul and Ankara, which have a number of squatter settlements,
were compared with some Turkish towns. The results generally
showed less helpfulness in Turkish cities than in towns
and squatter settlements which showed equivalent levels of

helpfulness. This study offers further support for the view that behavioural characteristics of urban dwellers may be a general phenomenon extending to cultures such as those of the developing nations. But with the absence of such support in other studies (e.g. Schneider and Mockus, 1974; Korte et al., 1975) the cross-cultural generality of urban - nonurban differences in helping behaviour is open to question.

Although there are many studies on the effect of race on helping behaviour (e.g. Katz et al., 1973; Wegner and Crano, 1975; Gaertner and Dividio, 1977) these studies hardly constitute a sound basis for speculation about cross-cultural or transnational differences. Most of the helping behaviour research has been undertaken in the United States, or in another country with no direct comparison or replication of the studies in a different coutnry representing a different culture. Furthermore, though the studies were conducted in different countries, they could still be said to represent one culture, namely the Western culture. One exception here is the Turkish study (Korte and Ayvalioglu, 1981). Studies like Feldman's (1968) ingenious field experiments on foreigners and compatriots who seek assistance in Athens, Boston and Paris, and Berkowitz's (1966) studies of dependency and helping in English and American schoolboys are the exceptions rather than the rule in transnational helping behaviour, i.e. rare studies which compare helping behaviour in two and more countries. Thus, it is not known how well conclusions drawn from these studies will generalize to other cultures.

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Moreover, a culture comprised of a diverse subcultures may be different from a homogeneous culture, or a culture in which the differences between subcultures are not sharp. L'Armand and Pepitone (1975) compared altruistic behaviour in India and the United States. This study showed that in general American subjects were more altruistic than Indian subjects. However, the altruism of the American subjects was limited to situations in which no cost was involved in being altruistic. L'Armand and Pepitone explained the low level of altruistic behaviour by Indian subjects by suggesting that individuals in underdeveloped societies; such as India, believe that all types of rewards in the world are fixed and severely limited. Moreove, a gain by one person causes a loss to another. Thus, individuals who hold such beliefs will not tend to be altruistic. However, a different explanation may be offered here. The different subcultures in India may make people behave and interact with others as similar or dissimilar, and hence this underlies the particular behaviour. In India there are the Muslims, the Hindus, the Sikhs and other groups. As discussed earlier (See Part 1) similarities between people in views, opinions, attitudes greatly influence helping behaviour (e.g Hornstein et al.; 1971, Sole et al., 1975). Also the caste system in India which divides the society into four major classes (Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sudra) may also be a critical factor. Each individual may identify himself with individuals from his class or subculture, and consequently exchange helping behaviour with them, not with others. However, strong motivators such as religion may override all other effects, and encourage people not to think in terms of material rewards.

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By and large, from the literature one can tell that the cross-cultural (or cross-national) research is currently concerned with the urban-unhelpfulness phenomenon. However, more studies from different countries, representing different cultures, are yet to be done if we are to reach a satisfactory conclusion in the generality of urban-nonurban differences in helping behaviour.

From the preceding view of the literature relevant to altruism and helping behaviour, it is clearly evident that a diverse array of variables exert important influences on helping behaviour. Substantial knowledge about helping behaviour and altruism has accumulated during the late 1960's and the last decade. Nontheless our knowledge is as yet limited, and important tasks in research lie ahead such as exploring the variables found to influence helping behaviour in different cultures, other than the Western culture.

Theoretical approaches to the
study of altruism and helping behaviour

1.4 Theoretical approaches to the study of altruism and helping behaviour

Why do people help each other, and why do they sometimes not help each other? Attempts to explain why helpful acts somtimes occur, while sometimes do not, are part of the concern of a number of theorists. Several theoretical approaches have been offered to deal with the question of why people help and do not help. Within these theoretical frameworks, many psychological processes through which helping behaviour does, or does not occur, have been suggested. Since the original decision - making model of Latane and Darley (1970) which aimed at predicting the occurrence of the intervention act, subsequent models have elaborated on the idea that helping behaviour is a kind of decision making, though these models have not necessarily used the same theoretical base (e.g. Schwartz, and Piliavin et al.).

1.4.1 The situational approach

In most experimental studies of helping behaviour, specific external factors have been manipulated to test for their effects. This is known as the situational approach to the study of helping or intervention behaviour. Basically the main argument is that there is little room for individual differences (i.e. personality characteristics) in explaining or predicting a helpful act. Our actions are influenced to a large extent by the situational forces at the particular moment we are supposed to act.

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Two major theoretical approaches stress the explanatory power of the situation. These are the reinforcement theory, which is the point of view of social learning theory, and the cognitive analysis approach. Together, or seperately, these psychological processes seem sufficiently capable of explaining the occurrrence or absence of the helpful act.

The reinforcement approach says that helpful behaviours occur because they have been rewarded in the past. Thus helping depends on one's own reinforcement history. If an individual goes to the aid of a stranger in distress, for instance, he does so because such responses have been associated with positive reinforcement. People are also influenced by expectations about future rewards and punishments. Examples include concern about being considered a hero or a coward, and beliefs about heaven and hell. The prediction that stems from the reinforcement explanation is that helpful behaviour can be increased or decreased by associating rewards and punishment with it. In order to test this prediction Moss and Page (1972) conducted a field experiment in which they manipulated the positive and negative consequences of a helping response in an effort to alter the subsequent helping behaviour. They arranged a situation in which subjects were asked to help a female confederate, and were rewarded or punished for their efforts. Then further down on the street a second confederate dropped a small bag and continued as if unaware of it. All subjects who were previously offered positive reinforcement rendered help, and less than half of the negatively reinforced subjects offered help. Thus, it appears that helping does vary

as a function of reinforcement.

But much as experimental studies of helping behaviour rely
on traditional theories of reinforcement to explain these phenomena,
they also make use of the observational learning theories. For
example, Baer, Peterson and Sherman (1967) introduced the notion
of 'generalized imitation to explain modeling phenomena. This
says that when aspects of a model's behaviour have been reinforced,
being similar to that model in itself gradually becomes sufficient
reinforcement, even when no discrete reinforcers are being emitted
by the model. However, Bandura (1969a) states that both children
and adults pick and choose the people, the behaviours, and the
time when they will imitate. This seems to be the case with
helping, since people do not engage in helping all the time,
though observing a helpful model may enhance their helpfulness.

The second situational approach is the cognitive analysis
approach. This approach is concerned with how people think,
perceive and analyse what is going on and the decision - making
process which must be operative, eventually leading to action or
inaction.

Faced with a situation from which he can gain no benefit,
a bystander to an emergency is in a critical position, and must
make a choice among several courses of action - all or some of
them may be bad. It is perhaps surprising that in such a position
anyone should intervene at all for there may be costs for helping,
either material or psychological. Rewards may often be little
more than a hurried anonymous thank you or the mention of a name

in a newspaper. Latane and Darley (1970) suggested that such situations may lead bystanders to be motivated primarily to find ways of avoiding the choice; and several are available as they work their way through the sequence of steps or decisions that must be made before intervention takes place. Latane and Darley (1970) proposed five sequential decisions stages:

(1) A person must notice that something is happening. People are usually absorbed with their own goals and concerns, that often they may not notice emergency situations happening around them.

(2) If, however, a person notices that something is happening, he must decide whether the event is an emergency or not.

(3) If the bystander interpreted the event as an emergency, he must decide whether he has personal responsibility to help. This is a crucial decision. It is often simpler to decide that it is not my business than to get involved and incur some possible costs.

(4) If he decided to commit himself, then he must decide how to intervene and what kind of help to use.

(5) The last decision the person must make is how to implement the fourth decision. At this point he starts to carry out the intervention.

The model is well illustrated and presented by Worchelland Cooper (1976) [see Fig. 1.4.1]. This clearly demonstrates that the bystander to an emergency must make the appropriate decision at each stage of the sequence of decision points, if he is to intervene. There is always more than one decision at each point from which the bystander has to choose the right one. A negative decision at any step in this sequence will result in a failure to intervene. A potentially important aspect of the decision process model is whether or not the bystander feels that the outcomes (cost, reward) asssociated with helping are more positive than the outcomes associated with not helping. Although Latane and Darley do not explicitly deal with a cost-reward analysis, it is nontheless implicit in their overall model.

Within their theoretical framework, Latane and Darley (1970) and Latane et al. (1981) discussed three social psychological processes that might occur when the individual is in the presence of others in a situation requiring intervention.

(1) Diffusion of responsibility – when other individuals are present, this allows an individual to diffuse responsibility (with possible feelings of guilt, shame or blame) for helping to them. It is not like when the individual is alone, in which case he feels the onus of responsibility. The diffusion of responsibility helps in reducing the psychological costs of nonintervention.

(2) Social influence – many apparent helping situations are ambiguous. In order to help define a situation a bystander may

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Fig. 1.4.1
Decision tree analysis of intervention
in an emergency. (From Worchell and Cooper, 1976)

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look to other people, observe their reaction and behaviour, and
thus judge his own action on the basis of theirs. If they remain
calm and collected, they will obviously affect the response of
that individual.

(3)   Audience inhibition - the social influence effect
also includes the effect of being seen by others. A bystander in
a crowd is aware that others can evaluate and judge his behaviour.
The presence of others may put pressure on bystanders to appear
on their best public behaviour, thereby trying to avoid embarrassment,
being evaluated negatively, or being made to look foolish in the
public eye.

Each of these psychological processes can be seen as an
independent and distinct but they can work in an additive manner.
In an attempt to test this proposition, Darley and Latane (1976)
varied the channel of communications available between two
bystanders to an emergency. For diffusion of responsibility to
operate each bystander must at least believe that another bystander
is present; for social influence to come into effect one bystander
must be able to tell what the other bystander does; and for
audience inhibition to have an effect the other bystander must be
able to tell what the individual does. Fig. 1.4.1b clearly
demonstrates that each of these processes is independent and
dynamically distinct as initially proposed by Latane´ and Darely
(1970).

Fig. 1.4.1b Cumulative response curve (from Rushton and Sorrentino, 1981).

There is a substantial decline in the rate of helping as one moves from the alone condition, to no communcation condition with one process, to the one way communication with two processes, and finally to the full communication treatment with all the processes. It seems that informational social influence i.e., information about interpreting the situation, exerts its effects first, soon after the start of the emergency, especially since most emergencies are by nature ambiguous. Diffusion of responsibility, if it occurs, appears after the interpretation of the situation, where each bystander is wondering what action to take. Later audience inhibition or normative social influence occurs. It is related to the concern about the evaluation of others.

1.4.2   The arousal: Cost - reward model

Another situational approach which treats helping, or intervention, behaviour as a decision-making process is the arousal model (Piliavin et al., 1969, Piliavin and Piliavin, 1972; Piliavin et al., 1975; Piliavin et al., 1981, 1982). The model proposes that arousal underlines intervention in an emergency situation such that observation of an emergency situation elicits a state of physiological arousal in the bystander. In its present form the model consists of five propositions:

(1)   Observation of an emergency arouses a bystander. The degree of arousal he experiences depends on a number of variables:

A.   Perceived severity of the emergency situation - the greater the severity, the higher the arousal

B.   Physical distance from the emergency situation - the closer to the emergency, the higher the arousal.

C.   Feelings of empathy - if a bystander feels empathy as a result of perceived similarity to the victim, or emotional attachement to the victim, then he will experience a high level of arousal.

D.   Length of the emergency - the longer the emergency lasts without any intervention, the higher the arousal.

(2)   In general, the arousal occasioned by observation of an emergency becomes more unpleasant as it increases, and the

bystander is motivated therefore to reduce it.

Arousal is so aversive that the bystander must do something to stop it. If not, he will suffer the continuation of the unpleasant state produced about by high arousal.

(3)   The bystander will choose the response that will most rapidly and most completely reduce his arousal, incurring in the process as few net costs (costs minus rewards) as possible.

There are two basic categories of costs to the bystander: Costs for helping and costs for not helping. As mentioned earlier costs for helping include personal danger, effort expenditure, time lost, and exposure to an unpleasant experience. Costs for not helping include self-blame and feelings of shame or guilt, condemnation by others, and also it includes watching someone suffering.

(4)   There will be (a) special circumstances which give rise to and (b) specific personality types who engage in rapid, impulsive,noncalculative, irrational helping or escape behaviour following observation of an emergency.

(5)   On termination of contact with an emergency, the bystander's arousal will decrease monotonically with time, whether or not the victim receives help. The rate of reduction will be a direct function of the proportion of initial distress cues to which he is no longer exposed either physically or psychologically.

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The empirical predictions from the model are as follows:

1. "As arousal increases, the probability of the observer making some response to the emergency increases.

2. Holding arousal constants, as costs for no help to the victim increase, the probability of helping as opposed to running away increases.

3. As costs for direct helping increase, the probability of direct intervention decreases, and the likelihood of indirect help, flight, or psychological distortions of various kinds increases" [Piliavin et al., 1981, p. 23].

It can be seen from the diagram of this model (see Fig. 1.4.2) that the attempt is not primarily to present a prediction model in the usual sense, rather it is an attempt to integrate a variety of phenomena to help understand a complex area of behaviour. The model has shown that many situational (e.g. alone versus other bystanders), personal (e.g. race of bystanders), and victim characteristic (e.g. race of victim) are related to intervention or helping behaviour. These factors are said to operate through their impact on two intervening processes: arousal and perceived costs and rewards for direct intervention. The two processes have a reciprocal influence on each other, and in turn these are influenced by feelings of" we-ness" i.e perceived similarity with the victim. Also the attribution of the source of arousal to the emergency is a critical factor which facilitates the response.

One criticism to this overall model is that it may not serve particulary well for predictive purposes because of the highly

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Fig 1.4.2   Arousal: Cost - reward model.
             (from Piliavin et al., 1981)

inclusive and processual nature of its formulation. However, Piliavin et al. suggests that abstracting certain aspects of the model can lead us to unambiguous predictions. They gave the example of clarity of an emergency, for which the subject is the only bystander. As shown in Fig. 1.4.2b increased clarity of the emergency should lead to increased arousal, and should increase, directly or indirectly, the costs for not helping.

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Fig 1.4.2 b   The effects of clarity
(from Piliavin et al., 1981)

In the clearer emergency, the bystander would anticipate more guilt, blame and condemnation by others for not helping. Thus, personal costs for not helping are directly affected. Also, the greater the arousal experienced by the bystander as unpleasant, the greater the empathic cost for the victim receiving no help.

Clartiy, therefore, also indirectly increases the costs for not helping, mediated by the unpleasant emotional state. These process, taken together, suggest that clarity should have a strong facilitative effect on bystander intervention (see Fig. 1.4.2b)

The Piliavin et al. model can also be problematic because of the very nature of its central construct 'arousal'. Is there any evidence that observation of an emergency is always arousing to bystanders? The question is complicated by both the nature and measurement of arousal. Though seveal different physiological responses have been measured (e.g heart rate, skin conductance, palmar sweating), each may reflect different aspects of arousal. Unfortunately, none of the 'helping in emergency' experiments have actually measured the emotional reactions of bystanders.

1.4.3 Bar-Tal's emergency and non-emergency models:

Bar-Tal (1976) proposed two models in order to answer two questions - how a person decides to carry out an altruistic act, and what kind of variables influence the decision. Both consist of a number of steps, progress through which leads to a decision to help or not.

Nonemegency:

By an emergency situation Bar-Tal (1976) means a situation which does not involve threat or harm to life or property, which is an unambiguous and a common event that face people frequently in daily life, and that it is foreseen and does not require an urgent action.

The nonemergency model shows the decision-making process in which various possible factors may affect the final decision. The relevant elements of the decision-making process and the factors influencing it are presented in Fig. 1.4.3. The first necessary condition for any helping act is awareness that someone needs assistance. A person can become aware of another's need either by being approached and asked to help, or by himself noticing a person in need without being approached. Being aware of the need for help, a person must decide whether to help or not. This decision is made on the basis of two judgementS:why the other person is in need, and what are the costs and reward for carrying out the helping act. These are attribution of responsibituy and cost-reward calculation. Attribution of responsibility means

Fig. 1.4.3

The decision-making model of helping in nonemergency
(From Bar-Tah, 1976)

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an individual who faces a person in need attempts to judge whether the dependency was caused by factors beyond his control or by his own fault; and the cost-reward calculation means this individual will judge how rewarding and costly it will be to carry out a particular helping act.

These two judgements interact, that is, they are done more or less simultaneously and one judgement depends on the other. For example, the person may judge that it is very costly to help the other in terms of effort, and therefore he may rationalize that the other is in need because of laziness. This step of the model is called the judgemental process.

The judgemental process is affected by four types of variables: personal, situational, characteristics of the person in need, and cultural. The personal variable consists of demographic characteristics such as sex, race, age, and personality traits such as need for approval, trust, social responsibility. Situational variables that may affect helping behaviour are the characteristics of the situation such as the presence of others, observation of harm-doing and degree of dependency. The situational variable may also include the temporary psychological states of the potential helper such as moods, positive or negative. The characteristics of the person in need: the potential helper judges why the requester is in need on the basis of such characteristics as sex, race, age, physical appearance. Finally, the judgemental process is affected by cultural variables. Altruistic and helping behaviour are regulated to some extent by the values and norms of a given culture (Bar-Tal, 1976). The behaviour of

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individuals in daily encounters is regulated by norms and values
that are part of the implicit culture (Krech et al., 1962).
Members of a cultural group usually share the values and follow
prescriptions of the same norms. Thus, individuals are expected
to adhere to society's norms in order to receive positive
reinforcement and to avoid censure.

Emergency:

By an emergency Bar-Tal (1976) means a situation which
involves threat of harm or actual harm to property or life, it is
an unusual and rare event, that is unforeseen and unique, and that
requires immediate intervention.

Fig 1.4.3b repesents the elements of the decision-making
process and the variables that affect the decision. As seen from
the figure the difference between the two models is the physiological
arousal nature and labeling associated with emergencies. The
emergency model assumes that the awareness of an unusual event
causes physiological arousal without understanding what exactly
is happening. However, Bar-Tal agrees that this is an assumption
made (e.g. Schwartz and Clausen, 1970; Bickman, 1971; Darley et al.,
1973; Piliavin et al., 1981) without being validated. The judgemental
process in the emergency situation consists of, in addition to
cost-reward calculation and attribution of responsibility,
labeling. Labeling the situation is a simple judgement when the
victim makes an appeal for help. However, most emergency situations
are ambiguous, and hence the bystander must judge and label the
situation as an emergency before he decides to help.

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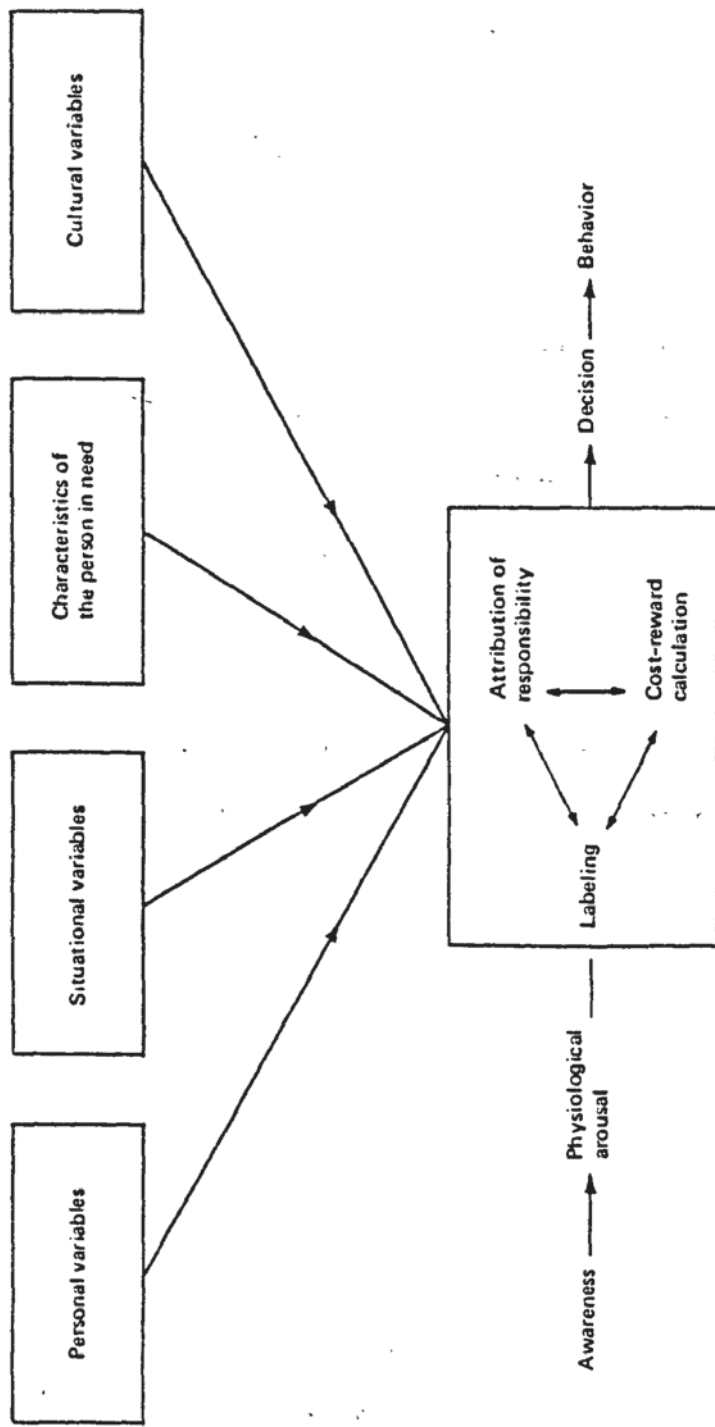
The judgmental process

FIG 1.4.3.6 The decision-making model of helping in emergency.

In both models the judgemental process is the crucial step, out of which the bystander decides on what to do. In both models, this judgemental process is influenced by personal, situational, characteristics of the person in need, and cultural variables.

1.4.4 The Morgan-Leik model:

The Morgan-Leik (1978) model is an attempt to give a situational theory of bystander intervention. The model focuses on the length of time* that can be expected to elapse before at least one member of a group will intervene in a situation calling for help. The basic equation of the model is:

$$R = (G/N) + I$$

'R' refers to the individual's felt responsibility. The feeling of responsibility is internal to the actor and it depends on the individual's perceptions and increases with the expected benefits of intervention. The notion expresses the mixing up of the interests of self and others implicit in the notion of responsibility. 'G' refers to net expected group benefits; 'I' refers to net expected individual benefits; and 'N' is group size. 'Expected' is used in the mathematical sense of long-run average, and 'net' means benefits minus costs. Another two components of the model are 'responsibility diffusion' and 'response thresholds'. Responsibility diffusion is expressed by setting 'G' over 'N', so that as group size increases each individual feels less responsibility. Response thresholds means

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*Two general classes of dependent measures have been used in this area of research: the probability of helping, and the time required to help.

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the intervention response is a critical one which either occurs or does not occur; so the feeling of responsibility is either sufficiently strong for the individual to intervene or it is not (Morgan, 1978).

Then two assumptions were made:
Assume that individuals have differing response thresholds, and that individuals intervene when felt responsibility (R) exceeds their personal threshold. Secondly, assume that felt responsibility increases over time if the event is not intervened in. Under the assumptions of the Morgan-Leik model, increasing the number of bystanders should result in a decrease in latency response, and at the same time an increase in the probability that the group of bystanders will contain at least one individual with a low threshold. A series of further equations are used to derive expected response latencies. Depending upon the values assumed for G and I response latency will sometimes increase with group size, sometimes decrease with group size, and sometimes first increases and then decreased (see fig. 1.4.4). Varying the ratio G/I generates different response latency curves.

The increasing and then decreasing curve results from the decreasing impact of changes in N on R, combined with the increasing probability that the group contains an individual with a low threshold. The major changes in R occurs as N goes from 1 to 2 to 3, becoming insequential and approaching zero.

Fig. 1.4.4
The resulting response latency
curves as a function of
varying   G/I

(2 + 0)

(2 + .5)

(2 + 1)

(2 + 1.5)

Latency response (time)

Number of bystanders

Group size

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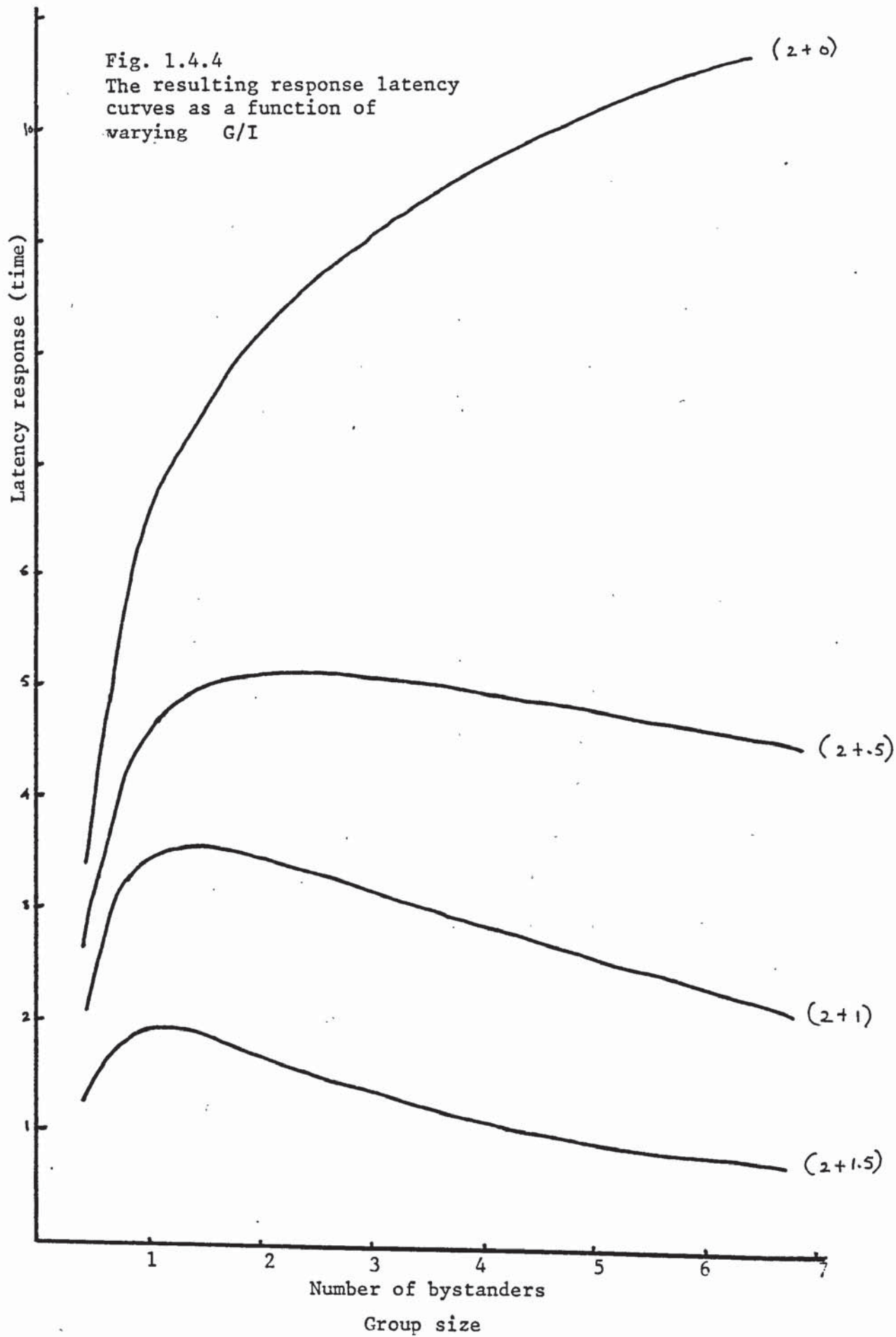
1.4.5   The normative approach:

Another approach which considers helping behaviour as the
outcome of a decision - making process is the normative approach.
This elaborates on Latane and Darley's (1970) normative social
influence concept, and it spells out the roles of cognitive
awareness, abilities, both internalized and external normative
and nonnormative costs and benefits, and person and situational
influences that are particularly relevent to helping.

As mentioned in the literature review (see part 1) the
normative explanation postulate that social norms influences
behaviour through the anticipation of sanctions in response to a
line of behaviour to which the norms are perceived to apply
(Berkowtiz, 1972; Staub, 1972), and that personal norms serve as
a link between general internalized values and specific self-
expectations in concrete situations (Schwartz, 1973, 1977; Schwartz
and Howard, 1981, 1982). Thus, the model proposed by Schwartz
and Howard describes a decision-making process through which
personal and social norms mediate the influence of general values
on altruistic or helping behaviour. This process involves five
sequential stages. These are: attention, motivation, evaluation,
defense and behaviour. The decision-maker's progress through
these stages is influenced both by the aspects of the situation
and by individual characteristics (see fig. 1.4.5).

1)   Attention:

An essential part of the decision-making process is the

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Figure 1.4.5 Cycling through a normative decision-making model. (Adapted from Schwartz & Howard, 1981. Reprinted by permission of Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.)

From Schwartz and Howard in Derlega and Girzelale (1982)

attention stage. The potential helper must become aware of the characteristics of the specific situation that determine whether a decision is needed. There are three steps in the attention stage. Firstly, awareness of a person in need; secondly, identification of actions that might relieve this need; and thirdly, recognition of one's own ability to engage in these actions. These perceptions must be activated in turn, otherwise the decision-making process will end before norm construction. The objective result here is inaction.

2)   Obligation:

After perception of actions as relevant to another's need, and that the individual feels capable of performing these actions, he then considers their implications. Three types of implications are distinguished here. Firstly, physical, material and nonmoral psychological implications that follow directly from the action; secondly, implications for the actor's internalized moral values; and thirdly, social implications, that is outcomes dependent on the reactions of other people.

Every social act requires some effort and time, which in turn means that there are at least some physical and material costs of social behaviour. Some acts have direct psychological consequences. Rescuing people and property during severe floods, for example, is dangerous (physical cost), and will ruin one's clothes (material cost), but may provide an exciting experience (nonmoral psychological benefit). Also the internalized moral values

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(e.g. compassion) which were influenced by each individual's unique cognitive structure of images, beliefs and evaluations enable the individual to consider the implication of actions. These internalized moral values in conjunction with input from the external situation help to generate specific feelings of obligation.

3)   Evaluation:

After the individual identifies the physical, social and moral outcomes implied by specific helping behaviours, he then starts to evaluate the expected costs and benefits of these outcomes. Both situational and person factors influence the assessment of costs and benefits. Examples of social factors are such cues as the presence of others; and among person factors that affect evaluation of outcomes is the centrality of the values implicated in a behaviour. The evaluation of costs and benefits determines what step in the model follows next. If moral and nonmoral considerations favour the helping act, a decision is reached and the next step of defense is skipped. If the various costs and benefits of available actions are evaluated as relatively balanced, however, and the outcomes of these actions are not trivial, conflict is experienced. The decision is delayed and the person defensively redefines the situation.

4)   Defense

The defense stage operates through four types of denial which will reduce feelings of obligation. These are: denial of need

denial of effective action, denial of personal ability and denial of responsibility. These defenses are elicited by the decisional conflict produced by evaluating the expected costs and benefits of an act.

If these defenses succeed in reducing the feelings of obligation, the potential helper may either leave the scene before the construction of a new personal norm, or may construct a new personal norm and reach a decision on the basis of the new re-evaluated social, physical and moral outcomes.

5)   Behaviour:

Once a decision is reached, the helping act is either performed or not.

All the models which adopt the situational approach, view helping behaviour as a kind of decsion-making process. Latane and Darley follow a rational approach, in which an individual is seen to proceed through a sequence of steps before acting (or not) by carefully calculating the costs and rewards for intervention. The Bar-Tal model follow, more or less, the same line and account for the variables which affect the judgemental process which leads to making decision. The Morgan-Leik model emerges as the theoretical equivalent of the original Latane' and Darely treatment of diffusion of responsibility, with the exception of its mechanism

for dealing with individual differences, i.e the notion of individual response thresholds. The Piliavin et al's model concentrates on the motivational basis for helping in which there is a cognitive component. Observing an emergency is arousing, and this arousal is an aversive state by which the bystander is motivated for selfish reasons to reduce it, so as to incur as few net costs as possible. The Schwartz's model represents the normative approach, but in addition emphasises individual norms. It differs from, for instance Latane and Darley's model in that it explicitly allows for cycling or re-evaluations of earlier steps in the sequence. The Schwartz's model also provides for a specfic motivational construct - feelings of moral obligation - that gives the bystander a reason to intervene. Such a motivational factor is absent in Latane and Darley's model. Thus, while the model delineates situational influence on helping, it treats the person as an active perceiver and interpreter of the situational cues.

1.4.6   Cognitive - developmental approach to altruism:

The cognitive - development approach is concerned with how people think and make sense out of the world.

Krebs (1978) offered the cognitive - developmental approach to altruism as a better explanation of the phenomenon. This approach sees the situation not as constant, but as highly dependent on who is viewing it, and his particular biographical background. Although specific situations affect specific behaviour, general dispositions (stage of moral development) exert a general

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effect on a wide range of behaviours across a wide range of situations. It is the integrated patterns of behaviour, not isolated acts that characterize people. People at different stages of development will behave differently because they interpret differently the situations they encounter. People at higher stages of development will understand some situations, more completely, and more precisely than people in lower stages (e.g. children).

People's ideas about altruism evolve with cognitive development. The conception of altruism, Krebs maintains, is tied to the conception of self, human nature, and moral obligation. The concept of altruism is a part of most people's system of values, and it cannot be understood out of context. Krebs (1978) relied on Kohlberg (1969, 1976) theory and research to sketch out the ways in which we would expect the meaning of altruism to change with the growth of moral sophistication. In Kohlberg's theory of moral of development, altruism is one of several aspects of morality that arise in the social lives of all people everywhere (other examples are duty, rules, justice). Altruism can be identified in the series of developmental stages suggested by Kohlberg.

In the first stage, of moral development children generally believe that rules should be obeyed, and that they should do what they are told to do. Altruism, then, is a matter of helping when you are told to help, or helping in order to obtain some reward. In the second stage, the conception changes and children start to believe that it is right for all people to advance their own welfare,

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and that it is in the interest of all to reciprocate. Here,
altruism is rooted in the idea of helping those who help you. In
the third stage, concerns about altruism become salient. There is
a desire to be a good boy or a good girl so that others will show
approval. In general, conforming and maximizing social approval
is the main concern at this stage. In the fourth stage, there is
a developing notion of doing one's duty, respecting authority, and
preserving the social order because these things are accepted as
right. The fifth and the sixth stages are the post-conventional
levels of moral development. In the fifth stage, the person
begins to think about the rights of others, the general welfare
and the laws adopted by the majority. In the last stage, one's
self-chosen standards of justice and one's own conscience have
more effect in behaviour than society's actual rules and laws.

The conclusion from this is that as we mature, we understand
more, grasp the consequences of our acts, and accept general
principles of morality.

1.4.7   Promotive tension approach:

The tension referred to here does not arise from one's
needs, others wishes for oneself, or impersonal demands but rather
from empathically recognizing another's need, someone else's
desire to locomate toward or away from a goal. Promotive tension
(Hornstein 1972, 1976, 1978) is the label given to the fourth
category, i.e. empathically recognizing another's need. Promotive
tension is defined as tension coordinated to another's needs or
goal (Horstein, 1978). The question is 'do people experience tension

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coordinated to another's goals?' and 'are there circumstances
when one is aroused by another's need almost as if they were
one's own?' Hornstein believes that these experiences do occur.
There are times when people reduce this form of tension by engaging
in altruism and other less dramatic, but more common, forms of
helping behaviour.

Not all social conditions heighten tension for individuals
who witness the distress of others. Perceived similarity between
self and others heightens one's arousal when witnessing another's
distress, whereas perceived dissimilarity does not (Hornstein et
al., 1971; Hodgson et al., 1972). Three different social conditions
provide a basis for the formation of promotive social relationships:
those in which social structure creates promotive interdependence
among individual goals, relationships in which individuals are
linked only by opinion similarity and interpersonal attraction,
and relationships in which individuals share common membership in
social category. In such social relationships bonds exist that
permit one person's plight to become a source of tension for his
fellows. Seeking relief, his fellows will reduce this tension by
helping. Through the formation of 'we' self-interest is fused
together with a concern for others, and the basis of promotive
tension and selfless behaviour is born.

1.4.8   The 'Just-World' hypothesis:

The basic findings of the 'Just-World' hypothesis is that
victims who have no control over their fate, are derogated for
their misfortunes. Contrary to expectations, victims do not receive

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sympathy and compassion. Why is this?

According to the 'Just-World' researchers, the explanation
is that in the absence of any other information, observers assume
that the victim somehow deserves what has happened to him. In
the mind of the observer, there is a 'just-world' cognition which
assumes that this is a world where one gets what one deserves,
and deserves what one gets. The victim must be involved with his
fate, and so the victim is derogated.

If we cared about what happens to others, it is because of
the implications of their fate to our own security. This
motivational base, generated out of self-concern, shapes the ways
in which we react to any given instance of injustice in our world.
People want to believe they live in a just world where they get
what they deserve. Any evidence of undeserved suffering threatens
this belief. The observer then will attempt to re-establish
justice One way of producing this, Lerner (Lerner, 1970, 1975;
Lerner and Miller, 1978, Lerner and Meindi, 1981) suggests is
that an individual may either work to restore justice by helping
the victim, or rationalize things as they are by deciding that
the victim must deserve his fate. ..

When we became aware of an injustice, what we do is a
function of the calculation of costs among available alternatives.
The general rule is that we engage in the least costly course to
us, not the victims. Whether we engage in great efforts of
compensating the victim or punishing the inflicor, is determined
by which of these alternatives is costly to us. If acting to correct

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an injustice is too costly, the observer may derogate the victim; and if that is too costly, the observer may invent a fantasy solution, possibly with the belief that injustice will be corrected in the 'here-after'.

1.4.9   Empathy as a motive for help

Theoretical approches that emphasize arousal have been developed to explain helping behaviour (Hoffman 1975, 1976; Aronfreed, 1976; Batson and Coke, 1981). These researchers suggest that observing another's distress tends to produce vicarious physiological arousal in the bystander. If this vicarious arousal is cognitively labelled as concern for the person in distress, the observer will experience empathic emotion. Empathic emotion, it is claimed, can provide the motivation for help. For example, if someone has helped an old lady in distress, this may be because the helper feels empathic concern, and this emotional response leads to the motivation to reduce her distress. But a question can be raised as to what is the nature of this motivation? The empathy theorists (e.g. Batson and Coke, 1981) have speculated that the empathic emotion might produce motivation to help that is truly altruistic. That is, the motivation is directed to an end goal which is reducing the distress of others. Batson and Coke propose that at least two functionally different emotional states can be produced by witnessing another's distress: (1) empathic concern - made up of emotions such as compassion, warmth, concern and softheartedness, (2) personal distress- made up of emotion such as shock, alarm, shame and fear. Feelings of

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personal distress elicit egoistic motivation to reduce one's own distress, whereas feeling of empathic concern elicit altuistic motivation to reduce the other's distress. Although personal distress can lead to helping, the crucial mediator of altruism is empathic concern.

Schwartz and Howard (1981) believe that empathic concern as an emotional response is elicited only when reactions to another's plight have implications for one's internalized values. People experience empathic concern only towards those whose welfare is relevant to their own internalized values.

1.4.10 <u>Personal goals and the activating potential of situations</u>:

Staub (1974, 1978, 1979) has offered a theoretical model for predicting prosocial behaviour (the term he prefers). The model pressumes that people are powerful organisms who develop various motivations, which he calls personal goals. The word goal implies a preference for certain outcomes, and the word 'personal' implies that this has a special value for the individual. However, there could be similarity among the goals of different indivivduals.

The personal goals are activated by the characteristics of the environment (internal or external) and thus this can be explained in terms of its activating potential for particular personal goals. An environment may activate no goal, one goal, two or more goals, depending on its activating potential, and on the extent that a person possesses various personal goals. Conflict may appear when two or more goals are activated.

Alternatively one of the goals may be dominant, or the goals may join with each other when a particular course of action can lead to the satisfaction of all of them. In this case action may be inhibited, or the conflict may be resolved.

Whether a goal is activated or not, and whether an activated goal will be pursued in action, depends on other personal characteristics such as perceptual tendencies, competence and lack of competence, disposition toward justification, reactance and sensitivity to pressure. There is also a whole range of situations that vary in their activating potential for prosoical goals, e.g., degree of need for help, responsibility, direct costs of helping, indirect costs of helping, temporary psychological states of the person that result from positive or negative past experiences.

There are also other many activating conditions under which people will not help others. People may think of ways to minimize the activating potential of the situation. They may decide that the need for help is low, that the person does not deserve help, or they may draw on values and beliefs that justify not helping.

Thus, for Staub the determinants of prosocial behaviour are both environmental conditions and personality characteristics. In different combinations these either enhance or decrease the likelihood of people behaving prosocially.

1.5   CONCLUSION:

No single theoretical approach can be said to fully explain the phenomenon of helping behaviour or altruism. Though many stimulus conditions that affect helping behaviour or altruism have been identified, as yet the interrelationships among their influences is relatively unexplored. The problem is partly definitional: social psychologists think about situations, including the social influences exerted in them; personality psychologists think about persons. Most people focus on helping among strangers. But we do not know whether the stimulus conditions and personality characteristics that have been found to relate to helping behaviour among strangers and the psychological processes that they give rise to are involved in interactions among relatives and friends. Do costs of helping, e.g. have the same effects?

1.6 The present research:

Objectives, and rationale for the research.

1.6.1   <u>Objectives</u>

The initial objective of this work was to study helping behaviour in a cross-cultural context.

The other objectives which follow as a function of the consideration of the initial objective are:-

1.   To find out directly from the people of the two
     different cultures under study the main variables
     they consider important in describing and distinguishing
     between various helpful situations.

2.   To test the effect of the emerging important variables
     in helping behaviour in the two cultures.

3.   To test the effect of these variables in establishing
     the difference between urbanities and nonurbanites in
     helping behaviour.

4.   To test whether there are differences between urbanites
     and nonurbanites in interpersonal contacts, exchange
     of helpfulness, and attitudes towards helpfulness and
     altruism.

5.   To examine the cross-cultural generality of the
     relationship between urbanization and unhelpfulness.

1.6.2 Rationale for the Research

As pointed out in the preceding sections, the data, and hence the knowledge, on helping behaviour and its various aspects, is based on studies typically carried out in one of the Western industrial countries, in particular the United States. Furthermore, most studies have been conducted in only one country at a time, although different countries have been studied (USA, Holland, Canada, Australia, Turkey and the UK). In the absence of empirical data from other different cultures, the generality of these findings is open to question. The Western industrial countries, have heterogeneous populations and, therefore, a diffuse culture, i.e., many sub-cultures exist within the same nation. No studies have examined the influence of such sub-cultures on helping, although one may expect effects due to a number of factors. Firstly, the religion/attitude of the sub-culture to helping may be a crucial factor here. Though all religions encourage helpful behaviour, some sub-cultures may more strictly follow the teachings and commands of their religion than others. Also, in the same nation there may be a conflict of attitudes, some reflecting religious attitudes which induce helpfulness because of expected gains and rewards in the life hereafter, whereas other attitudes may reflect economic pressures which tend to emphasise personal survival and not helping, unless there is direct personal economic gain. Secondly, the social organisation of sub-culture may influence helping behaviour. The weakening of family bonds in the Western culture, compared to other cultures, may have been responsible for the reported frequency and form of helpfulness. In these countries only small minorities, such as immigrants,

have strong community ties, whereas the majority of people have no special local identity and, hence live as anonymous individuals, and thereby not concerned about any sort of group pressure to behave uniformly and positively towards others. Furthermore, complex pressures of social mobility between different parts of the country according to the economic boom, or slump, may make some people transient immigrants who always feel as strangers and thereby do not identify themselves with the residents of the particular area they have moved into. Thirdly, the racial composition of sub-culture may influence helping behaviour, such that when it is obvious that you are of a different race to the potential helper, at least in colour, you are less likely to be helped (Bryan and Test, 1967), or you may be helped significantly slower than a victim of the same race as the potential helper (Yousif, 1979). 'One would expect in immigrant areas where the residents share some characteristics (e.g., being non-natives) there may be strong bonds between residents that override the effect of race. However, it may be a different position when they interact with natives. Fourthly, the spatial distribution of sub-culture may greatly influence helping behaviour. People living in high risk, low security area may be less willing to help, and this may even have a carry over effect when they are in a public place far away from where they live. Fifthly, the main focus of cross-cultural (or cross-national) studies have been on urban-nonurban helpfulness. The urban forms of social behaviour in the United States, and the other studied countries, may not be similar to those elsewhere in the diverse countries of the world.

