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Status, satisfaction with the status quo, and helping behavior.

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STATUS, SATISFACTION WITH THE STATUS QUO
AND HELPING BEHAVIOR

A Dissertation Presented

By

Charles William Zanol

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in
partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

June, 1973

Major Subject: Psychology

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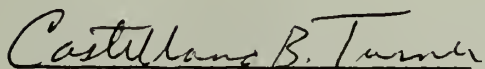
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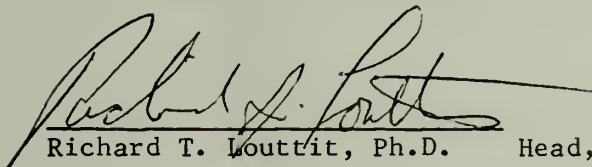
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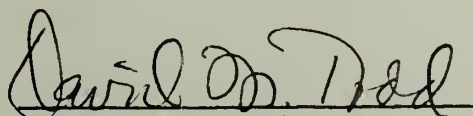
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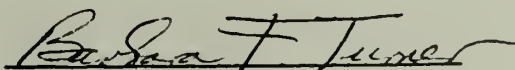
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Preface

This study grew out of the author's two-pronged interest in the reprint policies of psychologists and the literature on helping behavior. The author's curiosity about the professional psychologist's behavior in filling reprint requests gradually took the form of a set of hypotheses relating to the status of the requestor, the status of the Ss, the Ss' satisfaction with the status quo in psychology, and their help-giving behavior. While the results of this study did not conform to the author's original expectations, the project as a whole did intensify his interest in in vivo helping behavior and naturalistic research.

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INTRODUCTION

Normative reciprocity, tactical reciprocity, and the elicitation of help

In attempting to understand the mechanisms governing and supporting the giving and receiving of help, Gouldner (1960) distinguished between the concept of complementarity and the concept of reciprocity. He maintained that the confusion of these two concepts in the literature on social exchange led to a misunderstanding of the source of stability in social relationships. He further distinguished three aspects of the concept of reciprocity: reciprocity as a folk belief, reciprocity as a utilitarian pattern of social exchange, and reciprocity as a moral norm. We shall be concerned here only with the latter two aspects of reciprocity.

Complementarity implies that the rights of Ego against Alter are the duties of Ego to Alter. That is, one party has certain rights which the second party is duty-bound to honor. An example of such a relationship is the payment of alimony. The right of the wife to receive alimony from her ex-husband makes it his duty to pay the alimony. In complementarity, one of the members has rights and the other has corresponding duties. In utilitarian reciprocity, on the other hand, both members have rights and duties. Utilitarian reciprocity can be viewed as a "tactic" (Pruitt, 1968) in that it is a method of social exchange for "encouraging the other person to provide future favors [p. 143]." An example of this sort of reciprocal relationship would be the buyer-seller relationship. A restaurant operator has the

right to charge a fair price for his meals to paying customers, and a duty to serve decent food politely and efficiently. The patron has a right to go to the restaurant of his choice and a duty to pay for the food he orders. Hence a "good" customer receives good meals, "advice" on specials, and a "good" table. He reciprocates these favors by being a "good" customer: i.e., he pays his bills regularly, tips well, and frequents the restaurant often.

The reciprocal relationship is a more balanced one than is the complementary relationship, and hence Ego is more motivated to meet his obligations toward Alter in the former than in the latter. While Gouldner seems to restrict the tactic to relationships which are already institutionalized in terms of status and roles, it does not seem that this condition (the occupation of an institutionalized status) is in any way a sine qua non of reciprocity qua tactic. Gouldner says, for example, that when reciprocity is seen as a pattern of social exchange (i.e., as a tactic), "... Ego's obligations to Alter depend upon Ego's status vis-a-vis Alter [p. 170]...", but when it is seen as a moral norm, "... Ego's obligations toward Alter depend upon what Alter has done for Ego [p. 170]." Later on, however, we find that "... the obligations imposed by the norm of reciprocity may vary with the status of the participants within a society [p. 171]." (In that the value of a favor, for example, depends upon how much it cost Alter to perform it in light of his total resources.)

Since the status of both Alter and Ego would therefore seem to influence reciprocity both as a tactic and as a moral norm, it might be more profitable to distinguish the aspects of reciprocity on

a motivational basis. Reciprocity as a moral norm is motivated by the desire to return favors received simply because it is right to do so, while reciprocity as a tactic is motivated by the desire to increase one's resources over time. The three main functions of the moral norm, according to Gouldner, are the following: 1) to prevent exploitation of the powerless by the powerful when the former has helped the latter; 2) to act as a starting mechanism in social relationships by insuring that if Ego helps Alter, Alter will eventually reciprocate; 3) to act as a "second order defense" of the stability of the relationship in which reciprocity qua tactic is the basic mechanism. The second function of the norm, however, would only be necessary if Alter could profit by not reciprocating Ego's favor. This is most likely to be the case when Ego, having helped Alter, will no longer have anything more to offer - i.e., when he has limited resources. Therefore Gouldner's second function of the norm of reciprocity seems to really be a specialized case of the first, since it applies when Ego has limited power to insure that he will be able to continue to offer Alter benefits after the first exchange is over. All three functions of the norm of reciprocity are really directed toward inhibiting some form of exploitation of Ego by Alter or vice versa. The tactic of reciprocity demands that you should give others what they deserve because it is smart to do so. The norm of reciprocity demands that you give others what they deserve because it is right to do so. When the pragmatic injunction and the moral injunction are in conflict, it is presumed that the moral one will be the more powerful of the two.

The general notion of reciprocity demands that the value of a

particular favor will determine how much help is given in return. But the value of the favor itself depends upon whether one is viewing it from a normative or tactical standpoint. If one is viewing Alter's act from a normative perspective, its value depends upon how much Ego needed the favor at the time, how much it cost Alter to perform it, the motives of Alter, and the voluntary or involuntary nature of the act (Gouldner, 1960). Schopler (1970) analyzed the determinants of reciprocating a benefit in a very similar manner. His central notion is that reciprocation depends upon the motives which Ego imputes to Alter in performing the act to begin with. The more selfless Alter's motives appear to Ego, the more Ego will value Alter's act of help. Given this basic assumption, Schopler specifies the characteristics of the act of helping which determine whether or not Ego will see the act as selfishly or selflessly motivated. The more resources Ego has, or the greater amount of the extraneous rewards Alter will accrue in helping Ego, the more likely it is that Ego will see Alter's behavior as selfishly motivated. The more Alter's act is seen as specifically fitting Ego's needs (as opposed to an act which is "universal" in its reward value), the more likely that Ego will attribute the act to selflessness and value it highly. Finally, the more the act is in keeping with the context of the relationship (i.e., the more "appropriate" the act is), the more Ego will attribute it to selfless motivation on the part of Alter.

Indeed, there is much research which indicates that these factors do influence the reciprocation of favors. It has been shown that the amount of prior help given to Ego by Alter affects how much Ego will later reciprocate (Greenberg, Block & Silverman, 1971; Pruitt, 1968).

Whether Alter's act is voluntary or compulsory, intentional or unintentional also affects Ego's reciprocation (Goranson & Berkowitz, 1966; Frisch & Greenberg, 1968; Hornstein, Fisch, & Holmes, 1968; Leventhal, Weiss, & Long, 1969). If a favor is inappropriate (Schopler & Thompson, 1968) or constrains Ego's feeling of freedom (Brehm & Cole, 1966), then the likelihood that Ego will reciprocate is significantly reduced. Finally, the degree to which Alter's own resources were depleted by helping Ego increases the amount of help which Ego will give to Alter (Pruitt, 1968; Greenberg et al., 1971), although as Greenberg et al. have shown (1971), reward to Ego is a more potent variable than is cost to Alter.

While all these studies may be interpreted within the framework of the norm of reciprocity, only one (Pruitt, 1968) really has any implications for the tactic of reciprocity.¹ This is due to the fact that the tactic of reciprocity requires that Ego expects to engage in future transactions with Alter, while the norm of reciprocity does not. One is disposed to reciprocate from a normative standpoint only in order to pay the debt which is owed to Alter. One is disposed to reciprocate from a tactical standpoint because it will insure future mutually gratifying exchanges with Alter. In the experiments previously cited, the exchange between Ego and Alter involved simply Ego's

¹It should be noted, however, that even the application of some of these findings to the norm of reciprocity can be called into question. As Greenglass (1969) has pointed out, Ss in many helping behavior experiments may be responding to the demand characteristics of the experiment rather than to "conjectured norms [p. 225]."

"tit" for Alter's "tat," with no more "tats" in sight. In other words, the experiments provided for only one unit of exchange and not the development of a pattern of exchange units. Pruitt (1968) has shown, with an extended version of a decomposed Prisoner's Dilemma game, that the future resources of Alter affect how much Ego reciprocates Alter's initial favor. Thus the Ss in Pruitt's experiments can be said to have reciprocated at least partly from a tactical standpoint. Schopler (1970) stated that while reciprocation of a benefit may be highest when Ego attributes selfless motives to Alter, the chances of Alter actually helping Ego to begin with depend upon the amount of Ego's resources. Schopler failed, however, to examine how the future resources of Alter affect Ego's reciprocation of Alter's original favor. Schopler's analysis of the determinants of reciprocating a benefit focuses on what Ego believes Alter may be getting out of it, but not on what Ego believes Ego can get out of it in the long run. Thus Schopler's work also has more implications for the norm of reciprocity than for the tactic of reciprocity, although his comments on how to elicit help are certainly suggestive when applied to the latter.

Since the central purpose behind Gouldner's examination and development of the concept of reciprocity was to indicate its importance in understanding how a system remains stable, he was also concerned with some of the negative aspects of mechanisms which function to maintain the status quo. While he seems satisfied with his notion that the norm of reciprocity guards against exploitation of the powerless by the powerful, the notion of reciprocity does have some drawbacks. As he himself notes, reciprocity can only work with those who are capable of

reciprocating. Without the existence of any other norm, this leads to Ego developing relationships only with those who can reciprocate his benefits. Furthermore, while one might agree with Gouldner that the norm of reciprocity does indeed help reduce exploitation, the need for labor unions, child labor laws, civil rights legislation, and the like in our society reflects a situation in which exploitation is not adequately inhibited by a moral norm, and which suggests that the tactic of reciprocity is more powerful than the norm of reciprocity and is heavily influenced by power and status differentials. In order to reduce exploitation, we seem to rely more on complementarity (e.g., it is the employer's duty to observe the rights of those less powerful than himself in hiring practices, work conditions, etc.) than on the moral fabric of those in power. As Thibaut and Faucheux (1965) have shown, two people are most likely to form contractual agreements when it is clearly in the interest of both parties to do so. When one party is in a position to exploit the other without harm to himself, he is less likely to agree to a set of rules governing their behaviors. Hence, it would be necessary for some outside party to set up formal rules of complementarity in order to assure a minimum of exploitation in such a situation.