Consequently, in the present research, data on various aspects of helping behaviour were collected in the UK and the Sudan so that the importance of cultural influences could be investigated. The Sudan was selected as an example of a non-Western culture. Compared with the UK the comparable sample the Sudan has a more racially homogeneous population, with smaller community sizes than the UK and the USA. The UK, on the other hand, is a diffuse – culture country, with significant immigrant population. Also there are a variety of reasons for expecting cultural differences between the two countries. In the Sudan religion is more central to the way of living; the country is dominated by the Islamic culture to the extent that social behaviour is largely the function of Islamic teaching, not confounded with modernisation or socio-economic theories such as Marxism or Capitalism. Islam strongly emphasises helpful behaviour. One of its five pillars is <u>Zakat</u>, which means a portion set apart of your wealth for the needy and the poor. This is obligatory upon any able Muslim. The logic behind this is to create the sense and concern for others which in turn helps establishing a bonded society in which individuals do care for each other. Fasting, <u>Ramadan</u>, another pillar of Islam, is also meant to draw attention to and create sympathy with others, e.g., when you are fasting you are bound to remember that there are others who are deprived from basic necessities such as food. Islam also calls for the sense of brotherhood to the extent that one is not considered a true believer in God unless he values his brother's (fellow Muslim) needs as his. Moreover, such teachings as the removal of dangerous obstacles from the way of pedestrians without necessarily knowing who may pass, is an inducement of helpful

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behaviour. A visitor to the Sudan would easily notice the occurrence of helpful behaviour in everyday social contact. For instance, in wedding-dinners someone will always collect from the participants whatever amount of money they can afford. This money is given to the bridegroom's father to help with meeting the cost, given that hundreds of people usually attend such wedding-dinners. Likewise, when someone dies hundreds of people participate in the funeral to share the sad feelings with the dead person's relatives. They are also expected to offer condolences at home. Many people would come to the relatives' home bringing morning tea, lunch and supper.

Unlike the UK, the typical family structure in the Sudan is the extended family whose members are strongly bonded and care for each other. It is more likely that in the Sudan an individual will have more kin in the city, or town, than in the UK. Sex roles are also more clearly defined in the Sudan. Females are expected to be helped all the time, and they are not expected to come into contact with strangers in public places.

All these factors help to make the Sudanese society a more homogeneous one in terms of social norms, lifestyle, beliefs, expectations from different sexes, and from the young and the old.

The UK was chosen for this research because of its racial mix which makes it reasonably comparable to the USA where most of the studies had been done. Indeed the author of this work has undertaken a previous study which showed results similar to those emerging from the American studies in terms of race and group size

effect (Yousif, 1979). In British society, moral attitudes are founded on christianity, which also strongly encourages and induces helpful behaviour, but which is now confounded with materialism and a diverse array of other factors. Many processes have occurred which have decreased the impact of religion on British life. First, complex processes of social mobility have tended to erode familial and local ties. Secondly, young people may now be more influenced by their peer groups than their home (Martin, 1969; Beloff and Paton, 1970). In general, Westernisation and middle class urban dwelling are predictive of competitive behaviour, while traditionalism, poverty and rural dwelling are indications of a more cooperative tendency and altruism (Bethlehem, 1973).

A number of investigating methods have been used in the course of this research to study the various aspects of helping behaviour in the two countries. A repertory grid study, the first of its kind in this area of research, was conducted to identify the important constructs people used to describe and distinguish between a range of helpful situations they may encounter in their daily life. This initial step is important because researchers have examined the influence of variables which are implicitly assumed to be of importance, whereas this repertory grid study explicitly articulates which constructs of helpfulness are important. Insofar as constructs from the repertory grid study relate to current theoretical models and they are testable, then they form a basis for subsequent investigations in the course of this thesis. Furthermore, the repertory grid study allowed a check that the constructs of

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helpfulness are similar in the UK and the Sudan. If they are similar then this gives greater validity to the experimental work in the two countries, i.e., the subjects in the two countries will evaluate the manipulated situations from the same point of view.

A laboratory study was designed and conducted in each country to test the influence of the variables elicited from subjects in the repertory grid study. In particular, laboratory studies are needed because they offer the best opportunity for investigating alternative explanations of helping behaviour, since specific variables can be controlled or manipulated thus virtually eliminating the numerous extraneous situational influences that may affect dependent variables in field settings. Laboratory studies are also particularly good for any assessment of individual predispositions to help and the factors influencing this, e.g., personality, sex, experience, religious beliefs, moral beliefs etc, and for varying specific variables to empircally test theoretical models such as the Morgan-Leik (1978) model. The present research tested the Morgan-Leik model in laboratory settings because it was originally tested in the USA in a laboratory setting. The early research of Latane and Darley which emphasised the influence of group size in intervention behaviour, which is also a variable in the Morgan-Leik model, also relied on laboratory experimentation. So the use of different laboratory settings than those used in the USA, and with different student populations, may help with generalisations about the group size effects which can not successfully be controlled for in field settings. Furthermore, the laboratory settings allowed the creation of

emergency episodes which would not have been possible in field settings.

To further investigate the influence of the variables emerging from the repertory grid study, and test predictions from the Morgan-Leik model and the extension of this model, two field studies were designed and conducted in each country. Field studies are needed because they offer a better opportunity for investigating the influence of situational factors on helping, and more independent variables can be manipulated (although the experimenter may have greater difficulty sperating whatever variables are present and controlling unwanted effects). These field studies allowed testing of the effects of the urban-nonurban variable, which is the main focus of cross-cultural research in helpfulness. Indeed, field studies present us with realistic settings in which subjects' behaviour will not be biased, as may occur in an experiment. The effect of such a variable could not be studied in a laboratory setting. However, many problems may arise, e.g., the presence of children and even adolescents around the experimenter in the Sudan was expected, and these may influence either the progress or the reaction of subjects. Secondly, it is difficult to explain to such subjects the role of the experimenter (Jahoda, 1979) or the purpose of the experiment.

All the previously mentioned laboratory and field studies deal with helping behaviour towards strangers. Like most studies in this area, however, little attention has been given to the question of the ways in which the social behaviour of urbanites actually does differ from that of their less or nonurban

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counterparts. The pattern and level of helpfulness may not be a general phenomenon across all types of interpersonal behaviour in the city. A preliminary conclusion from the small number of studies here suggests that city living is characterised by less frequent and less positive contact with strangers and neighbours, while there are no differences between cities and towns, or smaller sized places, in the extent of social contact occurring between relatives and friends. A questionnaire survey, therefore, was designed to further investigate and assess the pattern and level of helpfulness and degree of social contact between relatives, close friends, acquaintances, neighbours and strangers. The survey measured how often urbanites and nonurbanites are willing to exchange various types of helpful acts with these different categories of people, and hence, whether the reported urban-nonurban differences in helpfulness is widespread in the city, or only limited to the realm of social contacts with strangers. Furthermore, most urban theories suggest that the observed social behaviour of urbanites and nonurbanites is a function of their underlying attitudes which contribute to the difference in helpfulness between the two settings. The attitude survey offered a means of assessing differences in attitudes towards helpfulness between urbanites and nonurbanites.

Finally, it should be stressed that all these methods of investigation have their strengths and weaknesses, and hence it was felt desirable to develop this balanced strategy of investigation, and by doing so, ensuring that the conclusions drawn from this research are not solely attributable to any particular method of study.

Part Two

Constructs of helpfulness: A cross-cultural comparison

2. Constructs of helpfulness: A cross-cultural comparison

2.1 Overview

Almost all studies of helping behaviour seem to have
overlooked the important, and initial, step of questioning the
cognitive antecedents of helpful acts. Rather than simply
accumulating further evidence that people do or do not help in
certain situations, this research should focus on finding out how
the individual interprets, or construes, the varying situations
in which help may be given. It is important to understand
something of the different constructs people have towards different
helpful situations, because these are the networks of meaning
through which people see and handle the universe of situations
they encounter. A person's personal construct system may be
referred to as his personality, his attitudes, his habits, his
reinforcement history, his information coding system, his
psychodynamics, his concepts, his philosophy or his control
nervous system (Fransella and Bannister, 1977).

As Kelly (1955) believed, we strive to make sense of our
universe, out of ourselves, and out of the particular situations
we encounter. To this end each of us invents and re-invents an
implicit theoretical framework which, be it well or badly designed,
is our personal construct system. In terms of this system we
live, we anticipate events, we plan courses of action, we determine
our behaviour, and we ask our questions. We could, therefore,
consider helpful behaviour as a part of this theoretical framework;
and if so we could identify the constructs people use to describe

a wide range of helpful situations they may encounter. A good way of doing this is to use the repertory grid technique (Kelly, 1955). The results of the grid are looked upon as a map of the construct system of an individual. The grid is a sort of a structured interview, which enables us to focus on the structure and content of a person's outlook on the world around him.

Thus, the purpose of this pilot study is to identify the major constructs, or themes of constructs, which are used by subjects from the UK and the Sudan to describe, and distinguish between, a wide range of helpful situations which are represented by photographs. These constructs elicited from the subjects in both countries will be used as the main variables to be tested in the course of this research.

2.2 Method

2.2.1 Subjects

In each country 60 undergraduate, postgraduate, and people working in the university, participated in this study. Both males and females, aged between 18 and 55, were used; and all subjects were randomly chosen.

2.2.2 Procedure

All subjects were shown different photographs representing 20 different helpful situations; some of these were of emergency situations such as 'rescuing people caught in fire' and 'going to the aid of someone while being attacked'; others indicated nonemergency everyday life situations such as 'giving street directions' and 'helping in re-mailing others' letters'. The full list of elements (helpful situations) is given in Appendix A. The photographs were shown to the subjects in triads as required by Kelly's original grid form (Fransella and Bannister, 1977), and constructs were elicited by asking subjects whether two of the three photographs (i.e., elements) shown each time twenty times (see Appendix B), were similar in some important way but distinct from the third one. The similarity under focus was between situations represented by the photographs, rather than between people or objects appearing in the photographs. When a decision had been made, subjects were told to put an 'X' in the circles in the grid corresponding to the photographs judged similar, and to place no mark on the third circle, i.e., the

photograph judged dissimilar. They were, then, asked to give a
word or short phrase - description indicating in what way the two
situations were seen as similar. Subjects were then asked to
place an 'X' against any element, in the same row, sharing this
construct. The rest of the grid was completed in this way. Each
subject was asked to give twenty constructs and their contrasts.

2.3 Analysis

Analysis of the repertory grids was carried out by principal
components analysis (1) of these (Slater 1965), using a computer
program called Prefan (Slater 1977) from a grid analysis package
(GAP). This program is appropriate for a group grid analysis
when elements are aligned and constructs non-aligned. Basically,
Prefan forms a large grid by combining the constructs for each
subject in the group, and then performs a principal components
analysis on this large grid in a similar fashion to Slater's
(1972) Ingrid program. Amongst other information, this program
also provides a principal components analysis for each individual
grid.

However, because of the size limitation in the Prefan
program, which analyses 500 constructs at its maximum, the 60
grids collected in each study had to be divided into three sets
of data for anlaysis. In each study grids were randomly assigned
to each of three data sets. These were labelled as set 1, set 2
and set 3, each comprised 20 grids.

(1) One way of defining principal components analysis, is as a
    scale which can be derived from the constructs for measuring
    the elements. Three, four or many components may be needed
    to complete an exhaustive analysis, but usually the first
    three components account for most of the variation in the
    grid.

2.4 Results

2.4.1 Set One

Figures 2.1 and 2.2 show the first two components extracted from the Prefan analysis plotted against each other (1) for each country separately. Also shown are the percentage variances accounted for by each group component. It is clear from figures 1 and 2 that the element loadings are not exactly similar across the groups of subjects. If these loadings are rank ordered from the highest positive to the highest negative, the rank order correlations (Spearsman's rho) between the rankings from the two groups are $r_s = - .51$ ($p < 0.05$, two-tailed test) for component 1 and $r_s = 0.06$ for component 2. Thus, the loadings of elements on component 1 were negatively correlated between the two groups, whereas those on component 2 were unrelated.

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(1) In order to show the relation between the elements and the constructs, a circle with a convenient radius is drawn. Two axes, one horizontal and the other vertical are drawn, being perpendicular to each other at the centre of the circle. The circle shows the relation between the two dispersions (elements and constructs) on the plane of two components. The elements are being indicated by points inside the circle. This is found by taking their loadings as co-ordinates. Similarities and differences are indicated by the distances between them. The loadings of the constructs are used to draw the constructs. The axes for a certain construct passes through the centre of the circle and its loadings on the two components. It is extended to the circumference in both directions to show its positive and negative poles.

Comparing the positions of the elements with the poles of the constructs reveals the relation between the two. For example, elements 1, 2, 3 etc can be said to be the only elements which evoke constructs, say, X, Y and Z.

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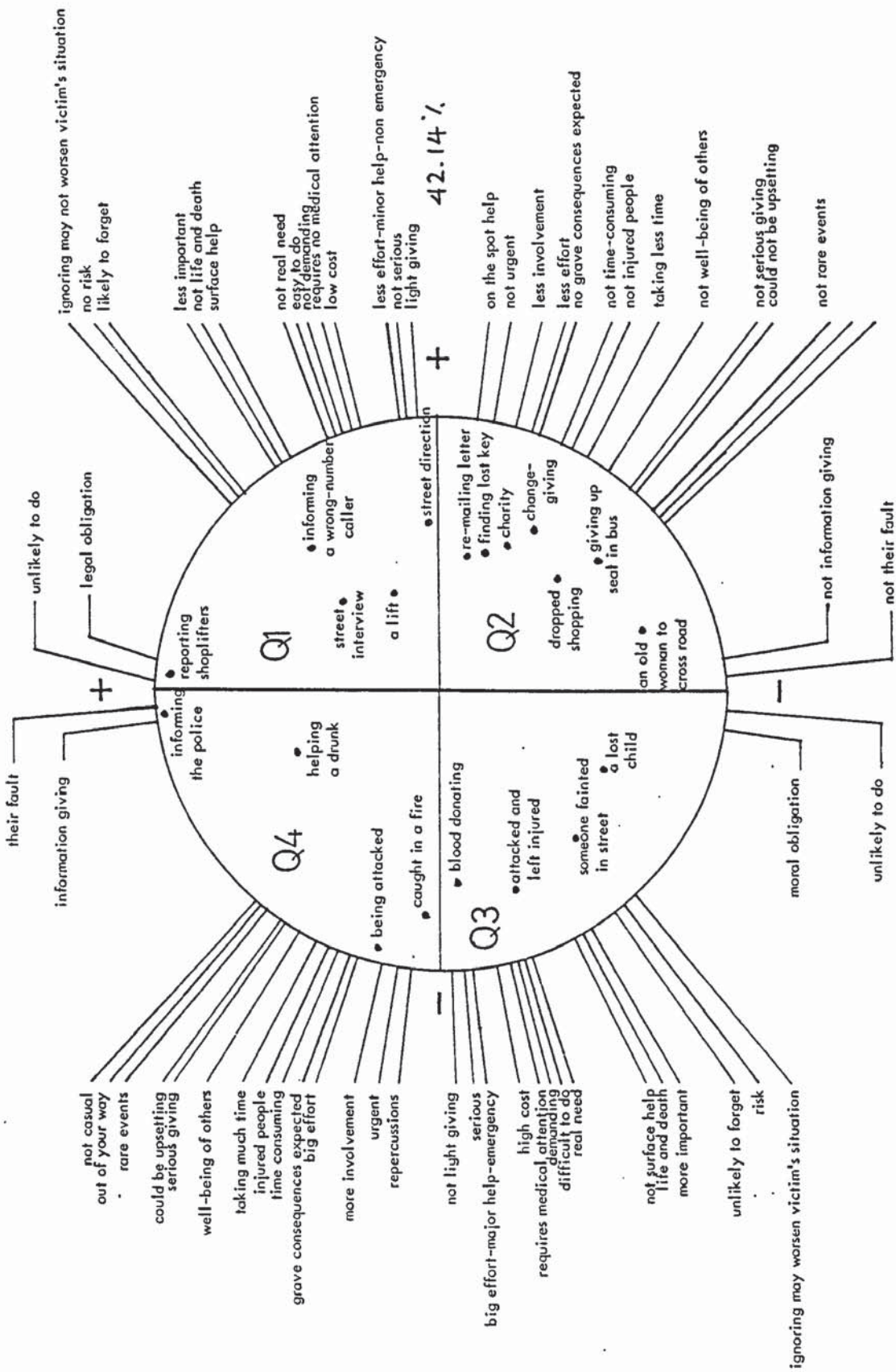
Fig. 2.1 The loadings of the elements and constructs on components 1 and 2 for the Sudanese group.
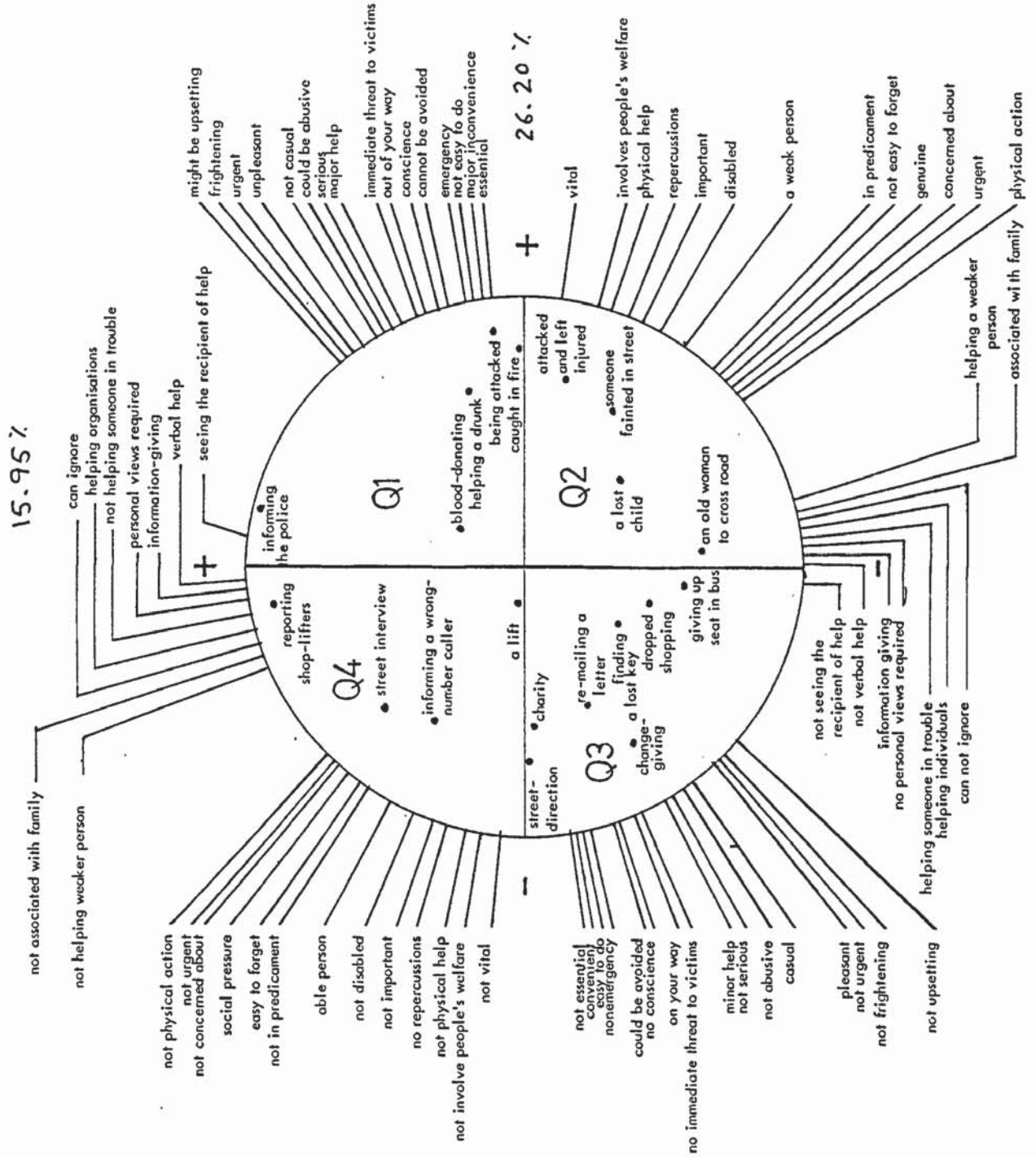
Fig.2.2.The loadings of the elements and constructs on components 1 and 2 for the UK group

<u>Content analysis</u>

All constructs having loadings higher than $\pm$ 3 on either

component were noted. These constructs appeared on the circumference

of the circle indicating the construct on the positive pole, and

its contrast on the negative pole. These constructs will be

considered as groups or clusters according to their position on

the positive or negative pole of either component; and their

associated elements will be those grouped on one, or two, quadrants

of the circle near to the negative or positive pole of a component.

In figure 2.1 the constructs on the circumference of quadrant

1 and 2 on the positive pole of component 1 are associated with

elements 6, 3, 11, 1, 5, 4, 17, 2, 8 and 9. Together they define

the positive pole of component 1. At the opposite pole the

contrast of these constructs are associated with elements 19, 20,

18, 14, 12, 10 and 13. Together they define the negative pole of

component 1. The component indicates that the subjects in this

set perceived the helpful situations shown to them according to

their degree of urgency i.e., whether they are casual everyday

situations, or rare events in which people involved are in serious

predicaments. Thus they include 'others' in their evaluation of

the situation. However, they also evaluate these situations in

terms of their outcomes. Many constructs mentioned costs associated

with engaging in helpful acts.

During the inspection of figures 2.1 and 2.2 it was noticed

that the signs of the loadings of elements are different between

the two figures. For example, elements 20, 19 and 14 are loading

positively high on component 1 in figure 2.1 and negatively high
on the same component in figure 2.2. However, the structure of the
component remains equivalent between the two separate groups
represented by the two figures. This first component can be
labelled 'urgency/cost' component.

The constructs on the circumference of quadrant 2 and 3 on
the negative pole of component 2 are associated with elements 7,
10 and 12. Together they define the negative pole of component
2. At the opposite pole the contrast of these constructs are
associated with elements 15 and 16. Together they define the
positive pole of component 2. There is a moral obligation, as
perceived by the subjects, to show compassion with individuals in
the situations represented by elements 7, 10 and 12, and that
they are likely to do so. In contrast the situations represented
by elements 15 and 16 are of legal obligation nature and require
giving correct information, which make them an 'unlikely to do'
situations. This component can be labelled 'moral/legal obligation'
component.

In figure 2.2. the constructs on the circumference of quadrants
1 and 2 on the positive pole of component 1 are associated with
elements 19, 20, 14, 13 and 12. Together they define the positive
pole of component 1. At the opposite pole the contrast of these
constructs are associated with elements 3, 6, 1, 17, 5, 2, 11, 4
and 8. Together they define the negative pole of component 1.
The subjects here were describing the situations, represented by
these elements, in terms of the magnitude of urgency attached to
them. This is expressed in constructs such as urgent, emergency,

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serious, immediate threat to people involved. Also, they seem to be evaluating these situations in the dimension of costs and inconveniences associated with them, and which may be incurred by a potential helper. On the other hand, the situations represented by elements 1, 17, 3, 6, 5, 2, 11, and 4 are seen as routine everyday situations which are not important, nor salient to attract the attention of passersby. Again, this component can be labelled 'urgency/cost' component.

The constructs clustering on the circumference of quadrant 2 and 3 on the negative pole of component 2 are associated with elements 10, 7, 9 and 8. Together they define the negative pole of component 2. At the opposite pole the contrast of these constructs are associated with elements 15 and 16. Together they define the positive pole of component 2. Unlike the situations represented by elements 7, 10, 9 and 8, these are seen as passive help to organizations which does not arouse feelings of great sympathy. This component can be labelled 'sympathy with indviduals' component.

Figures 2.3 and 2.4 were drawn using the loadings of the elements and the constructs on components 1 and 3. The figures show the percentage variances accounted for by each component. The rank-order correlations between the rankings of elements from the two groups for component 3 is $r_s = -0.55$ (p < 0.02, two-tailed test). Thus, the positions of the elements on the construct space are moderately negatively similar.
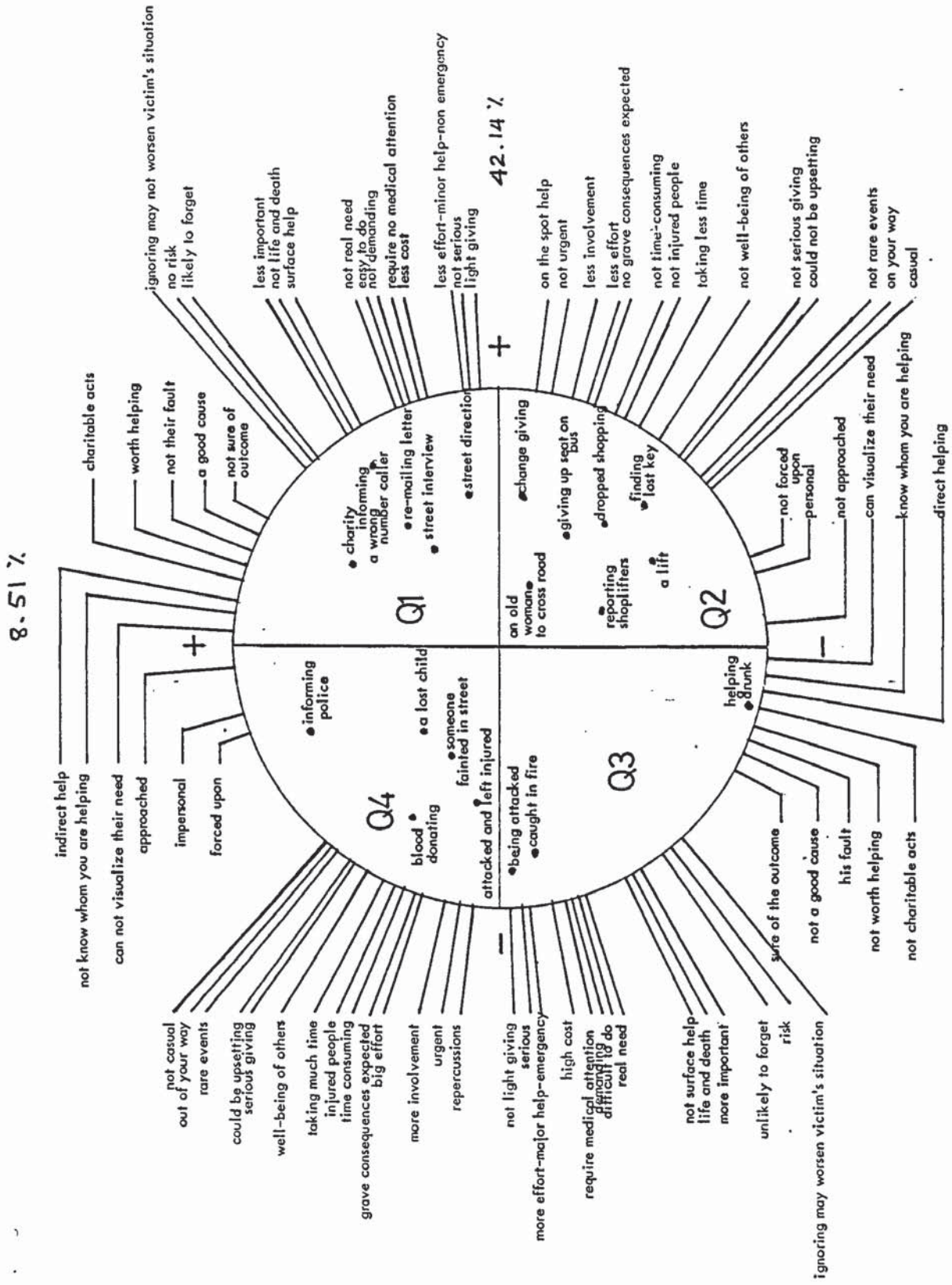
Fig.23. The loadings of the elements and constructs on components 1 and 3 for the Sudanese group.

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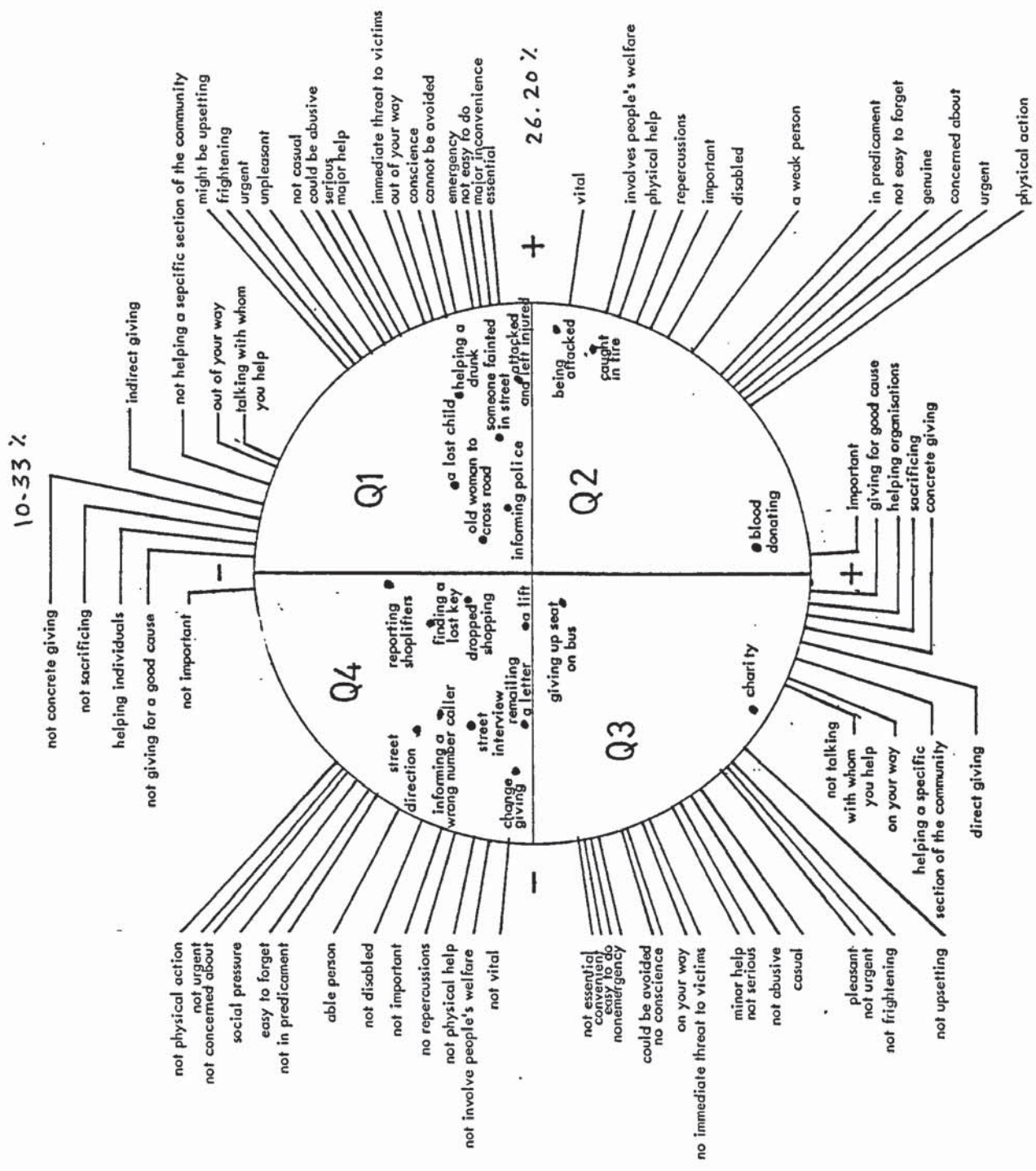
Fig.24. The loadings of the elements and constructs on components 1 and 3 for the UK group

In figure 2.3, the constructs on the circumference of quadrants 1 and 2 on the positive pole of component 1 are associated with elements 6, 5, 3, 1, 2, 9, 8, 4 and 11. Together they define the positive pole of component 1. At the opposite pole the contrast of these constructs are associated with elements 19, 20, 14, 18 and 12. Together they define the negative pole of component 1.

The constructs clustering on the circumference of quadrant S 2 and 3 on the negative pole of component 3 are associated with element 13. Together they define the negative pole of component 3. At the opposite pole the contrast of these constructs are associated with elements 16 and 17. Together they define the positive pole of component 3. The subjects clearly expressed their concern about good causes rather than giving help to someone who is a victim of his own fault. The component can be labelled 'helping people you can not see for a good cause'.

In figure 2.4, the cluster of constructs on the circumference of quadrant 1 and 2 on the positive pole of component 1 are associated with elements 13, 12, 14, 19 and 20. Together they define the positive pole of component 1. At the opposite pole the contrast of these constructs are associated with elements 2, 5, 3, 6 and 1. Together they define the negative pole of component 1.

On the circumference of quadrants 2 and 3 on the negative pole of component 3 a cluster of constructs are associated with elements 17 and 18. Together they define the negative pole of component 3. At the opposite pole the contrast of these constructs

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are associated with element 15. Together they define the positive

pole of component 3. This component shows that subjects have

positive perception of good causes, despite the concrete things

they have to foregone for such causes. This component can be

labelled 'giving for a good cause' component.

2.4.2 Set Two

Figures 2.5 and 2.6 show the plane of the first two components.
Also shown are the percentage variances accounted for by each
group component. The element loadings on the two components
across the two groups are reasonably similar. The rank-order
correlations between the rankings from the two groups is
$r_s = 0.54$ ($p < 0.02$, two-tailed test) for component 1 and
$r_s = -0.29$ (lower case) for component 2. They are moderately
related on component 1 and not related on component 2.

In figure 2.5, the constructs on the circumference of quadrant
1 and 2 on the positive pole of component 1 are evoked by elements
12, 14, 18, 20 and 19. Together they define the positive pole of
component 1. At the opposite pole, the contrast of these constructs
are associated with elements 9, 8, 4, 2, 17, 11, 5, 1, 3 and 6.
Together they define the negative pole of component 1. This
component is mostly talking about urgency attached to some
situations as against other situations. In the former there is a
perception of risks and harms to the victims, as well as the
costs which may be incurred by a potential helper had he involved
himself in the situation. Again, this component could be labelled
'urgency/cost' component.

The constructs on the circumference of quadrant 2 and 3 on
the negative pole of component 2 are associated with elements 15
and 16. Together they define the negative pole of component 2.
At the opposite pole the contrast of these constructs are associated
with elements 7 and 10. Together they define the positive pole

110
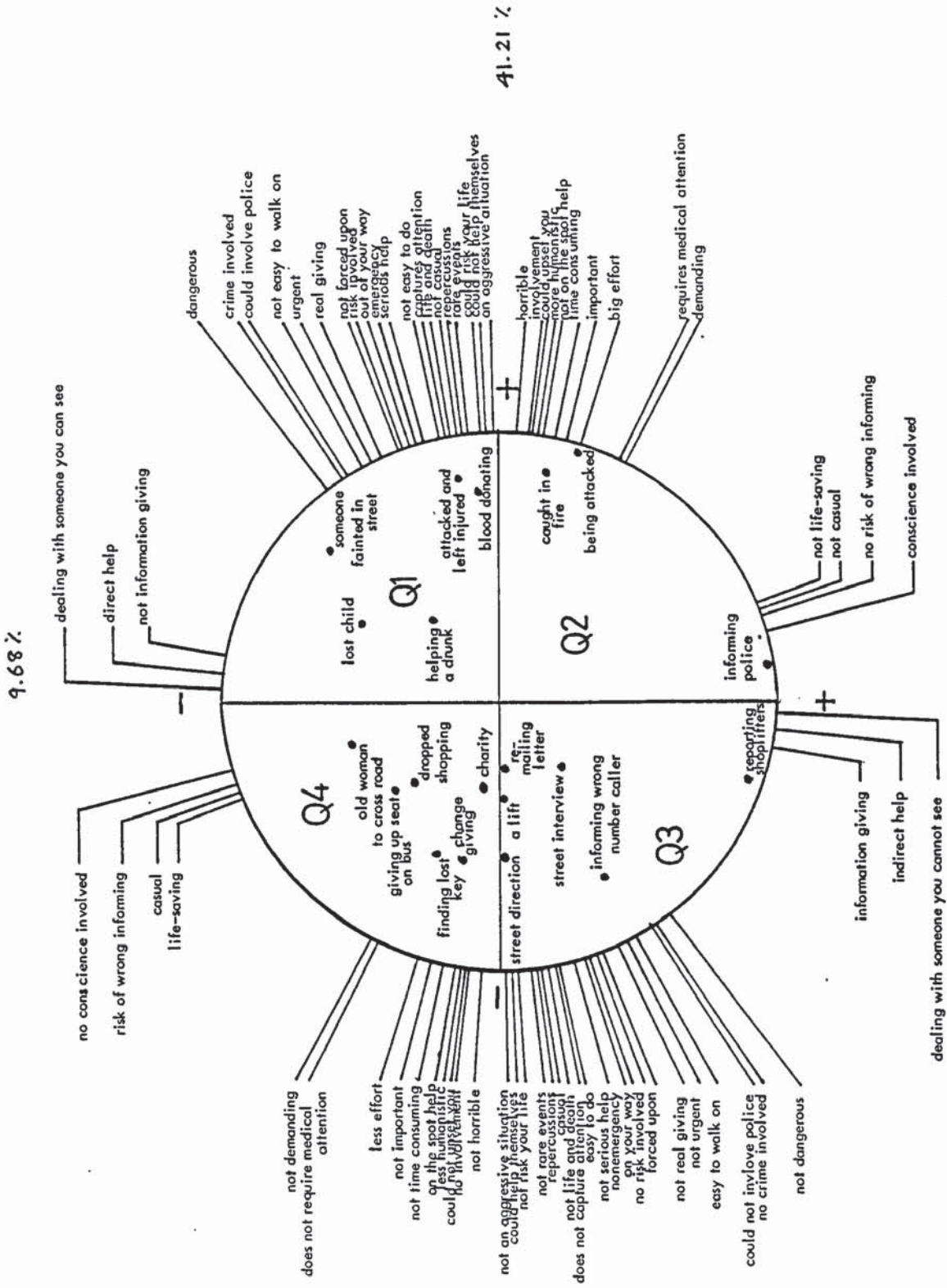
Fig.2.5. The loadings of the elements and constructs on components 1 and 2 for the Sudanese group.

111
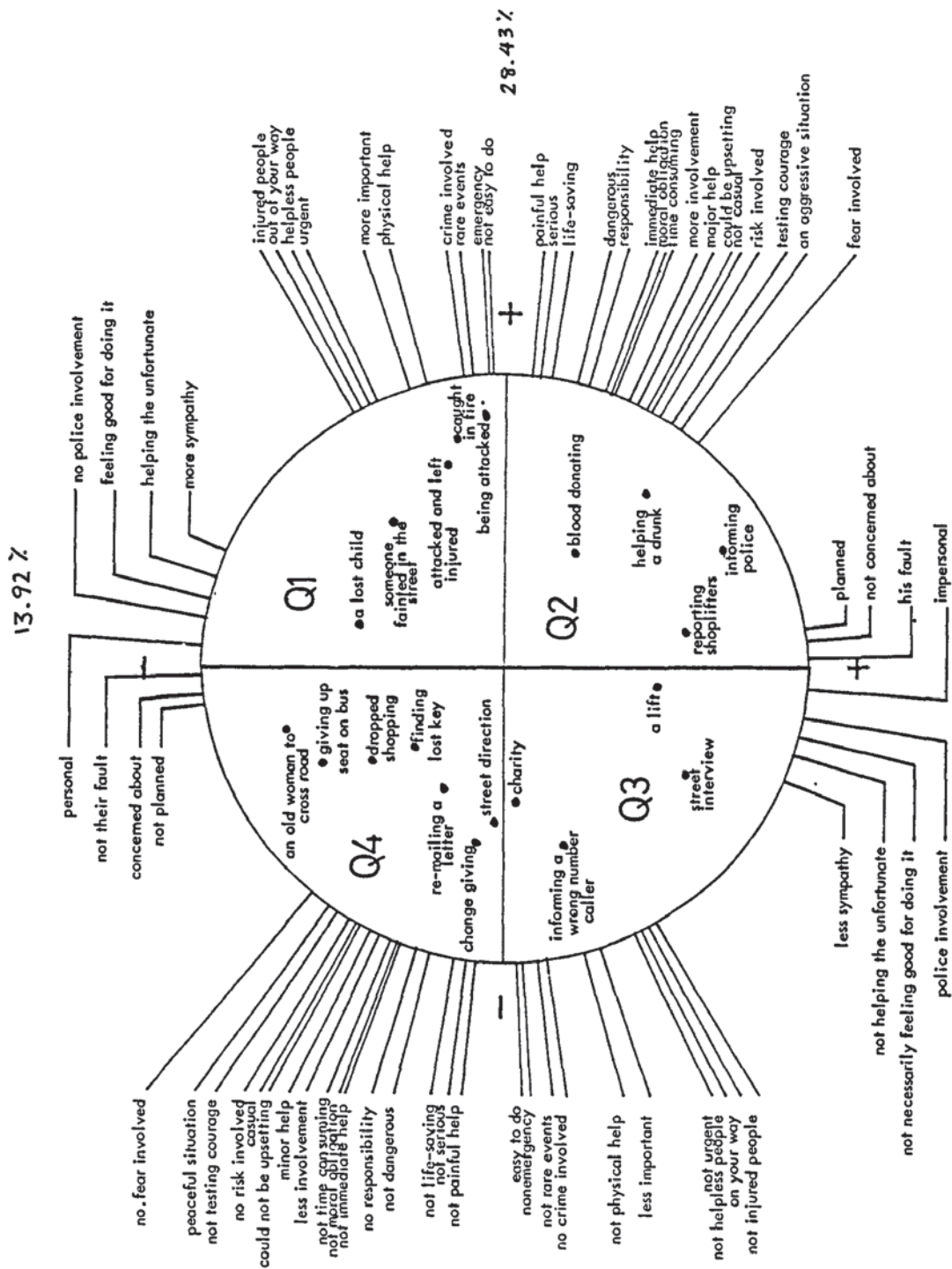
Fig.26. The loadings of the elements and constructs on components 1 and 2 for the UK group

of component 2. This component tells about the perception of
giving wrong information which may legally affect other people,
despite the fact that these other people cannot find out about
the informer. Moreover, although these situations, represented
by elements 15 and 16, are not casual, still they are not associated
with life-saving. On the other hand, the situations represented
by elements 7 and 10 could be seen as life-saving, in which there
is no fear of getting involved. This component can be labelled
'conscience' component. It is conscience of getting other people
into trouble (elements 15 and 16) or out of trouble (elements 7
and 10).

In figure 2.6, the constructs on the circumference of quadrant
1 and 2 on the positive pole of component 1 are associated with
elements 12, 14, 20, 18, and 13. Together they define the positive
pole of component 1. At the opposite pole the contrast of these
constructs are associated with elements 6, 17, 1, 2, 5, 4 and 8.
Together they define the negative pole of component 1. The
subjects clearly associated some situations (those represented by
elements 12, 14, 20, 18 and 13) with urgency and negative
consequences to those involved; also associated with these
situations are the costs a potential helper may have to face.
In contrast other situations (represented by elements 6, 17, 1,
2, 5, 4 and 8) are not associated with high costs, and people
involved in such situations are not in obvious predicament.
This component is, therefore, an 'urgency/cost' component.

Elements 16 and 15 evoked the constructs on the circumference
of quadrants 2 and 3 on the negative pole of component 2. Together

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they define the negative pole of component 2. At the opposite

pole the contrast of these constructs are evoked by elements 7,

10 and 12. Together they define the positive pole of component

2. The subjects here expressed less sympathy because people

involved are not unfortunate, and that though it is impersonal,

it is yet seen as involvement with the police. This component

can be labelled 'negative feelings towards the unconventional'.

Figures 2.7 and 2.8 represented the plane of component 1 and 3.

The percentage variances accounted for by each component group

was shown in the figures. The loadings of the elements on

component 1 across the two groups will not be compared because

this has already been done when discussing figures 5 and 6. The

rank-order correlations between the rankings across the two groups

is $r_s = 0.01$ (lower case) for component 3. Thus, no relation

exists betwen the loadings of the elements on this component

across the two groups.

In figure 2.7, the constructs on the circumference of quadrants

1 and 2 on the positive pole of component 1 are associated with

elements 12, 18, 14, 20 and 19. Together they define the positive

pole of component 1. At the opposite pole the contrast of these

constructs are associated with elements 6, 1, 9, 2, 3, 5, 4, 8

and 11. Together they define the negative pole of component 1.

The constructs on the circumference of quadrants 2 and 3 on

the negative pole of component 3 are associated with element 13.

Together they define the negative pole of component 3. At the

opposite pole the contrast of these constucts are associated with

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Fig. 27. The loadings of the elements and constructs on components 1 and 3 for the Sudanese group.

115

8.93 %

28.43 %

giving to someone you may not see again
the recipient can not see your act
no fear involved

peaceful situation
not testing courage
no risk involved
casual
could not be upsetting
minor help
less involvement
not time consuming
not moral obligation
not immediate help
no responsibility
not dangerous
not life-saving
not serious
not painful help

easy to do
nonemergency
not rare events
no crime involved

not physical help
less important

not urgent
not helpless people
on your way
not injured people

giving to someone you may not see again
you cannot see when you help
Indirect help to the recipient
not face to face situation

injured people
out of your way
helpless people
urgent
more important
physical help
crime involved
rare events
emergency
not easy to do
painful help
serious
life-saving
dangerous
responsibility
immediate help
moral obligation
time consuming
more involvement
major help
could be upsetting
not casual
risk involved
testing courage
an aggressive situation
fear involved

direct help
the recipient can see your act
giving to someone you may see again

indirect help

Q1
blood donating
informing the police
reporting shoplifters
attacked & left injured
caught in fire
being attacked
someone fainted in street
a lost child
helping a drunk
Q2

Q4
charity
re-mailing a letter
informing a wrong number caller
giving up seat on bus
change giving
street direction
street interview
an old woman to cross road
dropped shopping
finding a lost key
a lift
Q3

face to face situation
direct help to the recipient
you can see when you help

Fig.28. The loadings of the elements and constructs on components 1 and 3 for the UK group.

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elements 16 and 17. Together they define the positive pole of
component 3. Although the subjects can visualise the need in the
situation represented by element 13, yet they perceive this
situation as both dangerous and demanding, and after all not for
a good cause. In such cases they are unlikely to offer help
because it is not for a good cause. On the other hand, they are
unlikely to ignore helping in the situations represented by
elements 16 and 17, as it is for a good cause. This component
can be labelled 'good cause' component.

In figure 2·8, the constructs on the circumference of quadrant
1 and 2 are associated with elements 14, 20, 19, 16 and 12.
Together they define the positive pole of component 1. At the
opposite pole the contrast of these constructs are associated
with elements 6, 2, 1, 3, 4, 8, 7, 9 and 5. Together they define
the negative pole of component 1.

The constructs on the circumference of quadrants 2 and 3 on
the negative pole of component 3 are associated with elements 13
and 11. Together they define the negative pole of component 3.
At the opposite pole the contrast of these constructs are associated
with elements 17 and 18. Together they define the positive pole
of component 3. Here, the subjects clearly distinguish between
situations in which the person who needs help is in front of
their eyes, and others in which organizations represent the
person. This component can be labelled 'personal/impersonal'
component.

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2.4.3 <u>Set Three</u>

Figures 2.9 and 2.10 show the loadings of the elements and constucts on the first two components. Also shown are the percentage variances accounted for by each group component. The rank-order correlations between the rankings from the two groups are $r_s = 0.51$ ($p < 0.05$, two-tailed test) for component 1 and $r_s = -0.09$ (lower case) for component 2. Thus, the ranking of the elements is moderately similar for component 1 and not similar for component 2.

In figure 2.9 the constructs located on the circumference of quadrants 1 and 2 on the positive pole of component 1 are associated with elements 19, 14, 20 and 12. Together they define the positive pole of component 1. At the opposite pole the contrast of these constructs are associated with elements 9, 5, 8, 2, 4, 6, 1, 11, and 3. Together they define the negative pole of component 1. The major features of the situations represented by elements 19, 14, 20 and 12 are their seriousness, salience of need for help, risk and painful involvement associated with them. In contrast, the situations represented by elements 9, 8, 5, 2, 4, 6, 1, 11 and 3 are of casual, safe, 'on your way' and not urgent nature. This component can be labelled 'urgency/cost' component.

On the circumference of quadrants 2 and 3 on the negative pole of component 2 a cluster of constructs are associated with elements 15 and 16. Together they define the negative pole of component 2. At the opposite pole the contrast of these constructs are associated with elements 17 and 18. Together they define the

118

38.30 %

11.11 %

repercussions – on the spot help
risk
you must be strong
not easy to do
dangerous
could not wait
serious
not safe
involvement
requires medical attention
painful involvement
likely to get into trouble

out of your way – real need
urgent – time consuming
important
emergency – rare events
life and death
could be involvement

could have no repercussions
no violence

conscience involved
no crime involved
likely to do

could not be involvement
not life and death
nonemergency – not rare events
not important
not urgent – not time consuming
not real need – on your way

unlikely to get into trouble
not painful involvement
requires no medical attention

no involvement
safe
not serious
could wait
not dangerous
easy to do

do not have to be strong
no risk

not on the spot help – no repercussions

unlikely to do
crime involved
no conscience involved

violence
could have repercussions

blood donating

someone
fainted in street

lost child

Q1

caught in fire

attacked and left injured
being attacked

helping a drunk

Q2

informing police

charity

old woman to cross road
remailing letter
giving up seat on bus
dropped shopping
finding lost key
change giving

Q4

informing wrong number caller
street direction
a lift
street interview interview

Q3

reporting shoplifters

Fig. 29. The loadings of the elements and constructs on components 1 and 2 for the Sudanese group.

119

11.62%

31.12%

you cannot visualise their need- charitable acts

dangerous
affecting people's lives
suffering for others
vital
rare events

more important
may die if you ignore them
big effort
more than politeness
major help
you need the police for help

serious
could have wider implications
time consuming
easy to do
real physical help

genuine
real involvement
involves more than one person

could hurt yourself - urgent
rescuing disabled people
helping people in danger

more commitment - serious
helping people for their safety

not passive help
worrying for people involved - emotional

loss

+

+

+

being attacked

informing police

blood donating

Q1

caught in fire
attacked and left injured

helping a drunk

someone fainted in street

a lost child

Q2

no donation-sympathy with individuals

actual contact with the help seeker-personal

you can see the outcome of your help-direct help to individuals

indirect help to individuals-you cannot see the outcome of your help

impersonal-no contact with the help seeker

sympathy with organisations-donation

reporting shoplifters

charity

Q4

informing wrong number caller

remailing letter

street in interview

a lift

finding lost key

an old woman to cross road

change giving

street direction

giving up seat on bus

dropped shopping

Q3

–

–

no material loss

not charitable acts-you can visualise their need

not emotional – no worrying for people involved
passive help

not helping people for their safety
not serious – less commitment

not helping people in danger
not rescuing disabled people
could not hurt yourself – not urgent

involves one person
not real involvement
not genuine

not real physical help
difficult to do
not time consuming
could not have wider implications
not serious

you do not need the police for help
minor help
politeness
less effort
less important

may not die if you ignore them

not rare events
not vital

no suffering for others
not affecting people's lives
not dangerous

Fig.210.   The loadings of the elements and constructs on components 1 and 2 for the UK group.

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positive pole of component 2. Here, there is, clearly, a negative perception of situations involving crime or accidents as they may generate violence or undesirable repercussions. This component can be labelled 'fear of getting involved'.

In figure 2·10, the constructs on the circumference of quadrants 1 and 2 on the positive pole of component 1 are associated with elements 19, 20, 14, 13, 12 and 16. Together they define the positive pole of component 1. At the opposite pole the contrast of these constructs are associated with elements 6, 5, 3, 2, 1, 9, 8 and 4. Together they define the negative pole of component 1. The situations represented by elements 19, 20, 14, 13, 12 and 16 are seen as more genuine and serious as people involved are in real danger which may cost them their lives. However, they are also associated with costs to the potential helper such as hurting himself, investing big effort and putting himself in a dangerous situation. The other situations, represented by elements 6, 5, 3, 2, 1, 9, 8 and 4, are, however, of nonemergency nature and they are accompanied with no danger. This component can be labelled 'urgency/cost' component.

The constructs on the circumference of quadrants 2 and 3 on the negative pole of component 2 are associated with elements 7 and 10. Together they define the negative pole of component 2. At the opposite pole the contrast of these constructs are associated with elements 17 and 18. Together they define the positive pole of component 2. This component distinguishes between direct and personal help to individuals whom you can see, and indirect and impersonal help to individuals through organizations. Therefore,

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this component can be labelled 'direct/indirect help to individuals' component.

Figures 2.11 and 2.12 show the loadings of the elements and constructs on component 1 and 3. Also shown are the percentage variances accounted for by each group component. The rank-order correlations between the rankings of the elements from the two groups r_s = -0.06 (lower case) for component 3. This has already been shown for component 1. The element rankings in terms of their loadings on component 3 are, thus, not similar between the two groups.

In figure 2.11, the constructs on the circumference of quadrants 1 and 2 on the positive pole of component 1 are associated with elements 12, 14, 20 and 19. Together they define the positive pole of component 1. At the opposite pole the contrast of these constructs are associated with elements 6, 3, 5, 1, 2, 11, 8, 4 and 9. Together they define the negative pole of component 1.

The constructs on the circumference of quadrants 2 and 3 on the negative pole of component 3 are associated with elements 17, 16 and 18. Together they define the negative pole of component 3. At the opposite pole the contrast of these constructs are associated with element 13. Together they define the positive pole of component 3. The subjects here evaluated the situations from the point of view of being for a good cause, even if help to the recipient is indirect through organizations or from the point of view of seeing the recipient of help who needs help as

122
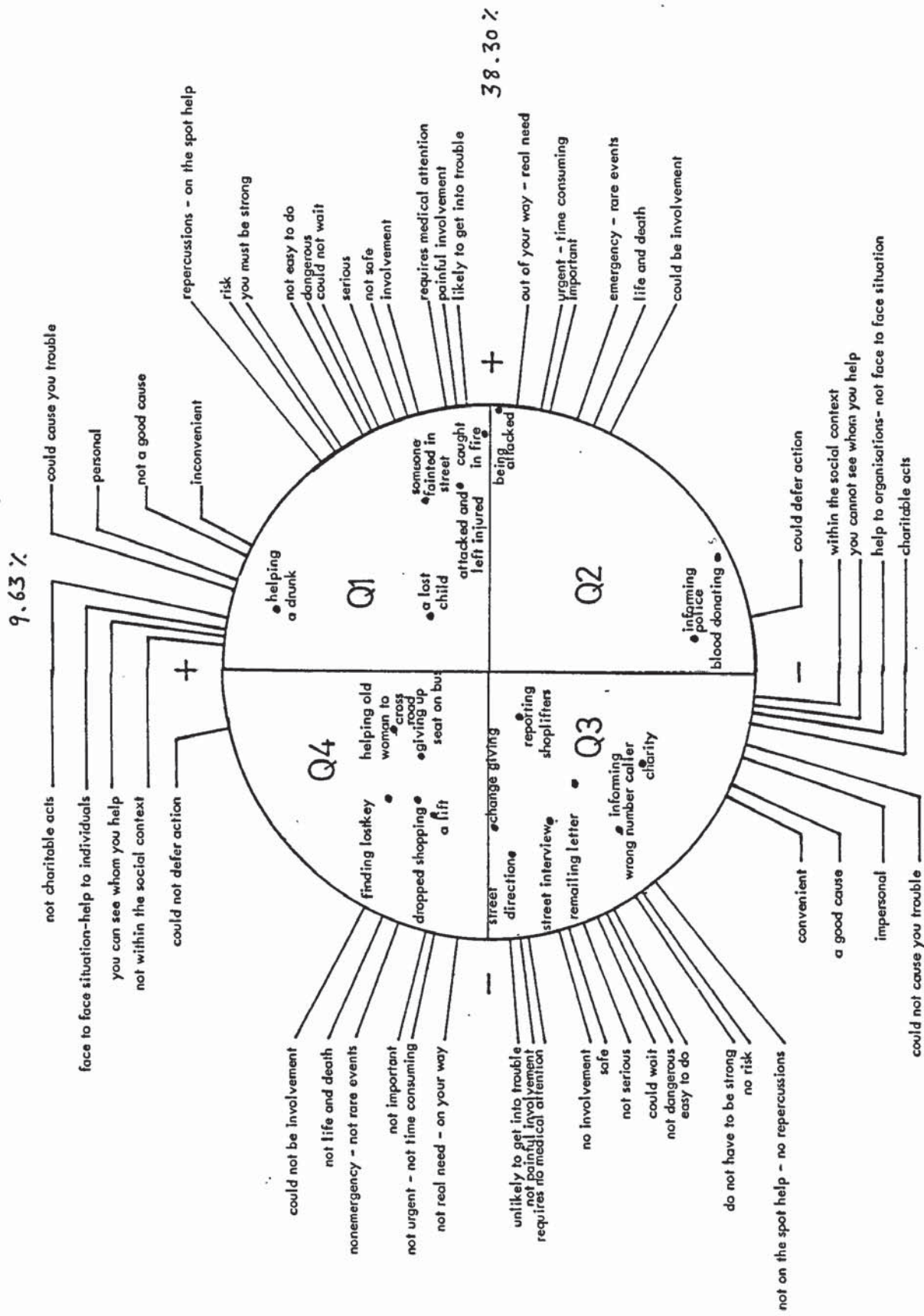
Fig.211. The loadings of the elements and constructs on components 1 and 3 for the Sudanese group.

123
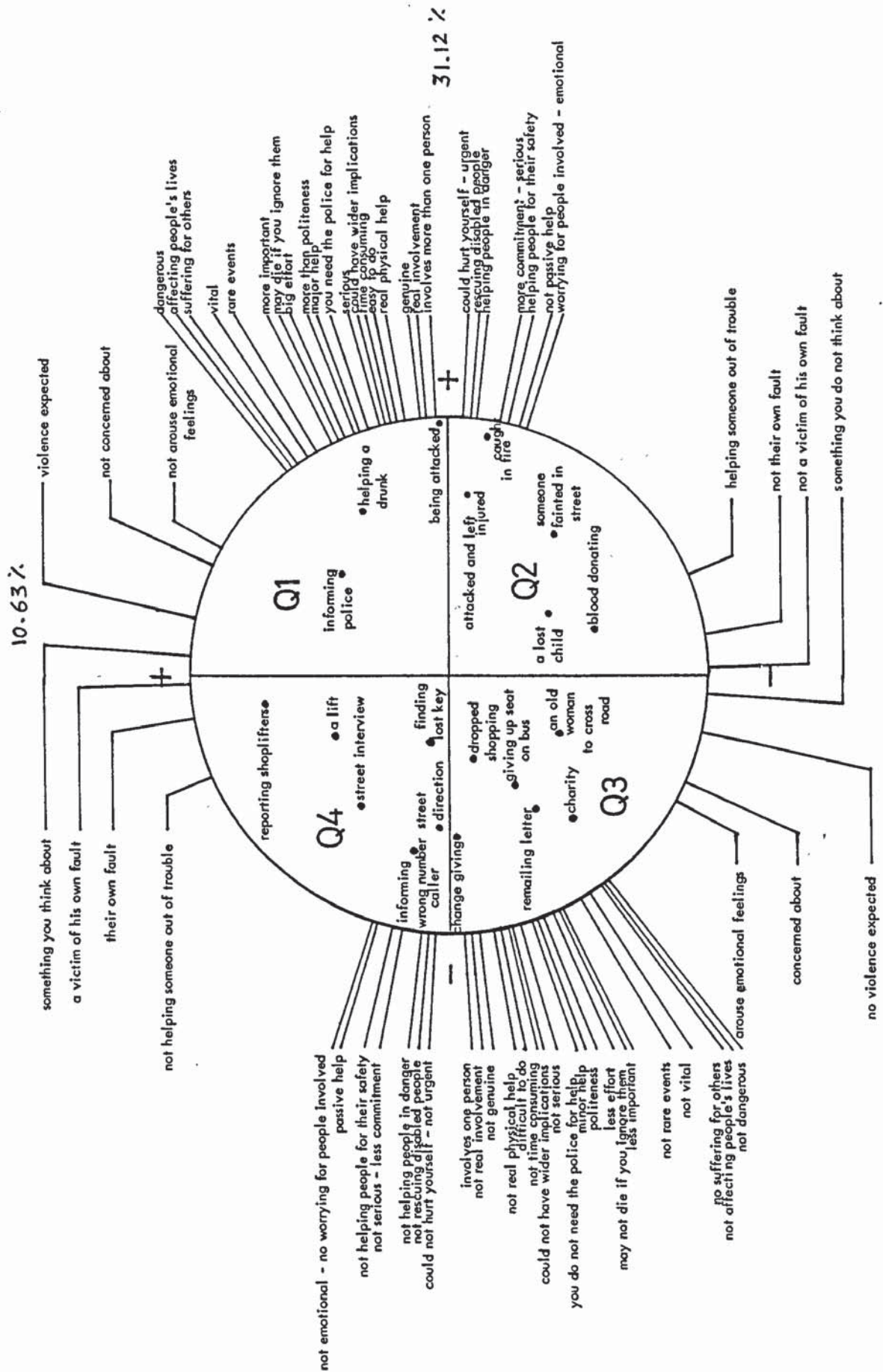
Fig.2.12. The loadings of the elements and constructs on components 1 and 3 for the UK group.

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a consequence of acting unconventionally. Thus, this component can be labelled 'helping for a good cause.'

In figure 2.12, the constructs on the circumference of quadrants 1 and 2 on the positive pole of component 1 are associated with elements 16, 13, 19, 20 and 14. Together they define the positive pole of component 1. At the opposite pole the contrast of these constructs are associated with elements 3, 6, 1, 2, 8, 4, 9, 5 and 17. Together they define the negative pole of component 1.

The constructs on the circumference of quadrants 2 and 3 on the negative pole of component 3 are associated with elements 18, 10 and 12. At the opposite pole the contrast of these constructs are associated with element 15. Together they define the positive pole of component 3. Here the distinction is clearly made between situations which arouse emotional feelings and those which are not. Moreover, the former are usually peaceful situations, whereas the latter may sometimes turn to be hostile situations. This component can be labelled 'sympathy with dependent others' component.

2.5   Agreement in rankings across all data sets

To enable a direct comparison between the two groups the elements ranking on all data sets were combined. This step is necessary because' the limitation in Prefan program forced us to split data into 3 sets of 20. Up to this point we only know the agreement and disagreement between subjects on each set of data, independently of the others.

Considering all sets of rankings from both studies, Kendall's coefficient of concordance (W) was calculated. The rankings for the three components, together with the procedure for calculating Kendall's coefficient of concordance, will be shown in Appendix C.

Component 1:

There was a high degree of agreement (Kendall's W = 0.426; χ^2 = 48.56, df = 19, p < 0.001) between the subjects from the two countries in ranking the elements in terms of component 1. Thus, the structures of the component yielded by the analyses of these supplied elements were very similar over the two groups of subjects from the two countries.

Component 2:

There was no significant agreement between the subjects from the two countries in the ranking of the elements in terms of component 2 (Kendall's W = 0.036; χ^2 = 4.104, df = 19, (NS)).

Therefore, the component structures yielded by the analyses of the supplied elements were different between the two groups from the two countries.

Component 3:

There was no significant agreement between the subjects from the two countries in the ranking of the elements in terms of component 3 (Kendall's W = 0.1; χ^2 = 10.83; df = 19, (NS)). Therefore, the component structures yielded by the analyses of these supplied elements were different between subjects from the two countries.

2.6 Summary of results

2.6.1 Set One

(1) The rankings of the elements in terms of components 1 and 3 were negatively correlated between the two groups from the two countries, but the rankings of component 2 were uncorrelated.

(2) The first component for both groups is dominated by constructs related to urgency and cost associated with corresponding situations.

(3) The second component in the first group (Sudan) is dominated by constructs related to obligation (morally or legally), whereas that of the second group (UK) is dominated by constructs related to sympathy with individuals.

(4) The third component in the first group is dominated by constructs related to helping individuals you cannot see for a good cause, whereas that of the second group is dominated by constructs related to giving for a good cause.

2.6.2 Set Two

(1) The rankings of the elements were moderately similar in terms of component 1, and not similar in terms of components 2 and 3.

(2)   The first component of both groups is dominated by constructs related to urgency and cost associated with corresponding situations.

(3)   The second component in the first group is dominated by constructs related to conscience, whereas that of the second group is dominated by constructs related to negative feelings towards the unconventional.

(4)   The third component in the first group is dominated by constructs related to good causes, whereas that of the second group is dominated by constructs related to personal/ impersonal help.

2.6.3 Set Three

(1)   The rankings of the elements in terms of components 1 was moderately similar, and not similar in terms of components 2 and 3.

(2)   The first component for both groups is dominated by constructs related to urgency and cost associated with corresponding situations.

(3)   The second component in the first group is dominated by constructs related to fear of getting involved, whereas that of the second group is dominated by constructs related to perception of direct and indirect help required in the situation.

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(4)   The third component in the first group is dominated by
       several distinct constructs related directly or indirectly
       to having to do with a good cause, whereas that of the
       second group is dominated by constructs related to sympathy
       with dependent others.

       Overall, there was a significant agreement between the two
groups from the two countries in the structure of component 1
i.e., urgency/cost, but there was no significant agreement
between the two groups from the two countries in the structures
of components 2 and 3.

2.7 Discussion

The statistically significant rank-order correlations between element loadings on the first component demonstrates that the structure of this component is similar between the Sudanese and the UK groups of subjects used in these two studies. What does the structure of this component define? First, it defines a clear dimension of urgency-nonemergency which appears in constructs related to the apprehension of severity afflicted upon others and the consequences of such severity. Underlying this main emergency-nonemergency dimension lies a second dimension of evaluation related to involvement in reducing this severity on the part of bystanders; in short, the costs associated with helping others. The constructs presented in the figures constitute strong support for this conclusion.

Both groups of subjects clearly distinguished between an urgent and non-urgent situation i.e., emergency and nonemergency. One clear defining dimension of an emergency is that it is affecting other peoples' lives, with an element of risk, harm and danger to the victims which increases with time. In sum, it is a matter of life and death for people involved. This is in line with Latane and Darley (1970), Bar-Tal (1976) and Piliavin et al., (1981) conception of emergency. Perhaps, and for this reason, the subjects from both countries will act positively in such situations. In such cases if a response is not made immediately, it will be useless because the victim may cease to exist or the crime may have been completed. Under rather less serious situations, i.e., nonemergency ones, the help-seeker will not be harmfully

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affected by the inaction of bystanders or people he approached, because he may still manage to solve his problem. He is able to seek assistance from other sources. As perceived by the British subjects in this study he is not under immediate threat; and his situation would not get worse if one ignored him, as perceived by the Sudanese subjects in this study. Unlike victims of an emergency situation, he requires no medical attention; hence, he is not in urgent and greater need for help. Nonemergencies are also described by subjects in both countries as casual, common occurrence events in which case it becomes a matter of politeness for the potential helper to render assistance when solicited.

It has already been pointed out that costs emerged as a dimension of evaluation of helpful situations in terms of the first component. Subjects from both countries seem to be aware of the different levels and types of costs associated with acting helpfully. In particular, the person tries to assess the negative consequences such as time lost, consumed physical effort, to come out of his way; and more serious costs such as the possibility of physical harm, risk to life, and involvement in a dangerous situation. These are contingent upon his making a direct response. To minimise the costs, some people may offer indirect help by calling the police, or simply by drawing the attention of others. Perhaps they want to avoid exposure to unpleasant and upsetting situations such as having contact with blood, wounds etc., or to avoid the inconvenience of missing rewards contingent upon activities that could have been performed during the time taken up by helping.

Given this basic similarity in the structure of the first component, nevertheless there are some differences between the two groups when the structures of components 2 and 3 are considered. To help understand these differences, it seems desirable to mention the elements which contribute much to the variation in components 2 and 3. These are mostly element 13 (helping a drunk who collapsed in the street), element 15 (helping by reporting shoplifters), element 16 (giving information to the police about an accident or a crime you have witnessed), element 17 (donating to charity), element 18 (blood-donating), and occasionally element 10 (helping a lost child to find his parents). Mostly the two groups made a contrast between elements 17 and 18 on the one hand, and 15 and 16 on the other, or element 13 as in contrast to elements 17, 16, 18 and 10. All in all, elements 13, 15 and 16, as opposed to elements 10, 17 and 18, generate negative feelings and perceptions. Having said that, we find that the structure of component 2 for the Sudanese group relates to a conflict between responding, or not responding, to conscience because of the fear of involvement. On the other hand, the British group express notions of sympathy, negative feelings towards, and direct or indirect help to individuals. It is a difference of evaluation in terms of situations or in terms of individuals. In the third component, though both groups refer to good cause, the Sudanese group attach the inconvenience which may accompany helping in good causes. The British group, however, distinguish between sympathy associated with whether help in such situations is personal or impersonal.

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The main purpose of this study was achieved. Many constructs emerged from this study which could be looked upon as important factors that people consider in their evaluation of needy situations. There is an agreement between the two groups from the two countries on urgency and cost as major factors in this regard. However, differences exist between the two groups on such factors as obligation, sympathy, good cause, conventional/unconventional, personal/impersonal, fear of getting involved, direct/indirect help. Therefore, for the purpose of examining cross-cultural aspects of helping behaviour, urgency and cost will be employed as major factors in the course of this research.

3.   Part Three

The effect of group size, cost and urgency
          on response latency:

     A cross - cultural comparison

3.1   INTRODUCTION:

The bystander effect, as mentioned earlier, was first made
prominent in a series of experiements designed by Latane and Darley
(Latane & Darley 1968, Darley & Lat ane 1968, Latane & Robin,
1969; Latane & Darley 1970). These authors found that the presence
of others in an emergency situation hinders, rather than helps,
positive responses to an emergency; a shocking fact that contradicts
the 'safety in numbers' popular belief. This means individuals
are less likely to respond to an emergency if they are in the
presence of others than if they are alone. Since then, individuals'
reactions to emergencies have been the main focus of a considerable
body of research.

An impressive number of empirical replications of the basic
Latane & Darley research have provided substantial support for
their finding, as was seen in the introduction to the present
work. The evidence for the bystander effect is vast and remarkably
consistent.

In an attempt to isolate the factors determining the
bystander effect, many explanations and mechanisms have been
suggested. Latane & Darely (1970) and Latane et al.(1981)
suggested that the inhibition of bystander's response, because
of the presence of others may take place through three mechanisms:
(a) diffusion of responsibility, (b) social influence, and (c)
audience inhibition. All mechanisms, individually or together ,
act as deterrents to positive response when more people are present
than when few people are present. However, Piliavin et al. (1969)

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using a cost – reward model of bystander intervention did not lend support to the finding that a person is less likely to get help when more people are present than when less people are present. They found no differences as a function of group size. Instead they suggested that costs and benefits are the crucial factors in determining intervention. Also Clark & Word (1972, 1974) offered a different explanation, namely, the characteristics of the stimulus event, especially its seriousness and degree of ambiguity, are important factors in determining help and intervention.

The bystander effect as inferred from this discussion, and from the introudction to this work, is well established as an empirical effect. However, the underlying processes by which this effect takes places is still an open area of debate. Moreover, there is a question of how general the bystander phenomenon may be? Most laboratory bystander studies have involved emergency type situations, either for the focal subjects (e.g. apparent fire) or for the victim (e.g. apparent fall and injury). It seems worthwhile to ask whether the bystander effect could be produced in a laboratory situation which is not an emergency, because most of the demanding situations in everyday life are of routine, casual and nonemergency nature. Furthermore, there is the question of whether this phenomenon is universal. Also all relevant research here has been done in the United States and Canada and there is clearly a need for more extensive cross-cultural research on this phenomenon.

Threfore, the present study addressed itself to investigating the underlying processs by which the bystander effect takes place

in a low urgency, as well as a high urgency, situation, in the Sudan and the United Kingdom. In particular, the relationship between group size, urgency, and cost and response latency of subjects was of interest. It is an attempt to see if the bystander effect is generalizable to different urgency situations under different group size, cost conditions and across different cultures. The results of this study also provides a specific generalizability of the test of the Morgan-Leik (1978) model across disparate cultures.

The present study is, thus, an extension of Morgan's (1978) study. The experimental design replicates Morgan's low urgency condition, but incorporates an additional high urgency situation. Also the study incorporates a cultural variable by conducting the experiments in two different cultures. This cultural variable is important because it allows us to test if the bystander effect is a universal phenomenon.

Hypotheses:

(1)   The experimental manipulation of time constraints, costs, will decrease the value of I (individual's net expected benefit) and increases G (group's net expected benefit), and thus will vary the ratio G/I between the two cost conditions; hence the response latency curve is expected to change slope between the two cost conditions. Whatever the slope of the curve in the low cost condition, in the high cost condition the slope should move toward a monotonic increase if behaviour follows that predicted by the Morgan - Leik model.

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(2)   The response latency curve should move upward between the
      two cost conditions because it will take longer to respond
      in the high cost than in the low cost condition.

(3)   The response latency curve should move downward between the
      two urgency conditions because subjects in high urgency
      condition are expected to respond faster than subjects in
      the low urgency condition.

3.2   Method

3.2.1   Design

Four independent variables were manipulated in this experiment. These were: country, group size, urgency and cost.

(A)   **Country**:

The experiements were conducted in the UK and the Sudan.

(B)   **Group size**:

Three different levels of group size were used. These are lone subjects, a small group of two, and a large group of four. This encompasses the critical region of Morgan-Leik model which assumes major change in R- individual's felt responsibility - to occur as the number of witnesses increases from 1 to 2 to 3. The difference in the value of R with each additional witness soon becomes insequential, and hence testing the model does not warrant investigating groups where $n > 4$.

(C)   **Costs and benefits**:

The research strategy used here, as in Morgan (1978), was to vary the individual and the group benefits in a known fashion. This was done by altering the individual's cost of intervention which reflects both individual and group benefits.

Two cost conditions were set:

(1)   Low Cost: Subjects were told that they had to complete
a mathematics task which contained many problems, some of which
were difficult, but they were not expected to answer them all,
and they had all the time they wanted to answer any particular
problem they wanted to work on.

(2)   High Cost: Subjects were told that the mathematics
problems were an important measure of ability (not specified)
that the experimenter was interested in; they were to answer as
many problems as possible, and they would have exactly 10 minutes
to do this; then a stop-watch was set.

This manipulation created alternations in costs. In both
high cost and low cost conditions the cost of intervention for a
subject was that valuable time was taken away from the mathematics
task, but time was more valuable in the high cost than in the low
cost condition. Time pressure was more in the high cost condition.
However, in the high cost condition while increases in individual's
costs resulted in decreases in personal benefits, group benefits
were simultaneously increased, thereby decreasing group costs.

(D)   Urgency:

Two urgency conditions were set:

(1) Low urgency: Light taps on the door to the experimental
room, repeated a maximum of six times, and spaced 10 seconds
apart. This was considered appropriate as previous studies have

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shown that people do help either quickly or not at all (Latane _et al._, 1981). The minimum of taps was determined, of course, by the subject's intervention.

(2)   High Urgency: heavy taps on the experimental room's door, repeated a maximum of six times, and spaced 10 seconds apart.

The experimental design is summarized in talbe 3.1 below:-

		UK			SUDAN		
Urgency	Group Size	1	2	4	1	2	4
	Cost						
High	Low Condition	8x1 S	8x2 S	8x4 S	8x1 S	8x2 S	8x4 S
	High Condition	8x1 S	8x2 S	8x4 S	8x1 S	8x2 S	8x4 S
Low	Low Condition	8x1 S	8x2 S	8x4 S	8x1 S	8x2 S	8x4 S
	High Condition	8x1 S	8x2 S	8x4 S	8x1 S	8x2 S	8x4 S

Table 3.1:-   The experimental design including country, group size, urgency and cost

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3.2.2 Subjects:

A total of 224 male undergraduate and postgraduate students,
aged between 18 and 38, participated in this experiment in each
of the two countries.

3.2.3 Apparatus:

A stop-watch was used to record the response latency of subjects.

3.2.4. Procedure:

In both countries subjects were told that they would be
participating in either a group or an individual task. They were
asked to report individually to the foyer of the laboratory where
they were met by the experimenter to avoid social contact with
other subjects. They were then escorted as soon as they arrived
to the experimental room where seperate chairs were placed
approximately equidistant (3 meters) from, and facing the door.

A set of mathematics task was distributed, and the experimenter
gave instructions on completing these which varied between the
different conditions of the experiment. In the low cost conditions
the subjects were told that they had all the time they wanted,
and in the high cost condition the subjects were told that they
had exactly 10 minutes to solve as many problems as possible.

After 60 seconds the experimenter left the room, closing
the door loudly to mark his exit. Five minutes later he returned

to administer the intervention stimulus, which was either the light or the heavy taps on the experimental room's door.

3.3   Dependent variable:

The dependent variable was response latency, or the length of time elapsed before someone intervened. This was recorded in terms of the class interval at which intervention occurred. There were six class intervals adopted here:

> 1 - 10 seconds - 1
> 11 - 20 seconds - 2
> 21 - 30 seconds - 3
> 31 - 40 seconds - 4
> 41 - 50 seconds - 5
> 51 - 60 seconds - 6

Thus, an intervention, say, in the 17th second was considered to have a response latency of 2, in the 35th second a response latency of 4 and so on. If no-one intervened, then a value of 7 was given since the maximum number of intervention latency is 6. This coding procedure follows other studies in this area (e.g Levy et al., 1972; Morgan, 1978). Since this study is a partial replication of Morgan's study the author decided to adopt his coding strategy.

3.4   Intervention:

If a subject intervened physically by opening the door, the
experimenter thanked him and terminated the experiment.   Other
modes of responding were also considered as intervention, e.g., a
subject calling out to see if help was being requested.   If a
subject intervened verbally in this way, then the experimenter
opened the door and terminated the experiment.   This way of
defining intervention follows that of other studies (Levy et al.
1972, Morgan, 1978).   If no-one intervened 60 seconds after the
start of the stimulus event, the experimenter opened the door
and asked subjects to stop work.

3.5   Results:

Before describing details of the results, it is worthwhile
clarifying some points about the manipulation checks which were used.

3.5.1   Time:

Did subjects try to make best use of the time available for
the tasks? This was checked by looking to the number of mathematics
problems answered.

In the UK, the subjecs answered an average of 5.56 problems
in the high cost condition, and an average of 3.30 problems in
the low cost condition. In the Sudan, the subjects answered an
average of 4.98 problems in the high cost condition, and an
average of 2.65 problems in the low cost condition.

A two-way analysis of variance was performed on the number
of problems solved (using UAAP UA31)* to test for the difference
in the number of problems solved between the high and the low
cost condition, and the effect of country on performance on the
mathematics task. The resulting analysis of variance summary
table is shown in table 3.2.

This analysis showed significant differences in the number
of mathematics problems answered between countries and between
the low cost and the high cost conditions; with subjects in the

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* University of Aston Application Program 31

Source	SS	DF	MS	F	P
A (Country)	14.630208	1	14.630208	10.6085	< 0.001
B (Cost)	266.020833	1	266.020833	192.8945	< 0.001
AB	0.020833	1	0.020833	0.0151	NS
Subjects	90.078125	47	1.916556		
Error Bt S's	194.453125	141	1.379100		
Total	565.203125	191			

Table 3.2:-   Summary table for a two-way analysis of variance on the number of mathematics problems answered in terms of country (A) and cost condition (B)

high cost condition answering more problems than subjects in the low cost condition, and with subjects in the UK answering more problems than subjects in the Sudan. However, there was no significant interaction between country and cost.

In the post – experimental discussion subjects were asked whether they had tried to work as fast as possible. In the UK, 75% (84 subjects) of the subjects in the high cost condition said they were working as fast as they could, whereas 53% (59 subjects) said so in the low cost condition; and this difference between the two conditions is significant ($x^2 = 12.01$, df = 1, p < 0.005). In the Sudan 83% of the subjects (93 subjects) in the high cost condition said they were working as fast as they could, whereas 56% (63 subjects) said so in the low cost condition; and this difference between the two conditions is significant ($x^2 = 19.01$, df = 1, p < 0.005).

3.5.2   Suspicion:

Note that deception in this experiment was used to get subjects to answer the door or respond verbally, but that not everyone in the group need have been deceived, except in the obvious case of lone subjects.

When subjects were asked in the post – experimental discussion about any aspect of the experimental design they found artifical, only 7% of the subjects (16 subjects) in the UK, and 9% of the

subjects (20 subjects) in the Sudan mentioned the knocker on the door; and in both experiments this did not vary between conditions. So the general level of credibility of the experiment for subjects was satisfactory.

3.5.3   Checks on definition of intervention:

In this experiment, intervention was considered as taking place when someone opened the door or respond loudly enough to be heard by the person knocking at the door. An attempt was made in the UK experiment to see if this had biased the results. Only three subjects had actually opened the door; one in a small group and one lone subject in the low cost in the high urgency condition; and one in a small group in the low cost, low urgency condition. Their response latencies were 3,2 and 3 respectively. However, the average response latency of subjects in these conditions was 2.5, 2 and 2.87 respectively (see table 3.3). Therefore, this lack of physical intervention does not appear to greatly bias the results.

3.5.4 Response Latency:

Scattergrams of the raw data are given in Appendix D. The average response latencies as a function of country, group size, urgency and cost are given in Table 3.3 below:-

Urgency		Group Size	UK			SUDAN		
	Cost		1	2	4	1	2	4
High	Low		2	2.5	3.25	1.625	1.875	2.625
	High		2.25	3	3.5	2	2.375	3
Low	Low		2.875	2.875	4.375	1.875	2.375	3.5
	High		3.25	3.375	4.75	2.5	2.875	4.125

Table 3.3:- Average response latencies of subjects as a function of country, group size, urgency and cost

A four-way analysis of variance was performed on the response latency (using UAAP UA31) to test for country, group size, urgency and cost effects. The resulting analsyis of variance summary table is given in Table 3.4.

The results of this analysis showed that country (A), group size, (B), urgency (C) and cost (D) all had significant main effects on the response latencies of subjects. However, only the first order interaction of group size and urgency (BC) was found to be significant.

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Source	SS	DF	MS	F	P
A	17.520833	1	17.520833	86.0782	< 0.001
B	61.947919	2	30.973958	152.1721	< 0.001
AB	0.072917	2	0.036458	0.1791	NS
C	25.520833	1	25.520833	125.3814	< 0.001
AC	0.520833	1	0.520833	2.5588	NS
BC	3.572917	2	1.786458	8.7767	< 0.025
ABC	0.947917	2	0.473958	2.3285	NS
D	9.1875	1	9.1875	45.1373	< 0.001
AD	0.1875	1	0.1875	0.9212	NS
BD	0.09375	2	0.046875	0.2303	NS
ABD	0.09375	2	0.046875	0.2303	NS
CD	0.1875	1	0.1875	0.9212	NS
ACD	0.020833	1	0.020833	0.1024	NS
BCD	0.09375	2	0.046875	0.2303	NS
ABCD	0.01417	2	0.005208	0.0256	NS
Subjects	1.729167	7	0.247024		
Error bt S'S	32.770833	161			
Total	154.479167				

Table 3.4:-   Summary table for a four-way analysis of
variance of response latencies of subjects
as a function of country (A), group size (B)
urgency (C), and cost (D).

A significant difference was found between the two countries, and overall subjects in the Sudan responded faster than subjects in the UK (see fig 3.1). However, no interaction between country and any other variable was found.

Significant differences were found between subjects in lone, small groups and large group conditions [see Fig 3.2], and multiple comparisons of means (Hopkins & Glass, 1978, p 358-367) showed that significant differences exist between lone and small groups at both cost conditions (q = 3.91; df 3, 29; p < 0.05; q = 5.09, df 3, 29; p < 0.01 in low and high cost conditions respectively), and between small groups and large groups in both cost conditions (q = 12.89, df 3, 29; p < 0.01; q = 11.72, df 3, 29; p < 0.01 in low and high cost conditions respectively). The response latency curve did not change slope between the two cost conditions. However, in the high cost condition, it did move toward the monotonic increase as predicted by the Morgan - Leik model. Therefore, the first experimental hypothesis is supported.

A significant effect of cost on response latency was found; and subjects in low cost conditions intervened faster than subjects in high cost conditions [see fig 3.2]. Multiple comparisons of means showed that there were significant differences between low and high cost conditions (q = 5.08; df 3, 29; p < 0.01; q = 6.25, df 3, 29; p < 0.01; q = 5.08, df 3, 29; p < 0.01; in lone, small groups and large groups respectively). The response latency curve did move in the predicted direction between the two conditions. Therefore, the second experimental hypothesis is supported.