Similarly, the literature on those factors which increase the likelihood that Ego will be able to elicit help from Alter suggests that help-giving is a rather circumscribed phenomenon. Krebs' (1970) thorough review of the helping behavior literature indicates that both the dependency of Ego on Alter and the salience and appropriateness of the normative help-giving behavior of a model tend by and

large to increase Ego's ability to elicit help from Alter.² However, in the majority of the dependency studies, the Ss had little choice but to help Ego, the dependent variable under scrutiny being how much they helped. More important, in almost all the modelling and dependency studies, the cost Alter incurred in helping Ego was low. In those studies where cost of helping was manipulated, it was found that low cost produced significantly more helping than did high cost conditions (Schaps, 1972; Schopler & Bateson, 1965; Wagner, Manning & Wheeler, 1971; Wagner & Wheeler, 1969; Wheeler & Wagner, 1968). In the Schaps experiment, the high cost condition washed out the significant dependency effect found in the low cost condition. In the Wagner and Wheeler experiment, the high cost condition washed out the significant modelling effects found in the low cost condition.

As Berkowitz (1970) has pointed out, when self-concern or self-preoccupation of Alter is heightened, he is less likely to help Ego than when self-concern is low. Similarly, Ss are more likely to engage in helping behavior when they are in a good mood than when they are in a neutral or depressed mood (Aderman, 1972; Isen & Levin, 1972). Looked at from a slightly different perspective, the observational set of the S influences the amount of helping behavior he will engage in (Aderman & Berkowitz, 1970). Ss who were instructed to attend to someone who requested help but did not receive it, or to someone who helped another

²While the relationship between dependency and helping is a complex one, the exact nature of which is not unequivocal, it is sufficient for the purposes of this review to note merely that dependency does in fact affect helping behavior under certain circumstances.

and was thanked for it, subsequently helped the E more than those Ss who were instructed to attend to the person who refused to help the other. In these studies, as in many of the others dealing with the elicitation of help, the cost of helping was consistently low (e.g., scoring data for the E for ten minutes or helping someone pick up some papers they had dropped).

Two other factors have also been identified as affecting the willingness to help another. Midlarsky (1971) placed undergraduates in a situation where they could volunteer their help to another (stooge) undergraduate. The task in this experiment was one of manual dexterity which involved a shock for every test item manipulated. She found that Ss were more likely to help the stooge if they perceived themselves as "competent" (i.e., having a good capacity to adapt to shock) or if they believed that they were being observed by others behind a one-way mirror. The competence manipulation accounted for 31 percent of the variance; the "visibility" manipulation accounted for only 2 percent.

It should be recognized that in almost all the experiments which comprise this area of the literature (with the notable exceptions of the Wagner and Wheeler experiment and the Schaps experiment) it is not only the cost of helping which is low -- the actual need of the potential recipient is rarely one which would engender a very deep or burning concern in anyone. These "requests" for help have included the construction of paper boxes or envelopes for a "supervisor" who is eligible for a cash prize, scoring some data for the E, volunteering for an experiment, contributing to a fund for a retiring secretary, and

fixing a flat tire for a woman.³ Indeed, the results of these studies may tell us as much about the tasks as they do about the Ss performing them.

Nevertheless, the literature on the elicitation of help seems to indicate that helping others who cannot reciprocate is a moral norm which operates best when the cost is low, the salience high, the dependency direct, when the S perceives himself as competent, and when he does not have too much else weighing on his mind.

The only experimental study which successfully identified help-eliciting factors under conditions of relatively high cost was done by Dorris (1972). In this study, the E and his partner went to various coin shops to sell some rare coins which one of them had "inherited." In all cases the E and his accomplice presented themselves as ignorant of the real value of the coins. Dorris found that coin dealers who were presented with a "moral" appeal offered a higher price for the coins than those presented with a "neutral" appeal. While helping behavior in this study was of a somewhat negative type - i.e., a lack of exploitation - it nevertheless demonstrated that such behavior can be verified experimentally under conditions which are not trivial or of very low cost.

It should be noted that Dorris' study and Schaps' study are among those in the literature dealing with the elicitation of help which are

³This last example is somewhat of an exception to the rule. Many of the males who stopped to help the woman E evidenced concern about her welfare. A large proportion seemed inclined to think that she might be in need of some companionship and physical affection (Bryan & Test, 1967).

naturalistic in design. According to Sechrest (1969), measures can be considered naturalistic if they meet the following requirements: "a) [they] do not require the cooperation of the subject b) do not permit the subject's awareness that he is being measured or treated in any special way, and c) do not change the phenomenon being measured [p. 152]." Given that the measure meets the above requirements, it can be obtained in any of the following ways: a) tailing the subject; b) situational sampling of the subject; c) contrived situations.

Given this definition, the question to be addressed is the following: "Under what circumstances is the naturalistic method the method of choice in the study of behavior?" As Willems and Raush (1969) point out, a major issue in deciding between naturalistic methods and laboratory experimentation is the issue of generalization. Willems and Raush have listed some of "...the specifiable aspects of the carefully manipulated laboratory experiment that jeopardize generalizability to the phenomena of everyday life [p. 277]." Included in their list are the following characteristics of laboratory experiments:

- 1) Temporal perspective - "This problem occurs when subjects perceive the short span of experimental involvement in a task, free of long range consequences for them, as different from the real-life situation that clearly involves consequences beyond a few immediate next steps [p. 277]."
- 2) "...the restriction that is placed on behavioral alternatives in the typical [laboratory] experiment...[E]nforced exposure can yield findings that do not match those obtained when organisms select stimuli and respond more freely [p. 278]."

3) using only volunteer subjects in the laboratory experiment. Willems and Raush do not maintain that naturalistic research is somehow "better" than laboratory research in all cases. They maintain rather that naturalistic research "is uniquely suited to certain investigative purposes [p. 285]." While they do not offer a long list of such investigative purposes, they do state that naturalistic research is most useful when the investigator is attempting to predict the responses of subjects in everyday life.

It would seem that much of the helping behavior literature would qualify as attempts to predict behavior in everyday life. Indeed, naturalistic studies (particularly of the "contrived" type) are well represented in this literature. More particularly, studies of reciprocity seem very well suited to the naturalistic method, since an essential ingredient in the tactic of reciprocity is the expectation of future rewards. For this reason particularly, the present study was naturalistic (contrived situation type) in design.

Helping behavior in uncontrived naturalistic settings and theoretical implications

The narratives of helping behavior which form a part of our historical, political, journalistic, and literary works are also represented in the psychological literature. Fellner and Marshall (1970) wrote about kidney donors, Rosenhan (1970) and Coles (1963) about civil rights workers in the South circa 1960, Tomkins (1965) about four early Abolitionists, and London (1970) about Christians who helped the Jews escape from the Nazis in World War II Europe. These writings reflect

an interest in behavior patterns which have been labelled by many current authors as "altruistic."

London's account of the Christians and Rosenhan's account of civil rights workers raise some issues concerning the concept of reciprocity. Many of the Christian rescuers were engaged in activities which "...involved life-or-death risks, sometimes so often that they became almost routine for the rescuer [London, 1970, p. 244]." Likewise, the early civil rights workers often risked death or imprisonment. Their actions, according to Rosenhan, were not only "...unsupported by the social matrix of reward and punishment, ...[1970, p. 253]" but often flew in the face of it. "Being a rescuer during World War II, or a link in the Underground Railroad, or a civil rights worker in the 1950's, exposed the actor to ridicule at the very least and extreme personal danger quite commonly [Rosenhan, 1970, p. 253]." The personal costs and risks, the sustenance, and the lack of popular support for their endeavors hardly fit the characteristics of the acts of helping described earlier. In order to account for these actions by invoking the norm or the tactic of reciprocity presents serious difficulties. The attempt to identify what "debt" these people had incurred or what future "resources" they expected from the people they helped would have to be a futile one. In fact, any attempt to stretch the definition of "resources" to fit these situations would be tantamount to saying that people help others because it is rewarding to do so. This is certainly a parsimonious explanation, but one which fails to increase our understanding of why in fact these people did what they did. It merely tells us to look for something which made their experience a rewarding one.

In order to understand why the Christians and the civil rights workers did what they did, one must examine the assumption implicit in the norm and the tactic of reciprocity that Ego or Alter is immersed in a social system which he accepts and whose status differentials have meaning for him. It is suggested here that in order to form relationships in a way which is determined by and consistent with the contemporary status hierarchy within a given culture or subculture, one must accept that hierarchy as a valid and meaningful one. If one does not accept the status quo as a reflection (however imperfect) of the way things should be, then the usual status differentials made within that culture, subculture, or group will not serve as an adequate yardstick with which to measure the value of one's own actions.

The efforts of Rosenhan (1970) and London (1970) to identify some factors which helped predispose the Christians and civil rights workers toward helping others are consistent with this hypothesis. For one thing, these people had by and large experienced an identification with a strong parental mode of conduct. This is not to say that they and their parents saw eye to eye on everything, but that they experienced their parents as moral agents whose actions were based on a commitment to a set of values and beliefs which were independent of the general social climate of the day. In addition, according to London, many of the Christians had a sense of being socially marginal.

Thus both groups, by virtue of their experience, seemed prepared to view the status quo with a critical eye. It would seem that there are many experiences which one could have that would engender such an

attitude. The point is, however, that once this disposition is realized, then the helping relationships which the person engages in will not conform to the ones he might engage in if his own goals were based on assumptions and values consistent with those of the socially dominant group.

This is not to say that the only people who help other people are those who are critical of the status quo. Rather, it is to point out that in order to understand behavior which seems to fly in the face of, or at least ignore, those courses of action which are supported by a matrix of personal rewards in the culture or subculture, one must examine the stance of the helper toward the assumptions and values which underlie that particular reward structure.

Purpose of this study

It was the purpose of this study to investigate the effects of satisfaction and dissatisfaction with the status quo on help-giving behavior. It was hypothesized that if one is generally satisfied with the status quo, then the helping behavior he engages in can be predicted on the basis of the resources of the recipient vis-a-vis his own (i.e., the status differential between them). If, on the other hand, the S is dissatisfied with the status quo, then the help-giving behavior he engages in will be less affected by these considerations.

The Ss in this study were members of the American Psychological Association. Satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the status quo was determined by the S's particular field of interest in psychology. If

the field was a popular one, it was assumed that the S was generally satisfied with this state of affairs. If the field was not a popular one, it was assumed that the S was not satisfied with this state of affairs. On purely logical grounds it seems clear that this assumption is a correct one if the following statements are granted true: 1) People who invest their professional talents in developing a comprehensive point of view or approach which seeks to illuminate some aspect of human behavior will believe that the approach they are taking is a meaningful one. 2) If they believe the approach is a productive and meaningful one, then they will also believe that it should be used (although not necessarily exclusively) by other people who are also interested in understanding human behavior. 3) In order for other people in the field (especially those who are currently being trained or are new to the field and are in the process of mapping out their interests) to adopt this approach, they must have a fair exposure to it. 4) If the field is not a popular one, it is less likely that it will receive the quality and quantity of exposure as will fields which are currently more popular. Hence the people who are very interested in these fields will be dissatisfied with their relative unpopularity.

While this assumption seems to be logically sound, its importance for the meaning of this research project demanded that some other indication of its validity should also be sought. A 'post-test' questionnaire was therefore used to check this assumption empirically.