Fig. 3.1

Response latency curves as a function of country and group size
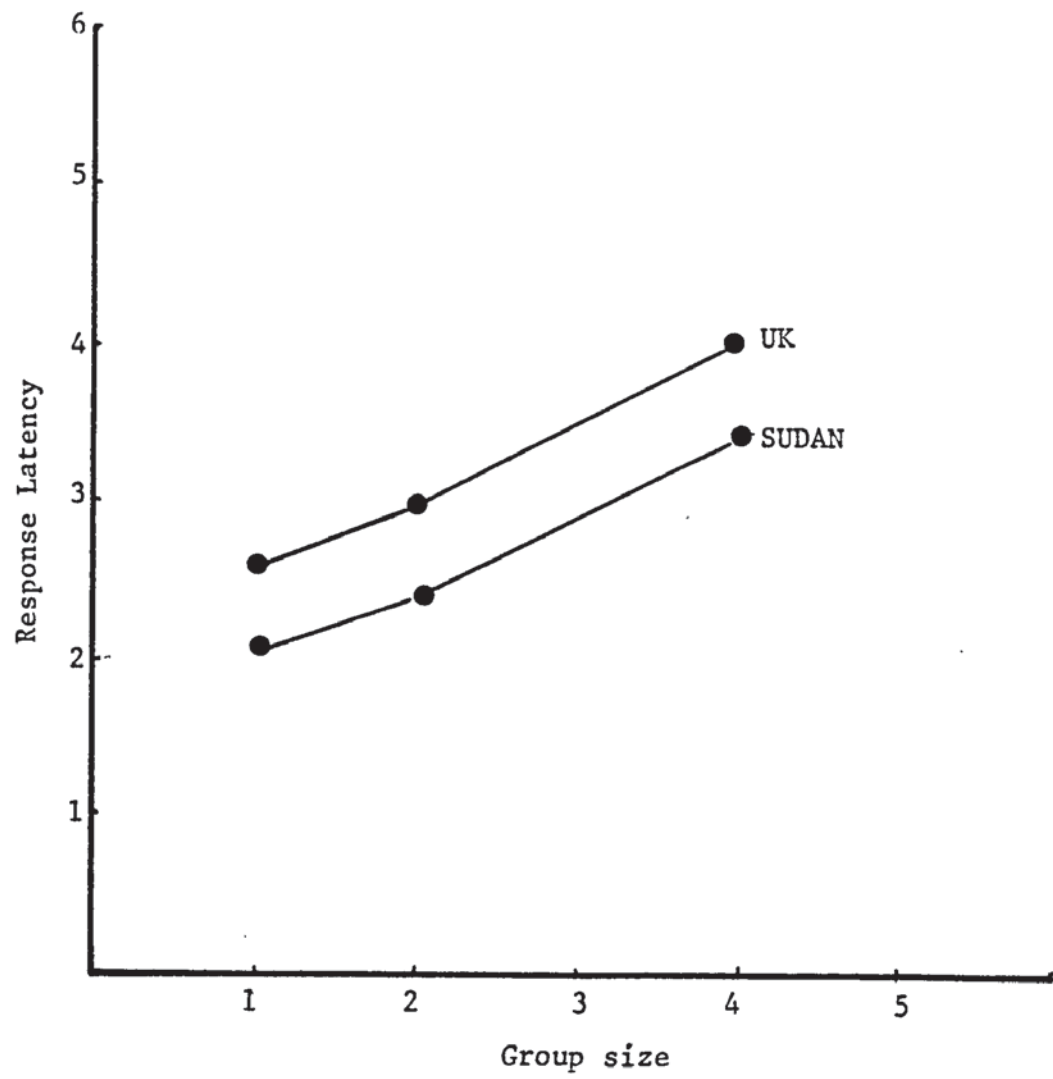
Fig. 3.2

Response latency curves as a function of group size
    and cost condition
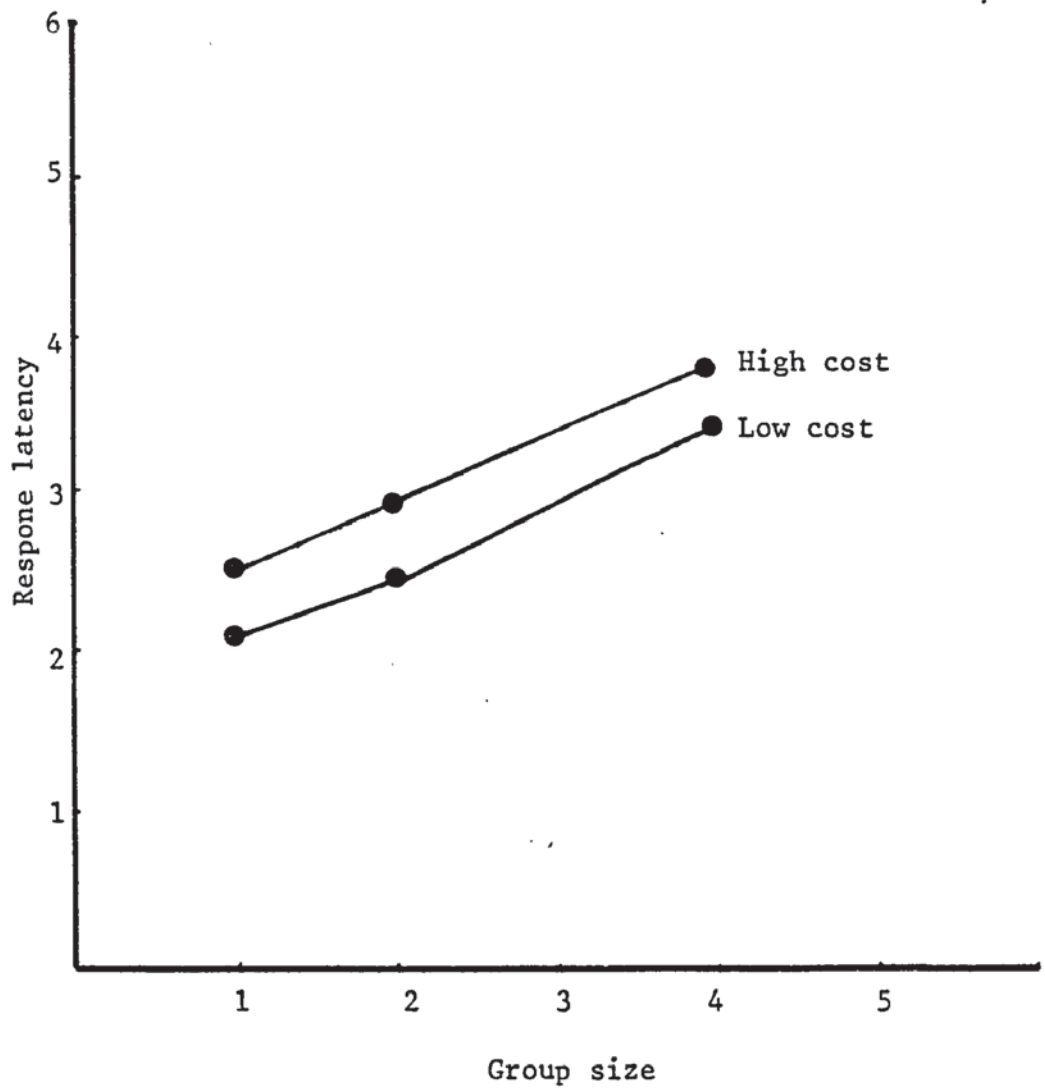
A significant effect of urgency on response latency was found; and subjects in the high urgency condition intervened faster than subjects in the low urgency condition (see fig 3.3). Multiple comparisons of means showed significant differences between high and low urgency conditions at all levels of group size (q = 8.20, df 3, 29; p< 0.01; q = 5.47, df 3, 29; p< 0.01; q = 13.67, df 3, 29; p< 0.01 in lone, small groups, and large groups repectively). The response latency curve moved as predicted between the two urgency conditions; and therefore, the third experimental hypothesis is supported.

A significant interaction between group size (B) and urgency (C) was found (see fig 3.3). The interaction showed the importance of looking at the simple main effects of group size and urgency. Using the computational procedure for simple main effects (Kirk, 1968, p. 220-221) the following summary table was obtained (see Table 3.5).

Significant differences were obtained between high and low urgency conditions at all levels of group size (C at B1, B2 and B3). Significant differences were also found in the response latencies of subjects at different levels of group size in both high and low urgency conditions (B at C1 and C2). However, multiple comparisons of means showed that the difference between lone and small groups levels was significant in high urgency condition (q = 5.58, df 3, 29; p< 0.01) but not in low urgency condition, while the difference between small groups and large groups levels was significant in both high and low urgency

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conditions (q = 8.20, df 3, 29; p < 0.01; q = 16.41, df 3, 29; p < 0.01 in high and low urgency conditions respectively.

Fig. 3.3

Response latency curve as a function of group size and urgency
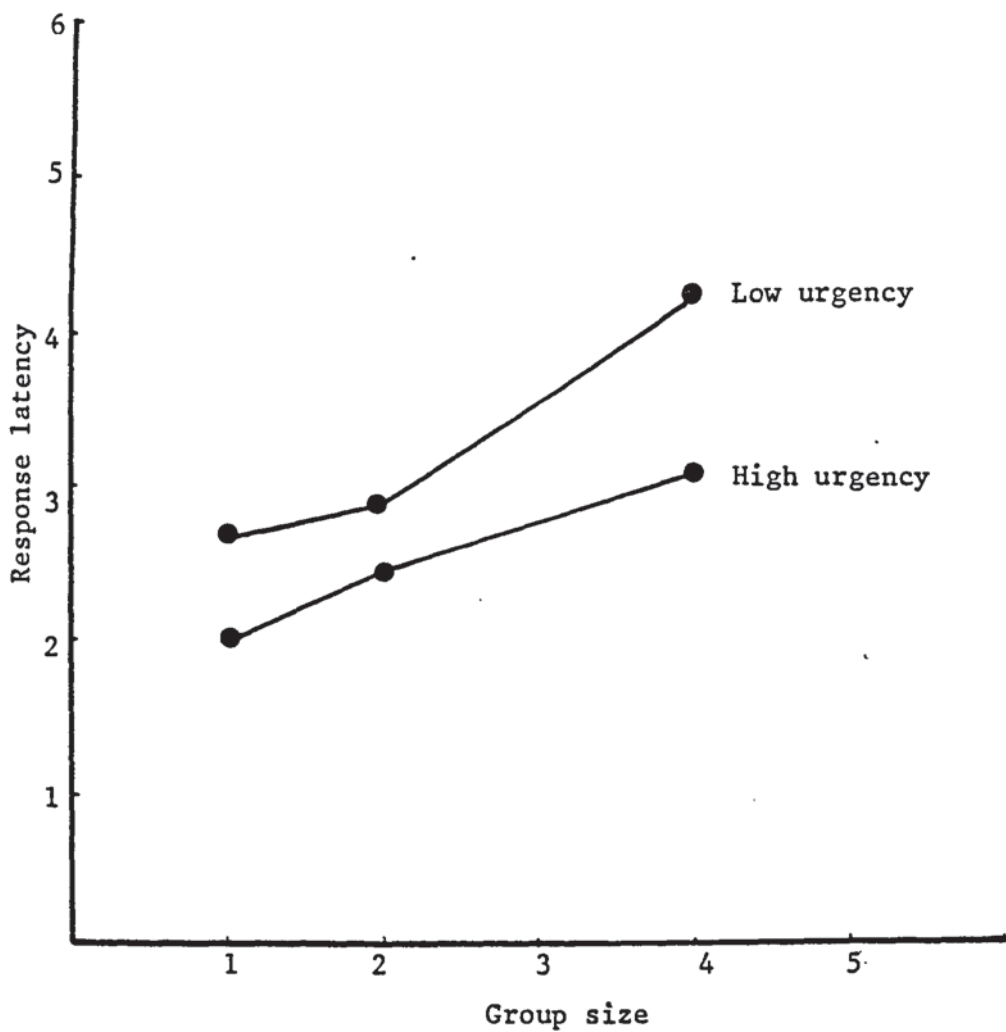
Source	SS	DF	MS	F	P
B (Group Size)	61.947917	2	30.973958	152.1721	< 0.001
B at C_1	20.4375	2	10.21875	50.2036	< 0.001
B at C_2	45.080334	2	22.541667	110.7448	< 0.001
C (Urgency)	25.520833	1	25.520833	125.3814	< 0.001
C at B_1	6.890625	1	6.890625	33.8529	< 0.001
C at B_2	3.0625	1	3.0625	15.0457	< 0.01
C at B_3	19.140625	1	19.140625	94.0359	< 0.001
BC	3.572917	2	1.786458	8.7767	< 0.025
Subjects	1.729167	7	0.247024		
Error bt S'S	32.770833	161	0.203546		
Total	220.15625				

Table 3.5:-   The simple main effects of group size
(B) and urgency (C)

3.5.5   Comparisons of the results with those of the Morgan (1978)
         Study:

Figures 3.4 and 3.5 show a comparison of the present study
with the results of Morgan's (1978) study.

(1) In Morgan's data (referred to in the figure as USA),
in fig 3.4, the response latency curve did change slope between
the two cost conditions. In the low cost condition the curve is
virtualy flat, whereas in the high cost condition it increases
sharply from lone to the small group level and then increases
more steadily with group size.

In the present, study, in fig 3.4, the response latency
curve did change slope between the two cost conditions in the UK,
but not in the Sudan. However, in both cases the response latency
curve, in the high cost condition, did move toward a monotonic
increase. Hence, both the Morgan's and the present results give
support to the prediction from the model that whatever happened
in the low cost condition the response latency curve will move
toward monotonic increase in the high cost condition.

(2) In Morgan's study and in this study, both in the UK
and the Sudan, the response latency curve moved upward between
the two cost conditions. Subjects in low cost conditions intervened
faster than subjets in high cost conditions. However, the difference
in response latency of subjects between low and high cost conditions
remained virtually constant between the three group size levels
in both the UK and the Sudan, but was much smaller than the
differences reported in Morgan's study.

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Fig. 3.4

Response latency curves as a function of group size and cost for the UK, the Sudan and the USA

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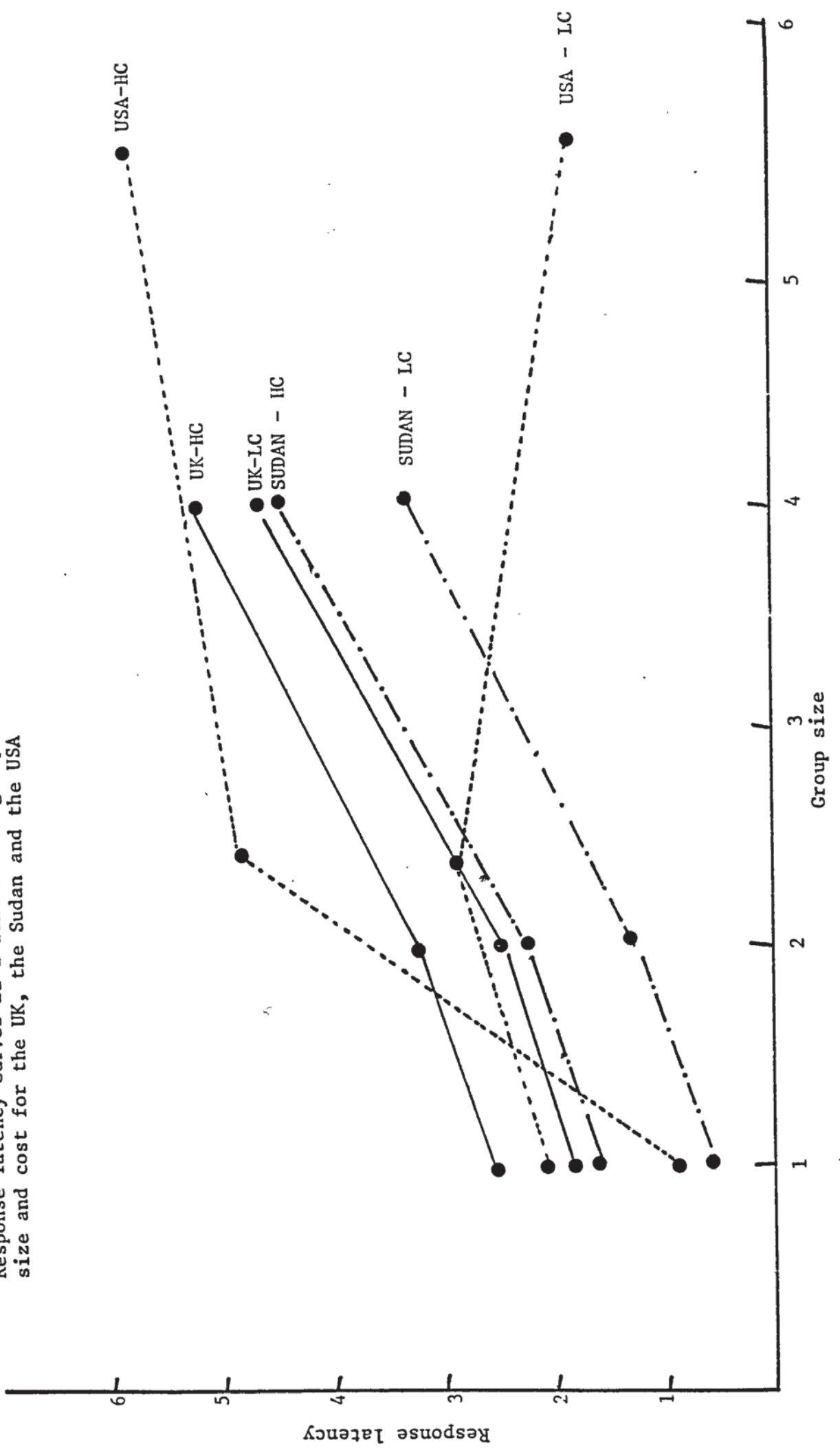
(3)   Although there was a similar effect of cost in the present study and the Morgan's study, however, the response latency was different. With the exception of Morgan's large group in low cost condition, subjects in the Sudan intervened faster than subjects in the USA. However, mixed results were found between UK and USA, with subjects in high cost conditions in UK in groups intervening faster than subjects in such conditions in the USA.

(4)   The group size effect was different between the two studies. The increase in response latency from lone to small group level, in high cost condition, was sharper in Morgan's study, whereas the increase in response latency from small group level to large group level, in both high and low cost condition, was sharper in the present study.

(5)   In Fig 3.5 the Morgan's data for low and high cost conditions was combined to represent a low urgency situation. In the three countries there is a clear effect of group size in both low and high urgency situations. Response latency increased with group size. In the present study, in both countries, the response latency curve moved downward between the two urgency conditions. Subjects in the high urgency condition, intervened faster than subjects in the low urgency condition. In the low urgency condition, subjects in the Sudan intervened faster than subjects in the UK, who intervened faster than subjects in the USA with the exception of lone subjects.

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Fig. 3.5

Response latency curves as a function of group size and urgency
for the UK, the Sudan and the USA
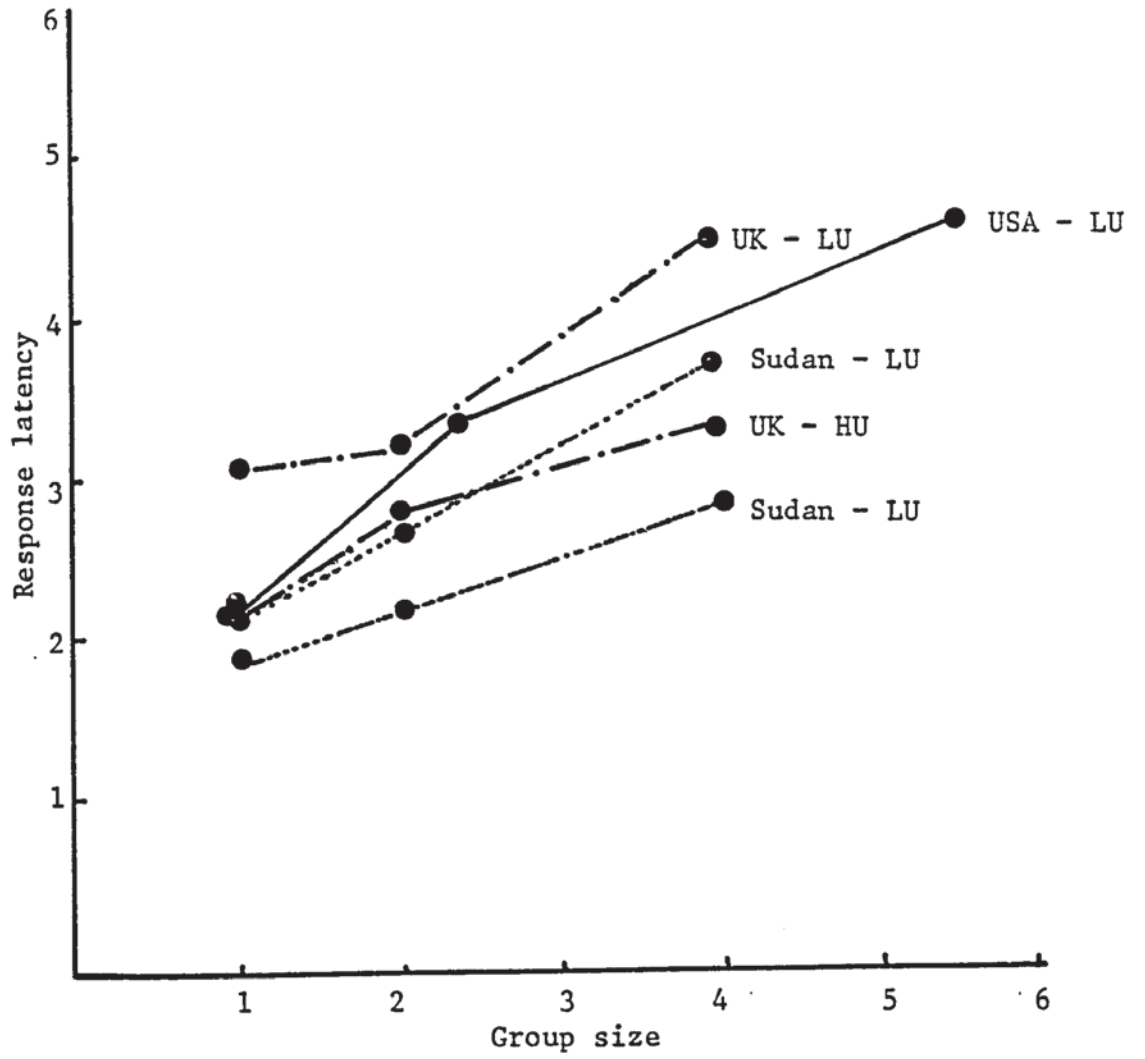
Discussion

The objectives of the present study was to see whether
predictions from the Morgan-Leik (1978) model, being extended to
a high urgency situation, will be supported by data collected
from two different cultures.

The prime purpose behind manipulating time constraints
(costs) was to increase the costliness of responding, thus
decreasing the value of I, i.e the individual's net expected
benefits. This decrease in I, which would also mean an increase
in G, i.e. the group's net expected benefits, because noninterveners
would benefit from intervention, is supposed to delay any response.
It also occurs by increasing the number of bystanders where felt
responsibility (R) decreases. However, this increase in the
number of bystanders increases the probability of finding someone
with a low threshold amongst the group. Thus, response latency
curves are expected to increase, decrease, or increase and then
decrease as a function of group size. Moreover, the time
constraints are expected to affect the response of subjects.
Hence, having two cost conditions, subjects are expected to
respond faster in low cost than in high cost condition.

First, let us summarise the empirical findings. There was
an overall group size effect, in both cost conditions. The
increase in the response latency curve was more sharp moving from
small group to large group level in both cost conditions. Also
the manipulation of time constraints affected the response latency

curve, i.e. moved the response latency curves upward between the
two cost conditions. The manipulation of urgency also resulted
in a shift in response latency curves between the two urgency
conditions, such that the curve moved upwards with decreased
urgency. There was an interaction between group size and urgency.

Thus, it is evident that there was a group size effect as a
function of cost. This result supports the prediction from the
Morgan-Leik (1978) model, that in high cost conditions the response
latency curve would move toward monotonic increase. However, the
model did not strongly emphasize a group size effect in low cost
conditions. Being flexible, the model allows for anything to
happen in the low cost condition, i.e. the response latency may
not show a monotonic increase; however, predicts a monotonic
increase in the high cost condition. In the present study, the
effect of group size was similar between the two cost conditions.
Thus, the decrease in I between the two cost conditions may not
be the prime factor for changing the slope of the response latency
curve toward monotonic increase in high cost conditions. If it
is the prime factor, why did a monotonic increase also occur in
the response latency curve of low cost conditions? Hence, we may
think of a diffusion effect, i.e the presence of others changes
the individual's tendency to intervene, taking place in both cost
conditions. When there are several bystanders present, the
pressures to intervene do not focus on anyone; instead the
respnsibility for intervention is shared among all bystanders
(Darley and Latane, 1968; Latane and Darley, 1970; Latane et al.,
1981). There is little doubt that an individual's likelihood of
giving help, or his response latency, decreases as the number

of bystanders present in the situation increases. The evidence for this is remarkably vast (B ickman, 1971; Ross, 1971; Howard and Crano, 1974; Latane and Darley, 1976; Solomon et al., 1978). However, what is not known from these studies is whether group size, which in turn causes a diffusion, has a different effect in low and high cost conditions. In the present study it is established that the diffusion effect is relative to cost condition, being stronger in high cost conditions.

It may be that in both high and low cost conditions, subjects took notice of what was going on, but continued on their mathematics task waiting for someone to take care of the person at the door. But depending upon the apprehension of costs involved in this experiment, the typical subject in the low cost condition may not have found it costly to open the door or to intervene verbally; hence he may not have held out for long. However, despite this position, the diffusion effect was pronounced in both cost conditions. The inhibition of response, therefore, may have been due to the perceived presence of others. However, the level of cost associated with the situation may determine the magnitude of the effect. Thus, it may have a strong effect in inhibiting positive responses in high cost conditions rather than in low cost conditions. This notion is supported by several studies (e.g. Piliavin and Piliavin, 1972; Staub and Baer, 1974). The Piliavin and Piliavin (1972) study showed that the bloody victim (high cost) was responded to more slowly than the nonbloody victim (low cost) victim.

The Morgan-Leik model also suggests a response threshold effect may take place, such that as group size increases, the probability that the group contains someone with a low threshold increases. According to the model this response threshold element may have an effect in lowering the response latency curve or make it level off as one moves from small groups to large groups. Morgan (1978) argues that this could reconcile the inconsistent results of Piliavin et al. (1969), who found no decrease in intervention as group size increased, and Latane and Darley (1968, 1970) who discovered the decrease in intervention as group size increased. The model, of course, alternatively suggests that the diffusion effect expressed in the notion of felt responsibility (R) may take over and increase the response Latency.

In the light of the present data this seems to be the case, and the response threshold effect is ruled out because the response latency curve did not move downward.

The emphasis on costs and benefits was expected to move the response latency curve upward between the two cost conditions. That is, subjects in high cost conditions were expected to respond slower than subjects in low cost conditions because they will try to make best use of the available time to work on the mathematics task. The analysis of variance presented in Table 3.2 and the chi - square test for whether subjects were working as fast as they could showed that this was the case. The present data produced response latency curves in the expected direction predicted by the Morgan-Leik model. If costs of intervention are high a delay of response is most probable. The economic definition

of costs include rewards foregone (Piliavin, Dividio, Gaertner and Clark, 1981). Helping is an act that takes time. Thus, it is possible that helpers will lose benefits that could have occurred to them had they continued to work on their mathematics task. May be in high cost conditions subjects were thinking about the ability the experimenter was allegedly said to be interested in. Nontheless, they appeared to be in a conflict-situation. On the one hand they wanted to please the experimenter by working on the mathematics task, while on the other they wanted to attend to the request for assistance. The consequences of the two acts have different outcomes. One would result in missing rewards for the ongoing activity, i.e working on the mathematics task, and the other would mean not helping someone in need of their assistance, plus the continuation of the distracting knocking at the door. The results of the present study suggests that subjects would rather not help the knocker than miss working on the mathematics task. However, subjects in the low cost conditions were not experiencing such a conflict situation. For them, the consequences of answering the door was not serious. They were in a position to help both the experimenter and the knocker. Thus, it follows that the disturbance at the door was more costly under the time constraint - high cost - condition, and that subjects in such conditions were less likely to respond faster than subjects in low cost conditions. The model satisfactorily predicted this. However, the present study, though supporting this prediction from the model, emphasized that the apprehension of costs and their influence on response latency may vary between cultures, as subjects in the Sudan intervened faster than subjects in the UK.

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Now let us consider the urgency variable. As predicted, the response latency curve moved downward between the two urgency conditions, where subjects in high urgency situations intervened faster than subjects in low urgency situations. There was a convergence in the response latency curves at small group level (see Fig 3.3) which shows that the difference in the response latency was more acute between small groups and large groups in the low urgency than in the high urgency conditions. Now the question is: do emergencies stimulate faster helping? The present results confirm this. This study is not the only line of research that indicates that the bystander's perceptions of the need of the help-seeker are an important determinant of whether or not help is offered. When Bickman (1972) varied the situation as an emergency, a possible emergency or no emergency, bystanders helped more in the emergency situation. Weiss, Boyer, Lombardo and Stitch (1973) found that the more pain a person is in, the more rapidly people will provide help. Clark (1975) found that the less a person is able to help himself, the more likely people are inclined to provide help. Finally, Shotland and Johnson (1978) varied the severity of a fall and found that onlookers were more apt to help the victim after a bad fall than after a mild one. Thus as a group, these studies, in line with the present results, document the importance of the effect of high urgency versus low urgency on helping behaviour. People are more likely to be concerned with the distress of others in emergency situations rather than in routine nonemergency ones. Perhaps, as Piliavin et al. (1981) maintain, the observation or perception of an emergency may arouse the individual, whereas routine everyday occurrence events may not even attract his attention. A bystander to an emergency, then, would

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try to stop the unpleasant situation either for his own benefit, i.e. to reduce arousal, or out of sympathy with the victim or help-seeker. Also, he may think that his action is important for reducing the suffering of the victim or the help-seeker. Furthermore, in a clearer emergency, the bystander would anticipate more guilt, blame and condemnation by others for not helping. However, despite this suggestion, in the present study one cannot ignore the fact that the response latencies of large groups in high urgency situations was considerably higher than that of smaller groups or lone subjects. It is possible that high urgency is masked by a diffusion effect because of the usual ambiguity associated with such a situation (Clark and Word, 1972). In such situations, though concerned with, people tend to wait for clues to interpret the situation from others present (Latane and Darley, 1970). However, one would expect in clear emergencies where victims are in an obvious predicament, no such clues were needed to interpret what is going on. Here we would expect a decrease in response latency regardless of increase in group size. Thus, the decision that an event is an emergency is coloured by the judgement bystanders make concerning the importance of taking action.

Finally, there were significant differences in the response latencies between the two countries across all the variables, with subjects in the Sudan intervened faster than subjects in the UK. This is open to many suggestions. It could be that subjects in the UK experiment took their work on the mathematics task more seriously than subjects in the Sudan. The performance on the mathematics task supports this suggestion. This difference in

attidude towards the mathematics task, and the experiment, may have increased the response latency of the British subjects. Secondly, as have been demonstrated in this study, when the individual's net benefits are small, or when the costs of intervening are high, a decrease in response latency is more likely. Hence, it may be due to the perception of costs associated with intervention, a difference occurred in the response latency between the two countries. Cultural differences reflect different cost contingencies and different perceptions of costs. The British subjects in this experiment may have found it more costly to respond than the Sudanese subjects. However the results from both countries give support to the suggestion that the bystander effect is a universal phenomenon. It was established here that subjects in lone conditions intervened faster than subjects in small and large groups.

The results of this laboratory study gave support to empirical findings from other studies (e.g Latane and Darley, 1970; Piliavin and Piliavin, 1972; Bickman, 1972; Weiss et al., 1973; Morgan, 1978). Significant differences were found in all manipulated variables, i.e country, group size, cost and urgency. Thus, these results have implications to models of helping behaviour. A model which seeks to illuminate helping behaviour should incorporate the cultural, the cost, the group size and the urgency variables. This will be elaborated in Part 6 of this thesis. However, we have to be cautious in generalizing from this laboratory experiment. The variation of urgency and cost here may not match real life situations. For example, high urgency situations used here could hardly said to be emergencies

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such as ones involving fallen persons. Moreover, this experiment
was in a stranger-relationship context. It did not tell us
about intervention in other interpersonal relationships. Hence,
the researcher decided to embark on a field study to further
investigate the effects of costs and urgency. Furthermore, to
conduct a survey study which would allow us to investigate helping
behaviour in other interpersonal relationships such as relatives
and close friends.

4. Part Four:

    Field Studies

    The effect of urban-nonurban, urgency and
    cost variables on helpfulness: a cross-cultural
    comparison

4.1   Overview:

The purpose of the present two studies is two-fold: (a) to
assess the generality of widespread negative predictions for less
helpfulness in cities than in towns, and more specifically (b) to
test the suggestion that urgency and cost are important factors in
determining helpfulness in real life situations.

The hypotheses being tested are that less urgent and high
cost situations generate less helpfulness than urgent and low cost
situations. According to Piliavin and Piliavin (1972) and Piliavin
et al. (1969) helping behaviour is more likely to occur when the
rewards for helping outweigh the costs. The bystander's subsequent
behaviour depends on the cost-reward factor in the situation. He
will engage in those behaviours that maximize rewards. Also as
demonstrated by Morgan (1978) the witness to a request for help is
more likely to render help when the costs for helping are low than
when they are high.

It is plausible to suggest that urgent and costly situations
are more readily abundant in cities than in towns, e.g. competition
for facilities in the city such as standing in long queues awaiting
services, the rush to buses and taxis, and delays because of traffic
jams. All these are expected to absorb much of the time available
for urbanites to carry on with their own activities. This is
consistent with Milgram's (1970) proposition that increasing cognitive
demands in cities - to recognise, evaluate, judge and respond to
increasing numbers of people, situations and environmental inputs

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(e.g. traffic noise) will eventually result in a state of overload for individuals. Adaptation to such overload will involve a generalised indifference to unimportant events and other people, engaging only in what seems important to the individual. Hence, an individual cannot devote part of his time to costly unimportant events and people who count nothing to him (e.g. strangers); only people in urgent and desperate situations may generate concerns of urbanites.

The naturalistic helpfulness measures used in these two studies were the lost-letter technique and questionnaire - completion. They have already been used by a number of previously reviewed studies, and their validity seems to have been established as helpfulness measures - e.g. the lost-letter technique was used by Milgram (1970), Forbes and Gromoll (1971), Krupat and Coury (1975), Hanson and Slade (1977), Shotland (1979); and the interview measure (similar to questionnaire - completion in procedure) was used by Korte et al. (1975), and Korte and Ayvalioglu (1981). In the lost-letter method usually addressed stamped letters were dispersed at various spots e.g. bus stops, supermarkets, always in close proximity to a mail box or post office. The letter gave the apppearance of having been lost by the sender. In the interview measure usually pedestrians in sidewalks or main streets throughout a city or a town, or in city and town centres, are approached and requested, in a friendly manner, to cooperate by being asked few questions for a survey. Following the interaction, the pedestrians responses are coded into different categories.

A small validity study carried out in each country confirmed the appropriateness of these measures as indicators of helpfulness.

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They were particularly useful for the purpose of the present studies because they are straightforward everyday occurrence events which involve no danger; this allows no room for ambiguity in interpreting the situation. On the other hand, it is both difficult and unethical to employ emergency type episodes because this may upset some people.

Furthermore, these naturalistic methods are useful in allowing us to collect information of direct relevance to the consequences of overload. The lost-letter technique will tell us whether, or not, urbanites are aware of the situations and cues that indicate the need for help. If a high percentage of pedestrians in the city did not notice the lost - letter, this may suggest that the awareness of one's immediate environment is a casuality of input bombardment, which may explain the reduced helpfulness that results from this bombardment. The questionnaire - completion measure, on the other hand, would tell us whether people of cities decide to ignore some or all inputs in a situation as a consequence of over-load. If they ignored the researcher even after being approached, then this is an indication of a strategy to ignore all what may appear an unimportant event to them.

4.2   Study I

Lost-letter technique

4.2.1   Selection of city and town:

Since there is no single numerical criterion that defines when a place becomes a city or a town, the urban-nonurban variable can operationally be viewed as a continuum of different-sized communities.   In this study, in the UK the city under study was Birmingham, the second largest city in the country with a population of over one million.   The comparative nonurban sample was a small town in the locality, with a population of nearly 12000.   This town is Lichfield.   These are meant to represent distinct different points on the urban-nonurban continuum.

In the Sudan the city under study was chosen carefully to match the one selected in the UK, and so was the small town.   The city chosen for this purpose was Khartoum, the capital of the country, with a population of over one million and significantly a big urban centre.   The town selected was AL-Gaily, a small town not far from Khartoum, with a population of 15000.

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4.2.2   Method

A total of 400 letters were dropped by the researcher during daylight hours. Two hundred of these were dropped within the city centre's limits in each country, and two hundred were dropped within the town centre's limits in each country. To ensure a broad sample of drop locations, the letters were dropped in busy main streets frequented by males and females, and less frequented small side-streets.

The researcher was stationed unobtrusively nearby to see that the letter fell address up, to record the number of subjects passing the letter, and the number of subjects who actually noticed the letter (any indication of turning the head towards the ground in the direction of the letter); however, possible problems of observer's bias may influence recording this.

4.2.3   Manipulations:

The two variables manipulated here were cost and urgency.

4.2.3.1 Urgency:

Half of the letters in each sample had an 'urgent' label clearly positioned on the top of the left hand corner of the envelope. The other half had no such label.

4.2.3.2 Costs:

Half of the letters were dropped inside a post office or near a post office or a letter box. This was considered as a low cost condition. The other half were dropped in places far away

from a post office or a letter box. Cost referred to here was cost
to the potential helper in terms of time he has to spend if he
decided to mail the letter. Previous research (e.g. Piliavin et al.,
1975) found that the degree and type of cost will affect
responses to the needy situation.

Return rates were recorded for all letters arriving at the
addresses of the researcher at the University of Aston (UK) and
the University of Khartoum (Sudan). A note included in each
letter was previously coded to reflect whether the letter had
been dropped in the city or the town, inside or near a post office
or a letter box, or far away from them, and urgent or not urgent.

4.3   Results

4.3.1   United Kingdom:

In addition to the independent variables built into the design (urban-nonurban, urgency and cost), two other predictors were used. These are density and the number of subjects who actually noticed the letter.

4.3.1.1 Density:

Present research conceptualizes density as the physical state of the number of people per unit of space (Altman 1975; Stokols, 1972, 1976; Loo 1977). In line with this conceptualization, in the present study an index of density was obtained by actually calculating the number of passersby per letter (from the moment it was dropped till it was first picked up). A total of 14670 persons have passed the letters in Birmingham, and a total of 3600 in Lichfield. Significant differences were found between Birmingham and Lichfield in the number of subjects who passed the letters ($x^2 = 18.46$ df = 1   , p < 0.005). x^2 values was calculated using the average number of people per letter. On average this was 73.35 persons per letter in Birmingham and 18 persons per letter in Lichfield. The result indicated that there was more probability that the letters will be noticed in Lichfield than in Birmingham.

4.3.1.2 Noticing the letter:

An index of noticing was derived by dividing the number of subjects who noticed the letters by the number of subjects who

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passed the letters. A total of 2505 persons in Birmingham noticed the letters, with a total of 716 persons in Lichfield. A significant difference exists between Birmingham and Lichfield in the number of subjects who noticed the letters ($x^2 = 15.68$, df 1 ; $p < 0.005$). More people noticed the letters in Birmingham than in Lichfield. On average this was 12.53 persons per letter in Birmingham, and 3.58 persons per letter in Lichfield. Thus, there is more probability that more letters will be returned from Birmingham than from Lichfield.

4.3.2 <u>Sudan</u>:

4.3.2.1 <u>Density</u>

Significant differences were found between Khartoum and Al-Gaily in the number of people who passed the letters ($x^2 = 8.14$; df 1 .; $p < 0.01$). x^2 value was calculated using the average number of people per letter. More people passed the letters in Khartoum than in AL-Gaily. In total, 7407 persons have passed the letters in Khartoum, and 2076 in Al Gaily. On average this was 37.04 persons per letter in Khartoum and 10.38 in Al Gaily. The results indicated that there was more probability of lost letters being noticed in AL Gaily than in Khartoum.

4.3.2.2 <u>Noticing the letter</u>:

Significant differences were found between Khartoun and Al Gaily in the number of subjects who noticed the dropped letters ($x^2 = 5.2$.; df 1 ; $p < 0.025$). More people noticed the letters in Khartoum than in AL Gaily. A total of 1114 persons noticed the letters in Khartoum, and 355 in AL-Gaily.

On average this was 5.57 persons per letter in Khartoum, and 1.76 persons per letter in Al-Gaily. Thus, the results indicated that, if other things remain equal, more letters will be returned from Khartoum than from AL-Gaily.

4.4   Return rate (UK and Sudan):

In this study while it was possible for a letter never to return due to lack of noticing or not being picked up, once the letter was picked up, the finder may still not return it. Finders were observed to discard, destroy, open and read, or mail the letter.

Table 4.1 below presents the number of returned lost letters according to condition and locale for both countries.

	UK		SUDAN	
	B'HAM	LICHFIELD	KHARTOUM	AL GAILY
Urgent:				
Low Cost	39	45	42	47
High Cost	30	43	30	42
Not Urgent:				
Low Cost	34	42	35	44
High Cost	19	37	22	37
Total	122	167	129	170

Table 4.1:   The number of returned lost-letters according to
condition and locale for UK and Sudan.

Before comparing the return rate between the different conditions and locales, an overall chi-square test was performed on the data to see if there was significant differences which suggest further detailed analysis (see Marascuilo and McSweeney, 1977, p.224-228). Significant differences were found in the return rate of letters

between the four locales under cost and urgency conditions
(x^2 = 98.52; df = 3; p < 0.005). More detailed analysis of the
data in table 4.1 are given below:

4.4.1 Country:

No significant differences were found in the return rate of
letters between the two countries (x^2 = 0.52; df = 1). The
overall return rate in both countries was favourably high (over
70% in each country).

4.4.2 Urban-nonurban:

Significant differences were found between the city and the
town in both countries (x^2 = 25.25; df 1; p < 0.001) for UK; and
x^2 = 22.27; df 1; p < 0.001 for the Sudan). In both settings
there was more returned lost-letters from the town than from the
city.

4.4.3 Urgency:

Significant differences existed in the return rate of
letters labelled 'urgent' and those with no such label in both
countries (x^2 = 4.73; df 1; p < 0.05 for Birmingham; and x^2 = 4.36;
df 1; p < 0.05 for Khartoum. More urgent than non-urgent letters
were returned in both cities. No significant differences were found
between the return rate of urgent and non-urgent letters in both
towns (x^2 = 2.32; df 1; for Lichfield; and x^2 = 1.92; df 1; for
AL-Gaily).

4.4.4   Cost:

In the 'not urgent' condition, there were significant differences in the return rate of lost-letters between low and high cost conditions in both cities ($x^2 = 7.87$; df 1; p < 0.01 for Birmingham; and $x^2 = 5.87$; df 1; p < 0.025 for Khartoum). In both cities more letters were returned in the low cost than in the high cost condition. In the 'urgent' condition there were significant differences in the return rate of lost-letters between low and high cost conditions in Khartoum ($x^2 = 6.002$; df 1; p < 0.025). More letters were returned in the low cost than in the high cost condition. No such significant difference was found in Birmingham ($x^2 = 2.99$. df 1).

No significant differences were found in the return rate of lost - letters between low and high cost conditions in both towns in the 'urgent' condition ($x^2 = 0.095$, df 1; for Lichfield; and $x^2 = 1.64$, df 1; for AL-Gaily); nor in the 'not urgent' condition ($x^2 = 0.96$, df 1; for Lichfield; and $x^2 = 2.34$; df 1; for AL-Gaily).

4.5   Discussion

The results of the present study follows those predicted by
the Morgan – Leike model (1978), that people encountering a needy
situation are more likely to render help when the costs of doing
so is low rather than high.   In the present study, subjects
behaved in ways that manifested calculation of costs involved in the
situation.

In both urban settings – Khartoum and Birmingham – significant
differences occurred in both urgent and non-urgent conditions
when comparing letters that arrived to the researcher's address
under low and high cost conditions.   However, one discrepancy in
the obtained results is that this difference did not reach
statistical significance in the urgent condition in Birmingham.
Perhaps an increase in the sample size would have shown the
predicted significant difference.   Using the cost factor as a
predictor of helpfulness, however, did not produce significant
differences in the two nonurban settings – Lichfield and AL-Gaily.
The return rate of lost – letters was nearly the same across cost
conditions.

The Morgan-Leik model (1978) suggested that costs and
benefits are the most critical factors in determining people's
intervention and help, and that this can be extended to all
situations and different cultures. This proves to be a far –
reaching conclusion. The conclusion from the present study is
that costs is only a critical factor in determining help in the
urban settings. Urbanites seem to consider, evaluate and calculate

the costs associated with helping acts; whereas people of towns may not be affected by the level of cost associated with help.

One possible explanation for the failure to obtain the predicted results, according to the cost factor, in the two nonurban settings is that the surrounding conditions of the environment were not exerting pressures on people there. Hence, they do not evaluate their everyday social behaviour in terms of the possible costs associated with them. Perhaps, they lose no benefit that may have occurred to them had they stopped and mailed the lost-letter. Unlike urbanites, small town dwellers are not feeling the same strength of competition in facilities such as buses, taxis, and service in the department stores. In fact, in some small towns such competition does not exist. There is no such sensitivity to time as in urban settings (Lowin et al., 1971). Thus, for a town dweller the act of stopping to mail someone's lost - letter would result in no serious consequence. However, city people experience a different pace of life and they are sensitive to time. Having to wait for service in long queues and competing with a large number of people in various services, create a sense of time in the urbanites. Hence, one would expect them to evaluate everyday social and prosocial acts in terms of incurred costs and lost benefits.

It was also predicted in this study that 'urgent' conditions would stimulate more return rate of lost - letters than 'non urgent' conditions. Again, the obtained results supported this claim only partially. It held true for urban settings, but not for nonurban settings. In both Lichfield (UK) and AL-Gaily (Sudan)

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the urgent factor was not operative. In light of this finding, it seems clear that people of cities pay little attention to what they may consider not urgent, i.e urgency is a strong predictor of help in the cities. There was a tendecy for subjects in the two cities (Birmingham and Khartoum) to distinguish between urgent and not urgent letters, and hence acting accordingly. The density factor was important in this regard. As mentioned earlier, density here was operatinonally defined as the number of passersby per letter. Density was found to be a strong predictor of noticing the letters, since in both countries more people noticed the letters in cities than in towns. But even once the letter has been found, the finder must be willing to stop and pick it up and then mail it. Noticing the lost - letter was not the sole predictor of mailing it, as more letters were mailed in the urgent than not urgent condition. Hence, urgency was a critical factor in mailing the lost - letters. Helping could then be explained by something in the situation i.e urgency in the present study.

As more letters were mailed in the urgent than the non-urgent condition, then the hypothesis that less urgent situations generate less helpfulness than urgent situations is strongly confirmed. This result is analogous to that of Bickman (1972) who found that subjects were more likely to offer help when they interpret the situation as emergency rather than a nonemergency. However, the results of the present study are of more interest because they represent a real - life situation of major social concern. We might postulate in this vein that an urgent situation may arouse a feeling of sympathy which may motivate the person to help. In the extreme, it may be physiologically arousing; and

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one way to effectively reduce the arousal is by helping. Although the high urgency episode in the present study may not be necessarily physiologically arousing, it was certainly capturing attention, which could be as a result of sympathy, more than the non-urgent episode.

The density variable is a good explanatory variable for responses toward the lost - letter, and perhaps to the social and prosocial acts. Firstly, and directly in line with the diffusssion of responsibility hypothesis, the presence of many others allows the individual to believe that someone will mail the letter if he does not, which is a very useful feeling for the person who is busy and would prefer not to have taken the time and effort. Secondly, in line with the previous point, it has been suggested that the number of people in a setting may give the individual a subjective feeling of overload (Milgram 1970), which may causes the individual to adopt various coping strategies to deal with the increasing inputs around him. One of these strategies, mentioned by Milgram, is selective attention. That is, people be inattentive to what appear to them minor, unimportant and trivial events. Principles of selectivity are formulated such that investment of time and energy are reserved for carefully defined inputs. For instance, urbanites may disregard the drunk on the street. Thus, it is reasonable to expect people in the two sampled cities to attend more to urgent letters than to non - urgent letters; and generally an emergency in the city will be more attention - getting than a no emergency situation.

The two factors manipulated in this study, i.e. urgency and cost, increased the likelihood of an overall difference in helpfulness between urbanites and nonurbanites. In both countries the overall return rate of lost - letters was higher in towns than in cities. This confirms the general belief that urbanites are less helpful than their less urban counterparts. However, the major variables which were found to affect the decision to mail the lost - letters were urgency and cost, which were in turn affected by density. Both these variables are situational rather than dispositional variables. It is, thus, important to consider the impact of such variables on the potential helper before jumping to the above conclusion of city-town differences in helpfulness. These two situational variables act as deterrents to act helpfully. Since urbanization enhances the occurrence of these deterrents, an association between urbanization and unhelpfulness should be expected.

The overall rate of helpfulness, as shown in the return rate of lost - letters, was not significantly different between the two countries. However, considering the smaller number of post - offices and letter boxes available to subjects in the Sudan, these results tend to favour the conclusion that more help was in fact being obtained from those in the Sudan than from thsoe in the UK. However, the results from the two countries considerably strengthened the evidence of urban - nonurban difference in helpfulness, which supports the generality of urban - unhelpfulness phenomenon (Korte 1978, 1981).

4.6   Study 2

4.6.1

Selection of city and town:

This Study was conducted in the same city and town, in each country, selected for study 1.

4.6.2   Method:

Subjects were men and women shoppers at Birmingham shopping centre and Lichfield shopping centre (UK); and Khartoum shopping centre and AL-Gaily shopping centre (Sudan).

Procedure:

Altogether 500 pedestrians in each country (300 in the city and 200 in the town) were selected at random by the researcher. Subject selection was done by taking the fourth pedestrian to pass by once a trial had begun, as long as they were (a) unaccompanied, and (b) between the ages of 18 and 70. Subjects were asked to stop with the following request, 'Excuse me, may I have your cooperation to complete this questionnaire (shown the questionnaire) for a survey study we are conducting at the University of Aston (or Khartoum)?'. The requst was made in a polite and friendly manner, but no further persuasion was made to induce cooperation. The reseacher was equipped with a clipboard, pencils and questionnaire forms. If the respondent agreed to stop and help in completing the questionnaire, the researcher started to

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ask the questions, which were 32 attitude statements about
helpfulness (see section 3 of the questionnaire in Appendices E
and F), and recorded the answers. This was considered a necessary
step in order to avoid apologies for not being able to read in
the Sudanese sample.

The subjects' responses was coded into one of the following
categories (1) subject ignored the researcher, (2) subject
listened to the request, but refused to cooperate, (3) subject
gave an excuse for not being able to cooperate, (4) subject
completed part of the questionnaire, and (5) subject completed
the questionnaire (adopted from Korte et al., 1975).

4.6.3   Manipulation:

4.6.3.1   Urgency:

This was divided into two conditions: urgent, and non —
urgent conditions. Subjects in the urgent condition were told
that the questionnaire was part of the researchers's PhD work at
the University of Aston (or Khartoum), that it was already beyond
schedule, that a week extension was given by the University for
this work to be accomplished, and that in view of these circumstances
his or her cooperation was vital. Subjects in the 'non-urgent'
condition were told that the questionnaire was part of a survey
carried out at the University of Aston (or Khartoum).

4.6.3.2   <u>Costs:</u>

This variable was manipulated using low cost and high cost conditions. Both the high cost and the low cost situations were explored as before. Subjects in the low cost condition were told that the completion of the questionnaire would take only 5 minutes, whereas those in the high cost condition were told that the completion of the questionnaire would take 20 minutes.

4.7   Results

Since few of the subjects' responses fell into the first
and the fourth categories, these were combined with the second
and the fifth categories respectively. The combined first and
second categories were re-classified as a 'no help' category, and
the combined fourth and fifth categories as a 'help' category.

Table 4. 2 overleaf shows the different response categories
for both countries:-

An overall chi-square test was performed on the data.
Significant differences were found between Birmingham, Lichfield,
Khartoum and AL-Gaily in the different response categories
according to urgency and cost variables. The detailed statistical
analysis are given below:-

4.7.1   Country:

Overall, a significant difference exists between responses
from the two countries (x^2 = 27.30; df 2; p < 0.001). More
respondents from the UK than from the Sudan fall in the 'no help'
category, and more respondents from the Sudan than from the UK
fall in the excuse category. A slight difference occurs between
the two countries in the help category, more falling into this
in the Sudan. However, when the data were collapsed into the two
categories 'help — no help' no significant differences in the
frequency of help were found between the two countries (x^2 = 1.22,
df, n.s).

	UK								SUDAN							
	Birmingham				Lichfield				Khartoum				Al-Gaily			
	Urgent		Not Urgent		Urgent		Not Urgent		Urgent		Not Urgent		Urgent		Not Urgent	
	Low Cost	High Cost	Low Cost	High Cost	Low Cost	High Cost	Low Cost	High Cost	Low Cost	High Cost	Low Cost	High Cost	Low Cost	High Cost	Low Cost	High Cost
No help	11	24	14	26	3	3	4	5	5	10	7	5	4	3	3	2
Excuse	9	9	11	21	2	5	4	8	10	19	20	36	2	5	3	7
Help	55	42	50	28	45	42	42	37	60	46	48	34	44	42	43	41
TOTAL	75	75	75	75	50	50	50	50	75	75	75	75	50	50	50	50

Table 4.2: The frequency of response for different response categories for respondents in the two countries

4.7.2   Urban - nonurban:

Significant differences were found in the different response categories between the city and the town in both countries (x^2 = 31.26; df 2, p $<$ 0.001 for UK, and x^2 = 36.05; df 2; p $<$ 0.001 for the Sudan). More help was offered in the two towns than in the two cities, and more respondents from the two cities than from the two towns fell into the no help and excuse categories.

4.7.3   Urgency:

In both countries significant difference were found between urgent and non - urgent conditions (x^2 = 6.32; df 2; p $<$ 0.05 for Birmingham; and x^2 = 11.97; df 2, p $<$ 0.005 for Khartoum). In both cities more help was offered in the urgent condition, and more excuses were given in the non-urgent condition. However, no significant differences were found between urgent and non-urgent conditions in either of the towns (x^2 = 2.51, df 2, n.s for Lichfield and x^2 = 1.99, df 2, n.s. for AL-Gaily). In both towns most of the respondents fell into the 'help' category.

4.7.4   Cost:

In both cities significant differences were found in the response categories between low and high cost conditions, in both urgent conditions (Urgent: x^2 = 6.57, df 2, p $<$ 0.05 for Birmingham; and x^2 = 6.31; df 2 , p $<$ 0.05 for Khartoum; Non-urgent: x^2 = 12.92; df 2, p $<$ 0.005 for Birmingham, and x^2 = 7.30; df 2, p $<$ 0.05 for

Khartoum). In both cities, and in both urgent conditions, help was offered more in low than in high cost condition, and more people offered excuses in high than in low cost condition.

No significant differences were found in the response categories between low and high cost conditions in either town (Urgent: $x^2 = 0.35$; df 1; n.s for Lichfield, and $x^2 = 0.08$, df 1, n.s for AL-Gaily; Not urgent: $x^2 = 0.96$. df 1, n.s. for Lichfield, and $x^2 = 0.07$, df 1, n.s. for AL-Gaily; and in both towns most of the respondents fell into the 'help' category.

4.8 Discussion:

The Morgan-Leik model predicted that the manipulation of time constraints, would result in different latency curves (Morgan, 1978). In the present study, the dependent variable, however, was the frequency of help given to the researcher rather than latency of responses. This change in the nature of the dependent variable produced different results directly related to the manipulation of cost and urgency which in turn affected the urban-nonurban variable.

The present study demonstrated that the opportunity to provide assistance to the researcher by completing a questionnaire was a direct function of cost manipulation in the urban environment. In both cities, Birmingham and Khartoum, the respondents were largely influenced by the cost of their helpful act. This held true in the both urgent and non-urgent conditions. The percentage of help received in low cost conditions in both cities was reasonably high (72% in Khartoum, and 70% in Birmingham), whereas that of high cost conditions was lower (53.33% in Khartoum, and 46.67% in Birmingham). Such differences were not observed in the nonurban settings in either country; i.e. Lichfield and AL Gaily. People of towns did not seem to be influenced by the cost incurred in giving help in this way. The results of the present study also indicated that the effect of urgency of request is operative only in urban settings, since larger number of people gave help in the urgent rather than the non-urgent condition. However, in the nonurban settings urgency was not a determinant factor in help given to the researcher. Also, as predicted in this study,

urbanites showed less helpfulness than nonurbanites. In both
countries, people in the two towns were remarkably more helpful
than people in the two cities.

Unlike the lost - letter study, this study provides a unique
advantage of observing the subject's response. Both 'no help'
and 'excuse' categories gave us relevant information to how the
cost factor was responsible for negative responses in the city.
A high percentage of people in both cities ignored or avoided
contact with the researcher, or stopped to give excuses of not
being able to help since this would cost them valuable time.
They may have wanted to help, but could not. This behaviour
was automatically reflected in the frequency of help. It is,
thus, clearly evident that people in the two cities did not want
to take time away from their personal activities. May be it is
this time factor which underlies these behavioural differences in
urban and nonurban settings. Virtually all the empirical evidence
portrays urbanites as generally unhelpful without identifying
particular attributes which may in fact distinguish urban from
nonurban. It would, therefore, be fruitful to explore in different
cultures the stereotype that urban dwellers are the more sensitive
to time and that their lives are the faster paced. If urban
dwellers, as demonstrated by this study, proved to be sensitive to
time and their pace of life is fast this may influence the social
behaviour (Lowin et al., 1971). For instance, in relevance to our
study, if a pedestrian is in a hurry to catch the local train or
make an important appointment, he may not stop to listen to the
request of the researcher. Missing the train or failing to make
the appointment may have adverse effects. This explanation is

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in line with earlier findings in both laboratory and field settings
(Darley & Batson 1973; Batson et al., 1978; Feldman and Rezmovic,
1979). Darley & Batson (1973) found that subjects who were told
that they have ample time to deliver a speech were far more likely
to help a person slumped in a doorway on their route than were
those who were told they could barely make it to the appointment on
time. The intent of the Batson et al. study was to test whether
it was the self preoccupation associated with being in a hurry or
rather the conflict over whom to help that leads to less helping
when people are rushed. The data conclusively demonstrated that
hurry leads to less help when subjects are going to an important
appointment.

The evidence for the effect of urgency in the extent of help
given came from the fact that in the two cities more help was given
in urgent than non-urgent conditions. Further evidence in support
of the effect of urgency in urban settings, was the high percentage
of people who offered excuses in the non-urgent condition for not
being able to cooperate. It is, thus, logical to assume that
people in cities are more likely to respond to the plight of
people in urgent, rather than non-urgent, situations. Again,
Milgram's (1970) suggestion of coping strategies to deal with
subjective overload, seems a pertinent explanation for this
phenomenon. As city people may feel more overload, they may
become progressively more inattentive to unimportant events in
their surroundings. The immediate environmental factors, e.g.
congestion, crowding, noise levels, which are usually more common
in cities may be seen as having the effect of reducing the
likelihood of helping behaviour in nonemergency situations. Such

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environmental conditions are reported to be stress-inducing in the city
(Glass and Singer, 1972; Sherrod & Downs, 1974; Mathews & Cannons,
1975; Korte, 1976; Cohen & Lezah, 1977; Page, 1977; Korte & Grant,
1980) which make people either unaware of peripheral objects and
happenings in their immediate surroundings, or provoke and induce
in the individual a state which may lead to the adoption of
adaptive mechanisms in order to cope with these environmental
stressors. People do not submit to environmental pressures, but
attempt to respond in ways that promote their psychological
sur-vival as well as the biological one (Glass and Singer, 1972).
Hence, people of cities may want to express sympathy and concern
for their fellow humans, but everyday civilities is difficult to
maintain throughout. Thus, urbanites focus attention only on
urgent, important and novel events in which those involved are
in serious predicament.

From the preceding discussion the stage is set for expected
urban - nonurban differences in helpfulness. Although, the
majority of studies to date favour the existence of a difference
(e.g. Stern, 1974; Krupat and Coury, 1975; Levine, Villena,
Altman and Nadien, 1976; House and Wolf, 1978), various other
studies (Forbes and Gromoll, 1971; Shneider and Mockus, 1974;
Korte et al., 1975; Lesk and Zippel, 1975) have demonstrated either
no difference between urban and nonurban helpfulness, or at least
a reasonably high percentage of help from urbanites. Thus, it
seems likely that the conditions under which help is solicited,
rather than urban personality or disposition, is a cricial factor
in bringing about these reported urban - nonurban differences in
helpful behaviour. For example, may be in a particular time the

consequences of stopping to offer help are serious for a certain urbanite. However, this same individual may give regularly to charity, donoate blood and rescue people caught in fire. As suggested earlier, thus, urbanites are less helpful than nonurbanites only because of the situational variables. These variables are particularly relevant to the identification and occurrence of helpful behaviour. The absence of the feelings of evaluating everyday social contacts and acts in terms of costs and urgency, is perhaps a prime factor for the occurrence of helpfulness among town dwellers in both countries.

The effects of these factors was found to be stronger in the UK than in the Sudan as indicated by the significant differences in the response categories between the two countries. Although the overall level of help received in both countries was not significantly different, the Sudanese sample showed a tendency to offer excuses, whereas the UK sample appeared to have a tendency of ignoring the researcher. Similarity and dissimilarity (i.e. racial) between the researcher and the respondents in the two countries may have influenced these results. Certainly, race is an important kind of similarity which affects helping behaviour (Bryan & Test, 1967; Gaertner, 1973; Wegner and Crano, 1975; Gaertner & Dividio, 1977). It is at least a likely basis for acting positively or negatively in countries where racial lines are strongly drawn. In this study, the tendency to ignore the researcher, who was not a native, in the UK, indicated he had been seen by the repondents as dissimilar. A recent study (Yousif 1979) by the same researcher and a native confederate in the same city in the UK, confirmed this suggestion. Although

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no significant difference was found in the frequency of help offered
to both in picking up dropped shopping, yet a significant difference
was found in response latency. The native confederate was helped
significantly faster. In view of this analysis, may be by the
time subjects were making their mind considering helping the
researcher they may have passed him. On the other hand, subjects
in the Sudan may have seen the researcher as a similar native,
and hence stopped without hesitation and listened to his request
and acted accordingly.

Part Five:

Survey of Social Contacts and Attitudes

Towards Helpfulness and Altruism:

A Corss-Cultural Comparison

5.1   Introduction:

A preliminary conclusion from the small number of studies
comparing the social behaviour of urbanites and nonurbanites is
that city living is characterized by less frequent and less
positive contact with strangers and neighbours, while there are
no differences between cities and smaller sized places in the
extent of social contact occurring between relatives & friends
(Reiss, 1959; Key, 1968; Fischer, 1973; Kasarda & Janowitz, 1974;
Korte & Kerr 1975; McCauley & Taylor, 1976; Glenn & Hill, 1977;
House & Wolf, 1978; Korte, 1978). Popular beliefs suggest that
in the city strangers can be dangerous; even if they are not so,
they are not expected to show a great deal of helpfulness or
consideration. Also neighbourly relations are seen as deficient,
where neighbours do not know each other. Urbanites' ties to
friends and relatives are also regarded as weak compared to
nonurbanites.

Wirth (1938) described behavioural consequences of city
living that closely match current popular beliefs, i.e deficient
and impersonal relations between strangers, neighbours and even
friends & relatives. Several other theorists share this view
(Gans, 1962a; Milgram, 1970; Fischer, 1976). The underlying
assumption is that the size of a community will determine the
nature of the personal relationships. Presumably, encountering
large numbers of people causes urban residents to become estranged
not just from people whom they do not know but from friends,
relatives and acquaintances.

There is in fact a growing body of evidence pertaining to urban-nonurban differences in social behaviour. Therefore, the concern of this part of the present study is to test whether such differences exists in the two different cultures under study.

Major urban theorists (Wirth, 1938; Simmel, 1950; Milgram, 1970; Fischer, 1976) postluate that urban living and urban environment have negative effects not only on an individual's social behaviour but have an effect on an individual's dispositions and attitudes, and the observed behavioural differences are in fact the expression of underlying urban-nonurban differences in dispositions and attitudes. In line with this view, a survey was conducted in each city and town, in each country, to see whether the pattern of self-reported helpfulness, degree of social contact and attitudes towards helpfulness are the same, in the city and town, with relatives, close friends, acquaintances, neighbours and strangers.

The self-reported social behaviour and attitude survey, rather than an observational survey, enables us to collect relevant data on interpersonal relationships other than strangers. The field settings in which naturalistic helpfulness measures are customarily used do not allow for this data to be collected. It may be true that relations with strangers and neighbours are not central as those involving relatives and friends, which are perhaps more firmly guided by personal values and attitudes. What then this suggests is that the social behaviour could vary between the different interpersonal relationships in the city.

But, is it the case in towns? The survey will help us answer such a question.

As has already been mentioned the difference in the observed behaviour is in fact the expression of the underlying differences in dispositions and attitudes. Many social psychologists concludes that attitudes affect behaviour (e.g. Bentler and Speckart, 1979). Simmel (1950) maintains that the tempo of urban life forces the urbanite to make adaptations to the surrounding environment, which in turn reflect in his character making him reseve, distrustful, calculable and have blase attitude. Wirth suggested similar consequences of city living. It has consequences on the individual's personality and attitudes, he maintains, which are reflected in the form of estrangement, superficiality, anonymity and distrustfulness in the course of interaction with other urbanites. Unlike Wirth and Simmel, Milgram (1970) predicts a limited impact of city living on the individual; it alters attitudes which occurs only in the context of stranger relationship. The norm of non-involvement which emerges as a function of adaptation, evolves in response to inputs which are not important to the urbanite.

Empirical evidence supported the difference between urban and nonurban people in attitudes towards strangers which relate to the hypothesis of urban - unhelpfulness, untrustful and suspiciousness.   Urban residents hold significantly more suspicious and less trusting attitudes towards strangers than their nonurban counterparts (Fischer, 1973, Franck, 1980).

5.2   Design of the survey

A pilot study was conductd in Birmingham City Centre on a
sample of 15 respondents. Because of the literacy problem in the
Sudan, questions were read to respondents and their responses
recorded by an interviewer. On the basis of this pilot study a
revised version of the questionnaire was compiled and given to
another group of subjects in the University of Aston area, and no
problems of length or of clarity of the questions were found.

5.2.1   The questionnaire

One problem of using a questionnaire is that of how to ask
identical questions cross-culturally. As Warwick and Osherson
(1973) realized there may be some problems of linguistic
comparability, but to minimize this problem a technique of 'back
translation has been suggested (Mitchell, 1965), and this was
adopted here as follows:- First, the questionnaire was translated
into Arabic, and then another translator translated this version
into English. After much rewording in the interest of clarity for
the Sudanese sample, a final version of the Arabic language
questionnaire was agreed upon. This was done in collaboration
with a colleague in th Department of Psychology in the University
of Khartoum, Sudan.

The intention was to collect three complementary sets of
data which help in comparing the urbanites and nonurbanites in
dimensions related to helpfulness and altruism. These were social
contacts with different interpersonal relationships, how easy or

difficult to exchange different types of helpfulness with different
interpersonal relationships, and attitudes towards helpfulness.
In order to facilitate this design, and also collect biographical
data, it was decided to divide the questionnaire into four sections
(See Appendix E and F).

The social contacts with different interpersonal relatioships
was considered important because, as mentioned earlier, the contacts
with, say, relatives and friends may be different from that with
strangers. The former may be frequent and intimate, while the
latter may be superficial. This, in turn, may affect the outcome
of social behaviour. The data on how easy or difficult it is to
exchange different types of helpfulness are important in that it
tell us what types of helpfulness which differentiate between the
different interpersonal relationships. The data from these first
two sections will allow us to compare city and town residents
on their self-reported degree of social contact and how easy or
difficult to exchange different types of helpfulness with different
interpersonal relationships. The attitude statements section is
important because it allows us to judge whether the widely reported
differences in observed behaviour between urbanites and nonurbanites
could said to be the function of different attitudes towards
helpfulness. Finally, the biographical data section is important
in that it will provide a profile of the respondents.

5.2.2 Sampling

Respondents younger than 21 were excluded because such a
group in the Sudan would be in the senior secondary school

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(Ordinary level in UK); thus, their friends and acquaintance
network is likely to be influenced by incidence of schools
attendances.

The respondents were males and females shopping or working in the
city or town centre in both countries. For the Birmingham sample
the respondents were randomly stopped by the researcher - the first
to pass after the fifth passerby. However, the ratio of males to
females obtained in this random selection was subsequently used to
determine the selection ratio in the other three samples, ie. Lichfield,
Khartoum and AL-Gaily. Altogether, 75 and 60 respondents in each
city and town respectively, completed the questionnaire.

5.3 Results

5.3.1 Demographic characteristics:

The samples should be similar in demographic characteristics
i.e. sex, age and status, in order that any differences found
between city and town can be attributed to the difference in
setting, rather than to any systematic difference in the kind of
respondents to the questionnaire.

Tables 5.1 and 5.2 give data characterizing city and town
samples, in both countries, with regard to sex, age and status.

Table 5.1 shows that for the UK the two samples were similar in
demographic characteristics. No significant differences were found
in the age of the respondents (x^2 = 3.06, df3) or their status
(x^2 = 1.56, df 2). Table 5.2 also indicates that for the Sudan the
two samples were similar in demographic characteristics, and again
no significant differences were found in the age of the respondents
(x^2 = 0.08, df 3) or their status (x^2 = 1.22, df 1).

	Birmingham (n = 75)					Lichfield (n = 60)				
	Male		Female			Male		Female		
Sex	74.7		25.3			78.3		21.7		
	19-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+	19-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+
Age	33.3	26.7	18.7	16	5.3	20	30	23.3	21.7	5
	Single	Married	Divorced	Separated	Widowed	Single	Married	Divorced	Separated	Widowed
Status	36	54.7	6.7	2.7	0	26.7	65	5	1.7	1.7

. Table 5.1: Demographic characteristics of the respondents in the UK (in %)

	Khartoum (n = 75)					AL-Gaily (n = 60)				
	Male		Female			Male		Female		
Sex	74.7		25.3			78.3		21.7		
	21-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+	21-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+
Age	26.7	30.7	28	10.7	4	30	33.3	25	11.7	0
	Single	Married	Divorced	Separated	Widowed	Single	Married	Divorced	Separated	Widowed
Status	28	70.7	1.3	0	0	20	80	0	0	0

Table 5.2: Demographic characteristics of the respondents in the Sudan (in %)

5.3.2 Questionnaire Section 1: Social contacts:-

The frequency of contact with relatives, close friends, acquaintances, neighbours and strangers of the Birmingham, Lichfield, Khartoum and AL-Gaily respondents are compared in tables 5.3 and 5.4.

The data in tables 5.3 indicate that no significant differences were found between Birmingham and Lichfield respondents in contacts with relatives, close friends, acquaintances and strangers (x^2 = 6.85, df 4; x^2 = 1.62, df 1; x^2 = 4.11, df 2; x^2 = 2.82, df 3),* whereas a significant difference in contacts with neighbours was found (x^2 = 14.55, df 5, p < 0.025) and this shows that people in Lichfield make more frequent contact with neighbours than people in Birmingham.

Table 5.4 shows that significant differences exist between Khartoum and AL-Gaily respondents in their contacts with relatives, acquaintances, neighbours and strangers (x^2 = 31.18, df 4, p < 0.005; x^2 = 8.72, df 2, p < 0.025; x^2 = 50.19, df 3, p < 0.005; x^2 = 58.21, df 2, p < 0.005. Respondents in AL-Gaily make more frequent contacts with relatives, acquaintences and neighbours than respondents in Khartoum; whereas respondents in Khartoum make more frequent contacts with strangers than respondents in AL-Gaily No significant differnce was found in contacts with close friends (x^2 = 4.84, df 3).

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* Throughout this statistical analysis, wherever more than 20% of the response categories were less than 5, two or more categories were collapsed to meet the chi-square test requirements (see Seigel 1956)

		Every day	Twice a week	Once a week	Once a fortnight	Once a month	More once a month	Never
Relatives	Birmingham	16	20	26.7	21.3	10.7	5.3	0
	Lichfield	15	18.3	23.3	23.3	18.3	1.7	0
Close Friends	Birmingham	74.7	18.7	5.3	1.3	0	0	0
	Lichfield	68.3	21.7	10	0	0	0	0
Acquaintances	Birmingham	49.3	29.3	12	4	4	1.3	0
	Lichfield	70	21.7	8.3	0	0	0	0
Neighbours	Birmingham	14.7	16	21.3	18.7	13.3	12	4
	Lichfield	8.3	18.3	45	15	11.7	1.7	0
Strangers	Birmingham	62.7	21.3	8	1.3	1.3	1.3	4
	Lichfield	50	33.3	10	6.7	0	0	0

Table 5.3: Frequency of contact with relatives, close friends, acquaintances, neighbours and strangers of Birmingham and Lichfield respondents (in %).

		Every day	Twice a week	Once a week	Once a fortnight	Once a month	More once a month	Never
Relatives	Khartoum	20	21.3	24	13.3	8	13.3	0
	AL-Gaily	65	18.3	10	5	0	1.7	0
Close Friends	Khartoum	33.3	33.3	24	8	1.3	0	0
	AL-Gaily	50	28.3	18.3	3.3	0	0	0
Acquaintances	Khartoum	70.7	20	5.3	4	0	0	0
	AL-Gaily	88.3	3.3	0	6.7	1.7	0	0
Neighbours	Khartoum	13.3	42.7	9.3	13.3	6.7	12	2.7
	AL-Gaily	66.7	18.3	13.3	1.7	0	0	0
Strangers	Khartoum	72	28	0	0	0	0	0
	AL-Gaily	25	18.3	56.7	0	0	0	0

Table 5.4: Frequency of contact with relatives, close friends, acquaintance, neighbours and strangers of Khartoum and AL-Gaily respondents (in %).

Thus, the pattern of self-reported social contacts was remarkably different between the two countries, with those in the towns making more frequent contacts with neighbours than those in the cities.

5.3.3 Questionnaire Section 1: Duration of conversation:

Tables 5.5 and 5.6 present data on the duration of conversations with relatives, close friends, acquaintances, neighbours and stangers.

Table 5.5 shows that no significant difference were found between Birmingham and Lichfield respondents in the duration of conversation with relatives, close friends (x^2= 4.70, df 3; x^2= 0.032, df 1), whereas significant differences exist in the duration of conversation with acquaintances, neighbours and strangers (x^2= 33.96, df 3, p< p.005; x^2= 39.31, df 3, p< 0.005; x^2= 3.93, df 1, p< 0.05). Respondents in Lichfield report spending more time conversing with acquaintances and neighbours, than respondents in Birmingham whereas more respondents in Birmingham than in Lichfield report spending more time conversing with strangers.

Table 5.6 shows that no significant differences were found between Khartoum and AL-Gaily respondents in the duration of conversation with relatives, close friends, acquaintances and strangers (x^2= no calculation needed; x^2= 1.09, df 1; x^2= 2.40, df 3; x^2= 0.63, df 1), whereas significant differences exist in the duration of conversation with neighbours (x^2= 41.97, df 2, p< 0.005). Respondents in AL-Gaily report spending more time conversing with neighbours than respondents in Khartoum.

Thus, the level of the duration of conversation was reasonably similar between the two countries, with those in the towns spending more time conversing with neighbours than those in the cities.

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		Never	Less than 5 min.	6-15 min.	16-30 min.	31-60 min.	More than an hour
Relatives	Birmingham	1.3	4	5.3	16	9.3	64
	Lichfield	0	0	8.3	6.7	18.3	66.7
Close Friends	Birmingham	1.3	1.3	5.3	2.7	10.7	78.7
	Lichfield	0	0	0	0	11.7	88.3
Acquaintances	Birmingham	0	0	33.3	32	18.7	16
	Lichfield	0	0	1.7	18.3	30	50
Neighbours	Birmingham	1.3	42.7	38.7	9.3	5.3	2.7
	Lichfield	1.7	15	16.7	16.7	11.7	38.3
Strangers	Birmingham	1.3	88	9.3	0	0	1.3
	Lichfield	0	76.7	18.3	3.3	1.7	0

Table 5.5: Duration of conversation with relatives, close friends, acquaintances, neighbours and strangers of Birmingham and Lichfield respondents (in %).

		Never	Less than 5 min.	6-15 min.	16-30 min.	31-60 min.	More than an hour
Relatives	Khartoum	0	0	0	0	2.7	97.3
	AL-Gaily	0	0	0	0	0	100
Close Friends	Khartoum	0	0	0	0	9.3	90.7
	AL-Gaily	0	0	0	0	3.3	96.7
Acquaintances	Khartoum	0	0	14.7	38.7	22.7	24
	AL-Gaily	0	0	10	30	28.3	31.7
Neighbours	Khartoum	2.7	28	9.3	14.7	10.7	34.7
	AL-Gaily	0	0	1.7	5	5	88.3
Strangers	Khartoum	8	85.3	5.3	0	1.3	0
	AL-Gaily	6.7	88.3	3.3	1.7	0	0

Table 5.6: Duration of conversation with relatives, close friends, acquaintances, neighbours and strangers for Khartoum and AL-Gaily repondents (in %).

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5.3.4   Questionnaire Section 1: Place of meetings:-

Tables 5.7 and 5.8 present data which show where do
respondents of Birmingham and Lichfield, and respondents of
Khartoum and AL-Gaily meet their relatives, close friends,
acquaintances, neighbours and strangers.

Table 5.7 shows that no significant difference was found
between Birmingham and Lichfield respondents in where they meet
their relatives (x^2 = no calculation needed). They all meet
their relatives at their homes or in their own homes; significant
differnces exist in where the Birmingham and Lichfield respondents
meet their friends, acquaintances, neighbours and strangers (x^2 = 31.40,
df 1, p < 0.005; x^2 = 49.88, df 2, p < 0,005; x^2 = 23.62, df 2, p < 0.005;
x^2 = 8.08, df 2, p < 0.025). The Lichfield respondents are more
likely to meet their friends at their homes or at their own homes,
whereas the Birmingham respondents are more likely to meet their
friends at other places (e.g. pubs, night clubs). They are more
likely to meet their acquaintances at the shopping centre, where-
as the Birmingham respondents are more likely to meet them at
other places (e.g. work). The Lichfield respondents meet their
neighbours at their homes or at their own homes, whereas the
Birmingham respondents meet their neighbours outside the front
door of their homes. They meet strangers at the shopping centre,
whereas the Birmingham respondents meet strangers at other places
(e.g. pubs, clubs).

Table 5.8 indicates that no significant differences were found
in where the respondents of Khartoum and AL-Gaily meet their relatives,

		Home	Front door of home	Street	Shopping Centre	Other	Do not meet
Relatives	Birmingham	96	1.3	0	0	1.3	1.3
	Lichfield	100	0	0	0	0	0
Close Friends	Birmingham	26.7	0	0	0	73.3	0
	Lichfield	66.7	0	0	0	33.3	0
Acquaintances	Birmingham	2.7	1.3	18.7	9.3	68	0
	Lichfield	0	0	26.7	60	13.3	0
Neighbours	Birmingham	16	61.3	16	1.3	5.3	0
	Lichfield	51.7	46.7	1.7	0	0	0
Strangers	Birmingham	0	0	33.3	13.3	53.3	0
	Lichfield	0	0	21.7	33.3	45	0

Table 5.7: Place of meetings with relatives, close friends, acquaintances, neighbours and strangers of Birmingham and Lichfield respondents (in %).

		Home	Front door of home	Street	Shopping Centre	Other	Do not meet
Relatives	Khartoum	96	0	0	0	4	0
	AL-Gaily	100	0	0	0	0	0
Close Friends	Khartoum	29.3	4	1.3	8	57.3	0
	AL-Gaily	46.7	0	0	5	48.3	0
Acquaintances	Khartoum	4	0	12	45.3	38.7	0
	AL-Gaily	3.3	0	20	61.7	15	0
Neighbours	Khartoum	28	66.7	2.7	0	0	2.7
	AL-Gaily	90	10	0	0	0	0
Strangers	Khartoum	0	0	53.3	29.3	17.3	0
	AL-Gaily	0	0	36.7	45	16.7	1.7

Table 5.8: Place of meetings with relatives, close friends, acquaintances, neighbours and strangers for Khartoum and AL-Gaily repondents (in %).

close friends and strangers (x^2 = no calculation needed; x^2 = 5.61, df 2; x^2 = 2.73, df 2). They meet their relatives at their homes or their own homes, and they meet their friends at their homes or in their own homes and other places, and they meet strangers in the street, the shopping centre or other places (e.g. work). However, there was significant differences in where they meet their neighbours and acquaintance (x^2 = 51.89, df 1, p < 0.005); x^2 9.25, df 2, p < 0.01). Respondents from AL-Gaily meet their neighbours at their homes or their own homes, whereas respondents from Khartoum meet their neighbours at the front door of their own homes. Respondents from AL-Gaily meet their acquaintances at the shopping centre, whereas respondents from Khartoum meet their acquaintances at the shopping centre and other places (e.g. work).

Thus, there was a remarkably similar pattern in the place of meetings with others between the two countries, with those in towns more likely to meet their close friends and neighbours in either's home, than those in the cities.

5.3.5 <u>Questionnaire Section 1: Intimacy of conversations:</u>

Tables 5.9 and 5.10 present data on the intimacy of conversations reported with relatives, close friends, acquaintances, neighbours and strangers. It is assumed here that conversations dealing with self/personal problems are more intimate than conversations dealing with family, which are in turn more intimate than conversations dealing with work or casual conversations.

Table 5.9 indicates that no significant differences exist between the Birmingham and Lichfield respondents in the nature of talk with relatives, close friends, acquaintances and strangers $x^2 = 2.42$, df 2; $x^2 = 2.64$, df 2; $x^2 = 0.99$, df 2; $x^2 =$ no calculation needed, df 1). However, a significant difference was found in the nature of talk with neighbours ($x^2 = 4.15$, df 1, p < 0.05). The Lichfield respondents are more likely to have intimate conversations with their neighbours than the Birmingham respondents.

Table 5.10 shows that no significant differences were found between Khartoum and AL-Gaily respondents in the nature of talk with relatives, close friends, acquaintances and Strangers ($x^2 = 3.88$, df 2; $x^2 = 1.64$, df 1; $x^2 = 0.13$, df 2; $x^2 = 1.62$, df 1). However, a significant difference was found in the nature of talk with neighbours ($x^2 = 26.33$, df 1, p < 0.005). Respondents from AL-Gaily talk to their neighbours about casual, leisure and self/personal problems, whereas respondents from Khartoum talk to their neighbours mostly on causual matters.

Thus, there was a remarkably similar pattern in the intimacy

		Self/ personal problems	Family	Work	Leisure	Casual	Do not talk
Relatives	Birmingham	30.7	37.3	1.3	29.3	0	1.3
	Lichfield	36.7	45	3.3	15	0	0
Close Friends	Birmingham	29.3	2.7	1.3	49.3	17.3	0
	Lichfield	23.3	0	0	63.3	13.3	0
Acquaintances	Birmingham	0	0	30.7	10.7	58.7	0
	Lichfield	0	1.7	35	6.7	56.7	0
Neighbours	Birmingham	4	0	0	4	92	0
	Lichfield	8.3	0	0	11.7	78.3	1.7
Strangers	Birmingham	0	0	4	9.3	86.7	0
	Lichfield	0	0	1.7	0	98.3	0

Table 5.9: The nature of talk with relatives, close friends, acquaintances, neighbours and strangers of Birmingham and Lichfield respondents (in %).

		Self/ personal problems	Family	Work	Leisure	Casual	Do not talk
Relatives	Khartoum	21.3	57.3	1.3	5.3	14.7	0
	AL-Gaily	15	73.3	0	0	11.7	0
Close Friends	Khartoum	13.3	0	0	76	10.7	0
	AL-Gaily	21.7	1.7	0	71.7	5	0
Acquaintances	Khartoum	0	0	42.7	13.3	44	0
	AL-Gaily	3.3	0	38.3	11.7	46.7	0
Neighbours	Khartoum	2.7	1.3	5.3	88	2.7	0
	AL-Gaily	5	1.7	25	68.3	0	0
Strangers	Khartoum	0	0	5.3	6.7	88	0
	AL-Gaily	0	0	10	10	80	0

Table 5.10: The nature of talk with relatives, close friends, acquaintances, neighbours and strangers for Khartoum and AL-Gaily repondents (in %).

of conversation between the two countries, with those in towns
more likely to have intimate conversations with neighbours than
those in the cities.

5.3.6 Questionnaire Section 1: How often contacts required help?:-

Tables 5.11 and 5.12 present data on how often do contacts with relatives, close friends, acquaintances, neighbours and strangers require help (e.g. physical, financial, advice) from the respondent.

Table 5.11 indicates that no significant differences were found between Birmingham and Lichfield repondents in how often contacts with relatives and close friends required help from them (x^2 = 1.22, df 1; x^2 = 4.15, df 2). They both see these contacts as never or occasionally requiring help from them. However, significant differences exist between the two samples on how often contacts with acquaintances, neighbours and strangers require help from them (x^2= 6.24, df 2, p< 0.05; x^2= 26.33, df 1, p< 0.005; x^2= 26.79, df 3, p< 0.005). Half of the Birmingham respondents see contacts with acquaintances as occasionally requiring help from them, whereas most Lichfield respondents see these contacts as occasionally requiring help from them. Most of the Birmingham respondents see contacts with neighbours as never requiring help from them, whereas most of Lichfield respondents see these contacts as occasionally requiring help from them. Half of the Birmingham respondents see contacts with strangers as often requiring help from them, whereas the majority of the Lichfield respondents see these contacts as occasionally requiring help from them.

Table 5.12 shows that no significant differences were found between Khartoum and AL-Gaily respondents on how often do contacts

		Never	Occasionally	Often	Very often
Relatives	Birmingham	61.3	36	2.7	0
	Lichfield	51.7	45	3.3	0
Close Friends	Birmingham	20	52	28	0
	Lichfield	8.3	53.3	38.3	0
Acquaintances	Birmingham	20	58.7	21.3	0
	Lichfield	18.3	75	6.7	0
Neighbours	Birmingham	78.7	21.3	0	0
	Lichfield	35	63.3	1.7	0
Strangers	Birmingham	18.7	20	48	13.3
	Lichfield	6.7	63.3	28.3	1.7

Table 5.11: Frequency response of how often do contacts with relatives, close friends, acquaintances, neighbours and strangers require help from Birmingham and Lichfield respondents (in %).

		Never	Occasionally	Often	Very often
Relatives	Khartoum	0	18.7	49.3	32
	AL-Gaily	0	41.7	30	28.3
Close Friends	Khartoum	4	68	26.7	1.3
	AL-Gaily	0	78.3	21.7	0
Acquaintances	Khartoum	37.3	50.7	10.7	1.3
	AL-Gaily	8.3	63.3	25	3.3
Neighbours	Khartoum	52	37.3	8	2.7
	AL-Gaily	26.7	58.3	13.3	1.7
Strangers	Khartoum	13.3	36	30.7	20
	AL-Gaily	76.7	21.7	1.7	0

Table 5.12: Frequency response of how often do contacts with relatives, close friends, acquaintances, neighbours and strangers require help from Khartoum and AL-Gaily repondents (in %).

with close friends require help from them ($x^2 = 0.71$, df 1). The majority of the respondents in each setting see these contacts as occasionally requiring help from them. However, significant differences were found on how often contacts with relatives, acquaintances, neighbours and strangers require help from respondents ($x^2 = 9.31$, df 2, $p < 0.01$; $x^2 = 17.04$, df 2, $p < 0.005$; $x^2 = 8.90$, df 2, $p < 0.025$; $x^2 = 62.28$, df 2, $p < 0.005$). The majority of Khartoum respondnets see contacts with relatives as often or very often requiring help from them, whereas the majority of AL-Gaily respondents see these contacts as occasionally or often requiring help from them. Half of Khartoum respondents see contacts with acquaintances as occasionally requiring help from them, whereas most of AL-Gaily respondents see these contacts as occasionally or often requiring help from them. Half of Khartoum respondents see contacts with neighbours as never requiring help from them, whereas more than half of AL-Gaily respondents see these contacts as occasionally requiring help from them. Most of Khartoum respondents see contacts with strangers as occasionally and often requiring help from them, whereas the majority of AL-Gaily respondents see these contacts as never requiring help from them.

Thus, the pattern of how contacts with different categories of people require help from the respondents was somewhat similar between the two countries, with those of towns see contacts with neighbours as occasionally requiring help from them than those in the cities. However, the city respondents in the Sudan differ from the city respondents in UK in that contacts with relatives often and very often require help from them.

5.3.7   Questionnaire Section 2:   Giving a lift to work

Tables 5.13 and 5.14 present data on how easy or difficult
respondents from Birmingham, Lichfield, Khartoum and AL-Gaily
find it to give a lift to work with
relatives, close friends, acquaintances, neighbours and strangers.

Table 5.13 shows that no significant differences were found
between Birmingham and Lichfield respondents in the exchange of
lifts with relatives and close friends (x^2 = 3.51, df 1; x^2 =
0.64, df 1). The respondents in both settings find it easy and
extremely easy to exchange this type of help with relatives and
close friends. However, significant differences were found in
the exchange of lifts with acquaintances, neighbours and strangers
(x^2 = 11.60, df 3, p < 0.005; x^2 = 14.80, df 3; x^2 = 38.75, df 3, p <
0.005). More respondents in Lichfield than in Birmingham think
it is extremely easy to exchange this kind of help with acquaintances.
Less than half of the Birmingham respondents said it is easy to
exchange this type of help with neighbours, whereas the majority
of Lichfield respondents said it is extremely easy to do so.
The Lichfield respondents think it is easy to exchange this type
of help with strangers, whereas the majority of Birmingham respondents
said it is difficult or extremely difficult to do so.