Status was defined primarily by academic rank or institutional position (as indicated in the 1970 APA Directory) and quantity of

publication (as indicated on the 'post-test' questionnaire). Also considered were citations in American Men of Science (Jaques, 1962, 1965-1967) and citations in major review articles or texts. (A fuller description of the status of the Ss is presented in the Methods section.)

The particular act of help-giving which was studied was the response of the Ss to a request for "a few" reprints of an article which they had published. They were told that the reprints were going to be used in a seminar, the title of which was identical to the general topic of the article requested. They were also asked for any other articles relevant to the named topic.

The following three Groups of authors were studied (a fuller description of these Groups is presented in the Methods section of this study): 1) Mod Squad. This Group consisted of Ss whose fields of interest were currently very popular in psychology. Furthermore, all these Ss were of high status. 2) Eager Beavers. This Group consisted of Ss who were young and whose fields of interest were moderately popular. Being new to the field, all these Ss had relatively low status. 3) Old Turks. This Group consisted of Ss whose fields of interest were currently unpopular in psychology. They were predominantly high status individuals.

The status of the Requestor was varied along two dimensions: place of academic employment and academic rank. The Requestor was identified as either an Instructor or an Assistant Professor from the University of Massachusetts, or from St. Hyacinth College and Seminary.

Specific hypotheses

The Mod Squad and Eager Beavers were assumed to be satisfied with

the status quo. This is not to say that they did not wish to increase the popularity of their fields, but that they had no reason to feel that the current state of affairs had short-changed them in any major way. Hence it was hypothesized that their helping behavior could be predicted on the basis of the relation of their own status to the status of the Requestor.

Since the Mod Squad were of higher status than the Eager Beavers, it was expected that they would help less than the Eager Beavers would, since they had less to gain by doing so. The professional work of the Ss in the Mod Squad was more well-known than the work of the Ss in the Eager Beaver Group. The Mod Squad "needed" the increased visibility less than the Eager Beavers and hence were expected to reflect that lower need in the helping behavior they engaged in. It would be in the interest of the Beavers to foster contacts with colleagues in their area of interest so that their work would eventually be better known. The work of the Mod Squad had already been recognized by their colleagues, and while it was still in their interest to foster contacts with others in the area, this tactic need not be as heartily pursued by them as by the Eager Beavers. Consistent with the status differential hypothesis, both Groups were also expected to give less help the lower the status of the Requestor (i.e., the Instructor would receive less help than the Assistant Professor, and the St. Hyacinth faculty member would receive less help than the University of Massachusetts faculty member). Thus the results for the Mod Squad and the Eager Beavers were expected to conform to the tactic of reciprocity, with the value of the favor and the Requestor's "resources" being determined by the Requestor's status

vis-a-vis the Ss'.

For those Ss who might have felt that they had nothing to gain by helping the Requestor, their help-giving behavior may be seen in terms of the norm of reciprocity or in terms of the concept of complementarity. In either case, an S responding on such a basis would help less than an S responding on the basis of future personal gain. The value of the favor in the norm of reciprocity would in this case be based on how much the S "needed" the favor at the time (which would be very little if he saw no advantage in tactically reciprocating it and hence increasing the chances of future favors). And the complementarity principle would focus only on S's obligation, which, as mentioned earlier, tends to be minimized since it is not accompanied by any concomitant rights or benefits. So the Mod Squad and the Eager Beavers are most inclined to help those who can help them, and least inclined to help those who cannot.

The Old Turks were assumed not to be satisfied with the fact that their areas of interest were unpopular. This is not only to say that they would have liked to see the popularity of their area increase, but that the current unpopularity of their areas was problematical for them. In other words, a lack of recognition for a worthwhile endeavor not only produces a desire to increase that recognition, but also results in a disposition to critically examine the values inherent in the mainstream of current thought. When those values are called into question, then the subsequent behavior of the examiner will be determined more by the values he shares with the other person than by the status of the other person within a particular institution or academic

field. Simply put, the Old Turks were expected to respond more to the interest of the Requestor than to the status which he occupied. They were therefore expected to give more help to both the low and the high status Requestors than the Mod Squad was expected to.

Furthermore, they were expected to show less discrimination between high and low status Requestors than either of the other two Groups. Whether or not the Eager Beavers or the Old Turks would give more help overall was considered questionable and difficult to predict.

It should be noted that one might wish to argue that the Old Turks respond to requests for help as much according to the tactic of reciprocity as do the other two Groups. In order to defend this position, however, one would have to "calculate" the value of the favor and the value of the Requestor's resources in terms other than ones of status. Since this is exactly the point of this project, there would be no substantial disagreement with this point of view. It is for the purposes of clarity and parsimony that the notion of reciprocity is restricted to those relationships whose measure of exchange relies on status differentials.

In summary, the following predictions were made: 1) the Requestor at the University of Massachusetts was expected to receive more help than the one at St. Hyacinth; 2) the Assistant Professor was expected to receive more help than the Instructor; 3) the Old Turks and Eager Beavers were expected to extend more help than the Mod Squad; 4) the Old Turks were expected to show less discrimination between the high and low status Requestors (i.e., UMass vs. St. Hyacinth and Assistant Professor vs. Instructor) than were the other two Groups.

METHOD

Subjects

The Ss in the present study were 108 members of the American Psychological Association (Directory of the American Psychological Association, 1970). According to the information provided by the Directory, none of the Ss in the sample had ever attended or taught in a Catholic college or university. All Ss were the first or sole author of at least one journal article published between the years 1968-1970, inclusive. With only three exceptions, all Ss held doctoral degrees (almost all Ph.D.s) and were currently employed in the United States.¹

Groups

The 108 Ss in this study were each members of one of three different Groups. As was mentioned in the previous section, these Groups were called the Mod Squad, the Old Turks, and the Eager Beavers. Each of the three Groups consisted of 36 Ss. The composition and method of selection of the Ss in these Groups is described below.

Mod Squad. The Ss in this Group were high status individuals in one of two currently popular areas of psychology: behavior modification and community mental health. Of the 18 Ss in behavior modification, 15 were selected by choosing those authors who were most often cited in the "Author Index" of three current texts on the behavioral approach to

¹One S, while not holding a doctoral degree, had studied for many years with a well-known figure in psychology. Two other Ss who were educated in the United States and had previously taught there were teaching in a Canadian University at the time of the study.

clinical psychology (Kanfer & Phillips, 1970; Neuringer & Michael, 1970; Yates, 1969). The remaining three Ss were chosen from the "Behavior Therapy" chapter of the Annual Review of Psychology (Krasner, 1971) according to the following criteria: occupation of a high academic or research position, and two or more citations (in which they were the first or sole author) in the reference section of the chapter. Eleven of the 18 Ss were Full Professors, four were Associate Professors, and three were Directors of Research.

The 18 community psychology Ss were all Fellows of the Community Psychology Division of the APA. These Ss held the following positions: Full Professor (9), Associate Professor (2), Director of Research or Service Units (4), Mental Health Administrator (state level) (1), Associate Director of Research (1) and Research Associate (1).

Of the 36 Ss in this Group, 33 are cited in American Men of Science (Jaques, 1962, 1965-1967).

Old Turks. This Group of 36 Ss consisted of people from three relatively unpopular areas of concentration in psychology: the history of psychology, Adlerian psychology, and parapsychology.

The 15 Ss interested in the history of psychology were all Fellows or members of the History of Psychology Division of the APA. The 14 Adlerians had all written at least one theoretical or empirical article in the Journal of Individual Psychology (1968-1970) which praised and expounded upon the Adlerian approach to personality. These were people who considered Adler's concepts to be valid, useful, and relevant tools for understanding personality in a holistic fashion. The 7 Ss in parapsychology had all published at least one article in a parapsychology

journal² (1968-1970) and had indicated in the APA Directory (1970) that parapsychology was one of their areas of concentration.

The 36 Ss in the Old Turks Group were by and large high status individuals, although not quite so clearly as the Ss in the Mod Squad Group. The Old Turks held the following positions: Full Professor (19), Associate Professor (6), Assistant Professor (1), journal editor (1), associate editor of a journal (1), Clinic Director (2), Research Director (4), private practice (2). Twenty-six of the Ss are cited in American Men of Science (Jaques, 1962, 1965-1967).

Eager Beavers. The 36 Ss in this Group essentially represented new professionals in the field of academic psychology who were not yet "established." All of the Ss were born after 1938, all had received their Ph.D.s after 1965, and all were currently affiliated with a college or university in a teaching or research capacity. The Ss in this Group were of lower status than the Old Turks and Mod Squad Ss, and held the following academic positions: Assistant Professor (31), Research Associate (1), Instructor (2), Lecturer (2). Their particular interests were common ones in the field of psychology (e.g., behavior modification, sensitivity groups, exceptional child, personality assessment, counseling, role theory).

Requestor Conditions

Each of the 36 Ss in the three Groups received a reprint request

²Specifically, these journals were the Journal of the American Society for Psychical Research, the Journal of Parapsychology, and the Proceedings of the American Society for Psychical Research.

from the E. For one-fourth of the Ss, the E was identified as an Instructor at the University of Massachusetts; for another fourth of the Ss he was identified as an Assistant Professor at the University of Massachusetts. For the third fourth of the Ss, he was an Instructor at St. Hyacinth College and Seminary, and for the final fourth he was an Assistant Professor at St. Hyacinth College and Seminary. Thus the Requestor Conditions represented a variation of the E's status in two spheres: Rank and Institutional affiliation.

It should be noted that a greater variation in the Rank of the Requestor was considered during the design phase of the study. Including a Rank of Associate or Full Professor was rejected since it might have undermined the credibility of the deception used in the study. Specifically, the author (i.e., the Requestor) did not feel justified in presenting himself as a holder of a Ph.D. It would seem that an Associate or Full Professor without such a title would raise suspicions among many Ss. Additionally, it was felt that some Ss might be inclined to look up the Requestor's name in the APA Directory. Not finding it there might also cause suspicion if the Requestor was identified as an Associate or Full Professor. Finally, if the Requestor was identified as a Full Professor at the University of Massachusetts, there was the possibility that some Ss might expect him to be known in certain academic circles, and a casual inquiry proving otherwise might have cast further doubts on the Requestor's credibility.

Procedure

A letter was sent (on letterhead stationery) to all Ss on May 19,

1971 requesting "a few" reprints of a given article plus any other relevant articles for use in a summer seminar.³ The general form of this letter is presented in Appendix I.

Care was taken to render harmless the possibility that any two Ss in the study might have frequent contact with one another, and hence the opportunity to compare letters. This eventuality could only be detrimental to the credibility of the E under the following two circumstances: 1) if two Ss received similar letters from the E when he occupied differing Ranks or was affiliated with different institutions, and 2) if two Ss received similar letters from the E requesting reprints in different areas of psychology.

Therefore, for those Ss who worked in the same university department, research or service institution, and who were also in the same area of psychology, the identification of the E remained constant. This precaution was required for a total of 9 Ss in behavior modification and 4 Adlerian Ss. If two or more Ss were employed in the same university department, research or service institution, and were in different areas of psychology, only one of them was included in the study.