Table 5.14 indicates that no significant differences were
found between Khartoum and AL-Gaily in the exchange of lifts with
relatives and close friends (x^2 = no calculation needed).
Respondents in both settings think it is extremely easy to exchange
lifts with relatives and close friends. However, significant

		Ext. easy	Easy	Do not know	Difficult	Extremely difficult
Relatives	Birmingham	56	44	0	0	0
	Lichfield	71.7	28.3	0	0	0
Close Friends	Birmingham	49.3	41.3	4	2.7	2.7
	Lichfield	41.7	58.3	0	0	0
Acquaintances	Birmingham	6.7	64	14.7	9.3	5.3
	Lichfield	23.3	63.3	10	3.3	0
Neighbours	Birmingham	13.3	44	18.7	16	8
	Lichfield	18.3	63.3	16.7	1.7	0
Strangers	Birmingham	0	5.3	24	41.3	29.3
	Lichfield	6.7	38.3	30	20	5

Table 5.13: The percentage of response categories for Birmingham and Lichfield respondents of exchanging lifts with relatives, close friends, acquaintances, neighbours and strangers.

		Ext. easy	Easy	Do not know	Difficult	Extremely difficult
Relatives	Khartoum	96	4	0	0	0
	AL-Gaily	100	0	0	0	0
Close Friends	Khartoum	88	12	0	0	0
	AL-Gaily	96.7	3.3	0	0	0
Acquaintances	Khartoum	16	38.7	38.7	5.3	1.3
	AL-Gaily	40	38.3	21.7	0	0
Neighbours	Khartoum	16	40	24	14.7	5.3
	AL-Gaily	58.3	40	1.7	0	0
Strangers	Khartoum	0	5.3	13.3	49.3	32
	AL-Gaily	3.3	11.7	20	53.3	11.7

Table 5.14: The percentage of response categories for Khartoum and AL-Gaily respondents of exchanging lifts with relatives, close friends, acquaintances, neighbours and strangers.

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differences were found in exchanging lifts with acquaintances, neighbours and strangers (x^2 = 12.56, df 2 p < 0.005; x^2 = 40.99, df 3, p < 0.005; x^2 = 10.26, df 3, p < 0.025). More respondents in AL-Gaily than in Khartoum think it is extremely easy to exchange this type of help with acquaintances. Also more respondents there than in Khartoum find it extremely easy to exchange this kind of help with neighbours. A few number of respondents in AL-Gaily than in Khartoum said it is extremely difficult to exchange this type of help with strangers.

Thus, the pattern of self-reported readiness to exchange lifts to work, was remarkably similar between the two countries, with those in towns more willing to exchange lifts to work with acquaintances and neighbours than those in the cities. However, we have to remember that lifts are not available in the Sudan as in the UK, especially in small towns such as AL-Gaily.

<u>Questionnaire Section 2: Borrowing a small amount of money</u>

          Tables 5.15 and 5.16 show data on how easy or difficult It is to

borrow a small amount of money from relatives, close friends,

acquaintances, neighbours or strangers for the UK and the Sudan

respondents.

          Tables 5.15 indicates. that no significant differences were

found between Birmingham and Lichfield respondents in borrowing a

small amount of money from relatives and close friends ($x^2 = 4.35$,

df 2; $x^2 = 1.80$, df 2). The majority in both settings think it

is easy or extremely easy to borrow a small amount of money from

relatives and close friends. However, significant differences

were found in exchanging this type of help with acquaintances,

neighbours and strangers ($x^2 = 16.15$, df 2, $p < 0.005$; $x^2 = 21.34$, df 2,

$p < 0.005$; $x^2 = 28.48$, df 2, $p < 0.005$). More respondents in

Lichfield than in Birmingham think it is easy to exchange this

type of help with acquaintances and neighbours. The majority of

Lichfield respondents said it is difficult to exchange this kind

of help with strangers, whereas the majority of Birmingham

respondents think it is extremely difficult to do so.

          Table 5.16 shows that no significant differences exist

between Khartoum and AL-Gaily respondents in borrowing a small

amount of money from relatives, close friends, acquaintances and

strangers ($x^2 =$ no calculation needed; $x^2 = 1.26$, df 1; $x^2 = 2.21$,

df 2). The majority of respondents in both settings said it is

easy to exchange this kind of help with acquaintances, and

extremely easy with relatives and close friends. The majority of

		Ext. easy	Easy	Do not know	Difficult	Extremely difficult
Relatives	Birmingham	30.7	56	13.3	0	0
	Lichfield	23.3	71.7	5	0	0
Close Friends	Birmingham	22.7	58.7	8	5.3	5.3
	Lichfield	16.7	70	10	3.3	0
Acquaintances	Birmingham	0	24	37.3	21.3	17.3
	Lichfield	3.3	48.3	36.7	11.7	0
Neighbours	Birmingham	2.7	12	34.7	26.7	24
	Lichfield	3.3	36.7	45	15	0
Strangers	Birmingham	0	0	13.3	30.7	56
	Lichfield	0	3.3	20	65	11.7

Table 5.15: The percentage of response categories for Birmingham and Lichfield respondents of borrowing a small amount of money from relatives, close friends, acquaintances, neighbours and strangers.

		Ext. easy	Easy	Do not know	Difficult	Extremely difficult
Relatives	Khartoum	97.3	2.7	0	0	0
	AL-Gaily	100	0	0	0	0
Close Friends	Khartoum	77.3	20	2.7	0	0
	AL-Gaily	85	15	0	0	0
Acquaintances	Khartoum	24	45.3	26.7	4	0
	AL-Gaily	33.3	46.7	18.3	1.7	0
Neighbours	Khartoum	17.3	36	20	24	2.7
	AL-Gaily	53.3	40	6.7	0	0
Strangers	Khartoum	2.7	5.3	12	41.3	38.7
	AL-Gaily	0	6.7	16.7	55	21.7

Table 5.16: The percentage of response categories for Khartoum and AL-Gaily respondents of borrowing a small amount of money from relatives, close friends, acquaintances, neighbours and strangers.

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respondents in both settings think it is difficult and extremely difficult to exchange this kind of help with strangers. A significant difference was found in the exchange of this kind of help with neighbours (x^2= 33.31, df 3 p <0.005). More respondents in AL-Gaily than in Khartoum said it is easy or extremely easy to exchange this kind of help with neighbours.

Thus, the pattern of self-reported expectation of exchanging a small amount of money was somewhat similar between the two countries with those in towns more willing to exchange this kind of help with acquaintances and neighbours than those in the cities.

5.3.9   <u>Questionnaire Section 2:   donating a small amount of money:</u>

Tables 5.17 and 5.18 present data on how easy or difficult

... respondents from both countries expect   donating a

small amount of money .to. relatives, close friends, acquaintances,

neighbours or strangers. to be.

Table 5.17 shows that no significant differences were found

between Birmingham and Lichfield respondents in how easy or

difficult they expect   . donating a small amount of money
                                                 to be.
with relatives and close friends (x^2 = 2.47, df 2; x^2 = 1.74, df

2). The majority of respondents in both settings think it is easy

or extremely easy to exchange this kind of help with relatives

and close friends. Significant differences exist in exchanging

this kind of help with acquaintances, neighbours and strangers

(x^2 = 14.58, df 2, p < 0.005; x^2 = 10.25 df 3, p < 0.025; x^2 = 20.33,

df 3, p < 0.005). More respondents in Lichfield than in Birmingham

think it is easy to exchange this kind of help with acquaintances,

neighbours and strangers.

Tables 5.18 shows that significant differences exist between

Khartoum and AL-Gaily respondents in how easy or difficult they

expect   . donating a small amount of money with relatives,
                                                          to be
close friends, acquaintances, neighbours and strangers (x^2 =

7.92, df 1, p < 0.005; x^2 = 19.92, df 1, p < 0.005; x^2 = 7.96, df 2,

p < 0.025; x^2 = 15.06, df 2, p < 0.005; x^2 = 21.44, df 4, p < 0.005).

More respondents in AL-Gaily than in Khartoum think it is extremely

easy to exchange this kind of help with relatives, close friends,

acquaintances and neighbours, and more respondents in Khartoum

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		Ext. easy	Easy	Do not know	Difficult	Extremely difficult
Relatives	Birmingham	29.3	58.7	6.7	5.3	0
	Lichfield	20	71.7	6.7	1.7	0
Close Friends	Birmingham	29.3	61.3	6.7	1.3	1.3
	Lichfield	20	71.7	6.7	1.7	0
Acquaintances	Birmingham	14.7	44	28	9.3	4
	Lichfield	20	68.3	11.7	0	0
Neighbours	Birmingham	17.3	42.7	22.7	9.3	8
	Lichfield	20	58.3	20	1.7	0
Strangers	Birmingham	10.7	32	28	13.3	16
	Lichfield	16.7	60	20	3.3	0

Table 5.17: The percentage of response categories for Birmingham and Lichfield respondents of exchanging donating a small amount of money with relatives, close friends, acquaintances, neighbours and strangers.

		Ext. easy	Easy	Do not know	Difficult	Extremely difficult
Relatives	Khartoum	85.3	14.7	0	0	0
	AL-Gaily	96.7	3.3	0	0	0
Close Friends	Khartoum	64	36	0	0	0
	AL-Gaily	85	15	0	0	0
Acquaintances	Khartoum	20	38.7	36	5.3	0
	AL-Gaily	38.3	40	18.3	3.3	0
Neighbours	Khartoum	24	42.7	18.7	13.3	1.3
	AL-Gaily	48.3	43.3	8.3	0	0
Strangers	Khartoum	9.3	20	22.7	25.3	22.7
	AL-Gaily	8.3	25	18.3	45	3.3

Table 5.18: The percentage of response categories for Khartoum and AL-Gaily respondents of exchanging donating a small amount of money with relatives, close friends, acquaintances, neighbours and strangers.

than in AL-Gaily think it is extremely difficult to exchange this kind of help with strangers.

Thus, the pattern of self-reported expectations of donating small amounts of money was somewhat similar between the two countries, with those in towns more willing to exchange this kind of help with acquaintances and neighbours than those in the cities.

5.3.10 Questionnaire Section 2: Borrowing a large amount of money:-

Tables 5.19 and 5.20 present data on how easy or difficult repondents from both countries expect borrowing a large amount of money from relatives, close friends, acquaintances, neighbours and strangers to be.

Tables 5.19 indicates that no significant differences were found between Birmingham and Lichfield respondents in how easy or difficult they expect borrowing a large amount of money from relatives, close friends, acquaintances and strangers to be. ($x^2 = 2.06$, df 2; $x^2 = 3.83$, df 3; $x^2 = 0.34$, df 2; $x^2 = 0.22$, df 1). A considerable number of respondents in both settings said it is easy to borrow a large amount of money from relatives and close friends, and extremely difficult from acquaintances and strangers. However, significant differences exist in borrowing a large amount of money from neighbours ($x^2 = 35.35$, df 3, p < 0.005). More respondents in Birmingham than in Lichfield said it is extremely difficult to borrow a large amount of money from neighbours.

Table 5.20 shows that no signigicant differences were found between Khartoum and AL-Gaily respondents in how easy or difficult they expect borrowing a large amount of money from close friends, acquaintances and strangers to be. ($x^2 = 1.88$, df 2; $x^2 = 1.78$, df 2; $x^2 = 2.29$, df 1). More than half of the respondents in both settings said it is easy to borrow a large amount of money from close friends, difficult from acquaintances, and the majority of respondents said it is extremely difficult to borrow a large

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		Ext. easy	Easy	Do not know	Difficult	Extremely difficult
Relatives	Birmingham	9.3	32	30.7	20	8
	Lichfield	3.3	46.7	20	26.7	3.3
Close Friends	Birmingham	5.3	21.3	30.7	29.3	13.3
	Lichfield	0	21.7	26.7	25	26.7
Acquaintances	Birmingham	0	1.3	18.7	33.3	46.7
	Lichfield	0	3.3	18.3	36.7	41.7
Neighbours	Birmingham	1.3	1.3	14.7	16	66.7
	Lichfield	0	20	38.3	23.3	18.3
Strangers	Birmingham	0	0	0	10.7	89.3
	Lichfield	0	0	0	21.7	78.3

Table 5.19: The percentage of response categories for Birmingham and Lichfield respondents of borrowing a large amount of money from relatives, close friends, acquaintances, neighbours and strangers.

		Ext. easy	Easy	Do not know	Difficult	Extremely difficult
Relatives	Khartoum	65.3	30.7	2.7	1.3	0
	AL-Gaily	93.3	6.7	0	0	0
Close Friends	Khartoum	10.7	53.3	25.3	10.7	0
	AL-Gaily	16.7	56.7	21.7	5	0
Acquaintances	Khartoum	0	1.3	24	60	14.7
	AL-Gaily	0	5	28.3	55	11.7
Neighbours	Khartoum	1.3	9.3	18.7	29.3	41.3
	AL-Gaily	0	20	38.3	23.3	18.3
Strangers	Khartoum	0	0	0	10.7	89.3
	AL-Gaily	0	0	6	21.7	78.3

Table 5.20: The percentage of response categories for Khartoum and AL-Gaily respondents of borrowing a large amount of money from relatives, close friends, acquaintances, neighbours and strangers.

amount of money from strangers. However, significant differences exist in borrowing a large amount of money from relatives and neighbours (x^2= 15.13, df 1, p< 0.005; x^2= 17.30, df 3, p < 0.005). More respondents in AL-Gaily than in Khartoum think it is easy to borrow a large amount of money from neighbours, and extremely easy from relatives.

Thus, the pattern of self-reported expectation of borrowing a large amount of money was different between the two countries, with those in the towns expect it is easy to borrow a large amount of money from neighbours than those in the cities.

5.3.11 <u>Questionnaire Section 2: Looking after children:</u>

Tables 5.21 and 5.22 give data on how easy or difficult respondents from the two countries expect · looking after children, $\int$or relatives, close friends, acquaintances, neighbours and strangers to be.

Table 5.21 shows that no significant differences were found between Birmingham and Lichfield respondents in how easy or difficult they expect looking after children $\int$or relatives, close friends and acquaintances to be. (x^2 = 2.22, df 2; x^2 = 4.40, df 2; x^2 = 3.02, df 3). The majority of respondents in both settings said it is easy or extremely easy to exchange this kind of help with relative and close friends, and either difficult or do not know with acquaintances. However, significant differences were found in the exchange of this kind of help with neighbours and strangers (x^2 = 13.05, df 4, $p < 0.025$; x^2 = 6.86, df 2, $p < 0.05$). More respondents in Lichfield than in Birmingham said it is easy to exchange this kind of help with neighbours, and more respondents in Birmingham than in Lichfield said it is extremely difficult to exchange this kind of help with strangers.

Table 5.22 shows that no significant differences were found between Khartoum and AL-Gaily respondents in how easy or difficult looking after children $\int$or relatives and acquaintances was (x^2 = no calculation needed; x^2 = 2.35, df 2). All respondents in both settings think it is extremely easy to exchange this kind of help with relatives. More respondents in AL-Gaily than in Khartoum think it is easy to exchange this kind of help with acquaintances.

		Ext. easy	Easy	Do not know	Difficult	Extremely difficult
Relatives	Birmingham	41.3	49.3	0	9.3	0
	Lichfield	41.7	50	0	8.3	0
Close Friends	Birmingham	17.3	60	16	4	2.7
	Lichfield	6.7	60	23.3	6.7	3.3
Acquaintances	Birmingham	0	12	42.7	32	13.3
	Lichfield	3.3	15	46.7	25	10
Neighbours	Birmingham	12	29.3	21.3	20	17.3
	Lichfield	15	45	26.7	1.7	11.7
Strangers	Birmingham	0	0	13.3	37.3	49.3
	Lichfield	0	0	8.3	60	31.7

Table 5.21: The percentage of response categories for exchanging looking after children with relatives, close friends, acquaintances, neighbours and strangers for Birmingham and Lichfield respondents.

		Ext. easy	Easy	Do not know	Difficult	Extremely difficult
Relatives	Khartoum	97.3	2.7	0	0	0
	AL-Gaily	100	0	0	0	0
Close Friends	Khartoum	50.7	49.3	0	0	0
	AL-Gaily	75	25	0	0	0
Acquaintances	Khartoum	1.3	16	54.7	26.7	1.3
	AL-Gaily	3.3	25	48.3	20	3.3
Neighbours	Khartoum	10.7	32	20	30.7	6.7
	AL-Gaily	35	45	13.3	6.7	0
Strangers	Khartoum	0	0	0	36	64
	AL-Gaily	0	0	6	53.3	46.7

Table 5.22: The percentage of response categories for exchanging looking after children with relatives, close friends, acquaintances, neighbours and strangers for Khartoum and AL-Gaily respondents.

However, significant differences were found in the exchange of this kind of help with close friends, neighbours and strangers ($x^2 = 7.33$, df 1, $p < 0.01$; $x^2 = 24,80$ df 3, $p < 0.005$; $x^2 = 6.06$, df 1, $p < 0.025$). More respondents in AL-Gaily than in Khartoum said it was easy to exchange this kind of help with neighbours, and extremely easy with close friends. However, more respondents in Khartoum than in AL-Gaily said it is extremely difficult to exchange this kind of help with strangers.

Thus, the self-reported pattern of looking after children was similar between the two countries, with those in towns more likely to look after children for neighbours than those in the cities.

5.3.12 <u>Questionnaire Section 2: Looking after home</u>:

Tables 5.23 and 5.24 present data showing how easy or difficult   respondents from both countries expect to looking after home while away, with relatives, close friends, acquaintances, neighbours and strangers to be.

Table 5.23 shows that no significant differences were found between Birmingham and Lichfield respondents in how easy or difficult they expect exchanging looking after home while away for relatives, close friends, and acquaintances î(x^2 = 2.29, df 2; x^2 = 3.95, df 3; x^2 = 1.71, df 3). The majority of respondents in both settings said it is easy or extremely easy to exchange this kind of help with relatives and close friends, and difficult or do not know with acquaintances. However, significant differences were found in the exchange of this kind of help with neighbours and strangers (x^2 = 14.59, df 2, p < 0.005; x^2 = 10.74, df 2, p < 0.005). More respondents in Lichfield than in Birmingham said it is easy or extremely easy to exchange this kind of help with neighbours, and more respondents in Birmingham than in AL-Gaily said it is extremely difficult to exchange this kind of help with strangers.

Table 5.24 shows that no significant differences were found between Khartoum and AL-Gaily respondents in how easy or difficult they expect exchanging looking after home with relatives, acquaintances and strangers î(x^2 = no calculation needed; x^2 = 1.41, df 2; x^2 = 3.01, df 1). The majority of respondents in both settings said it is easy or do not know to exchange this kind of help with acquaintances, and extremely easy with relatives.

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		Ext. easy	Easy	Do not know	Difficult	Extremely difficult
Relatives	Birmingham	36	46.7	5.3	12	0
	Lichfield	48.3	40	8.3	3.3	0
Close Friends	Birmingham	24	38.7	17.3	8	12
	Lichfield	18.3	55	15	5	6.7
Acquaintances	Birmingham	1.3	14.7	33.3	38.7	12
	Lichfield	5	16.7	33.3	31.7	13.3
Neighbours	Birmingham	8	56	9.3	13.3	13.3
	Lichfield	26.7	60	6.7	6.7	0
Strangers	Birmingham	0	0	12	30.7	57.3
	Lichfield	0	0	5	58.3	36.7

Table 5.23: The percentage of response categories of exchanging looking after home with relatives, close friends, acquaintances, neighbours and strangers for Birmingham and Lichfield respondents.

		Ext. easy	Easy	Do not know	Difficult	Extremely difficult
Relatives	Khartoum	94.7	5.3	0	0	0
	AL-Gaily	96.7	3.3	0	0	0
Close Friends	Khartoum	60	40	0	0	0
	AL-Gaily	78.3	21.7	0	0	0
Acquaintances	Khartoum	1.3	20	45.3	32	1.3
	AL-Gaily	6.7	23.3	38.3	31.7	0
Neighbours	Khartoum	18.7	32	14.7	25.3	9.3
	AL-Gaily	51.7	33.3	10	5	0
Strangers	Khartoum	0	0	1.3	38.7	60
	AL-Gaily	0	0	5	50	45

Table 5.24: The percentage of response categories of exchanging looking after home with relatives, close friends, acquaintances, neighbours and strangers for Khartoum and AL-Gaily respondents.

However, the majority of respondents in both settings said it is difficult or extremely difficult to exchange this kind of help with strangers. Significant differences were found in the exchange of this kind of help with close friends and neighbours ($x^2 = 4.22$, df 1, $p < 0.05$; $x^2 = 25.13$, df 3, $p < 0.005$). More respondents in AL-Gaily than in Khartoum said it is easy or extremely easy to exchange this kind of help with close friends and neighbours.

Thus, the pattern of self-reported exchanging of 'looking after home' was similar between the two countries, with those of towns more willing to exchange this kind of help with neighbours, than those in the cities.

5.3.13 <u>Questionnaire Section 2: Accommodating some guests:</u>

Table 5.25 and 5.26 show data on how easy or difficult do respondents from both countries expect   accommodating some guests with relatives, close friends, acquaintances, neighbours and strangers to be.

Table 2.25 indicates that no significant differences were found between Birmingham and Lichfield respondents on how easy or difficult they expect   .   .   accommodating some guests with relatives, acquaintances and neighbours (x^2 = 1.72, df 2; x^2 = 4.95, df 2; x^2 = 5.66, df 2). The majority of respondents in both settings think it is easy or extremely easy to exchange this kind of help with relatives, difficult or extremely difficult with acquaintances, and do not know, difficult or extremely difficult with neighbours. However, significant differences were found in the exchange of this kind of help with close friends and strangers (x^2 = 14.75; df 2, p< 0.005; x^2 = 14.51, df 1, p< 0.005). More respondents in Lichfield than in Birmingham said it is easy to exchange this kind of help with close friends, and more respondents in Birmingham than in Lichfield said it is extremely difficult to exchange this kind of help with strangers.

Table 5.26 shows that no significant differences were found between Khartoum and AL-Gaily respondents in . accommodating some guests with relatives, close friends and acquaintances (x^2 = no calculation needed; x^2 = 3.01. df 1; x^2 = 2.82, df 2). All respondents in both settings said it is easy or extremely easy to exchange this kind of help with relatives

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		Ext. easy	Easy	Do not know	Difficult	Extremely difficult
Relatives	Birmingham	24	57.3	6.7	10.7	1.3
	Lichfield	18.3	68.3	6.7	6.7	0
Close Friends	Birmingham	8.3	28.3	38.3	21.7	3.3
	Lichfield	6.7	62.7	16	6.7	8
Acquaintances	Birmingham	1.3	6.7	18.7	49.3	24
	Lichfield	1.7	6.7	36.7	36.7	18.3
Neighbours	Birmingham	0	2.7	44	24	29.3
	Lichfield	0	6.7	53.3	16.7	23.3
Strangers	Birmingham	0	0	0	26.7	73.3
	Lichfield	0	0	0	50	50

Table 5.25: The percentage of response categories of exchanging accommodating some guests with relatives, close friends, acquaintances, neighbours and strangers for Birmingham and Lichfield respondents.

		Ext. easy	Easy	Do not know	Difficult	Extremely difficult
Relatives	Khartoum	92	8	0	0	0
	AL-Gaily	96.7	3.3	0	0	0
Close Friends	Khartoum	46.7	53.3	0	0	0
	AL-Gaily	58.3	41.7	0	0	0
Acquaintances	Khartoum	2.7	10.7	46.7	36	4
	AL-Gaily	1.7	21.7	46.7	28.3	1.7
Neighbours	Khartoum	5.3	25.3	25.3	33.3	10.7
	AL-Gaily	28.3	50	15	6.7	0
Strangers	Khartoum	0	0	0	25.3	74.7
	AL-Gaily	0	0	0	58.3	41.7

Table 5.26: The percentage of response categories of exchanging accommodating some guests with relatives, close friends, acquaintances, neighbours and strangers for Khartoum and AL-Gaily respondents.

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and close friends; however, most of the respondents do not know
or think it is difficult. Significant differences were found in
the exchange of this kind of help with neighbours and strangers
(x^2 = 35.60, df 3, p < 0.005; x^2 = 22.36, df 1, p < 0.005). More
respondents in AL-Gaily than in Khartoum said it is easy and
extremely easy to exchange this kind of help with neighbours,
whereas more respondents in Khartoum than in AL-Gaily think it is
extremely difficult to exchange this kind of help with strangers.

Thus, the pattern of self reported exchanging accommodating some
guests was remarkably different between the two countries, with
town people in the Sudan more willing to exchange this kind
of help with neighbours than those in the city.

5.3.14 <u>Questionnaire Section 2: Sharing house or flat:</u>

Tables 5.27 and 5.28 present data on how easy or difficult
respondents from both countries expect   sharing house or flat to be
in the course of a housing shortage with relatives, close friends,
acquaintances, neighbours and strangers.

Table 5.27 shows that no significant differences were found
between Birmingham and Lichfield respondents in how easy or
                                              to be
difficult they expect   sharing a house or a flat in the course of
housing shortage with relatives, acquaintances, neighbours and
strangers (x^2 = 1.79, df 3; x^2 = 2.85, df 2; x^2 = 1.26, df 2;
x^2 = 1.06, df 1). The majority of respondents in both settings
said it is easy to exchange this kind of help with relatives,
difficult or extremely difficult with acquaintances, neighbours
and strangers. However, significant differences were found in
the exchange of this kind of help with close friends (x^2 = 11.13,
df 3, p < 0.025). More respondents in Lichfield than in Birmingham
said it is easy to exchange this kind of help with close friends.

Table 5.28 indicates that no significant differences were
found between Khartoum and AL-Gaily respondents in how easy or
                                              to be
difficult they expect   sharing a house or a flat in the course of
housing shortage with acquaintances and strangers (x^2 = 5.65,
df 2; x^2 = 2.30, df 1). The majority of respondents in both
settings said it is difficult or extremely difficult to exchange
this kind of help with acquaintances, and all respondents said so
in the case of strangers. However, significant differences were
found in how easy or difficult they expect   sharing a house or a

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		Ext. easy	Easy	Do not know	Difficult	Extremely difficult
Relatives	Birmingham	9.3	58.7	12	14.7	5.3
	Lichfield	10	58.3	18.3	10	3.3
Close Friends	Birmingham	0	16	33.3	24	26.7
	Lichfield	6.7	35	21.7	18.3	18.3
Acquaintances	Birmingham	1.3	1.3	14.7	45.3	37.3
	Lichfield	0	0	18.3	31.7	50
Neighbours	Birmingham	0	0	17.3	24	58.7
	Lichfield	0	1.7	23.3	20	55
Strangers	Birmingham	0	0	0	16	84
	Lichfield	0	0	0	21.7	78.3

Table 5.27: The percentage of response categories of sharing house or flat with relatives, close friends, acquaintances, neighbours and strangers for the UK respondents.

		Ext. easy	Easy	Do not know	Difficult	Extremely difficult
Relatives	Khartoum	72	17.3	10.7	0	0
	AL-Gaily	91.7	8.3	0	0	0
Close Friends	Khartoum	29.3	61.3	8	1.3	0
	AL-Gaily	36.7	63.3	0	0	0
Acquaintances	Khartoum	0	0	37.3	44	18.7
	AL-Gaily	0	8.3	45	40	6.7
Neighbours	Khartoum	0	4	14.7	57.3	24
	AL-Gaily	3.3	20	30	28.3	18.3
Strangers	Khartoum	0	0	0	14.7	85.3
	AL-Gaily	0	0	0	26.7	73.3

Table 5.28: The percentage of response categories of sharing house or flat with relatives, close friends, acquaintances, neighbours and strangers for the Sudan respondents.

to be
flat~~J~~with relatives, close friends and neighbours (x^2 = 7.94, df 1,
p <0.005; x^2 = 15.61, df 1, p< 0.005; x^2= 20.36, df 3, p< 0.005).
More respondents in AL-Gaily than in Khartoum think it is extremely
easy to exchange this kind of help with relatives, close friends
and neighbours.

of a
Thus, the pattern of self-reported sharing↑house or flat
was remarkably different between the two countries, with those in
the Sudanese town more willing to exchange this kind of help with
close friends and neighbours than those in the city.

5.3.15 <u>Questionnaire Section 2: Doing some household jobs</u>:

Tables 5.29 and 5.30 present data on how easy or difficult respondents from both countries expect that doing some household jobs in period of sickness for relatives, close friends aquaintances, neighbours and strangers will be.

Tabled 5.29 shows that no significant differences were found between Birmingham and Lichfield respondents in how easy or difficult they expect : doing some household jobs to be for relatives and close friends (x^2 = 0.33, df 1; x^2 = 2.43, df 2). In both settings the majority of respondents said it is easy or extremely easy to exchange this kind of help with relatives and close friends. Significant differences were found in the exchange of this kind of help with acquaintances, neighbours and strangers (x^2 = 6.88, df 2, p<0.05; x^2 = 9.53, df 3, p< 0.025; x^2 = 6.66, df 2, p< 0.05). More respondents in Lichfield than in Birmingham said it is easy to exchange this kind of help with acquaintances and extremely easy with neighbours; and more respondents in Birmingham than in Lichfield said it is extremely difficult to exchange this kind of help with strangers.

Tables 5.30 shows that no significant differences were found between Khartoum and Al-Gaily respondents in how easy or difficult they expect : doing some household jobs in period of sickness for relatives, close friends acquaintances and strangers [(x^2 = no calculation needed; x^2 = 1.30, df 1, x^2 = 1.60, df 3; x^2 = 0.79, df 1). All respondents in both settings said it is easy and extremely easy to exchange this kind of help

		Ext. easy	Easy	Do not know	Difficult	Extremely difficult
Relatives	Birmingham	24	69.3	1.3	4	1.3
	Lichfield	28.3	71.7	0	0	0
Close Friends	Birmingham	21.3	70.7	6.7	0	1.3
	Lichfield	16.7	65	18.3	0	0
Acquaintances	Birmingham	5.3	16	45.3	24	9.3
	Lichfield	1.7	33.3	50	11.7	3.3
Neighbours	Birmingham	5.3	18.7	61.3	6.7	8
	Lichfield	23.3	16.7	46.7	13.3	0
Strangers	Birmingham	0	0	10.7	48	41.3
	Lichfield	0	0	25	50	25

Table 5.29: The percentage of response categories of exchanging doing some household jobs in period of sickness with relatives, close friends, acquaintances, neighbours and strangers for the UK respondents .

		Ext. easy	Easy	Do not know	Difficult	Extremely difficult
Relatives	Khartoum	97.3	2.7	0	0	0
	AL-Gaily	100	0	0	0	0
Close Friends	Khartoum	86.7	13.3	0	0	0
	AL-Gaily	91.7	8.3	0	0	0
Acquaintances	Khartoum	6.7	34.7	46.7	12	0
	AL-Gaily	11.7	38.3	38.3	11.7	0
Neighbours	Khartoum	20	37.3	25.3	14.7	2.7
	AL-Gaily	45	51.7	3.3	0	0
Strangers	Khartoum	0	0	1.3	61.3	37.3
	AL-Gaily	0	0	8.3	61.7	30

Table 5.30: The percentage of response categories of exchanging doing some household jobs in period of sickness with relatives, close friends, acquaintances, neighbours and strangers for the Sudan respondents.

with relatives and close friends. A large number of respondents in both settings said it is easy to exchange this kind of help with acquaintances, and difficult or extremely difficult with strangers. However, a significant difference was found in how easy or difficult respondents expe to exchange this kind of help with neighbours (x^2= 29.04, df 3, p< 0.005). More respondents in AL-Gaily than in Khartoum said it is easy or extremely easy to exchange this kind of help with neighbours.

Thus, the pattern of self-report of willingness to do some household jobs in a period of sickness was similar between the two countries, with those of the towns more willing to exchange this kind of help with acquaintances and neighbours than those of the cities.

5.3.16 Questionnaire Section 2: Giving moral support:

Tables 5.31 and 5.32 present data on how easy or difficult

respondents from both countries expect   exchanging   ,

moral support]when nearest kin dies, with relatives, close

[handwritten above: ↑to be]

friends, acquaintances, neighbours and strangers.

Table 5.31 indicates that no significant differences were

found between Birmingham and Lichfield respondents on how easy

or difficult they would find it to give moral support to relatives,

close friends, acquaintances, neighbours and strangers when their

nearest kin dies ($x^2 = 0.75$, df 1; $x^2 = 1.24$, df 1; $x^2 = 5.76$, df 3;

$x^2 = 2.67$, df 3; $x^2 = 2.35$, df 2). In both settings the majority

of respondents said it is easy or extremely easy to exchange this

kind of help with relatives, close friends, acquaintances and

neighbours and difficult or extremely difficult with strangers.

Table 5.32 shows that no significant differences were found

between Khartoum and Al-Gaily respondents in how easy or difficult

they would find it to give moral support to relatives, close

friends, acquaintances, neighbours and strangers ($x^2 =$ no

calculation needed; $x^2 = 2.34$, df 1; $x^2 = 1.84$, df 2; $x^2 = 0.314$,

df 1; $x^2 = 7.86$, df 4). In both settings all respondents said it

is easy or extremely easy to exchange this kind of help with

relatives and close friends. The majority of respondents in both

settings said it is easy or extremely easy to exchange this kind

of help with acquaintances and neighbours, and difficult or

extremely difficult with strangers.

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		Ext. easy	Easy	Do not know	Difficult	Extremely difficult
Relatives	Birmingham	38.7	60	1.3	0	0
	Lichfield	31.7	68.3	0	0	0
Close Friends	Birmingham	32	61.3	4	1.3	1.3
	Lichfield	23.3	66.7	10	0	0
Acquaintances	Birmingham	8	44	25.3	18.7	4
	Lichfield	10	45	36.7	8.3	0
Neighbours	Birmingham	16	44	21.3	8	10.7
	Lichfield	21.7	50	18.3	10	0
Strangers	Birmingham	4	4	20	42.7	29.3
	Lichfield	5	6.7	28.3	38.3	21.7

Table 5.31: The percentage of response categories of giving moral support when nearest kin dies to relatives, close friends, acquaintances, neighbours and strangers for the UK respondents.

		Ext. easy	Easy	Do not know	Difficult	Extremely difficult
Relatives	Khartoum	100	0	0	0	0
	AL-Gaily	100	0	0	0	0
Close Friends	Khartoum	82.7	17.3	0	0	0
	AL-Gaily	91.7	8.3	0	0	0
Acquaintances	Khartoum	42.7	38.7	17.3	1.3	0
	AL-Gaily	40	48.3	11.7	0	0
Neighbours	Khartoum	70.7	26.7	2.7	0	0
	AL-Gaily	75	23.3	1.7	0	0
Strangers	Khartoum	14.7	22.7	18.7	34.7	9.3
	AL-Gaily	3.3	21.7	11.7	58.3	5

Table 5.32: The percentage of response categories of giving moral support when nearest kin dies to relatives, close friends, acquaintances, neighbours and strangers for the Sudan respondents.

Thus, the pattern of self-reported giving of moral support was remarkably similar between the two countries. However, a high percentage of respondents in the Sudan than in the UK, said it is extremely easy to exchange giving moral support with neighbours.

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5.3.17 <u>Questionnaire Section 3: Attitude statements:</u>

As has already been mentioned in the introduction to this part, the attitude statements in Section 3 of the questionnaire were chosen to help us comparing the attitudes of urbanites and nonurbanites towards helpfulness. By means of factor analysing the correlation matrix for each group, we intend to arrive at the main factors underlying these attitude statements which give meaningful interpretation to the data. Thus, 'factor analysis' was chosen as an appropriate technique to achieve this.

"Factor analysis refers to a variety of statistical techniques whose common objective is to represent a set of variables in terms of a smaller number of hypothetical variables" (Kim and Mueller, 1978). By the examination of the interelationships among the observed variables we arrive at a correlation matrix and the inspection of the correlation matrix may show that there are positive relationships among these variables, and that the relationships within some subsets of variables are higher than those between the subsets. Then, a factor analytic approach may be used to see whether these observed correlations can be explained by the existence of a smaller number of hypothetical variables. Therefore, factor analysis can be used as a way of ascertaining the minimum number of hypothetical factors that can account for the observed covariation, and as a means of exploring the data for possible data reduction (Kim, 1970; Kim and Mueller, 1978). Factor analysis, can at least, enables us to describe a group according to some emerging factors.

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However, factor analysis has its limitations. Researchers should avoid reading too much into a correlation coefficient because casual relationships cannot be inferred from correlation alone (Child, 1978). Some test scores are, for example, the end product of such processes as thinking, perceiving and evaluating. The test scores might tell us little about these proceses. Factors analysis may not be useful when the population under study is homogeneous, because any grouping of variables would be likely to be specific to this subjects group.

In the present study, given the way the statements were selected there was an apriori expectation for certain factors which are relevant to helpfulness, to emerge. For example, some statements would reflect a worry about the costs associated with helping; others would identify the ascription of responsibility to self or to others for the sufferings of others. Some other statements may combine to underline the perception of altruism and helpfulness and their existence in the respective society, while others may show that the respondents are altruists. In fact, some of the statements, in their own right, are meant to represent typical popular beliefs and current day theory about altruism and helping behaviour.

Before factor analysing, the Bartlett's test (Weiss, 1970) was performed to see whether the correlation matrices are actually worth considering. The test is a modification of the chi^2 procedure. This test has been shown to discriminate between random and non-random correlation matrices, and that when random correlation matrices are factor analysed, solutions are produced

that can be given meaningful interpretations. Tests of significance of the correlation matrix by Bartlett's test produced values of x^2 as shown in Table 5.33, indicating that there are significant factors to be extracted from the correlation matrix. It was decided, given this result, to proceed with the factor analysis of all the data.

Locale	x^2	df	P
Birmingham	660.07	300	< 0.005
Lichfield	626.62	406	< 0.005
Khartoum	276.45	171	< 0.005
Al-Gaily	298.83	210	< 0.005

Table 5.33   Tests of significance of the Correlation matrices

The factor analysis performed was R-factor analysis, which is based on correlations between variables. The method of factoring used was principal factoring with iteration (PA2). It is a subprogram in SPSS (Nie et al., 1970). Method PA2 is based fundamentally on the fact that the observed correlaions between the variables are mainly the function of some regularity in the data. Specifically, it is assumed that a variable is influenced by many determinents some of which are shared by other variables (common) and some of which is unique to that variable. This method gives principal factors. It automatically replaces the main diagonal elements of the correlation matrix with communality estimates. Then it employs an iteration procedure for improving the estimates of communality. The diagonal elements are then replaced by these new communalities. Then while keeping the

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number of factors and communalities of each variable fixed, the method continues to find simpler and more easily interpretable factors through rotation. Here, the factor matrix was orthogonally rotated using a method called Varimax. Factors obtained through this rotation are uncorrelated. The Varimax method simplifies the factor structure by maximizing the variance of a column of the matrix. An oblique rotation was also performed, and proved unnecessary because the factors in all four sets of data were found to be uncorrelated. Thus, the Varimax rotation is justified.

Various criteria are suggested for determining the appropriate number of factors to be extracted (Child, 1978; Kim and Mueller, 1978). These are Kaiser's criterion, which considers only factors of latent roots greater than one; Cattell's scree test criterion which require the user to plot a graph of latent roots against the factor number, and the shape of the curve will determine a cut-off point at which the curve straightens out, and all factors above this point will be considered.

Using the Kaiser criterion for an initial factor analysis, a solution was obtained with 6 factors for Lichfield and 5 factors for the other three locales. This initial factor matrix was then rotated to simple structure using Varimax. The results of this analyses is given in Table 5.34.

Locale	Factor	Eigenvalue	% of Comm. Factor Var
Birmingham	1	4.31220	32.3
n = 75	2	2.24653	16.8
	3	1.82501	13.7
	4	1.32860	10.0
	5	1.09324	8.2
	6	0.92757	7.0
			88.0
Lichfield	1	6.66585	39.7
n = 60	2	2.27823	13.6
	3	1.73738	10.3
	4	1.33762	8.0
	5	1.22400	7.3
	6	1.08992	6.5
	7	0.98134	5.8
			91.2
Khartoum	1	2.07150	23.0
n = 75	2	1.44406	16.0
	3	1.30462	14.5
	4	1.11413	12.4
	5	1.01578	11.3
	6	0.86097	9.6
			86.8
AL-Gaily	1	1.91672	18.8
n = 60	2	1.78317	17.5
	3	1.61235	15.8
	4	1.34186	13.2
	5	1.05730	11.7
	6	0.69898	10.4
			87.4

Table 5.34: The main factors from the Factor Analysis of the attitude data.

The attitude statements (variables) which load on these factors are given in Tables 5.35, 5.36, 5.37, and 5.38. These are significant at 0.01 according to Burt-Bank's formula (Child, 1978). Child (1978) stated that all items with loadings greater than $\pm$ 0.3 can be considered significant and contributing to the specific factor proivded that the sample size is not too small (N = 5o at least). The sample size for the present data was 75 for the city, and 60 for the town. All attitude statements, except two in Lichfield, load highly on only one factor, indicating their simple nature. Two of the variables in Khartoum "Good Samaritans are rare these days", "It is hard to afford time to help someone when I am out shopping", and two in AL-Gaily "It is wise to help even if it costs you a great deal of time", when I am out shopping I seldom see people who need help' are shown by their low communality values to have little variance in common with other attitude statements, and this is confirmed by the inspection of the correlation matrix.

Table 5.35: The main factors from Factor Analysis of the attitude data for Birmingham (n=75)

Factor	Eigen-value	% Var.	Sample items #	Factor loadings	X̄##	SD
1. Altruists	4.31	32.3	– responsibility to help those who cannot help themselves	.53	2.39	.95
			– wise to help even if it costs a great deal of time	.63	2.91	.98
			– would immediately go to the aid of a sufferer	.58	2.41	.89
			– I enjoy helping other people	.72	2.71	.96
			– giving a small amount of money to a stranger	.68	3.60	1.03
2. Unhelpful	2.25	16.8	– Good Samaritans are rare these days	.65	2.49	1.05
			– requests for minor help are made too often these days	.58	2.75	1.01
			– helping people encourages them to be dependent	.52	2.76	1.02
3. Unhelpful	1.83	13.7	– I am oblivious of requests for help	.74	3.91	.70
			– do not like to help when physical effort needed	.44	3.73	.92
4. Perceived altruism	1.33	10.0	– most people say helping one in need is the right thing	.52	2.41	.81
5. Willing to help	1.09	8.2	– in our society people need to be helpful to each other	.50	1.68	.49
			– prefer to help women rather than men	-.58	3.12	1.01

\# Some items appear in summarised form
\#\# 5-point scale from 1 – strongly agree, to 5 – strongly disagree

Table 5.36: The main factors from Factor Analysis of the attitude data for Lichfield (n=60)

Factor	Eigen-value	% Var.	Sample items #	Factor loadings	X̄##	SD
1. Helping a specific section of the community	6.67	39.7	- people should help themselves in nonemergency or minor incidents	.49	3.18	1.04
			- would prefer to help women rather than men	.81	3.28	1.05
			- would prefer to help disabled rather than able people	.57	3.15	1.07
			- would avoid people who are trying to stop me requesting help	.57	3.93	.78
2. Cost of helping	2.28	13.6	- do not like to help when physical effort needed	.56	3.77	.89
			- not wise to go to the aid of someone being attacked	.63	3.59	1.1
			- would always help strangers in need	-.55	2.54	.75
3. Altruists	1.74	10.3	- I am oblivious of requests for help	-.43	4.11	.72
			- I enjoy helping other people	.67	2.47	.91
4. Perceived altruism	1.34	8.0	- the reward to expect for helping others is that your help does them some good	.69	1.81	.39
5. Willingness to help	1.22	7.3	- wise to help even if it costs a great deal of time	.74	2.59	.91
			- would not feel shame or guilt if ignored a needy person	-.43	3.96	.71
6. Unhelpful	1.09	6.5	- helping people in need encourages them to be dependent	.40	3.22	1.08

\# Some items appear in summarised form

\#\# 5-point scale from 1 - strongly agree, to 5 - strongly disagree

Table 5.37: The main factors from Factor Analysis of the attitude data for Khartoum (n=75)

Factor	Eigen-value	% Var.	Sample items #	Factor loadings	$\bar{X}$**	SD
1. Perceived altruism	2.07	23.0	- in our society people need to be helpful to each other	-.58	2.68	1.05
			- it is important to me to feel that I am helping someone	.67	2.09	.75
2. Altruists	1.44	16.0	- giving help to others is as important as caring for your own family	.92	3.70	1.03
3. Unhelpful	1.30	14.5	- would always avoid people who are trying to stop me requesting help	.79	3.78	.81
			- small favours such as street direction are a help to someone	-.51	1.89	.81
4. Helping a specific section of the community	1.11	12.4	- would prefer to help the disabled rather than able people	.74	2.48	1.08
			- do not like to help when physical effort needed	-.41	3.48	1.17
			- requests for minor help are made too often these days	-.53	3.32	1.08
5. Awareness of responsibility to help	1.02	11.3	- if I do not help those in need, no-one else will	.75	3.26	1.05
			- Good Samaritans are rare these days	.50	2.26	.90

\# Some items appear in summarised form

\#\# 5-point scale from 1 - strongly agree, to 5 - strongly disagree

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Table 5.38: The main factors from Factor Analysis of the attitude data for AL-Gaily (n=60)

Factor	Eigen-value	% Var.	Sample items *	Factor loadings	X̄**	SD
1. Perceived altruism	1.92	18.8	- I am oblivious of requests for help	.98	4.26	.57
			- the reward to expect for helping others is that your help does them some good	.51	1.63	.48
2. Unhelpful	1.78	17.5	- helping people in need encourages them to be dependent	.59	3.83	.71
			- people should help themselves in nonemergency or minor incidents		3.78	.66
			- do not like to help when physical effort needed		4.11	.61
3. Hesitant to help	1.61	15.8	- small favours such as street direction are a help someone	-.60	1.55	.64
			- requests for minor help are made too often these days	.74	3.70	.74
4. Perceived altruism	1.34	13.2	- giving help to other people is as important as caring for your own family	.51	3.05	.90
5. Willingness to help	1.06	11.7	- would prefer to help the disabled rather than able people	.65	2.23	1.07
			- do not need to help others because there are others who can help them	-.57	3.91	.88

* Some items appear in summarised form
** 5-point scale from 1 - strongly agree, to 5 - strongly disagree

For the Birmingham respondents the first factor consists of attitude statements all of which paint an altruistic pricture. However, in the second and third factors a different picture have emerged. These two factors deal with other people and their responsibility to look after themselves, and should not seek help all the time; especially they should not ask for physical effort. Yet, again in the fourth and fifth factors the respondents stress awareness of the existence of altruism in their society, and that they are willing to engage in helpful acts.

For the Lichfield respondents the picture is somewhat, but not totally, similar. The first two factors show that the respondents were concerned about women and the disabled, and about the cost of helping. The third factor, however, shows that the respondents clearly perceived their role in helping. They did not diffuse responsibility to helping on others; they rather stated their responsibility to help. A more positive picture emerged from the fourth and fifth factors. The respondents were aware of the existence of helpfulness in their community, and they are willing to enhance its existence regardless of the costs they might incur in such a process.

It is, thus, apparently clear that there is little difference in attitudes towards helpfulness and altruism between urbanites and nonurbanites in the UK. As much as the nonurban respondents are concerned about others, assuming responsibility towards them, and aware of the existence of altruism in their society, so do the urban respondents.

For Khartoum respondents, the first and second factors show that the respondents are aware of the existence of altruism in their society, and that the respondents are altruists. However, the third factor tells a different story, where the respondents are seen as unhelpful in that they would always avoid people who stop them requesting help. Also the fourth factor is different from the first two. It shows that the respondents care only for the disabled people. However, again in the fifth factor the respondents express a positive attitude towards helpfulness showing that they are aware of their responsibility to help.

For AL-Gaily respondents the picture is similar to that of Khartoum respondents. While the first factor shows that there is an awareness of the existence of altruism and that the respondents are not expecting a materialistic reward for help, yet the second and third factors tell us that the respondents are unhelpful and they are hesistant to help. But the fourth and the fifth factors are about the perception of altruism and willingness to help.

Again the attitudes of urban and nonurban respondents, towards helpfulness, in the Sudan are reasonably similar.

The emerging picture from the factor analysis of the attitude statements from the two countries is remarkably similar. The structure and content of the factors is, generally, similar; however, there is a difference in the order of factors between the four locales.

5.4   Discussion

The study was designed to test the hypothesis that city people differ from town people in self-reported interaction with different categories of people, in expectation of exchanging different types of help with different categories of people, and in attitudes towards helpfulness. According to evidence from various studies (Milgram, 1970; Korte and Kerr, 1975; Fischer, 1976; McCauley and Taylor, 1976; Hanson and Slade, 1977; House and Wolf, 1978; Kamman, Thompson and Irwin, 1979), and popular beliefs, we would expect city people to report superficial contacts and to have negative attitudes towards helpfulness. The present study provides a unique opportunity for testing these questions in two different cultures, one of which is quite different from that of the USA where concern with this problem was first developed. The demographic characteristics of the city and town samples, in both countries, were quite similar that the results of these data can be accepted for what it reports .

Contacts with relatives were similar between city and town in UK but not in the Sudan; and contacts with close friends were similar for both city and town in both countries. However, the duration of conversation with relatives and close friends was reported to be similar between the two countries. Contacts with neighbours were more frequent in towns than in cities in both countries. The duration of talk with strangers was by far the most shortest and brief among the different categories in both cities and towns in the two countries.

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These results are in the expected direction, except for the differences in the frequency of contact with relatives between Khartoum and AL-Gaily respondents. A more likely interpretation of this significant difference is the fact that relatives in towns of the Sudan always live in adjacent houses. However, the percentage of respondents in Khartoum who see their relatives at least once a week (65%) is a remarkably high percentage indeed. Thus, we could arguably say the contacts with relatives in both city and town in the Sudan are to some extent similar. Supporting this conclusion, is the fact that no significant difference was found in the duration of talk with relatives between city and town in the Sudan. Moreover, transportation plays a significant role here. Petrol rationing, or otherwise, cost of transportation make it difficult for Khartoum residents to make frequent visits to their relatives as they used to, say, five years back. Thus, the difference in the pattern of self-reported contacts, at least with relative, could be attributable to financial and government policies

These results are consistent with the findings of other studies. Fischer (1976) and Korte (1976) found no difference in social contacts between relatives in urban and nonurban settings. If any differences exist they are because of the geographical distances between the relatives (Bultena, 1969). Both Reiss(1959) and Key (1968) found no difference in the frequency of association with friends between urban and nonurban residents. A recent study (Franck, 1980) showed that newcomers to city and town are likely to have equal number of friends after they have lived there for a considerable amount of time. Studies comparing contacts

between neighbours (Fava, 1958; Key, 1968; Fischer, 1973) showed that urban residents were considerably less acquainted with their neighbours. Nummerous studies have established a difference in contacts between strangers (e.g. Stern, 1974; Rushton, 1978.)

Both the place of meeting and the topic of conversation with others would shed light on the differences between city and town people. In both countries the respondents of both city and town said they meet their relatives and close friends at either's home, with the exception of Birmingham respondents who meet their close friends mostly at places such as pubs and night clubs. While town respondents would meet their neighbours at either's home, city respondents are likely to meet their neighbours casually at the front door of their homes. In both city and town, in both countries, strangers are met at the street, shopping centre or other public places. In both countries, intimate conversations were reported, in both city and town to be with relatives and close friends. However, a considerable number of town respondents have reported intimate conversations with neighbours. In general, the results pertaining to the questions of place of meetings and intimacy of talks indicate that no differences exist between city and town people as far as relatives, close friends and strangers are concerned. It is, thus, possible to say that city people do not behave so as to avoid all interpersonal encounter. They may avoid acquaintances, neighbours and strangers, but certainly not close friends and relatives.

The findings suggest that in the realm of personal relationships, relations with relatives and close friends in the

city would be regarded as central and of considerably greater importance than relations with neighbours and strangers. What seems to be the case is that city only alter the character of relationships of the more peripheral, unimportant and less intimate kind. This perhaps says something about the nature of the relationship with neighbours and particularly with strangers in the city. They seem to be more susceptible to situational influences than those involving relatives and friends which are more valued and may not be sacrificed.

The question about how often do contacts with different categories of people require help from the respondents was intended to be a reflection of experience. Again, no significant differences were found between city and town respondents, except in the case of the requirement of help in contacts with relatives in Khartoum, in the Sudan. Respondents from Khartoum seem to be bombarded by request for help from relatives. A resident in Khartoum is expected to help his relatives in various ways, e.g. his relatives may travel to Khartoum for good hospitals, seasonal shopping, seeking jobs or only visiting. On the other hand, city respondents in both countries have reported more encounter with strangers needing help than town respondents, and the town respondents in both countries have reported more help required by neigbours than city respondents.

In general, then, the findings confirm that urban – nonuban differences in self-reported social behaviour may be limited only to behaviour towards neighbours and strangers.

In section 2 of the questionnaire the respondents state how it is easy or difficult to exchange different types of help (e.g. borrowing a small amount of money) with the different categories of people. With such kind of data, it is, then, possible to evaluate whether urbanites and nonurbanities differ in readiness to greater involvement in helpful deeds with relatives, close friends, acquaintances, neighbours and strangers.

In both countries, and in city and town the majority of respondents expect it is easy to exchange help with relatives and close friends such as borrowing a small amount of money, donating a small amount of money, giving lifts, looking after home, looking after children, doing some household jobs in period of sickness, and giving moral support when nearest kin dies. However, there was no consistency in exchanging other types of help, such as sharing a house or a flat in the course of housing shortage, accommodating some guests, and borrowing a large amount of money. For example, it is easier to borrow a large amount of money from relatives in the Sudan than in the UK, and in turn more in the town than in the city. However, we have to bear in mind the fact that what is considered to be a large amount of money in the Sudan, may considered a small amount in the UK. By and large, in view of these results and in agreement with results from the first section, we can conclude that both urban an nonurban residents are concerned about relatives and close friends; they expect to help them and to be helped by them. The previously mentioned studies (e.g. Sutcliffe and Crabbe, 1963; Key 1968) supported this conclusion. These relationships are central to the individual, and so he is more likely to sustain and enhance

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their continuation irrespective of where he lives.

Turning now to the data on expectation of exchanging different types of help with acquaintances, a different picture to that found for close friends and relatives emerged. There is a consistency in most helpful acts between city and town respondents in both countries. The response to most of these helpful acts was either it is difficult to exchange them with acquaintances or the respondents do not know. Even, when the dominant response was 'easy' still there was a high percntage of 'do not know' among the respondents. However, the picture is not completely similar. The town respondents in both countries expect it is easy to exchange small favours such as lifts donating and borrowing a small amount of money.

A significant shift in the outcome of urban-nonurban comparison occurs when the focus turn to exchanging various helpful acts with neighbours. The results show easier exchange of various types of help in the two towns than in the two cities. A part from borrowing a large amount of money, accommodating some guests and sharing house or flat in course of housing shortage, the town respondents reported that it is not difficult to exchange other helpful acts with neighbours. However, the term 'neighbour' is undoubtedly a less clear social category than ones such as relative or close friend. It depends on the respondent own subjective definition of neighbour, though the term usually means physical proximity, e.g. the ten household nearest yours. In addition, the neighbour category may at times overlap with the other categories, i.e., relatives, and friends may also be

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neighbours. This is perhaps the case, especially in the Sudanese town AL-Gaily.

These findings give support for previous findings (Fava, 1958; Key, 1968; Fischer, 1973). As urban residents have less frequent social contacts with neighbours, they are not expected to exchange various helpful acts with them, nor consider them as a source of help. The present findings also have implications to the urban impact hypothesis (e.g. Fischer, 1976). In a review of urban-nonurban differnces of social characteristics, Fischer concluded that urbanites are younger, more likely to be single, have fewer children, have a higher socioeconomic status, and are more diverse with regard to religion, ethnicity and socioeconomic status. It can be argued, then, that some of these urban social characteristics may be responsible for the reduced exchange of helpful behaviour with neighbours that have been reported. For example, if urbanites are more likely to be single, or to have few children, this may remove the means by which neighbours get to know each other.

The data pertaining to strangers did not show clear evidence of urban - nonurban difference in reported expectation of exchanging different types of help. In only two types of helpful acts, giving lifts and donoting small amount of money, respondents from towns differ from respondents of cities. They expect it is easy to exchange this type of help with stranger. In general, the respondents in both city and town, in both countries stated that it is difficult or extremely difficult to exchange various types of help with strangers. However, we can still argue for a

differnce between city and town respondents, because while the town respondents reported it is difficult to exchange various types of help with strangers, the city respondents said it is extremely difficult. Therefore, a limited support to previous findings (e.g. Korte and Ayvalioglu, 1981) can be said to emerge from these results.

In section three of the questionnaire a number of attitude statements were delivered. As mentioned earlier, these attitude statements may help us to isolate those factors relevant to the context of helpfulness and altruism, such as willingness to help, responsibility, positive or negative evaluation of the consequences of help. These may then say something about urbanites and nonurbanites, i.e., whether they have similar or different attitudes towards helpfulness, and whether they are similar or different in their perception of helpful acts.

The factors from the factor analysis of the attitude statements data for Birmingham, Lichfield, Khartoum and AL-Gaily seem to be readily interpretable in terms of content. Although the emerging picture of factors from the factor analysis allows for comparability, we should remember, however, that we are not comparing exactly the same attitude statements. This is because the dropped attitude statements which load insignificantly, were not the same across the four groups. Furthermore, the first factor is general in the UK samples, but bipolar in the Sudan smaples. Hence, the author decided that the comparability should cautiously be accepted.

Although the structure of factors emerging from the factor analysis of attitude data for the UK samples are somewhat similar, however, the order of factors was not similar. For example, from the picture emerging from the first factor for Birmingham data, one can imagine the typical respondent in Birmingham always ready to ascribe responsibility for helping others to himself. But the first factor for the Lichfield data tells a different story. It shows that the respondents are only concerned and feel responsible for women and disabled people. In general, the factors of each sample i.e. Birmingham and Lichfield seem to portrait a similar picture which reflect both positive and negative attitudes towards helpfulnes. While some factors show that the respondents perceived the existence of altruism in their society, and that they are willing to help, other factors indicate that they are unhelpful and concerned about the costs of helping. This also holds true for the Sudan samples. It is immediately apparent that there is little difference in attitudes towards helpfulness and altruism between ubanites and nourbanies, and between the two countries.

The factor analysis of the attitudinal variables in this section of the questionnaire, clearly add a new picture to research into urban-nonurban differences in helpfulness. It is suggestive of basically no urban-nonurban differences in attitudes towards helpfulness that may stem from th size of the community in which a person has been raised. There is no evidence from this analsyis that a person's background - urban versus nonurban - may significantly shape his attitudes towards helpfulness. This finding is in discrepancy with major urban theories (Wirth, 1938; Simmel, 1950; Milgram, 1970; Fischer, 1976) which postulate that

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city living may have an effect on an individual's dispositions and attitudes, and that the reported behavioural differences may be an expression of the underlying differences in attitudes and dispositions. However, one can say the urban hypothesis i.e unhelpfulness, untrustfulness, stems from empirical evidence (e.g. Korte and Ayualioglu, 1981) and not from survey studies such as the present one. May be the observed differences reported in empirical studies which reflect attitudes of unhelpfulness and untrustfulness on the part of urbanities, are due to certain factors, e.g. situational ones, and not because of already held attitudes. Similarity in attitudes may still result in different behavioural outcome. The results of the field studies in the present study (see part four) indicated that the nonurban residents are more helpful than the urban residents. Having said that, and given that the attitudes from the factor analysis are similar, then the observed behavioural difference cannot be attributed to any effect of attitudes.

Part 6

Discussion and Conclusions

6. Discussion and Conclusions

Many terms and definitions have been offered to describe helping behaviour but there is no consensus on one term or definition. As suggested previously, the biological sciences and social pyschologists used the term altruism differently. Biologists originally used the term to refer to heroic self-sacrificial behaviour directed toward the well-being of others (Wilson, 1975). Social psychologists mean by altruism any unselfish behaviour that is other-directed (e.g Macaulay and Berkowitz, 1970). Other terms used by social psychologists included 'prosocial behaviour' [Staub, 1978], 'helping behaviour' [Wispe, 1978], 'bystander intervention' [Latane and Darley, 1970], 'positive social behaviour' [Wispe, 1978; Staub, 1978]. The point of agreement between all these terms is that the behaviour they describe focuses on the welfare of the other perosn or persons, with no anticipation of external benefits and rewards; though some theorists (Schwartz and Howard, 1981) accept anticipation of self-reinforcement.

It is unlikely that definitional problems will ever be solved in their entirety. It has been suggested that to debate them too much, may be to induldge in little more than an intellectual pillow fight (Krebs and Wispe, 1974). Nonetheless how a particular researcher defines altruism or helping behaviour is likely to be an important determinant of how he conducts research. Helpfulness can best be thought of as a relative and not an absolute concept because the frequency and form it takes depend on the particular society or culture studied. In cross-cultural studies, such as the present one, a general definition is unworkable because of

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variations in culture and differing aspects of the environmental situation, and therefore an operational definition of helping must suffice. The operational definitions adopted in this research were responding verbally or opening the laboratory door for the experimenter, mailing a lost-letter, and responding to a request for questionnaire completion in a public place. These measures were considered as helpful acts by people in the two cultures under study. The results of the present studies supported this view as the frequency and form of helping differed according to the manipulated variables e.g. cost, urgency and group size.

6.1   Variables influencing helping behaviour

As demonstrated in section 1.3 researchers into helping behaviour have explored many independent variables presumed to have an effect in enhancing or inhibiting the occurrence of helpful behaviour. Classified at levels of generality these independent variables include the temporary psychological states of the potential helper such as positive or negative affects. For example, it was found that elated subjects were more likely to help than depressed subjects (Aderman, 1972). Also personality characteristics such as ascription of responsibility, fear of embarrassment and belief in a 'just-world' have been studied. Although some studies have established the effect of personality measures on helpfulness (McGovern, 1976; Schwartz, 1977; Staub, 1978, 1979), other studies have cast doubts on such an effect (Darley and latane, 1968; Latane and Darley, 1970; Krebs, 1978). At the third level, the focus of research is on the effect of social norms on helping behaviour. Some researchers have attributed

helping to the influence of the norm of social responsibility
(Berkowitz, 1972, 1976) others to the norm of giving (Schwartz,
1970a) or norm of reciprocity (Castro, 1975). However, the
normative approach has been criticised on the ground that in a
given sitution conflicting norms may be applied, and hence lead
the bystander to a confusion. Thus, there is a lessened tendency
to follow moral norms that dictate behaviour (Latane and Darley,
1970). Social roles and demographic attributes have also been
studied as incidental correlates of helping behaviour. These
include sex (Latane and Dabbs, 1975), age (Green and Schneider,
1974), race (B ryan and Test, 1967; Katz et al., 1975), physical
appearance (Morgan, 1973) and nationality (Feldman, 1968). Some
sort of correlation between these attributes and helping behaviour
have been established. At th final level, the characteristics
of the situation, have been focus of the largest body of research.
Here researchers have sought to identify more specific factors
which illuminate helping behaviour. One of the most consistent
findings at this level, and perhaps in all research in this area,
is that of group size effect. It was demonstrated that the
larger the number of bystanders, the less likely that an indiv-
idual will intervene to help (Latane and Darley, 1970). Other
variables studied at this level of generality include emergency/
nonemergency nature of the situation, cost/benefit, and urban/
nonurban settings. They all suggest that situational factors,
specifically factors involving the immediate social environment,
may be of greater importance in determining an individual's
reaction to an emergency than personal factors.

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In the light of this brief overview (see details in Section 1.3) it emerges that the studies in this area of research have certain characteristics. The early research of Latane and Darley (e.g Darley and Latane, 1968) used an experimental approach. Thus, for a considerable period researchers relied only on this method, investigating helping in laboratory, rather than field, settings. However, as suggested by McGuire (1973) helping behaviour can be studied through interviews, content analysis, questionnaires, and even observations. The use of various techniques can help us generalise about this kind of behaviour across various populations and situations. A second characteristic of these studies is the use of strangers. A typical experiment representing this area of research, is one in which a stranger was placed in a situation which forced him to ask for help. The method of using subjects who are strangers differs considerably from the quality of other interpersonal relationships. However, recently a trend was developed which seek to study the occurrence of helpfulness between relatives, neighbours and close friends (e.g. Franck, 1980; Korte, 1980). The third common characteristic of studies in helping behaviour is the investigation of the antecedent conditions of this behaviour. In particular, the focus is on those variables which may increase or decrease the likelihood of the occurrence of helping behaviour. Some of these are group size, observation of a model, cost of helping and mood of the subject. Also relevant to this are personal variables such as sex, race and age.

6.2   Constructs of helpfulness

As has been seen, the grid study overall showed similarities and dissimilarities in the use of constructs of helpfulness between the UK and the Sudan. The principal components analysis showed agreement on the structure of the first component, and disagreement on the second and the third components between the subjects from these two countries.

The urgency attached to a situation emerged as an important factor in how people see and evaluate helpful situations in this study. Constructs relating to this dimension appeared frequently in subjects' descriptions of helpful situations in both countries (see figures 1 to 12). These included, for example, urgent, a matter of life and death, requires medical attention, grave consequences expected, and immediate help required. The term 'urgency' referred to here is similar to the use of the term 'emergency' in this area of research (as used by Latane and Darley, 1970; Bar-Tal, 1976; and Piliavin et al., 1981). An emergency is seen by these authors as an event that happens suddendly, that involves a threat or actual harm to life or property, in which there is limited time for decision-making as immediate action is required. Also Piliavin et al. (1981) add that the word 'emergency' carries a feeling of unpredictability, instability, uncertainty and risk, plus a sense of urgency and time pressure. The situations seen by subjects in this study as emergency ones included rescuing people caught in a fire, going to the aid of someone while being attacked, and helping someone who has fainted in the street. Piliavin et al. description is

typically that which signifies an emergency for subjects in both countries. Also the situations referred to, by subjects in both countries, as nonemergency situations, did not differ from Latane and Darley (1970), Bar-Tal (1976) and Shotland and Huston's (1979) descriptions of nonemergency situations. Nonemergency situations are seen as daily routine events which are foreseen, that do not involve threat or harm to life or property, and that do not require immediate action. The situations seen by subjects in both countries as nonemergencies included helping with street directions, giving change and re-mailing lost letters. Similar situations in other studies which were seen as nonemergencies included donation (Mildrasky and Bryan, 1967), reading instructions to the supervisor (Berkowitz and Friedman, 1967), solving an impossible problem in logic (Broll, Gross and Piliavin, 1974) and picking up dropped groceries (Latane and Dabbs, 1975; Yousif, 1979). Thus, the way subjects in this study viewed nonemergency situations did not differ from the typical definitions in this area of research. Hence, the perception of situations as emergency or nonemergency ones is consistent between the UK and the Sudan, and the United States where these descriptions originated.

The costs of helping a victim or a help-seeker, also emerged as an important factor distinguishing between various helpful situations. These costs included risk, involvement in a dangerous situation, major inconvenience, time consuming, could hurt yourself, could be upsetting, big effort, out of your way and demanding. Again, these are in agreement with what other researches mean by costly situations (e.g. Piliavin et al., 1981). Piliavin et al.,

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(1981) set up two categories of potential cost to the helper.
The first category involving physical danger, effort expenditure,
embarrassment, exposure to disgusting experiences such as coming
in contact with blood, close proximity to disliked others, time
lost, and value of rewards contingent upon activities that could
have been performed in the time taken up in helping. The second
category related to costs for not helping and these included self-
blame, public censure, recriminations from the victim or the help-
seeker. It seems that costs similar to the first category were
expressed more often than those similar to the second category.
Feelings which evoke conscience and moral obligation were secondary
to feelings of avoiding trouble and getting involved.

The second and third components (see Part 2) showed a
different picture from the first one. These components included
such constructs as direct-indirect help, sympathy - no sympathy,
and a good cause-not a good cause. Because of the disagreement
in the structure of these latter components, only constructs
emerging from the first component were subsequently tested in
the course of this research.

6.3   The effect of country, group size, cost and urgency
        on helping behaviour

The two variables that emerged from the repertory grid study,
that is, urgency and cost, were manipulated in a laboratory
setting to test for their effects.   Since many previous studies
have shown potent effects of group size on helping behaviour (see
Section 1.3.5.1) and since this factor is also included in the
Morgan-Leik (1978) model, group size was included as an additional
variable in this laboratory study.   The experiment was designed
in such a way to extend Morgan's (1978) study to emergency
situations and to cultural context.   To briefy recap, this model
focuses on the latency responses of subjects in a situation where
their help is needed.   The basic equation of the model is:

$$R = (G/N) + I$$

'R' stands for individual's felt responsibility, 'G' for net
group benefit, 'I' for net individual benefits, and 'N' for group
size.   The model also incorporates another two components: '
responsibility diffusion' and 'response thresholds.   The former
means each individual feels less responsibility as group size
increases, and the latter means the feeling of responsibility is
either sufficiently strong for the individual to intervene or it
is not.   The model, assumes, then, that individuals intervene
when felt responsibility (R) exceeds their personal threshold,
and that felt responsibility increases over time if the event is
not intervened in.   The implication of this is that as group size
increases, felt responsibility decreases which results in an increase
in response latency, but at the same time it also increases the

probability that this large group of bystanders will contain at least one individual with a low threshold (see Section 3.1 for a more detailed description of the model).

The group size variable studied here comprised three different levels - alone, pairs and subjects in groups of four. Urgency was divided into low and high urgency - gentle and heavy taps on the laboratory door; and cost was divided into low and high cost-no time constraint and time constraint. This manipulation of time constraints was intended to decrease the value of I, or the individual's net expected benefit, and hence to increase response latency. The Morgan-Leik model predicts that whatever happens in the low cost condition, in the high cost condition the response latency curve should move towards a monotonic increase as group size increases since the probability of an individual in the group with a low threshold, who may decrease the response latency, increases. The results of the experiment clearly support the prediction from the model for both countries. There were significant increases in the response latency as group size increased, and as a function of cost manipulation in the high cost condition. However, a similar, but less significant, increase in the response latency was also observed in the low cost condition.

Several suggestions for these results can be offered. First, the length of time that elapses before a bystander intervenes in an unexpected event may increase monotonically with group size because of the manipulation of costs, i.e this phenomenon will be stronger in high cost than in low cost conditions because

of the magnitude of cost. Secondly, group size is a powerful determinant, in its own right, of helping behaviour regardless of costs, or whatever is inherent in a given situation. Thirdly, this group size effect is a universal phenomenon.

The present study has shown that response latency does not necessarily increase with group size because of manipulation of costs. In both high and low cost conditions response latency was affected by group size. This leads to a reiteration of what has been suggested earlier (Section 3.4). The presence of others allows a bystander to diffuse his responsibility for helping to them. This in turn delays any response on the part of the bystander who may still be concerned about what has happened (Latane and Darley, 1970; Latane et al., 1981). Numerous studies have shown that an individual is less likely to intervene if he thinks that others are present (e.g. Latane and Darley, 1968; 1970; Levy et al., 1978). However, the implication of the presence of others, or diffusion of responsibility, is that it alters the costs and benefits to be expected from intervention. In the presence of others an individual may try to minimize the cost of behaving and maximize the benefits of doing so (Howard and Crano, 1974).

From the present findings the possibility also exists that the group size effect may be a universal phenomenon. Although cultural differences in the two cultures under study may reflect different cost contingencies and different perception of costs, a remarkably similar trend in the results was found. The only difference to emerge was that subjects in the Sudan intervened

faster than subjects in the UK. The time difference might have occurred because the UK subjects took their work on the mathematics task more seriously than the Sudanese subjects. Also, a closer look at table 3.3 for response latencies would show that the time difference was greater in low urgency condition; thus, it could be that Sudanese subjects were equally concerned with the request for assistance in both low and high urgency situations, whereas the British subjects were faster in response in the high than in the low urgency condition.

When comparing the response latency of subjects generally in low versus high cost conditions the results were clearly consistent with predictions from the Morgan-Leik model. Subjects in the low cost condition intervened faster than subjects in the high cost condition. The latency differences between cost conditions were similar at all levels of group size (see fig 3.2). Consequently this suggests that when the individual costs of intervening are high, response latency will decrease irrespective of group size, even if the bystander is alone. Help that is likely to be costly to the benefactor in terms of money, time, psychological distress or rewards foregone is in general less likely to be offered. Although, the present experiment manipulated "time" cost, it is likely to be the case in more serious situations where physical danger is involved. It is possible, and perhaps true, that a bystander to a situation needing help will calculate the outcome in terms of cost as well as other factors, but cost may be the most important one.

The extension of the Morgan-Leik model to emergency, or high urgency, situations produced new findings (see fig 3.3). Although the response latency curve moved downward between the two urgency conditions as predicted, an interaction was found between group size and urgency. The response latency curve was steeper between the small and large groups in the low urgency than in the high urgency condition, and generally subjects in the high urgency condition intervened faster than subjects in low urgency conditions. Perhaps the more severe, sympathy-arousing and attention drawing the emergency, the more likely that the bystander will respond faster. The repertory grid study showed this to be true where subjects distinguished between such emergency situations as rescuing people caught in a fire and nonemergency ones such as giving street directions in terms of 'urgency', 'could not wait', 'their situation may get worse if ignored' and 'immediate action'. The bystander's perception of the need of the help-seeker or the victim, may be an important determinant of fast helping (Bickman, 1972; Weiss et al., 1973; Clark, 1975; Shotland and Johnson, 1978). The Piliavin et al., (1981) assumption that the observation of an emergency creates varying degrees of arousal in the bystander, could also be a pertinent explanation here. When the arousal becomes aversive, the bystander will be motivated to reduce it by helping. Thus, the more severe the emergency, the more aroused the bystander becomes. Although the high urgency situation in this study was not of a severe nature, it was reasonably different in magnitude of urgency from that of low urgency used in this experiment. This was reflected in the low response latency of subjects in the high urgency situations. Also their speed of response

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suggests that subjects did assume that the person knocking on the laboratory door was in urgent need of assistance. However, one may object to this and offer the alternative explanation that subjects were taking their task seriously and therefore loud knocks were responded to more speedily becuase they were more disruptive to their concentration than the quiet knocks. Such and explanation favours a selfish attitude in subjects rather than an altruistic one. The reply to this objection is that the high urgency condition here comprised high and low cost condition such that there was no time constraint in the low cost condition; hence the subject was not in great need to concentrate on the mathematics task in both conditions of high urgency.

6.4   The Present Model

The data of the present laboratory experiment have extended
the Morgan-Leik (1978) model to emergency situations, and results
showed a significant effect on intervention behaviour, in addition
to group size and cost which were emphasized by the Morgan-Leik
model. However, a significant interaction was found between
group size and urgency such that the difference in response
latency between lone subjects and large groups, or between subjects
in small and large groups, or between subjects in small and large
groups was bigger in low urgency than in high urgency condition.
Moreover, the difference in the speed of help between subjects in
the two countries highlights an effect of culture on the
speed of responding, though there is no effect on the frequency
of this. As pointed out earlier, the results support the
predictions from the Morgan-Leik model, but they also support
conclusions from the Piliavin et al., (1981) model which emphasizes
the effect of the emergency nature of the situation in arousing
bystanders and motivate them to help. This latter model also
stresses the effect of cost, such that as the cost of intervention
increases the bystander is less likely to intervene. As can be
seen, each of these models emphasize different part of the process
which underly the bystander inhibition phenomenon. The Morgan-
Leik model does not incorporate urgency and cultural variables,
and the Piliavin et al., model does not incorporate group size,
low urgency and cultural variables. However, the present model
which will be developed here made use of all these variables,
i.e., group size, cost, urgency and culture, and seek to establish
the right relationships between them which help us better understand

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the bystander intervention phenomenon than previously possible.
If this is achieved, then the present model will have implications
for future theoretical models seeking to illuminate intervention/
helping behaviour.

The basic equation of the Morgan-Leik model is:

$$R = (G/N) + I$$

On the basis of the present findings this equation can be modified
to incorporate urgency and culture as salient variables. The
resulting model can be represented by its theoretical elements:

$$D \oint R$$

where $$R \propto [G/N, \ I, \ U, \ C]$$

where 'D' is the individual's decision to intervene, 'R' is the
individual's felt responsibility, 'G' is the net group benefit,
'I' is the net individual's benefit, 'N' is group size, 'U' is
urgency, which is either low or high, and 'C' is culture which can
be viewed as homogeneous or heterogeneous in terms of population,
attitudes, beliefs, etc.

Now we can set the modified equations which represent the
resulting model:

$$D_L = R \propto \frac{(G/N)}{U} + I + C \qquad \text{(Equation 1)}$$

$$D_H = R \propto \frac{(G/N)}{U} + I + C \qquad \text{(Equation 2)}$$

where D_L stands for decision in low urgency, and D_H stands for decision in high urgency. It is necessary to set two equations because the effect of group size is different between the two urgency conditions.

'D' is set at the beginning of the equations because it represents the actual decision to intervene which the bystander makes and not just the feeling of responsibility, which is only one of the factors leading to a decision to intervene. Secondly, the introduction of the notion of decision removes the need for the Morgan-Leik assumption that people have different response thresholds such that a low threshold will decrease the response latency curve. Here 'D' is the function of 'R' which varies (or is proportional) with many factors, i.e., group size, cost, urgency and culture. Depending upon the apprehension and contribution of these factors, different people will have different felt responsibility, and hence may differ in their decision to intervene either qualitatively, i.e., responding or not responding, or quantitatively, i.e., fast or slow response latency.

To illustrate how predictions are derived from this model consider the following situation where each variable is simply dichotomised:

for   (G/N)   Low (1 person)   = 1
                               High (Group)   = 2

for   I   Low (Low Cost)   = 1
                               High (High Cost) = 2

for   U   Low (Low Urgency)   = 1
                                  High (High Urgency)   = 2

for   C   Low (homogeneous)   = 1
                                  High (heterogeneous) = 2

Solving the equations based on the dichotomize variables,
the following results are predicted, taking as a base-line the
low part of the dichotomy, and dividing G/N by U because an
interaction was found between group size and urgency in the
experiment such that group size effect was not the same in the
two urgency conditions:

G/N

		L	H
U	L	1	2
	H	0.5	1

From this table we should expect subjects in groups in
high urgency to respond similarly to lone subjects in low urgency
situations, and lone subjects in high urgency condition to
intervene fastest, and subjects in groups in low urgency condition
to intervene slowest. The corresponding data from the laboratory
experiment, for the Sudan, is as follows:

G/N

		L	H
U	L	1.87	3.5
	H	1.62	2.62

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the order of these data clearly follows that predicted by the model. However, the difference in response latency between lone subjects in low and high urgency, in the Sudan, was not as big as predicted because in homogeneous cultures we should expect generally low response latency; and because we set 1 as the minimum interval class response, we should not expect a response latency of smaller than that. However, if we look at the UK results, we will see that the order of the data clearly follows that predicted by the model:

G/N

		L	H
U	L	2.87	4.37
	H	2	3.25

Solving for the effect of cost the following results are predicted:

G/N

		L	H
U	L	1+1	2+1
	H	0.5+1	1+1

Because the predictions on the first table were based on low cost, now we shall add 1 to each cell in the table to represent high cost. Here . subjects in the lone condition in high urgency and high cost condition should intervene faster, with low urgency and

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high cost condition, and subjects in groups in high urgency cost condition intervening at a similar point of time in the second place, and subjects in groups, low urgency and high cost condition to be the slowest to intervene. The corresponding data from the laboratory experiment, for the Sudan, is as follows:

G/N

		L	H
U	L	2.5	4.12
	H	2	3

The data clearly follows that predicted by the Model. Again, the difference in response latency of lone subjects in low and urgency was not as big as predicted. Hence, both urgency and cost would not greatly influence the response latency of lone subjects in homogeneous cultures. However, this will not be the case in heterogeneous cultures as we shall see when we solve for the effect of culture.

Here we have assumed that latencies will be larger in a heterogeneous culture since this was the result obtained in the experiment. The following results are predicted:

G/N

		L	H
U	L	1+1+1	2+1+1
	H	0.5+1+1	1+1+1

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because we add 1 to represent the heterogeneous culture we should expect subjects in the homogeneous culture to intervene faster than these subjects. The corresponding data from the laboratory experiment for the UK is as follows:-

G/N

		L	H
U	L	3.25	4.75
	H	2.25	3.5

When compared with the results of the Sudan, i.e., homogeneous culture, it is clearly that subjects in the UK intervened slower than subjects in the Sudan as predicted by the model.

As it stands, the present model, represented by equations 1 and 2, advances a new process underlying intervention behaviour which was not possible before. It is evident from this model that the decision to intervene in a certain situation needing assistance is the function of felt responsibility which varies with group size, urgency, cost and culture. Thus, the model integrates results from different models i.e., Morgan-Leik and Piliavin et al., models. The model also emphasizes variables which better explain bystander intervention. The relationships between these variables lead to predictions which were supported by the results of the experiment. However, the model has its problems. The quantification of the variables, is most important

problem here. While it is possible to quantify group size and control for its effects, it is not easy to accurately quantify cost, urgency and culture. The degree and level of cost and urgency may not be viewed exactly similar by all subjects. Also, the degree of homogeneity or heterogeneity may sometimes be equivocal. These variables were given arbitrary values in this model which may be responsible for the results. Generally, the model is still relatively unrefined and thereby needs rigorous testing which may then lead to further refinements.

6.5   Urban - Nonurban Differences in Helpfulness

A major aim of the present study was to evaluate the generality of urban-nonurban differences in helpfulness; a difference widely established in studies conducted in the USA, Canada, Australia and Turkey (see section 1.3.5.4). However, the course of research adopted here was unique in two ways. Firstly, because it tested for urban-nonurban difference in helping behaviour in two sharply contrasting cultures; and secondly, because the variables tested were based on constructs actually elicited from the people in the two compared cultures. This strategy allowed testing of the effects of these variables on helping behaviour, and their contribution to the expected urban-nonurban difference in helpfulness.

Two types of helpful behaviour were studied here: mailing a lost-letter, and response to a personal request for questionnaire completion in a public place. These were conducted under 'urgent' and 'non-urgent' conditions, and 'high' and 'low' cost conditions. Overall, the results suggested it is more likely that lost-letters in the city will be returned under low cost conditions regardless of the urgency condition, and more likely to be returned under urgent than non-urgent conditions. However, cost and urgency were not found to be critical factors in the return rate of letters in the non-urban settings in both countries. Similar results emerged from the questionnaire completion study. Overall, both studies supported previous findings (Milgram, 1970; Lowin et al., 1971; Levine et al., 1976 Hanson and Slade, 1977; Korte and

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Ayvalioglu, 1981) in that non-urban residents showed greater
helpfulness than urban residents.

As has already been suggested (see section 1.3.5.4 and
Part 4) a number of explanations could account for the variation
and nonurbanites. The Morgan-Leik (1978) model emphasises the
effect of cost as a suitable explanation for intervention behaviour
which could be generalised to any setting in any culture. This
proves to be a far-reaching conclusion. The present studies
offer clarification of the ways in which this may not hold true
in nonurban settings in two disparate cultures. In both countries,
no significant differences were found between the return rate of
lost-letters or response to the request for questionnaire completion
according to the manipulation of cost and urgency. The effect
of cost emphasises by the model may, thus, be found in specific
environments. A better explanation of the urban-nonurban difference
in helpfulness may better be accounted for by environmental
input level (Milgram, 1970). According to Milgram, as a consequence
of high inputs in the city, e.g., traffic noise, sounds, large
number of people, sights and demands, a person is forced to
adopt a series of adaptative mechanisms in order to cope with
the excessive demands of the environment. This is because the
capacity of the individual to deal with such environmental inputs
is limited (Krupat and Epstein, 1973); and Milgram suggested
that the multitude of inputs may eventually produce a state of
'input overload' in the individual. A common response to situations
of input overload is to reduce the overload by various adaptations
(e.g., ignoring inputs, screening inputs according to some criterion).

Hence, the urbanite adaptation is reflected in his or her inattent- iveness to some environmental events, his unresponsiveness to various requests and demands. This may eventually lead to the development of a strategy which gives low priority to events characterised by the urbanite as unimportant, or those which may be seen as costly in time or any other aspect, or to those persons who have no personal claim on the urbanite time, i.e., strangers. The present field studies brought direct evidence to support conclusions from the input overload hypothesis. The surrounding environments in both urban settings seem to have exerted immediate pressure on respondents in both countries to behave in such a way predicted by Milgram. In the lost-letter study although a considerable percentage of passersby in the two cities noticed the letters, yet they ignored them; and those who stopped to pick up the letters either discarded or destroyed or simply did not mail the non-urgent ones. This was especially the case when no letter box or post office was near. In the questionnaire completion study, subjects seemed to ignore the researcher, or having stopped, politely offered excuses for not cooperating especially when the request was not of an urgent tone. It was clearly evident that people in the two cities did not want to take time away from their personal activities and pursued goals, i.e., they allocate time according to priorities. But, in an urgent situation in which people are in a serious predicament, the urbanites will most likely to help, especialy if the mode of help would be that of less cost.

Another explanation in line with the input level explanation, is that of awareness. A high input level may cause people to become less aware of situations and cues that indicate the need for help, or the high input may fatigue people and thereby influence people to decide to ignore some or all of the inputs in the situation, thus reducing helpfulness by another means (Cohen, 1978; Korte and Grant, 1980). In the present study, it was shown in the lost-letter study that the probability of noticing the letters was indeed greater in the two towns than in the two cities.

In sum, then, the argument developed here is that the coping strategies adopted by urbanites as a consequence of input overload, forced them to behave in such a way to be less attentive to what they may consider unimportant (non-urgent), and time consuming. Since high input levels (e.g., traffice noise, sights), large number of people (unimportant others) and competition in various services in the city (time cost) are abundant in cities than in towns, we would expect these factors to act as deterrents to helpful behaviour in the city. It is, thus, these particular features of the urban environments that contribute to the urban-nonurban differences in helpfulness.

Although the present research has given some indication that the environmental input level accounts for variation in helpful behaviour in two disparate cultures, we have to be cautious against simple generalisations. The social and cultural characteristics of these places and residents may influence social behaviour such as helpfulness. As pointed out earlier, the

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shortage of letter boxes and post-offices and the acute transportation problems in the Sudan could be responsible for the results in this country. These are, of course, transient factors. Had we closely matched the environment and situations, the urban-nonurban difference found in the Sudan may well have been smaller. More importantly, being the capital of the Sudan, Khartoum is the centre of most government, industrial and commerical establishments, and hence it is more likely that greater number of peoples you meet in the city centre, where the field studies were conducted, are transient, and not Khartoum residents, and thereby have limited time to pursue their objectives that brought them to the capital. Also, the low rural economic opportunity in the Sudan pushed larger number of youth to the capital. These are expected to be hunting jobs and travelling most of the day, and they are unlikely to have the time to offer help. Furthermore, because of the illiteracy problem in the Sudan some of the passersby, both in the city and town, may not have realised the importance of the lost-letter. This problem applies generally to experimental cross-cultral social psychology (Jahoda, 1979). The current theories tested in experimental social psychology, being the product of the advanced industrial societies, may not be amenable to test in societies where, for example, literacy is low.

The finding that there are urban-nonurban differences in helpfulness, so far discussed, is limited only to the realm of social behaviour towards strangers. The results of the survey study showed that the influence of the urban-nonurban dimension influences social behaviour differentially depending on the type of relationship involved, i.e., whether it occurs between relatives

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and close friends or neighbours and strangers. The social
contacts, duration of conversation, place of meetings, intimacy
of talk, how social contacts require help from respondents, and
how easy or difficult the respondents expect to exchange various
types of helpful acts with relatives and close friends, did not
vary between urban and nonurban settings in both countries. The
findings suggest that in the realm of interpersonal relationships,
relations with relatives and close friends are regarded as central
and of considerably greater importance than other interpersonal
relationships, and this is to be expected. As has been noted the
urban residents in both countries showed less helpfulness towards
strangers than town people. However, a new finding emerged from
the survey. The social relationships occurring between neighbours
was also influenced by the urban environment, such that urban
residents reported less frequent and intimate contacts with their
neighbours, and were less expecting of exchanging various types
of helpful acts with them. As for accquaintances, the picture is
not that clear, as most responses fell into the 'do not know'
category in most of the questions. This might be due to the
vagueness of the term 'acquaintance'. However, if we regard the
intimacy interpersonal relationships as a continuum, we could
justifiably place the acquaintance - relationship, as it occurs
in the urban environment, around the middle of this continuum.