The 36 Ss in each of the three Groups were subdivided according to the year (1968, 1969, 1970) in which the requested article was published, and were randomly assigned to one of the four Requestor Conditions with the restriction that the number of articles published

³One letter was returned to the E because the address was wrong. The address was corrected and the letter posted again shortly thereafter, with the date noted for purposes of analysis.

in any given year be roughly equal for the three Groups and sub-Groups (e.g., behavior modification and community psychology were the sub-Groups in the Mod Squad Group) across all four Requestor Conditions (see Appendix II).

Dependent Measures

There were five measures of helping behavior which were amenable to quantification: 1) whether or not the S responded to the original request at all (this included sending a letter stating that the supply of reprints had run out); 2) the latency of the S's response to the request; 3) the number of copies of the requested article which the S sent; 4) the number of other relevant articles which the S sent; 5) the total number of articles which the S sent. The fifth measure of helping behavior is, of course, no more than a combination of the third and fourth measures. It was included because it helps give a more balanced picture of the responsiveness of the S in the sense that he doesn't appear stingy one moment and generous the next.

One other measure of the Ss' responsiveness was also included in the analyses. This was whether or not the S included a letter or note along with his reprint(s). While this is not a direct measure of helping behavior, it can be said to reflect the degree of personal involvement the S takes in filling reprint requests. Hence it was considered an important component of this study.

Follow-up questionnaire

In December, 1971, a questionnaire was sent to all Ss from the Psychology Service of the V. A. Hospital in Portland, Oregon. In the

cover letter accompanying this questionnaire, the E explained that the S had actually been involved in a study dealing with the reprint practices of psychologists. Both the questionnaire and the cover letter are presented in Appendix III.

The first purpose of this questionnaire was to serve as a check on how involved the Ss actually were in the area of psychology in question. Thus they were asked to estimate their publications and presentations both in their area of assumed interest and in other areas of psychology. Questions about teaching interests and attendance at professional meetings were also included. The answers to these questions reflected not only the S's interest in a given area, but also his overall productivity in psychology.

Secondly, the questionnaire was also designed to check some of the assumptions made about the Ss. These assumptions, as defined in the Introduction, concerned how popular the Ss perceived their areas of assumed interest to be and how satisfied they were with this state of affairs.

Finally, the questionnaire included an open-ended question concerning how the Ss go about "spreading the word" about their areas. It was expected that this question might give a rough idea of the ways in which various psychologists promote their own specialized interests. In addition to this, it was felt that the length of an S's response to this question might be construed as an act of help-giving. That is, the more fully a respondent completes a questionnaire, the more he presumably helps the researcher who elicits his cooperation. Indeed,

every S who returned the questionnaire at all was engaging in helping behavior, and it seems altogether fitting that their responses should be so treated.

RESULTS

Response to reprint request

Of the 108 Ss who were originally sent individual letters requesting reprints of their work, five Ss were eliminated from the sample. Two of the five Ss had been misidentified; two more had never received the original request. The remaining S could not be contacted to determine whether or not he received the original request, so he too was dropped from the sample.¹

Ninety-six (93%) of the 103 Ss responded to the letter requesting reprints of their work. There were no significant differences between the responses to those letters sent from St. Hyacinth and the University of Massachusetts (A effect), those sent from an Instructor and an Assistant Professor (B effect), and those sent to Mod Squad Ss, Old Turk Ss, and Eager Beaver Ss (C effect) (see Table 1).

Latency data - Anova. An analysis of variance was performed on the latency data of 86 of the 96 Ss who responded to the original request.²

¹The two misidentified Ss contacted the E in writing after receiving the original request. One other S indicated on the questionnaire that she had never received the original request. All but three of the 108 Ss responded to either the original reprint request or the follow-up questionnaire. The E contacted two of these three Ss by phone. One never received the original request; one S did; and one S could not be reached.

²The latency scores (in days) were obtained by subtracting the date the letter from the E was sent from the date the response of the S was postmarked. Twenty-nine of the 86 responses did not have a readable postmark. The responses of the other 57 Ss were used to calculate the mean difference between the time the responses were mailed and the time they were received by the E at St. Hyacinth or UMass. These means were calculated separately for first class mail and parcel post. Using these means, a "postmark date" was obtained for the 29 Ss whose latency responses were available only in terms of the dates their reprints were received by the E. The true mean for first class mail probably does not

The ten Ss were dropped because it had been determined that they had moved from their previous addresses as listed in the APA Directory, and hence the original request took a longer time to reach them than it did the other Ss. The responses ranged from one day to 157 days. The means for the 12 cells of the design are presented in Appendix IV. As can be seen in Table 2, there are no significant effects in this design. Since the S who took 157 days to respond was highly unusual (the next longest latency was only 41 days), an analysis was performed on the data of the other 85 Ss. This was done to rule out the possibility that the response of one S had so inflated the within-Ss variance that any significant effects had been masked. As can be seen in Table 3, there are still no significant effects.

Article requested - Anova. An analysis of variance was performed on the number of copies each of the 103 Ss sent the E of the specific article requested in the original letter. The number of copies sent ranged from zero to 10. The means for the 12 cells of the design are presented in Appendix V. The A effect in this analysis is significant below the .10 level (see Table 4). More copies were sent to the E at the University of Massachusetts than were sent to him at St. Hyacinth. (Means are 2.63 and 1.90, respectively.)

Other relevant articles - Anova. An analysis of variance was performed on the number of other relevant articles sent by the Ss to the E. The total of the "other relevant articles" sent by each S was based

²deviate more than one day from the observed mean; for parcel post mail, the true mean probably does not deviate more than three days from the observed mean.

on the number of copies he sent of any other article(s) plus any other material he enclosed. Since some Ss sent books, chapters, etc., a scoring system was devised to convert these other materials into "number of articles." A reprint of a chapter was equated with two articles. A paperback book or entire issue of a journal was worth five articles. A hardcover book was worth 10 articles. Finally, any other assorted information such as bibliographies or newsletters was worth one article apiece.³

The number of other relevant "articles" sent ranged from zero to 19. The means for the 12 cells of the design are presented in Appendix VI. The analysis resulted in a significant C effect below the .10 level (see Table 5). The Mod Squad sent an average of 3.00 articles; the Old Turks sent an average of 3.63 articles; the Eager Beavers sent an average of 1.38 articles. Using the Scheffé method of multiple comparisons (Myers, 1966), only the contrast between the Old Turks and Eager Beavers was found to be significant ($p < .10$).

Since sending books or chapters is more costly to a S than is restricting his contribution solely to articles, it makes sense to weight the former more heavily than the latter. On the other hand, any such weighting is in large part an arbitrary one and can be misleading. Therefore, another analysis was performed on the data, but

³One Old Turk sent two books. One Old Turk sent one book and one journal. One Mod Squad S sent one journal and assorted material. Three Mod Squad Ss sent chapters. Six Ss (three OT, two MS, one EB) sent assorted material.

the books, chapters, and journals were counted as only one "article" or contribution. The responses ranged from zero to 18 articles. The means for the 12 cells of the design are presented in Appendix VII. There are no significant effects in this analysis (see Table 6).

Total number of articles - Anova. Two analyses of variance were performed on the total number of articles sent by the Ss to the E. In one analysis, those materials other than actual journal articles were weighted as indicated in the previous subsection. The means for the 12 cells are presented in Appendix VIII. There are no significant effects in this analysis (see Table 7). In the second analysis, the other materials were counted as one article each (i.e., they were unweighted). The means for the 12 cells are presented in Appendix IX. There are no significant effects in this analysis (see Table 8).

Heterogeneity of variance. Because of the large number of *F* ratios less than one, and because it is an interesting statistic in itself, the A, B, and C effects in each of the six designs were tested for heterogeneity of variance. This involved making a total of 42 comparisons of individual variances. Five percent or two of these comparisons would be expected to reach the .05 level of significance by chance alone. In fact, only three of the 42 comparisons are significant at the .05 level. Since two of these might well have been due to chance, only those comparisons significant at or below the .01 level can be relied on with a substantial degree of certainty.

The results of the comparisons between St. Hyacinth and UMass (A effect) are presented in Table 9. The number of articles specifically requested by the E and sent to UMass are significantly more

variable than those sent to St. Hyacinth ($p < .005$). As can be seen in Figure 1, this difference was due to the fact that the UMass distribution included Ss who sent more articles than any of the Ss in the St. Hyacinth distribution. While the shape of the two distributions are very similar, the UMass range extends further in a positive direction than the St. Hyacinth range (i.e., it is more positively skewed).

The results of the comparisons between the Instructor and Assistant Professor (B effect) are presented in Table 10. The number of other relevant articles (with books and other material receiving special weighting) sent to the Instructor are significantly more variable than those sent to the Assistant Professor ($p < .05$). This difference in variance does not hold up when books and other material are unweighted (i.e., counted as one article each).

The comparisons between the Mod Squad, Old Turks, and Eager Beavers (C effect) yielded a number of significant differences (see Table 11). The Mod Squad were significantly more variable in the latency of their responses than were the Eager Beavers ($p < .05$). The number of other articles (weighted) sent by both the Mod Squad and the Old Turks are significantly more variable than those sent by the Eager Beavers ($p < .001$ in both cases). Both of these differences hold up when material other than journal articles are unweighted (MS vs. EB, $p < .005$; OT vs. EB, $p < .001$).

The weighted data for the Mod Squad and Eager Beavers are presented in Figure 2. The weighted data for the Old Turks and Eager Beavers are presented in Figure 3. In both cases the differences appear at that end of the distribution where the number of articles sent

increases. The amount of articles sent by the Eager Beavers tend to be concentrated around the smaller numbers, while those sent by the Mod Squad and Old Turks are more skewed in the positive direction.

In terms of the total number of articles sent (weighted), the Old Turks are significantly more variable than both the Mod Squad ($p < .05$) and the Eager Beavers ($p < .005$). Only the latter difference holds up for the total number of articles (unweighted). The Old Turks are significantly more variable than the Eager Beavers below the .01 level. As can be seen in Figure 4, this difference seems once again to be due to the Old Turks' tendency to show a more skewed distribution in the positive direction. In addition, however, the two distributions do not bear as much similarity to one another as did those considered previously. The curve for the Eager Beavers roughly resembles a normal one, while the curve for the Old Turks is bimodal.

Letters and notes. Chi square analyses were performed on the number of letters or notes sent by the Ss in response to the original reprint request (see Table 12). While the A (Institution) effect and the B (Rank) effect are not significant, there is a significant C (Group) effect ($p < .05$). Breaking this effect down, it was found that the Eager Beavers sent significantly more letters and notes than the Mod Squad ($p < .10$), and the Old Turks also sent more letters and notes than the Mod Squad ($p < .05$). The Old Turks and Eager Beavers did not differ significantly.

The letters and notes sent by the Ss were also subject to further examination. Specifically, the responses of the Ss were compared across Institution and Rank. While the Old Turks and Mod Squad did not

differ in their letters and notes sent to either Institution or Rank, the Eager Beavers did. They sent significantly more notes to the Assistant Professor than they did to the Instructor ($\chi^2=4.17$, $df=1$, $p<.05$). The breakdown of the Ss' responses are presented in Table 13.