When examining the nature of these different relationships,
the results are hardly surprising. The social behaviour between
neighbours and strangers is determined by other factors than
those influencing the relationship with relatives and close
friends. Mostly relationships with strangers occur in public

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places and between individuals who, by definition, have not come in contact before (Lofland, 1973), whereas the neighbour-relationship is defined merely by proximity. On the other hand, relationships with relatives and close friends are governed by such factors as values, attitudes, norms, love and shared perspectives (Sutcliffe and Crabbe, 1963; Kasarda and Janowitz, 1974). It is reasonable, then, to expect relationships with relatives and close friends to be central, sustained and less readily sacrificed, whereas those with neighbours and those with strangers to be casual, vulnerable and probably influenced by various physical and social environmental factors. For example, a bystander may ignore a stranger if it is costly to help him, whereas he most probably would not ignore a friend in such a situation. Hence, similar situational pressures may initiate different behaviours as a function of different categories of people.

In addition to the concern with urban-nonurban differences in social contacts and exchange of helpful acts, the differences in attitudes towards helpfulness and altruism was also explored. No significant differences in attitudes were found between the city and the town studied in each country, nor between the two countries. The factors emerging from the factor analysis of the attitude statements (see tables 5.35, 536, 5.37 and 5.38) express mostly positive attitudes towards helpfulness; however, a small number of factors reflect underlying negative attitudes. Major urban theorists (Wirth, 1938, Simmel, 1950; Milgram, 1970; Fischer, 1976) postulate that city living may have adverse effects on an individual's dispositions and attitudes which reflect the forms of estrangement, superficiality, anonymity and distrustfulness in

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the course of interactions with other people in a city. Empirical
evidence, however, only supports differences between urban and
nonurban residents in attitudes towards strangers (Fischer, 1973;
Franck, 1980). Urban residents hold less trusting and more
suspicious attitudes towards strangers, reflecting perhaps fear
of criminal assault. However, the findings of the present survey
is in discrepancy with conclusions from such urban theories and
empirical evidence. The findings are suggestive of basically no
urban-nonurban differences in attitudes towards helpfulness that
may stem from the size of the community in which a person has
been raised. There was no evidence from the factor analysis of
attitude statements that a person's background - urban versus
nonurban may shape his attitudes towards helpfulness. It is
possible, however, to account for the discrepancy in many ways.
Firstly, the widely reported urban-nonurban difference in
helpfulness may not necessarily be a consequence of differences
in attitudes; it could rather be because of the situational
factors as established in the field studies of the present work
(see part 4). Secondly, the empirical studies, which reported
this difference, are usually conducted in the realm of stranger
relationship, which have been showed to be vulnerable and could
be sacrificed according to the pressures of the immediate
environment. Thirdly, Western urban theories may not necessarily
apply to behaviour in every culture. The models of behaviour
developed in the United States may bear the stamps of their
origins and may not be applicable to the peoples of other
cultures.

6.6   Implications for Future Research

As currently formulated, the present model (represented by the two equations) considers costs as they influence net expected individual benefits. However, this creates a logical problem. For example, one situation may have expected benefits of, say, 2 and net expected costs of, say, 1, while another may have expected benefits of 4 and expected costs of 3. By definition 'net' means expected benefits minus expected costs (Morgan, 1978). By subtracting, both would have net expected benefits of 1, but in the first situation the actor has a 100 percent return on his invested cost, whereas in the second situation the actor has a 33.3 percent return on his invested cost. These do not seem at all the same. Thus, there may be an independent effect of cost. The magnitude of cost may override whatever benefits which may accrue to the benefactor. Some situations needing help are simply too costly, no matter what the possible benefits.

Another question related to the issue of costs and benefits was not resolved in this model. Does variation in the nature of the cost variable produce the same effect? The cost factor was operationally defined here as time cost. It would be interesting to see the effects of various types of costs such as physical harm, physical effort, money, loss of social rewards, social sanctions and embarrassment. Future research is needed to test the effects of variation in cost as related to the present model.

The model assumes that the decision to intervene is a function of responsibility. However, the notion of responsibility

and the process by which an individual takes the costs and benefits to others into account in choosing a course of action is problematic. In this model these benefits and costs are expressed as G, and G can have two separate components: benefits to non-interveners in the bystander group, and benefit to the help-seeker. Manipulation of these costs and benefits makes this suggestion of two components to G testable. The strength of the similarity, social bond, cohesiveness and homogeneity between the bystanders as a group and between them as a group and the individual asking help should affect the extent to which the costs and benefits to others are perceived as affecting one's own costs and benefits. Thus, one would expect the closer the bond the less diffusion the group should show. Although this is partly shown in the present experiement, i.e., Sudanese subjects in groups showed less diffusion than UK subjects, future research is still needed to strictly control for a homogeneous or a social bonded group, and varies this with a would-be in-group help-seeker, out-group help-seeker, and someone whom they can not see. In the lost-letter study, the potential helper cannot see the person he helped; however, still this is contaminated with the problem of illiteracy in the Sudan i.e., not all subjects were aware of the need for help. In this vein, future research may develop a more refined measurement of the effect of responding to someone you can see and responding to someone you cannot see, and whether this varies with the person being in serious predicament or not.

The group size (diffusion effect) variable is set over urgency in the current model because of the interaction found between them. This is the central problem of the model because

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urgency cannot be considered independently of group size. The model predicts an increase in response latency as group size increases, and that this increase is bigger in low urgency than in high urgency situation. However, the urgency factor may be a more salient factor than stressed in the current model so that in real emergency situations the group size (or diffusion effect) may be swamped. This suggestion could be explored further by varying the nature and severity of the emergency and its consequences to the victim. For ethical grounds, this can be done in the laboratory setting and later briefing subjects about the purpose of the experiment.

Prediction from the current model suggests that subjects witnessing an emergency episode, especially in groups, in homogeneous culture will intervene faster than their counterparts in heterogeneous cultures. Although, the data closely fits this prediction from the model, we are still unsure that all these subjects represent a homogeneous cutlure as measured in this experiment. It would be fruitful to select subjects with articulate attitudes to altruism, their beliefs, their religion etc. to represent a true homogeneous culture as opposed to a true diffuse or heterogeneous culture. In the present model, it is not clear cut that such variables as religious attitudes, social ties, family structure, etc account for the downward shift in response latency of subjects in emergencies. Although implicitly we assumed these to be the characteristics of a homogeneous culture, a more refined measurement of this is called upon. The differences between responses of subjects in a more homogeneous culture and

a heterogeneous culture in true real life emergencies may be bigger than is shown in the present experiments.

Finally, the present model does not account for sex differences in response latency. However, in some cultures, such as the Sudanese, sex differences are clearly defined and the females are not expected to come into contact with strangers or take the initiative of acting in a public place, whereas sex differences are minimal or non-existing in some cultures. It would be fruitful to investigate this effect. It is interesting to see how the presence of a mix group, of males and females, would influence helping behaviour, whether men will respond faster than women in disparate cultures, and whether women are helped faster than men.

In the course of this research data have been collected on various aspects of helping behaviour. However, these different forms of data showed consistency in findings such that no one approach is more reliable than the others. The repertory grid study identified urgency and cost as the important variables in distinguishing between helpful situations. When tested in a laboratory setting with the group size variable (from the literature), it emerged that people sympathize more with victims in emergency type than in nonemergency situations, but they also calculate the cost of acting, and are influenced by group size. Urgency and cost are also salient factors in determining help in cities, but not in towns. It seems to be this pressure of the immediate environment that leads to differences in helpfulness between urban and nonurban residents, rather than the attitudes

of such individuals, a fact established by the questionnaire survey.

Effects of group size, cost, urgency and culture on helping behaviour are not limited to certain types of subjects, to situations of ambiguity, to the laboratory or to certain response modes. However, the important issue here is that the magnitude of the effect of group size, cost and urgency may vary with culture. People in more homogeneous cultures will respond faster than subjects in heterogeneous cultures if we choose a time-base criterion of helping. However, an unresolved issue is whether the frequency of help will also differ between these cultures. Unfortunately, the present field studies did not clearly establish such a difference, and therefore future cross-cultural studies may profitably address this problem.

Appendices

Elements (helpful situations) shown to subjects in the repertory grid study:-

1. Helping in street-direction.

2. Helping in change-giving.

3. Helping in granting Street interviews

4. Helping in finding for someone a lost key.

5. Helping in re-mailing others' letters.

6. Helping in giving information in a wrong-number call.

7. Helping an old woman to cross the road.

8. Helping in picking up dropped shopping for others.

9. Giving up your seat in the bus for someone who needs it.

10. Helping a lost child to find his parents.

11. Giving someone a lift.

12. Helping someone who fainted in the Street.

13. Helping a drunk person who collapsed in the Street.

14. Helping someone who had been attacked and left injured.

15. Helping by reporting shoplifters.

16. Giving information to the police about an accident or a crime you have witnessed.

17. Donating to charity.

18. Blood-donating.

19. Going to the aid of someone while being attacked.

20. Rescuing people caught in fire.

Helpful situations as shown to subjects in triads

20	19	18	17	16	15	14	13	12	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1		Construct
		o			o									o					O	1	Street direction
					o									o				o	O	2	Giving change
			o			o											o	o		3	Street interviews
								o												4	Finding a lost key
	o				o						o					o				5	Re-mailing a letter
	o										o	o								6	Information in a wrong-number call
	o						o							o						7	An old woman in the road
		o	o			o											o			8	Dropped shopping
	o									o					o					9	Giving seat in bus
							o													10	A lost child
				o								o								11	A lift
	o				o				o			o								12	A fainted person
		o					o				o									13	A drunk person
			o				o							o						14	Attacked & injured person
					o							o								15	Reporting shoplifters
			o				o			o										16	Informing the police
o		o			o						o	o								17	Donating to charity
o											o									18	Blood-donating
o					o		o								o					19	someone being attacked
		o												o						20	People caught in a fire

Contrast

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Appendix C

Agreement in rankings of the elements across all data sets
in the repertory grid study:

Considering all sets of rankings from the UK and the Sudan
studies, Kendall's coefficient of concordance was calculated.
The rankings for the first three components are shown here below:-

Component 1

Elements	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
SUDAN	2	3	9	5	6	1	11	8	10	15	7	16	14	18	12	13	4	17	20	19
UK	19	20	16	14	15	17	9	11	12	6	13	5	4	3	10	7	18	8	1	2
SUDAN	18	19	16	17	12	20	9	13	11	6	14	5	7	4	10	8	15	3	1	2
UK	18	19	15	11	16	20	12	13	14	8	10	5	4	3	9	7	17	6	1	2
SUDAN	19	18	16	14	12	20	9	13	11	7	17	5	6	3	10	8	15	4	1	2
UK	17	18	15	12	16	19	10	13	14	7	11	6	4	3	9	5	20	8	1	2
Total	93	97	87	73	77	97	60	71	72	49	72	42	39	34	60	48	89	46	25	29

Kendall's coefficient of concordance is given in Hays (1973) as:

$$W = \frac{12 \sum T^2}{M^2 N (N^2-1)} - \frac{3 (N + 1)}{N - 1}$$

Where M = Number of sets of rankings, e.g., number of judges

N = Number of entities ranked

and T = Rank sums

The formula for testing the significance of W is: x^2 = M (N-1)W

Following these formulas the resulting W is 0.426

x^2 = 6 (20-1).426

x^2 = (df 19)   = 48.56

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Elements	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
SUDAN	9	14	5	11	10	4	20	16	17	19	7	18	3	15	2	1	13	12	6	8
UK	10	14	3	16	13	4	20	18	19	17	8	15	6	12	2	1	11	5	7	9
SUDAN	12	9	15	6	13	17	1	5	4	3	14	2	7	8	19	20	11	10	18	16
UK	12	11	18	8	10	14	2	5	3	1	17	4	16	6	19	20	13	15	9	7
SUDAN	13	9	16	10	7	12	3	8	5	4	15	6	18	14	20	19	2	1	17	11
UK	11	12	9	18	6	4	20	19	16	17	15	13	14	10	5	3	2	1	7	8
Total	67	69	66	69	59	55	66	71	64	61	76	58	64	65	67	64	52	44	64	59

$$W = 0.036$$
$$x^2 = (df\ 19) = \underline{4.104}$$

Component 3

Elements	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
SUDAN	10	11	7	18	4	3	12	17	15	6	19	8	20	9	16	1	2	5	13	14
UK	1	13	9	2	14	4	8	6	16	7	15	10	5	12	3	11	19	20	17	18
SUDAN	8	13	12	18	3	5	9	16	11	6	17	7	20	10	19	2	1	4	15	14
UK	15	13	17	18	4	6	14	16	8	11	20	12	19	7	5	3	2	1	10	9
SUDAN	13	11	15	2	16	17	4	3	5	6	7	8	1	9	14	19	18	20	12	10
UK	7	10	4	9	15	6	16	11	14	18	2	19	5	12	1	3	17	20	8	13
Total	54	71	64	67	56	41	63	69	69	54	80	64	70	59	58	39	59	70	75	78

$$W = 0.1$$
$$x^2 = (df\ 19) = \underline{10.83}$$
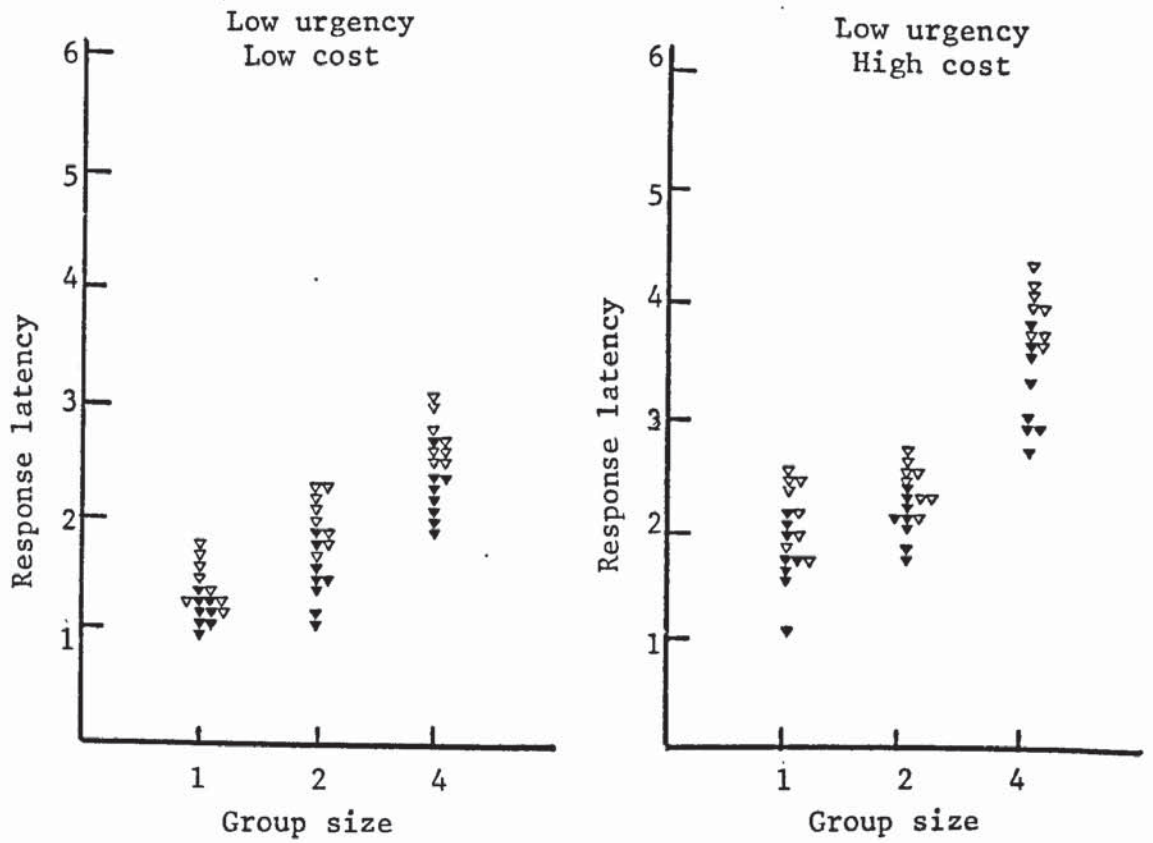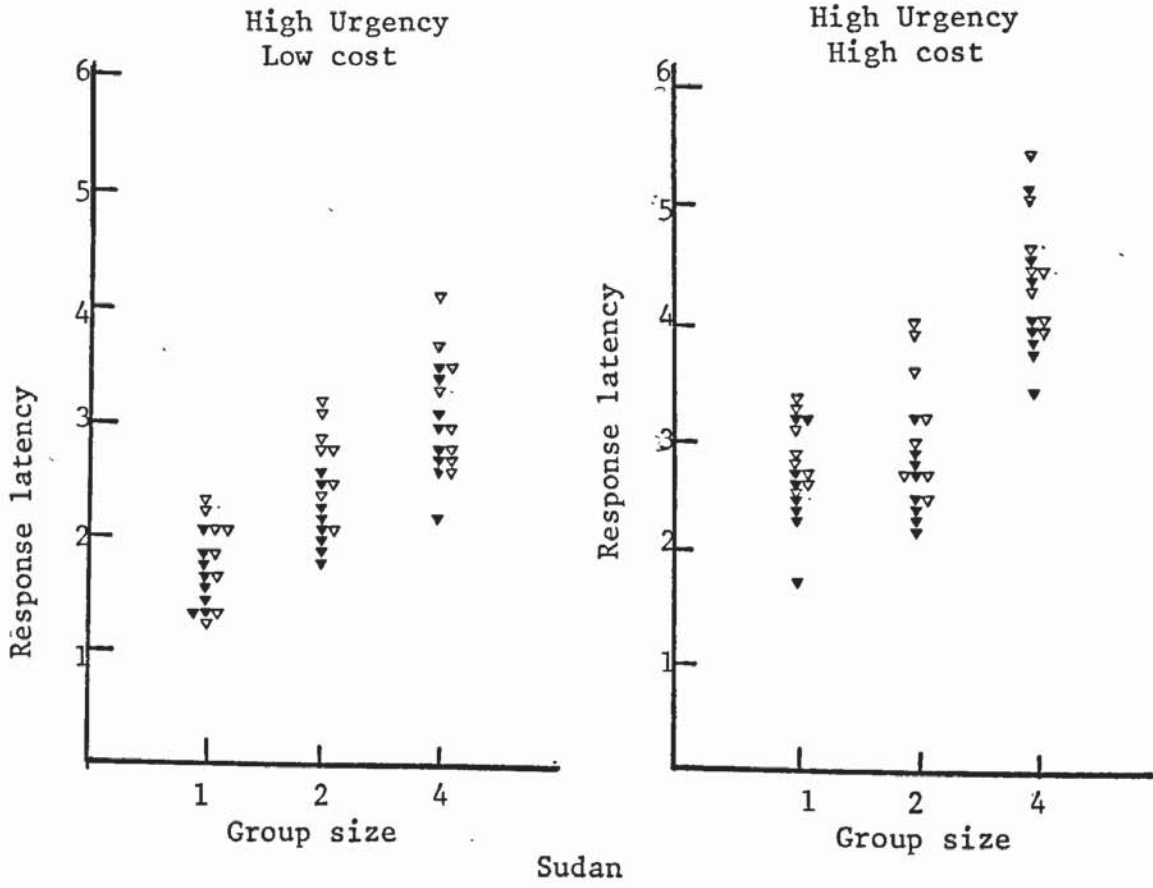
High Urgency
Low cost

High Urgency
High cost

Sudan

Low urgency
Low cost

Low urgency
High cost

The Questionnaire-Survey

SECTION 1

This section of the questionnaire deals with your direct contacts with relatives, close friends, acquaintances, neighbours and strangers.

Please indicate your answer by putting a circle around the appropriate number.

1. How often, on average, do you talk with:

	Everyday	Twice a Week	Once a Week	Once a fortnight	Once a Month	Less than once a month	Never	
A. Relatives	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	4
B. Close Friends	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	5
C. Acquain- ances	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	6
D. Neighbours	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	7
E. Strangers	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

2. How long would your conversations generally last with:

	Never	Less than 5 min	6-15 min	6-30 min	31-60 min	More than an hour	
A. Relatives	1	2	3	4	5	6	9
B. Close Friends	1	2	3	4	5	6	10
C. Acquain- ances	1	2	3	4	5	6	11
D. Neighbours	1	2	3	4	5	6	12
E. Strangers	1	2	3	4	5	6	13

3. Where would you usually meet the following people:

    A. Relatives

Visit their homes and/or they visit own home	1	
Outside the front door of their home	2	
On the street	3	
The shopping centre	4	14
Other places	5	
I do not meet them	6	

B. Close Friends

          Visit their homes and/or they visit own home   1
          Outside the front door of their home   2
          On the Street   3
          The Shopping Centre   4   15
          Other Places   5
          I do not meet them   6

C. Acquaintances

          Visit their homes and/or they visit own home   1
          Outside the front door of their home   2
          On the Street   3
          The Shopping Centre   4   16
          Other Places   5
          I do not meet them   6

D. Neighbours

          Visit their homes and/or they visit own home   1
          Outside the front door of their home   2
          On the Street   3
          The Shopping Centre   4   17
          Other Places   5
          I do not meet them   6

E. Stranger

          Visit their homes and/or they visit own home   1
          Outside the front door of their home   2
          On the Street   3
          The Shopping Centre   4   18
          Other Places   5
          I do not meet them   6

4What do you usually talk about when you meet the following people?   Card
                                                                         Col.

A.   Relatives

Self-personal problems	1	
Family	2	
Work	3	19
Leisure	4	
Casual	5	
We do not talk at all	6	

B.   Close Friends

Self-personal problems	1	
Family	2	
Work	3	20
Leisure	4	
Casual	5	
We do not talk at all	6	

C.   Acquaintances

Self-personal problems	1	
Family	2	
Work	3	21
Leisure	4	
Casual	5	
We do not talk at all	6	

D.   Neighbours

Self-personal problems	1	
Family	2	
Work	3	22
Leisure	4	
Casual	5	
We do not talk at all	6	

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E.   Strangers

Self-personal problems	1
Family	2
Work	3	23
Leisure	4
Casual	5
We do not talk at all	6

5.   How often, on average, would these contacts require any help
      (e.g. financial, physical or advice) from you?

		Never	Occasionally	Often	Very Often	
1.	Relatives	1	2	3	4	24
2.	Close Friends	1	2	3	4	25
3.	Acquaintances	1	2	3	4	26
4.	Neighbours	1	2	3	4	27
5.	Strangers	1	2	3	4	28

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SECTION 2

This section of the questionnaire deals with how easy, or difficult, you expect to exchange various types of helpfulness with relatives, close friends, acquaintances, neighbours and strangers

In the following situations how easy, or difficult, do you think it is to give the following kinds of help to the people listed below?

Please indicate your answer by putting a circle around the appropriate answer box.

1.   Giving a lift to work

		Extremely Easy	Easy	Do not Know	Difficult	Extremely Difficult	
A.	Relatives	1	2	3	4	5	1
B.	Close Friends	1	2	3	4	5	2
C.	Acquaintances	1	2	3	4	5	3
C.	Neighbours	1	2	3	4	5	4
E.	Strangers	1	2	3	4	5	5

2.   Borrowing a small amount of money

		Extremely Easy	Easy	Do not Know	Difficult	Extremely Difficult	
A.	Relatives	1	2	3	4	5	6
B.	Close Friends	1	2	3	4	5	7
C.	Acquaintances	1	2	3	4	5	8
C.	Neighbours	1	2	3	4	5	9
E.	Strangers	1	2	3	4	5	10

3.   Donating a small amount of money

		Extremely Easy	Easy	Do not Know	Difficult	Extremely Difficult	
A.	Relatives	1	2	3	4	5	11
B.	Close Friends	1	2	3	4	5	12
C.	Acquaintances	1	2	3	4	5	13
C.	Neighbours	1	2	3	4	5	14
E.	Strangers	1	2	3	4	5	15

4. Borrowing a large amount of money in case of emergency

		Extremely Easy	Easy	Do not Know	Difficult	Extremely Difficult	
A.	Relatives	1	2	3	4	5	16
B.	Close Friends	1	2	3	4	5	17
C.	Acquaintances	1	2	3	4	5	18
C.	Neighbours	1	2	3	4	5	19
E.	Strangers	1	2	3	4	5	20

5. Asking to look after children while you (or they) are away

		Extremely Easy	Easy	Do not Know	Difficult	Extremely Difficult	
A.	Relatives	1	2	3	4	5	21
B.	Close Friends	1	2	3	4	5	22
C.	Acquaintances	1	2	3	4	5	23
C.	Neighbours	1	2	3	4	5	24
E.	Strangers	1	2	3	4	5	25

6. Asking to look after home while you (or they) are away

		Extremely Easy	Easy	Do not Know	Difficult	Extremely Difficult	
A.	Relatives	1	2	3	4	5	26
B.	Close Friends	1	2	3	4	5	27
C.	Acquaintances	1	2	3	4	5	28
C.	Neighbours	1	2	3	4	5	29
E.	Strangers	1	2	3	4	5	30

7. Asking to accommodate some guests because your (or their) house or flat could not accommodate them all.

		Extremely Easy	Easy	Do not Know	Difficult	Extremely Difficult	
A.	Relatives	1	2	3	4	5	31
B.	Close Friends	1	2	3	4	5	32
C.	Acquaintances	1	2	3	4	5	33
C.	Neighbours	1	2	3	4	5	34
E.	Strangers	1	2	3	4	5	35

8.   Asking to share house or flat in course of house or flat shortage

		Extremely Easy	Easy	Do not Know	Difficult	Extremely Difficult	
A.	Relatives	1	2	3	4	5	36
B.	Close Friends	1	2	3	4	5	37
C.	Acquaintances	1	2	3	4	5	38
C.	Neighbours	1	2	3	4	5	39
E.	Strangers	1	2	3	4	5	40

9.   Doing some household jobs in period of sickness

		Extremely Easy	Easy	Do not Know	Difficult	Extremely Difficult	
A.	Relatives	1	2	3	4	5	41
B.	Close Friends	1	2	3	4	5	42
C.	Acquaintances	1	2	3	4	5	43
C.	Neighbours	1	2	3	4	5	44
E.	Strangers	1	2	3	4	5	45

10.   Giving moral support when nearest kin dies

		Extremely Easy	Easy	Do not Know	Difficult	Extremely Difficult	
A.	Relatives	1	2	3	4	5	46
B.	Close Friends	1	2	3	4	5	47
C.	Acquaintances	1	2	3	4	5	48
C.	Neighbours	1	2	3	4	5	49
E.	Strangers	1	2	3	4	5	50

SECTION 3

This section of the questionnaire deals with attitudes and feelings of helping others. It consists of a series of statements with which you can express your strength of agreement or disagreement by circling the appropriate number on the scale.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	
1. Helping people in need encourages them to be dependent	1	2	3	4	5	1
2. In our society people need to be helpful to each other	1	2	3	4	5	2
3. People should help themselves in non-emergency or minor incidents	1	2	3	4	5	3
4. If I do not help those in need, no-one else will	1	2	3	4	5	4
5. I have a responsibility to help those who cannot help themselves	1	2	3	4	5	5
6. It is wise to help even if it costs you a great deal of time.	1	2	3	4	5	6
7. If someone is suffering I would immediately go to his aid	1	2	3	4	5	7
8. I would not feel shame or guilt if I ignored a needy person	1	2	3	4	5	8

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	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Card Col.
9. I would always avoid people who are trying to stop me and request help	1	2	3	4	5	9
10. People from cities are less helpful than people from the countryside	1	2	3	4	5	10
11. I am oblivious of requests for help	1	2	3	4	5	11
12. I would prefer to help women than men	1	2	3	4	5	12
13. Good Samaritans are rare these days	1	2	3	4	5	13
14. I would prefer to help the disabled than able people	1	2	3	4	5	14
15. Most people would say that helping someone in need is the right thing to do	1	2	3	4	5	15
16. Giving help to other people is just as important as caring for your own family	1	2	3	4	5	16
17. I enjoy helping other people	1	2	3	4	5	17
18. I do not need to help others because there are plenty of other people who can help them	1	2	3	4	5	18
19. Even small favours such as giving street direction is a help to someone	1	2	3	4	5	19

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Card Col.
20.	I do not like to help when physical effort is needed	1	2	3	4	5	20
21.	Giving a small amount of money to a stranger in need is something I would do	1	2	3	4	5	21
22.	It is hard to afford time to help someone when I am out shopping	1	2	3	4	5	22
23.	It is not wise to go to the aid of someone who is being attacked	1	2	3	4	5	23
24.	I would always help strangers in need	1	2	3	4	5	24
25.	When I am out shopping I seldom see people who need help	1	2	3	4	5	25
26.	Real help is that which deals with emergencies	1	2	3	4	5	26
27.	People become too dependent on others even with small problems	1	2	3	4	5	27
28.	It is important to me to feel that I am helping someone	1	2	3	4	5	28
29.	Neighbourhood relationships in this area are weak	1	2	3	4	5	29

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Card Col.
30. Requests for minor help are made too often these days	1	2	3	4	5	30
31. The only reward you should expect for helping other people is that your help does them some good	1	2	3	4	5	31
32. It is not always safe to help others	1	2	3	4	5	32

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لاستعمال الجامعة أرجو
أن تترك خالياً

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الجزء الاول

هذا الجزء من الاستبيان يتعلق باتصالاتك المباشرة

مع الاقارب ، الاصدقاء ، المعارف ، الجيران والغرباء .

ارجو ان توضح اجابتك بوضع دائرة حول الرقم المناسب .

عمود الكرت

(١) في المتوسط كلو كم مرة بتتحدث مع هؤلاء ؟

لا نتحدث مطلقا	اقل من مرة في الشهر	مرة في الشهر	مرة كل اسبوعين	مرة كل اسبوع	مرتين في الاسبوع	مرة يوميا	
٤	٧	٦	٥	٤	٣	٢	١ ١.الاقارب
٥	٧	٦	٥	٤	٣	٢	ب..الاصدقاء١
٦	٧	٦	٥	٤	٣	٢	ج..المعارف١
٧	٧	٦	٥	٤	٣	٢	د .الجيران١
٨	٧	٦	٥	٤	٣	٢	هـ.الغرباء ١

(٢) ما طول مدة حديثك مع هؤلاء ؟

اكثر من ساعة	٣١-٦٠ دقيقة	١٦-٣٠ دقيقة	٦-١٥ دقيقة	اقل من ٥ دقائق	لا نتحدث مطلقا	
٩	٦	٥	٤	٣	٢	١ ا ـ الاقارب
١٠	٦	٥	٤	٣	٢	١ ب ـ الاصدقاء
١١	٦	٥	٤	٣	٢	١ ج ـ المعارف
١٢	٦	٥	٤	٣	٢	١ د ـ الجيران
١٣	٦	٥	٤	٣	٢	١ هـ ـ الغرباء

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(٣) اين تقابل هؤلاء ؟

ا ـ الاقارب

عمود	الكرت		
	١	ازور منزلهم او يزوروا منزلنا
	٢	امام باب منزلهم
	٣	في الطريق
١٤	٤	في السوق
	٥	اماكن اخرى
	٦	لا اقابلهم

ب ـ الاصدقاء

	١	ازور منزلهم او يزوروا منزلنا
	٢	امام باب منزلهم
	٣	في الطريق
١٥	٤	في السوق
	٥	اماكن اخرى
	٦	لا اقابلهم

جـ ـ المعارف

	١	ازور منزلهم او يزوروا منزلنا
	٢	امام باب منزلهم
	٣	في الطريق
١٦	٤	في السوق
	٥	اماكن اخرى
	٦	لا اقابلهم

د ـ الجيران

	١	ازور منزلهم او يزوروا منزلنا
	٢	امام باب منزلهم
	٣	في الطريق
١٧	٤	في السوق
	٥	اماكن اخرى
	٦	لا اقابلهم

هـ ـ الغرباء

	١	ازور منزلهم او يزوروا منزلنا
	٢	امام باب منزلهم
	٣	في الطريق
١٨	٤	في السوق
	٥	اماكن اخرى
	٦	لا اقابلهم

(٤) ما الذى تتحدث عادة عندما تقابل هؤلاء ؟

ا ـ الاقارب

	١	مسائل شخصية
	٢	عائلية
	٣	العمل
١٩	٤	الترفيه
	٥	حديث عرضى
	٦	لا نتحدث مطلقا

ب ـ الاصدقاء

	١	مسائل شخصية
	٢	عائلية
	٣	العمل
٢٠	٤	الترفيه
	٥	حديث عرضى
	٦	لا نتحدث مطلقا

جـ ـ المعارف

	١	مسائل شخصية
	٢	عائلية
	٣	العمل
٢١	٤	الترفيه
	٥	حديث عرضى
	٦	لا نتحدث مطلقا

د ـ الجيران

الكرت	١	مسائل شخصية
	٢	عائلية
	٣	العمل
٢٢	٤	الترفيه
	٥	حد يث عرضى
	٦	لا نتحدث مطلقا

هـ ـ الغرباء

	١	مسائل شخصية
	٢	عائلية
	٣	العمل
٢٣	٤	الترفيه
	٥	حد يث عرضى
	٦	لا نتحدث مطلقا

(٥) كم ، في المتوسط ، تتطلب

منك هذه الاتصالات تقديم

مساعدة (مالية ، جسمانية ،

نصح ... الخ) ؟

	كثير جدا	كثير	مرة مرة	لا تتطلب	
٢٤	٤	٣	٢	١	ا ـ الاقارب
٢٥	٤	٣	٢	١	ب ـ الاصدقاء
٢٦	٤	٣	٢	١	ج ـ المعارف
٢٧	٤	٣	٢	١	د ـ الجيران
٢٨	٤	٣	٢	١	هـ ـ الغرباء

الجزء الثانى

هذا الجزء من الاستبيان يتعلق بمدى سهولة او صعوبة

توقعك لتبادل انواع المساعدات المختلفة مع الاقارب ، الاصدقاء ، المعارف

الجيران والغرباء .

ارجوان تحدد اجابتك بوضع دائرة حول الرقم المناسب .

عمود
الكرت

(١) التوصيل بالعربة لمكان العمل

	صعب جدا	صعب	لا اعرف	سهل	سهل جدا	
١	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	١ ـ الاقارب
٢	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	٢ ـ الاصدقاء
٣	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	٣ ـ المعارف
٤	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	٤ ـ الجيران
٥	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	٥ ـ الغرباء

(٢) استلاف مبلغ بسيط من المال

	صعب جدا	صعب	لا اعرف	سهل	سهل جدا	
٦	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	١ ـ الاقارب
٧	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	٢ ـ الاصدقاء
٨	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	٣ ـ المعارف
٩	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	٤ ـ الجيران
١٠	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	٥ ـ الغرباء

(٣) التصدق بمبلغ بسيط من المال

	صعب جدا	صعب	لا اعرف	سهل	سهل جدا	
١١	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	١ ـ الاقارب
١٢	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	٢ ـ الاصدقاء
١٣	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	٣ ـ المعارف
١٤	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	٤ ـ الجيران
١٥	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	٥ ـ الغرباء

(٤) استلاف مبلغ كبير من المال لئ‍ئ طارى‍ئ

الكرت	صعب جدا	صعب	لااعرف	سهل	سهل جدا	عمود
١٦	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	١ ـ الاقارب
١٧	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	٢ ـ الاصدقاء
١٨	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	٣ ـ المعارف
١٩	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	٤ ـ الجيران
٢٠	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	٥ ـ الغرباء

(٥) طلب العناية بالاطفال في

حالة تفيبك (او تغيبهم)

	صعب جدا	صعب	لااعرف	سهل	سهل جدا	
٢١	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	١ ـ الاقارب
٢٢	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	٢ ـ الاصدقاء
٢٣	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	٣ ـ المعارف
٢٤	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	٤ ـ الجيران
٢٥	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	٥ ـ الغرباء

(٦) طلب الاهتمام بالمنزل في

حالة تفيبك (او تفيبهم)

	صعب جدا	صعب	لااعرف	سهل	سهل جدا	
٢٦	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	١ ـ الاقارب
٢٧	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	٢ ـ الاصدقاء
٢٨	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	٣ ـ المعارف
٢٩	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	٤ ـ الجيران
٣٠	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	٥ ـ الغرباء

(٧) طلب استضافة بعض الضيوف

لا‍ئن مسكنك (او مسكنهم)

لا يستوعبهم كلهم

سهل جدا   سهل   لااعرف   صعب   صعب جدا

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١ ـ الاقارب	١	٢	٣	٤	٥	٣١
٢ ـ الاصدقاء	١	٢	٣	٤	٥	٣٢
٣ ـ المعارف	١	٢	٣	٤	٥	٣٣
٤ ـ الجيران	١	٢	٣	٤	٥	٣٤
٥ ـ الغرباء	١	٢	٣	٤	٥	٣٥

(٨) طلب مشاركة المسكن في

فتره البحث عن مسكن

	سهل جدا	سهل	لااعرف	صعب	صعب جدا	
١ ـ الاقارب	١	٢	٣	٤	٥	٣٦
٢ ـ الاصدقاء	١	٢	٣	٤	٥	٣٧
٣ ـ المعارف	١	٢	٣	٤	٥	٣٨
٤ ـ الجيران	١	٢	٣	٤	٥	٣٩
٥ ـ الغرباء	١	٢	٣	٤	٥	٤٠

(٩) طلب القيام ببعض مهام

المنزل في حالة المرض

	سهل جدا	سهل	لااعرف	صعب	صعب جدا	
١ ـ الاقارب	١	٢	٣	٤	٥	٤١
٢ ـ الاصدقاء	١	٢	٣	٤	٥	٤٢
٣ ـ المعارف	١	٢	٣	٤	٥	٤٣
٤ ـ الجيران	١	٢	٣	٤	٥	٤٤
٥ ـ الغرباء	١	٢	٣	٤	٥	٤٥

(١٠) تقديم المواساة في حالة

وفاة اقرب الاقربين

	سهل جدا	سهل	لااعرف	صعب	صعب جدا	
١ ـ الاقارب	١	٢	٣	٤	٥	٤٦
٢ ـ الاصدقاء	١	٢	٣	٤	٥	٤٧
٣ ـ المعارف	١	٢	٣	٤	٥	٤٨

	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	٤ ـ الجيران
٤٩	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	٤ ـ الجيران
٥٠	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	٥ ـ الغرباء

هذا الجزء من الاستبيان يتعلق باتجاهات ومشاعر
الناس نحو مساعدة الاخرين . وهو يحتوى على مجموعة عبارات نرجو منك
ابداء موافقتك او عدم موافقتك على ما تعبر عنه ونذلك بوضع دائرة على
الرقم الذى تراه مناسبا .

عمود الكرت	اوافق بشدة	اوافق	لا استطيع تحديد راى	لا اوافق	لا اوافق جدا	
						(١) مساعدة الناس المحتاجين
١	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	لمساعدة بيشجعهم
						يكونوا اتكاليين .
						(٢) الناس في مجتمعنا
٢	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	محتاجين يساعدوا
						بعضهم البعض .
						(٣) الناس مفروض تساعد
٣	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	نفسها في الحوادث
						البسيطة والحالات
						غير الطارئة .
						(٤) لو انا ماعاونت الناس
٤	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	المحتاجين لمعاونة
						مافي زول تانى بيعاونهم .
						(٥) واجب على اساعد
٥	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	الناس الما بقدروا
						يساعدوا انفسهم .

عمود الكرت	لا اوافق بشدة	لا اوافق	لا استطيع تحديد راى	اوافق	اوافق جدا	
٦	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	(٦) من الحكمة انك تساعد الناس حتى لو كان دا بيكلفك وقت كبير .
٧	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	(٧) لو شفت زول بيعاني حا مشي لمساعدته فورا .
٨	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	(٨) ما حا شعر بالخجل او تانيب الضمير اذا تجاهلت زول محتاج .
٩	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	(٩) انا دائما حا تجنب الناس البيحا ولوا يوقفوني ويطلبوا منى المساعدة .
١٠	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	(١٠) ناس المدن اقل درجة في المساعدة من ناس القرى .
١١	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	(١١) انا ما بعير اى نظرة لطلبات المساعدة من الاخرين .
١٢	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	(١٢) انا بفضل اساعد النسوان اكثر مما اساعد الرجال .
١٣	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	(١٣) الناس الفيهم مروءة قليلين الزمن دا .

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عمود الكرت	لااوافق بشدة	لااوافق	لااستطيع تحديد راى	اوافق	اوافق جدا	
						(١٤) انا بفضل اساعد الناس
١٤	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	المعوقين اكثر مما اساعد
						الناس القادرين .
						(١٥) معظم الناس بيفتكروا الزول
١٥	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	المحتاج مفروض يلقى
						مساعدة .
						(١٦) مساعدة الناس التانيين
١٦	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	مهمة زى اهتمامك بعائلتك
						(١٧) انا بشعر بمتعة
١٧	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	لمساعدتى الاخرين .
						(١٨) ما بحتاج اساعد الاخرين
١٨	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	عشان في كثيرين غيرى
						ممكن يساعدهم .
						(١٩) حتى الامور البسيطة
١٩	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	زى وصيف الطريق لزول
						تعتبر مساعدة .
						(٢٠) انا ما بحب اساعد لما
٢٠	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	تكون المساعدة دايرة
						مجهود بدنى .
						(٢١) مساعدة غريب محتاج
٢١	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	بمبلغ بسيط من المال
						حاجة ممكن اسويها .

عمود الكرت	لااوافق بشدة	لااوافق	لااستطيع تحديد راى	اوافق	اوافق جدا

عمود الكرت	لااوافق بشدة	لااوافق	لااستطيع تحديد راى	اوافق	اوافق جدا	
						(٢٢) لما اكون بتسوق من
٢٢	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	الصعب القى وقت
						عشان اساعد زول .
						(٢٤) مامن الحكمة تمشي
٢٤	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	لمساعدة زول اثناء
						عملية الاعتداء عليه .
						(٢٥) لما اكون بتسوق
٢٥	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	نادر ما الاحظ الناس
						المحتاجين لمساعدة .
						(٢٦) المساعدة الحقيقة هى
٢٦	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	المساعدة في حالات
						الطوارىء .
						(٢٧) الناس اصبحوا معتمدين
٢٧	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	على الاخرين حتى في
						الامور البسيطة .
						(٢٨) من المهم بالنسبة
٢٨	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	لى ان اشعر بانى
						بساعد زول .
						(٢٩) علاقة الجيران ببعضهم
٢٩	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	البعض في المنطقة دى
						ماقوية .

عمود الكرت	اوافق بشدة	اوافق	لا استطيع تحديد راى	لا اوافق	لا اوافق جدا	
٣٠	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	(٣٠) طلبات المساعدة في الحاجات البسيطة كثيرة الزمن دا .
٣١	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	(٣١) المكافاءة الوحيدة المفروض تتوقعها لما تساعد الاخرين انو مساعدتك دى حتكون مفيدة بالنسبة لهم .
٣٢	٥	٤	٣	٢	١	(٣٢) مساعدة الناس التانيين ممكن مرات تعرض الزول لمخاطر .

هذا الجزء من الاستبيان يتعلق ببعض المعلومات الشخصية

الوجيزة د ون الاشارة الى شخص معين بتحديد اسمه .،

كل اجاباتك هنا تعتبر سرية ولا تستعمل في امر اخر غير هذه الدراسة .

ارجو ان تضع دائرة حول الاجابة المناسبة .

عمود الكرت			
	١	ذكر	(١) الجنس
٣٣	٢	انثى	
	١	سنة	(٢) العمر
	٢	سنة	٣٠ – ٣٩
	٣	سنة	٤٠ – ٤٩
٣٤	٤	سنة	٥٠ – ٥٩
	٥	سنة	٦٠ – ٦٩
	٦	سنة	٧٠ واكثر
	١	عازب	(٣) الحالة الاجتماعية
٣٥	٢	متزوج	
	٣	مطلق	
	٤	منفصل	
	٥	ارمل	

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