Summary. In order to best summarize the previous subsections, the results will be presented according to the original hypotheses of this study. Recapitulating these results, of course, is done at least in part with an eye toward the Discussion section of this thesis. For that reason, those results which are of dubious validity will not be included. Thus those variances which were significantly heterogeneous at only the .05 level will not be considered. Indeed, were it not for the fact that the analyses of variance were planned in advance, even the two significant results which they produced would not merit such serious consideration. Their inclusion in the following summary should be taken with caution.

1) A effect. The Requestor (i.e., the E) at the University of Massachusetts was expected to receive more help than the one at St. Hyacinth. Only two significant results bear upon this hypothesis, and both support it. The University of Massachusetts Requestor received more of the specific articles requested than did the St. Hyacinth Requestor. Also, the variability of this response (i.e., the number of specific articles requested) is greater for UMass than St. Hyacinth. This difference in variance seems to be due to a more positively skewed distribution for UMass.

2) B effect. The Assistant Professor was expected to receive more help than the Instructor. There are no significant findings relating to this hypothesis.

3) C effect. The Old Turks and Eager Beavers were expected to extend more help than the Mod Squad. One significant result supports this hypothesis. Both the Old Turks and the Eager Beavers sent more letters or notes to the E than the Mod Squad did.

Two results do not support this hypothesis. The Mod Squad showed a greater variability in the amount of "other articles" (both weighted and unweighted) sent to the E than did the Eager Beavers. These differences seem to be due to a more positive skew in the Mod Squad distributions. It should be noted, however, that while these results fail to support the hypothesis, neither do they support the opposite hypothesis (i.e., that the Mod Squad gave more help than the Eager Beavers). The total number of articles (both weighted and unweighted) sent by the Mod Squad and Eager Beavers did not show any differences in means or in patterns of distribution. Hence the difference in "other articles" seems more reflective of the fact that the Mod Squad had more "other articles" to give out than of any real differences in helping behavior.

Finally, five results were outside the realm of the hypothesis. The Old Turks showed a greater variability in the amount of other articles (both weighted and unweighted) sent to the E than did the Eager Beavers. These differences seem to be due to a more positive skew in the Old Turks distributions. The Old Turks also sent a significantly greater number of other articles (weighted only) than did the Eager Beavers. Finally, the Old Turks showed a greater variability in the total number of articles (both weighted and unweighted) sent to the E than did the Eager Beavers. These last differences seem to be due to the fact that the Old Turks distribution is not only more positively

skewed than the Eager Beaver distribution, but it is also more of a bimodal than a normal one.

4) AC, BC, or ABC effect. The Old Turks were expected to show less discrimination between the high and low status Es than were the other two Groups. The only significant result relating to this hypothesis was the finding that the Eager Beavers sent fewer letters and notes to the Instructor than they did to the Assistant Professor. The other two Groups showed no such difference.

Response to Questionnaire

All 103 Ss were sent a cover letter and a questionnaire which they were asked to complete and return to the E. Seventy-six (74%) of the Ss returned the questionnaire. There are no significant differences between the number of questionnaires returned by each of the three Groups (see Table 14).

Productivity. Three measures were used to compare the scholarly productivity of the three Groups. The first measure consisted of the total number of articles and papers the Ss had written in the past 10 years. The second measure consisted of the total number of chapters written by the Ss in the past 10 years plus the total number of professional symposia they had participated in during the same period of time. The third measure consisted of the number of books the Ss had written or edited.⁴

The results of the comparisons (via t-tests) are presented in

⁴One S who returned the questionnaire failed to answer these questions. Hence the total n is 75 rather than 76.

Tables 15, 16, and 17, respectively. The Mod Squad had written significantly more articles and papers than the Eager Beavers had ($p < .001$), and the Old Turks were also more productive than the Eager Beavers in this arena ($p < .01$). In terms of chapters and symposia, however, the Mod Squad topped both the Eager Beavers ($p < .001$) and the Old Turks ($p < .05$). The Old Turks remained more productive than the Eager Beavers ($p < .01$). Finally, the results for books mirrored the results for articles and papers: both the Old Turks and the Mod Squad had written or edited significantly more books than the Eager Beavers ($p < .001$ in both cases).

Interest. As was stated in the Introduction and Method sections, the assignment of the Ss to one of the three Groups was in large part determined by the assumed interest of the Ss in a given area of psychology. This assumption was buttressed by various criteria used in selecting these Ss originally (i.e., citations in the Annual Review of Psychology or membership in a particular Division of the APA). These criteria were of necessity crude ones, and hence the follow-up questionnaire was designed to elicit a more specific check on the assumed interest of the Ss.

Five measures of interest were used to check the original assumptions and compare (via chi square and t-tests) the three Groups. The first measure consisted of the percent of the S's articles and papers which were in his or her assumed area of interest. The second measure consisted of the percent of chapters and symposia in the S's assumed area of interest, and the third consisted of the percent of books in the assumed

area.⁵ The fourth measure consisted of the number of Ss who stated that they regularly attended professional meetings in their assumed interest area.⁶ The fifth and final measure consisted of the number of Ss endorsing their assumed interest area as the course or seminar they most enjoyed or would most enjoy teaching.⁷ The results of these measures and Group comparisons are presented in Tables 18 through 22.

The Mod Squad show a higher percentage of interest than the Eager Beavers in terms of articles and papers ($p < .001$), chapters and symposia ($p < .001$), books written or edited ($p < .06$), and favorite courses or seminars ($p < .10$). None of the three Groups show any differences with respect to attendance at special interest meetings. It should be noted that the percentage of the three Groups remain remarkably consistent across the other four measures. The Mod Squad ranges only from 75% to 88%, the Old Turks from 49% to 59%, and the Eager Beavers from 44% to 50%.

Productivity, interest, and help-giving. The consistent differences found for the productivity and interest of the three Groups naturally raises the question of whether these differences affected the Groups'

⁵ Five of the 75 Ss failed to divide their total number of articles and papers into those written in their assumed area of interest and those written in other areas. This measure of interest is therefore based on an n of 70. In addition to the five Ss mentioned above, seven Ss had not written any chapters or participated in any symposia, and 27 Ss had not written or edited any books. A percent measure for these Ss could therefore not be used, and the two measures were based on n 's of 63 and 43, respectively.

⁶ The n for this measure is also 75 since one S did not respond to the question at all.

⁷ The n (70) for this measure includes only those Ss who stated that they enjoyed teaching anything at all. The five Ss who stated no teaching preferences are hence excluded.

helping behavior. In order to provide some answers to this question, the total number of articles (weighted) sent by the Ss was taken as a representative measure of their helping behavior. For each of the three Groups, this measure of helping was correlated with productivity and interest. The total number of articles and papers written by the Ss in the past 10 years was taken as a representative measure of productivity. The percentage and the absolute number of these articles and papers in the Ss assumed areas of interest were used as two separate measures of interest. The results are presented in Table 23.

For none of the three Groups is help-giving significantly correlated with either productivity or the two measures of interest. For that matter, no product-moment coefficient exceeds .27. Even if significant, a correlation coefficient of this order would indicate that less than 8% of the help-giving variance could be accounted for by inter-S differences in productivity or interest.

Popularity of area. All 103 Ss were asked to rate the popularity of their assumed area of interest on a 5-point scale (1=very unpopular, 5=very popular). Of the 76 Ss who returned the questionnaire, 68 responded to this question. The results are presented in Table 24. Both the Mod Squad and the Eager Beavers rated their assumed interest areas significantly higher in popularity than the Old Turks rated theirs ($p < .001$ and $.01$ respectively).

Satisfaction with area popularity. The Ss were also asked how pleased they were with the popularity of their assumed areas of interest. Again, they were asked to respond on a 5-point scale (1=very pleased, 5=very displeased). Sixty-eight Ss responded. The results,

as presented in Table 25, show no significant differences between the three Groups.

Spreading the word. All Ss were asked an open-ended question regarding how they go about "spreading the word" about their assumed areas of interest. The total number of words written on this topic was computed for each S, and the three Groups were compared via a Kruskal-Wallis rank analysis. The three Groups differed significantly ($H=4.74$, $p<.10$), with the Old Turks showing the greatest verbosity (sum of ranks = 1037), the Eager Beavers the least (sum of ranks = 922.5), and the Mod Squad falling in between (sum of ranks = 966.5). It is possible to view this measure at least in part as reflective of the Ss' interest in promoting their areas of interest.

The total number of words written on the questionnaire was also counted for each S. The three Groups were again compared via a Kruskal-Wallis rank analysis. This statistic ($H=4.47$) is slightly below that necessary for significance at the .10 level. The Old Turks again show the greatest verbosity (sum of ranks = 1033), with the Mod Squad (sum of ranks = 943.5) and the Eager Beavers (sum of ranks = 949.5) very close together.

Both comparisons should of course be taken with caution.

Finally, the Ss' responses to this question were categorized, and the various methods of spreading the word are presented in Table 26. Since some of the categories are very similar (e.g., Supervision and Modelling), they are not to be taken as discrete and separate entities, but rather as somewhat gross trends in the Ss' reported preferences for various modes of influence. Most striking, but hardly surprising, is the dominance in all three Groups of research, writing, and teaching as ways

of spreading the word. In fact, the categories of Demonstration and Modelling, and Colloquia and Other Talks are highly related to teaching and research. Perhaps the most surprising finding is that only two Ss directly mentioned sending reprints as a means of proselytizing for their assumed areas of interest. Only eight Ss said they were not interested in spreading the word.

Summary. Both the Mod Squad and the Old Turks turned out, as would be expected, to be consistently more productive than the Eager Beavers. The Mod Squad had also written more chapters and participated in more symposia than the Old Turks. Generally speaking, a higher percentage of the Mod Squad Ss' work was done in their assumed area of interest than was the case for the other two Groups, and they also showed a greater interest in teaching a course or seminar in their assumed interest area than did the other two Groups. The Eager Beavers and the Old Turks bore a great deal of similarity to each other across four of the five measures of interest.

Neither the overall written productivity of the Ss in the three Groups, nor the interest shown in their assumed areas of interest were related to their help-giving behavior.

While the Old Turks rated their interest areas as less popular than the other two Groups rated theirs, there were no Group differences in satisfaction with area popularity.

The Old Turks tended to be more verbose than the Mod Squad and Eager Beavers both in response to the "spread the word" question and in general. The methods of spreading the word most frequently cited by the Ss were research and teaching. Only two Ss mentioned sending reprints as a means of proselytizing for their assumed area of interest.

DISCUSSION

Perhaps the most striking finding of the present study is the overall generosity of the Ss. Fully 93% of the Ss responded to the original request for reprints of their work. The mean number of articles (weighted) sent by the Ss was 4.98. The mean latency (excluding the one S who took 157 days to respond) was only 10.85 days. It would have to be said that the responses were generally quickly made and that reprints were supplied in fairly sizeable amounts. The request was not greeted by a perfunctory mailing of one reprint at the Ss' leisure. In fact, 25 of the Ss enclosed written comments with their response.

In addition to this, 74% of the Ss returned the questionnaire which was sent to them. Besides taking the time to fill out the questions dealing with productivity, interest, and area popularity, the Ss added an average of 40 words of additional comments (excluding the one S who responded with 688 words). While not mentioned in the Introduction, responses of this order were not expected. Indeed, the average of 5 reprints per S was originally expected to represent a high in responsivity.

The second most striking set of findings was the paucity of results supporting the major hypotheses of the study. One of the basic hypotheses of this study was that the Ss' responses would be significantly affected by the status which the Requestor occupied. Furthermore, it was expected that the Mod Squad would extend less help than the other two Groups because their high status and area popularity would decrease their motivation for "spreading the word." Finally, it was expected that the Old Turks' responses would be less affected by the Requestor's

status than would the responses of the other two Groups. This difference was predicted on the basis of the assumption that the Old Turks were dissatisfied with the status quo in psychology (more specifically, that they were unhappy about the relative unpopularity of their areas of interest). Hence it was thought that they would respond more to the interest expressed by the Requestor than by the status he occupied. The Mod Squad and Eager Beavers were expected to operate more according to the tactic of reciprocity; the Old Turks were expected to be more influenced by the norm of reciprocity (cf., Gouldner, 1960).

By and large, the status differences in the Requestor Condition did not elicit differential amounts of helping behavior from the Ss. The one notable exception to this finding was the fact that the Requestor at UMass received more copies of the specific article requested than did the Requestor at St. Hyacinth. Even here, however, the difference in means is not large (2.63 articles vs. 1.90).

The hypothesized Group differences received only minimal empirical support. The Mod Squad did not differ significantly from the other two Groups in mean latency of response or in the mean amount of reprints sent to the Requestor.

The one clear difference between the Groups occurred in the number of letters and notes accompanying the reprints. Here it was found that both the Eager Beavers and the Old Turks engaged in this behavior significantly more frequently than the Mod Squad. The content of the notes and letters also lent some anecdotal support to the Group differences hypothesis. For the most part, the notes and letters either mentioned that reprints were enclosed, or that the supply had run out or dwindled.

A few of the letters, however, were of a somewhat different nature. None of the Mod Squad Ss expressed any interest in what the Requestor was doing by way of teaching or research.¹ On the other hand, one Eager Beaver asked that any of the Requestor's work in the specified area of psychology be sent to him. Another requested feedback from the class on his study. A third asked the Requestor to share his ideas on material and texts for a specific course. Among the Old Turks, one S asked for more details about the nature of the course the Requestor was teaching. Another asked how the Requestor got interested in the area and asked to be kept posted on "how things are going." A third S informed the Requestor that he could have more copies of four articles if he wished.

While these occurrences were obviously very limited, it is nevertheless significant that all invitations to maintain some sort of personal contact were made by Old Turks or Eager Beavers. If anything is to be made of these particular data, it would have to be that the Mod Squad was not interested in future transactions with the Requestor, a few Eager Beavers wished to maintain peer contact, and a few Old Turks expressed a 'paternal' interest in the Requestor. This is roughly what was expected of the Ss on a much larger scale.

Finally, only one result partially supported the hypothesis that the Old Turks would be less affected by the Requestor's status than the

¹One Mod Squad S did call the Requestor at UMass to ask whether an examination copy of a new text he had written should be sent, but this differs somewhat from expressing interest in the Requestor's activities.

other Groups. This was the finding that only Eager Beavers sent fewer letters and notes to the Instructor than to the Assistant Professor. The other two Groups showed no such difference.

Interpretation of findings

There are two aspects of the results which call for exploration and possible explanation: 1) the relatively insignificant effect of the Requestor's status on the responses of the Ss; 2) the lack of widespread Group differences. The former issue will be addressed first.

There are at least three possible reasons for the small effect of status on the responses of the Ss. The first explanation that deserves consideration is the most straightforward one: that is, that psychologists who answer reprint requests do in fact respond only very slightly on the basis of the status of the reprint requestor. This interpretation would hold that psychologists are more governed by a "moral norm" of reciprocity when engaging in such behavior than they are by reciprocity as a tactic. This is very close to the traditional (and ideal) view of how scientists should behave in the dissemination of information. Within reasonable limits, all requests for reprints of original work are honored without regard to the prestige of the requestor. Naturally, some requests require too much expenditure of time to be granted. Two examples of this were provided by a S in the present study. He stated that he sometimes receives "requests for advice on how to teach a course and/or what readings to assign." He said that he typically ignores that aspect of the request because "...I haven't the time to answer it properly, because I doubt that third parties can offer such advice meaningfully...[and because] I doubt that I am a public resource on such a scale." In

addition, this S stated that he commonly receives reprint requests "coupled with requests on how to write a term paper." He responds by sending only the requested reprints.

These limitations seem like reasonable boundaries on helping behavior. The moral norm of reciprocity does not state that the helper grants all and any of the solicitor's requests. It merely states that the helper has certain duties to comply with another's requests and avoid violating his rights. The responses of the Ss in this study cannot be said to be at variance with this norm. On the other hand, however, it cannot be concluded that the Ss in this study responded only according to the moral norm of reciprocity. For one thing, one of the findings of the study indicates otherwise (i.e., the significant A effect for the number of specific reprints requested). Secondly, there are two other explanations of the results obtained.

The second interpretation of the findings is that while the Ss did not show much discrimination between the statuses presented in the study, a more extreme sampling of Requestor conditions could have resulted in such discrimination. The Assistant Professor is undoubtedly a higher rank than is Instructor, and any instructor or assistant professor would surely attest to such a distinction. But there is a much wider variety of statuses within academia. Had the two statuses been Instructor and Professor, more discrimination might have been found. Likewise, while the University of Massachusetts is certainly much better known than St. Hyacinth College and Seminary (which is probably not known at all), there are a considerable number of universities which occupy a higher status than does UMass. Hence, it is not inconceivable that had the Requestor

Conditions consisted of larger status differences, more discrimination would have been found. This consideration should temper any generalization of the first interpretation.

Thirdly, there is even a more serious limitation of this study which must be taken into account when interpreting the findings. The original letter sent to all Ss requested only "a few copies" of a specific article plus "any other relevant articles." This was purposely worded to leave the individual Ss some latitude in their interpretation of how many articles would be sufficient or desirable. Indeed, some Ss sent no articles at all or only one, while others sent as many as 24. But in terms of the specific article requested, only one S sent 10 copies, one sent nine, one sent eight, and one sent seven. Thus only four Ss out of 103 sent more than six copies of the article requested. These results would support the contention that most of the Ss interpreted "a few copies" to mean just that. More importantly, these results beg the question of how the Ss would have responded had the original letter requested more than "a few copies."

Had the original letter requested a larger number of copies, one of three things might have happened: 1) the Ss would have sent only "a few" copies anyhow; 2) the responses of the Ss in all Requestor Conditions would have increased uniformly; 3) the responses of the Ss would have shown more discrimination in favor of the higher status Requestors. With the data currently available, it is impossible to say which of these possibilities would have occurred. If the third possible outcome were shown to be a reality, it would support other

literature on reciprocity as a tactic (cf., Pruitt, 1968). If the first or second possible outcomes materialized, however, they would strongly support the operation of a "moral norm" in the helping behavior of psychologists. That is to say that psychologists respond to reprint requests in a certain fashion because it is right to do so, rather than responding more selectively on a tactical basis. This would imply that the request for reprints is more in the nature of a "moral appeal" which elicits fair play than a "neutral appeal" which elicits behavior ruled by self-interest (cf., Dorris, 1972).

The advantage of the current study is that it mirrored what is most commonly the case in the requesting of reprints. Psychologists probably receive requests asking for no more than a few copies of a given article plus any other relevant articles. Thus this study reflects the "real" or at least the most often encountered behavior of psychologists. On the other hand, however, this advantage was at the same time a disadvantage in that it probably limited the Ss to their most common mode of response - sending off a few copies of the article requested along with some other articles. Hence the finding that the behavior of the Ss showed little discrimination between Requestors can be relied on only within this context.

The second aspect of the results which needs explanation is the lack of widespread Group differences. The three Groups did not differ significantly either in latency of response or in the number of articles sent to the Requestor. The only differences which were found (one Group effect and one Group x Status interaction effect) occurred in

letter and note writing behavior. In exploring these findings, perhaps the first place to look is the support or non-support received for the initial assumptions made in this study regarding between-Group differences. It was assumed that the Old Turks saw their areas of interest as less popular than the other two Groups saw theirs, and that the Old Turks were dissatisfied with this state of affairs.

The questionnaire data partially supported these assumptions. Both the Mod Squad and the Eager Beavers rated their areas of interest significantly higher in popularity than the Old Turks rated theirs. There were no Group differences, however, regarding satisfaction with this state of affairs. This finding is somewhat surprising, since one would expect that corresponding to the different perception of area popularity there would be differing degrees of satisfaction. There are three possible explanations for this discrepancy. First, some of the Old Turks might like the fact that their areas are unpopular. In fact, one Old Turk stated that he wasn't too discouraged by his area's lack of popularity since, "if everybody knew all about it, I would have to look for another field of interest." Secondly, some of the Old Turks might be indicating their satisfaction with the relative improvement in their area's popularity over time. In fact, three SS stated as much. Thirdly, some SS might be unconcerned about the popularity of their areas. In fact, one Old Turk indicated that he accepted his area's unpopularity matter-of-factly, and another stated that degree of popularity was unimportant (one Mod Squad S and one Eager Beaver also felt this way).

Considering the above-mentioned findings and speculations on the assumptions made in this study, there seem to be three interpretations of the lack of Group differences in the speed of sending reprints and the number of reprints sent. These three explanations mirror the explanations concerning the effect of the Requestor's status on the behavior of the Ss, and hence require little elaboration. These interpretations are: 1) there are in fact very few differences between the three Groups; 2) there are in fact more differences between the Groups than was reflected in the data, and a wider sampling of Requestor statuses would have elicited such differences; 3) there are in fact more differences between the Groups than was reflected in the data, but their responses were limited by the nature of the letter requesting only "a few" reprints from them.

Considering the fact that differences between the Groups did appear in both 1) letters and notes accompanying the responses to the original request, and 2) length of response to the "spread the word" question on the questionnaire, it seems unlikely that the first interpretation is strictly accurate. A fourth interpretation of the data therefore presents itself for consideration. It is possible that (as mentioned earlier) the filling of reprint requests is pretty much guided by a moral norm for most psychologists, and hence only small Group differences can be expected in this context. However, differences in helping behavior occur in other, more subtle, aspects of professional transactions such as written communication and the development of extended contact over time. While overall Group differences in these areas can be terribly

confounded with the amount of time the Ss leave available to engage in such activities, the interaction between Groups and other variables (such as the status of the Requestor) does not pose such a problem. This interpretation is therefore amenable to further investigation and interpretation.

Finally, one other finding requires some explanation. In the questionnaire sent to the Ss, one of the questions asked was an open-ended one concerning methods of "spreading the word." The majority of responses to this question named research, writing, and teaching as means of disseminating information about one's area of psychology to others. Only two Ss mentioned sending reprints as a means of spreading the word. This might be interpreted as evidence that sending reprints is not an important concern of psychologists. However, it should be noted that the question pulled for a different kind of response. It did not ask about effective means of communicating with other psychologists who have already shown an interest in one's work; it asked "what is the best way to convince other psychologists and students in the field [of psychology] of the attractions, contributions, etc." of the S's area of interest. Thus, the question asked, "How do you get others interested in your area?" not "How do you maintain interest and communication once it has already been established?" Obviously, one does not send reprints randomly to uninterested persons; one sends them to those who have already developed some interest via your writing, research, or teaching (or someone else's teaching, research, or writing). Consistent with the interpretation that the sending of reprints is an important concern

of psychologists is a finding reported in one of the American Psychological Association's Reports on scientific information exchange in psychology (1965). The Ss were 63 psychologists at the University of Minnesota. The median amount of time devoted to research was 47%. According to the report, the most generally reported kind of correspondence which these Ss engaged in was the sending and receiving of reprints.

Summary

The present study found few differences in helping behavior associated either with the status of the Requestor or the status and theoretical affiliation of the Ss. It can be concluded with some confidence that within the restrictions presented in this study, the helping behavior of psychologists is guided mainly by the moral norm of reciprocity. Where reciprocity as a tactic does operate, its effects are subtle.

Future Research

In order to assess the generalizability of the findings of this study, more research is needed in the area of status, satisfaction with the status quo, and helping behavior. It is suggested that this research might be most profitable if varied along the following dimensions.

Characteristics of the Requestor. The rank of the Requestor should vary widely. Hence, undergraduate, graduate student, instructor, assistant professor, associate professor, and full professor could be sampled. The institutional affiliation of the Requestor should also vary widely. Hence high school, two-year college, small, unknown 4-year college, and

varying degrees of well-known colleges and universities could be sampled. The past work of the Requestor should vary widely. Hence, requests from an interested "novice," a teacher familiar with the area, a researcher beginning in the area, and a full-fledged "colleague" who has published in the area could be sampled.

Characteristics of the request. In the present study, the number of reprints requested was limited. In future work, the request might specify that a significantly higher number of reprints be sent. Also, the Requestor might ask the Ss to provide him with some written explanation of an aspect of his work, thus demanding more time and effort than just sending reprints. Finally, the Requestor might ask for a written evaluation of an idea of the Requestor's. For example, the Requestor might ask the S to comment on a planned course outline, teaching method, or research prospectus.

Naturally, it is not possible to include variations of all the above dimensions in one study. The permutations would resemble a labyrinth and the number of Ss required would be prohibitive. Since some sort of selection among the factors must be made, the author will therefore present his own subjective judgments regarding the most profitable course of future research. The approach thus favored might justifiably be called a "conservative" one in which only a few factors are modestly varied in order to discover the point at which the Requestor and Group differences begin to have (hypothetically) a stronger effect on helping behavior. It is felt that the institutions represented in this study are fairly far apart in academic status, and that further

status discrepancies are not yet necessary. The Requestor's ranks in the present study, however, were very close together. Therefore, a wider sampling is recommended. Perhaps graduate student for a Master's Degree, Instructor or Assistant Professor, and Associate or Full Professor would provide an adequate sampling of status differences.

Further, it is felt that the requesting of only "a few" reprints in the present study did not allow the Ss adequate "room to move." Hence, in future work it is suggested that the Requestor ask for 10 to 20 reprints of a specific article. This range represents a magnitude two to four times greater than the actual average responses of the Ss in the present study. In addition, the request for "any other relevant articles" made in the present study generated more confusion than enlightenment, and it is suggested that such a request be temporarily deleted.

A failure to reject the null hypothesis under the above-mentioned conditions would substantially support the operation of a moral norm of reciprocity among psychologists who do research. Thus, given that the necessary replications are performed, future investigations of the tactic of reciprocity among psychologists could be carried out along more extreme dimensions of status and requests for help (e.g., a request for a written reply from the Ss) with this overall framework in mind.

On the other hand, should these conditions lead to a rejection of the null hypothesis, a more detailed investigation of the tactic of reciprocity could be carried out within this context as well as in larger contexts. Characteristics of the Ss could be more thoroughly investigated, such as productivity, perception of area popularity, and

perhaps some personality data. Also, some of the other characteristics of the request such as degree of interest or sophistication could be explored. In short, it would afford a fertile area of investigating the more subtle aspects of in vivo helping behavior among people for whom the behavior is a real and reasonably important part of their daily lives.

SUMMARY

Reciprocity can be viewed both as a moral norm and as a tactic in interpersonal relations (Gouldner, 1960). As a moral norm, reciprocity is motivated by the desire to return favors simply because it is right to do so, while reciprocity as a tactic is motivated by the desire to increase one's own resources over time. Most of the research on reciprocity is concerned with the moral norm of reciprocity in that there is little attention paid to those relationships that have the possibility to developing over time. This is not to say that one cannot engage in normative reciprocity over time, but that one can engage in tactical reciprocity only if the relationship in question has a future as well as a present. Pruitt (1968) has shown that the future resources of a person do affect how much another person will reciprocate his favors.

The literature on those factors which increase the likelihood that one person will be able to elicit help from another indicate that helping is a rather circumstantial phenomenon (cf., Krebs, 1970). This literature seems to indicate that helping others who cannot be expected to reciprocate is a moral norm which operates best when the cost of helping is low, the salience high, the dependency direct, when the S perceives himself as competent, and when he does not have too much else weighing on his mind. Yet it is equally clear that people do in fact engage in helping behavior which is neither required by law nor trivial in nature. London's (1970) account of Christians who helped Jews in

Nazi Germany and Rosenhan's (1970) account of civil rights workers in the South circa 1960 are examples of this. One factor which these helpers had in common was a value system different from that represented in the mainstream of current thought and hence a critical eye toward the status quo.

It was the purpose of this study to investigate the effects of satisfaction and dissatisfaction with the status quo on help-giving behavior. It was predicted that satisfaction with the status quo results in helping behavior which is influenced by tactical considerations (i.e., the future resources of the requestor of help), while dissatisfaction with the status quo results in more normative help-giving.

The Ss in the study were 103 members of the American Psychological Association. The Ss were composed of three Groups: 1) Mod Squad - Ss in one of two popular areas of psychology (behavior modification or community psychology) who were of high status; 2) Old Turks - Ss in one of three unpopular areas in psychology (history of psychology, parapsychology, and Adlerian psychology) who were predominantly of high status; 3) Eager Beavers - new professionals in academic psychology who held a Ph.D. for six years or less. None of these Ss occupied a rank higher than Assistant Professor. Their areas of interest were moderately to very popular ones.

Each S was sent a letter from the E requesting a "few copies" of a recently published article plus any other relevant articles for use in a summer seminar. The E was identified as either an Instructor or Assistant Professor from either St. Hyacinth College and Seminary or the University of Massachusetts. Thus the E's status was varied in two spheres:

Rank and Institutional affiliation.

It was expected that the responses of the Ss would generally conform to a tactical sort of help-giving, and that the responses of the Ss could be predicted on the basis of their own status vis-a-vis the status of the E. The Old Turks were expected to be less influenced by such considerations of status since their involvement in an unpopular area of psychology would likely be accompanied by a dissatisfaction with the status quo. They were expected to respond more to the interest shown by the E than to the status he occupied.

The following hypotheses were made on the basis of the above-mentioned considerations: 1) the E at the University of Massachusetts was expected to receive more help than the one at St. Hyacinth; 2) the Assistant Professor was expected to receive more help than the Instructor; 3) the Old Turks and Eager Beavers were expected to extend more help than the Mod Squad; 4) the Old Turks were expected to show less discrimination between the high and low status positions occupied by the E than were the other two Groups.

In addition to the original reprint request, a 'post-test' questionnaire was sent to all 103 Ss. This questionnaire consisted of items concerning the Ss' publication productivity, the amount of work done in their assumed areas of interest, their views on the popularity of their areas and their satisfaction with their areas' perceived popularity, and the ways they go about "spreading the word" about their assumed area of interest.

Six dependent measures were used as indicators of the helping behavior of the Ss: 1) whether or not the S responded at all to the original

reprint request; 2) the latency of the S's response to the request; 3) the number of copies of the requested article which the S sent; 4) the number of other relevant articles which the S sent; 5) the total number of articles which the S sent; 6) whether or not the S included a letter or note in his responses to the original reprint request.

Perhaps the most striking finding of the study was the overall generosity of the Ss. Ninety-three percent of the Ss responded to the original request for reprints of their work. The average number of articles sent by the Ss (and weighted for such things as chapters reprints and books) was 4.98. The mean latency of response (excluding one extremely deviant S) was only 10.85 days. In addition, 24% of the Ss enclosed written comments with their responses. Finally, 74% of the Ss returned the questionnaire with an average of 40 words in additional comments (excluding again one extremely deviant S).

The second most striking set of findings was the paucity of results supporting the major hypotheses of the study. By and large, the different statuses occupied by the E did not elicit differential amounts of helping behavior from the Ss. The one notable exception to this was the finding that the E at UMass received more copies of the specific article requested than did the E at St. Hyacinth ($p < .10$). The hypothesized Group differences received only minimal empirical support. The one clear difference between the Groups occurred in the number of letters and notes accompanying the reprints: the Old Turks and Eager Beavers wrote significantly more letters and notes than did the Mod Squad ($p < .05$ and $p < .10$, respectively). Finally, only one result partially supported the hypothesis that the Old Turks would be less affected by the E's status

than the other two Groups: the Eager Beavers sent fewer letters and notes to the Assistant Professor ($p < .05$). The other two Groups showed no such differences.

The questionnaire data indicated that, as expected, the Mod Squad and Old Turks had produced more written work than the Eager Beavers. The Mod Squad's professional activities showed a higher degree of concentration in their assumed areas of interest than did the Old Turks' or Eager Beavers'. Neither productivity nor interest was correlated with help-giving behavior for the three Groups. Both the Mod Squad and the Eager Beavers rated their assumed areas of interest significantly higher in popularity than the Old Turks rated theirs ($p < .001$ and $p < .01$, respectively). The three Groups did not, however, show any differences in their ratings of how satisfied they were with their areas' popularity. This finding did not conform to the assumption made in the study that the Old Turks would show more dissatisfaction with the status quo than the other two Groups. The Old Turks tended to be more verbose than the Mod Squad and Eager Beavers both in response to the "spread the word" question and in general. The methods of spreading the word most frequently cited by the Ss were research and teaching.

The results were interpreted as indicating that it can be concluded with some confidence that within the restrictions of the present study, the helping behavior of psychologists is guided mainly by the moral norm of reciprocity. Where reciprocity as a tactic does operate, its effects are subtle. Future research was suggested which

would decrease some of the limitations of the present study. The two major limitations of the study were seen as 1) the small range of academic ranks held by the E; 2) the fact that the reprint request asked only for "a few" reprints, which may have constrained somewhat the Ss' responses.

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TABLE 1
Response to Reprint Request
Chi Square Analyses

<u>Institution (A)</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	
	Yes	No
St. Hyacinth	47 (96%)	2 (4%)
Univ. of Mass.	49 (91%)	5 (9%)
$\chi^2 = 2.06$ n.s.		
<u>Rank (B)</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	
	Yes	No
Instructor	48 (92%)	4 (8%)
Assistant Prof.	48 (94%)	3 (6%)
$\chi^2 = 0.001$ n.s.		
<u>Group (C)</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	
	Yes	No
Mod Squad	33 (92%)	3 (8%)
Old Turks	33 (96%)	2 (4%)
Eager Beavers	30 (94%)	2 (6%)
Mod Squad vs. Old Turks	$\chi^2 = 4 \times 10^{-5}$ n.s.	
Mod Squad vs. Eager Beavers	$\chi^2 = 0.019$ n.s.	
Old Turks vs. Eager Beavers	$\chi^2 = 0.180$ n.s.	

TABLE 2
 Latency of Response to Reprint Request
 Analysis of Variance (n = 86)

<u>Source</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Institution (A)	1	18.98	0.40
Rank (B)	1	4.86	0.10
Groups (C)	2	87.49	1.86
A x B	1	0.08	0.002
B x C	2	30.39	0.64
A x C	2	49.80	1.06
A x B x C	2	45.29	0.96
S/ABC (adj.)	74	47.15	

TABLE 3
 Latency of Response to Reprint Request
 Analysis of Variance (n = 85)

<u>Source</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Institution (A)	1	0.75	0.06
Rank (B)	1	9.10	0.77
Group (C)	2	17.15	1.45
A x B	1	30.33	2.57
B x C	2	1.58	0.13
A x C	2	5.09	0.43
A x B x C	2	10.15	0.86
S/ABC (adj.)	73	11.81	

TABLE 4

Specific Article Requested: Number of Copies
Analysis of Variance

<u>Source</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Institution (A)	1	1.49	3.04*
Rank (B)	1	0.25	0.51
Groups (C)	2	0.13	0.27
A x B	1	1.09	2.22
B x C	2	0.29	0.59
A x C	2	0.51	1.04
A x B x C	2	0.78	1.59
S/ABC (adj.)	91	0.49	

*
p < .10

TABLE 5
Other Relevant Articles (Weighted)
Analysis of Variance

<u>Source</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Institution (A)	1	0.90	0.44
Rank (B)	1	0.66	0.32
Groups (C)	2	5.61	2.74*
A x B	1	0.07	0.03
B x C	2	2.42	1.18
A x C	2	0.35	0.17
A x B x C	2	1.66	0.81
S/ABC (adj.)	91	2.05	

*
p < .10

TABLE 6

Other Relevant Articles (Unweighted)
Analysis of Variance

<u>Source</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Institution (A)	1	1.58	0.96
Rank (B)	1	0.06	0.04
Groups (C)	2	2.60	1.59
A x B	1	1.35	0.82
B x C	2	1.26	0.77
A x C	2	0.30	0.18
A x B x C	2	2.31	1.41
S/ABC (adj.)	91	1.64	

TABLE 7
Total Number of Articles (Weighted)
Analysis of Variance

<u>Source</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Institution (A)	1	4.85	1.57
Rank (B)	1	0.12	0.04
Groups (C)	2	5.82	1.89
A x B	1	0.60	0.19
B x C	2	4.36	1.42
A x C	2	0.67	0.22
A x B x C	2	3.44	1.12
S/ABC (adj.)	91	3.08	

TABLE 8

Total Number of Articles (Unweighted)
Analysis of Variance

<u>Source</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Institution (A)	1	6.14	2.25
Rank (B)	1	0.06	0.02
Groups (C)	2	2.78	1.02
A x B	1	0.02	0.01
B x C	2	2.12	0.78
A x C	2	1.57	0.58
A x B x C	2	5.07	1.86
S/ABC (adj.)	91	2.73	

TABLE 9
Heterogeneity of Variance: A Effect

<u>Measure</u>	<u>Variances</u>		<u>F</u>
	St. Hyacinth	U. of Mass.	
Latency n	73.91 40	87.99 45	1.19
Article requested n	2.34 49	5.86 54	2.50*
Other articles (weighted) n	16.09 49	18.62 54	1.16
Other articles (unweighted) n	11.33 49	15.94 54	1.41
Total articles (weighted) n	22.93 49	28.89 54	1.26
Total articles (unweighted) n	18.17 49	27.10 54	1.49

* $p < .005$

TABLE 10
Heterogeneity of Variance: B Effect

<u>Measure</u>	<u>Variances</u>		<u>F</u>
	Instructor	Assistant Prof.	
Latency	77.18	81.21	1.05
n	40	45	
Article requested	3.35	5.23	1.56
n	51	52	
Other articles (weighted)	21.74	13.20	1.65*
n	51	52	
Other articles (unweighted)	15.96	11.79	1.35
n	51	52	
Total articles (weighted)	29.70	23.27	1.28
n	51	52	
Total articles (unweighted)	23.94	17.47	1.37
n	51	52	

* $p < .05$

TABLE 11
Heterogeneity of Variance: C Effect

<u>Group</u>	<u>Latency</u>	<u>Article requested</u>	<u>Other articles (weighted)</u>
Mod Squad	105.29	3.91	18.00
n	26	36	36
Old Turks	78.85	4.55	26.59
n	31	35	35
Eager Beavers	52.37	4.61	4.56
n	28	32	32
<hr/>			
<u>F</u> : MS vs OT	1.34	1.16	1.48
<u>F</u> : MS vs EB	2.01*	1.18	3.95****
<u>F</u> : OT vs EB	1.51	1.01	5.83****
<hr/>			
<u>Group</u>	<u>Other articles (unweighted)</u>	<u>Total articles (weighted)</u>	<u>Total articles (unweighted)</u>
Mod Squad	14.54	22.19	20.08
n	36	36	36
Old Turks	20.79	41.06	35.30
n	35	35	35
Eager Beavers	4.56	13.06	13.06
n	32	32	32
<hr/>			
<u>F</u> : MS vs OT	1.43	1.85*	1.75
<u>F</u> : MS vs EB	3.19***	1.70	1.55
<u>F</u> : OT vs EB	4.56****	3.14***	2.70**

p < .001

p < .005

**
p < .01

*
p < .05

TABLE 12
Letters and Notes
Chi Square Analyses

<u>Institution (A)</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	
	Yes	No
St. Hyacinth	14 (29%)	35 (71%)
Univ. of Mass.	11 (20%)	43 (80%)
$\chi^2 = 1.44$ n.s.		
<u>Rank (B)</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	
	Yes	No
Instructor	12 (24%)	39 (76%)
Assistant Prof.	13 (25%)	39 (75%)
$\chi^2 = 0.003$ n.s.		
<u>Group (C)</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	
	Yes	No
Mod Squad	4 (11%)	32 (89%)
Old Turks	13 (37%)	22 (63%)
Eager Beavers	8 (25%)	24 (75%)
Mod Squad vs. Old Turks	$\chi^2 = 5.25$ $p < .05$	
Mod Squad vs. Eager Beavers	$\chi^2 = 3.31$ $p < .10$	
Old Turks vs. Eager Beavers	$\chi^2 = 1.78$ n.s.	

TABLE 13

Letters and Notes
Responses of Groups According to Institution and Rank

<u>Group</u>	<u>Institution</u>			
	<u>St. Hyacinth</u>		<u>Univ. of Mass.</u>	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Mod Squad	2 (11%)	16 (89%)	2 (11%)	16 (89%)
Old Turks	9 (53%)	8 (47%)	4 (22%)	14 (78%)
Eager Beavers	3 (21%)	11 (79%)	5 (28%)	13 (72%)

<u>Group</u>	<u>Rank</u>			
	<u>Instructor</u>		<u>Assistant Prof.</u>	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Mod Squad	2 (11%)	16 (89%)	2 (11%)	16 (89%)
Old Turks	8 (47%)	9 (53%)	5 (28%)	13 (72%)
Eager Beavers	2 (13%)	14 (87%)	6 (38%)	10 (62%)

TABLE 14

Response to Questionnaire
Chi Square Analysis

<u>Group</u>	Yes	<u>Frequency</u>	No
Mod Squad	27 (75%)		9 (25%)
Old Turks	22 (63%)		13 (37%)
Eager Beavers	27 (84%)		5 (16%)
$\chi^2 = 4.03$ n.s.			

TABLE 15

Productivity of the Three Groups
Articles and Papers in Ten Years

<u>Group</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>s.d.</u>
Mod Squad	59.89	27	58.36
Old Turks	37.14	21	33.60
Eager Beavers	16.22	27	14.06
<u>t - tests (two-tailed)</u>			
Mod Squad vs. Eager Beavers	t = 3.78		p < .001
Mod Squad vs. Old Turks	t = 1.59		n.s.
Old Turks vs. Eager Beavers	t = 2.93		p < .01

TABLE 16

Productivity of the Three Groups
Chapters and Symposia in Ten Years

<u>Group</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>s.d.</u>
Mod Squad	19.22	27	17.79
Old Turks	9.24	21	12.51
Eager Beavers	2.19	27	2.22

<u>t - tests (two-tailed)</u>			
Mod Squad vs. Eager Beavers	t = 4.94	p < .001	
Mod Squad vs. Old Turks	t = 2.18	p < .05	
Old Turks vs. Eager Beavers	t = 2.88	p < .01	

TABLE 17

Productivity of the Three Groups
Books Written and Edited

<u>Group</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>s.d.</u>
Mod Squad	1.82	27	1.88
Old Turks	2.19	21	2.25
Eager Beavers	0.44	27	0.57

<u>t - tests (two-tailed)</u>			
Mod Squad vs. Eager Beavers	t = 3.63	p < .001	
Mod Squad vs. Old Turks	t = 0.62	n.s.	
Old Turks vs. Eager Beavers	t = 3.88	p < .001	

TABLE 18

Assumed Interests of the Three Groups
Percent of Articles and Papers

<u>Group</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>s.d.</u>
Mod Squad	75.70	23	28.41
Old Turks	50.15	20	42.14
Eager Beavers	44.19	27	32.82

t - tests (two-tailed)

Mod Squad vs. Old Turks	t = 2.36	p < .05
Mod Squad vs. Eager Beavers	t = 3.60	p < .001
Old Turks vs. Eager Beavers	t = 0.55	n.s.

TABLE 19

Assumed Interests of the Three Groups
Percent of Chapters and Symposia

<u>Group</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>s.d.</u>
Mod Squad	83.32	22	24.28
Old Turks	49.84	19	42.88
Eager Beavers	44.96	22	44.69
<u>t - tests (two-tailed)</u>			
Mod Squad vs. Old Turks		t = 3.13	p < .01
Mod Squad vs. Eager Beavers		t = 3.54	p < .001
Old Turks vs. Eager Beavers		t = 0.36	n.s.

TABLE 20
Assumed Interests of the Three Groups
Percent of Books

<u>Group</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>s.d.</u>
Mod Squad	82.82	17	35.44
Old Turks	59.73	15	46.38
Eager Beavers	50.00	11	50.00

<u>t - tests (two-tailed)</u>			
Mod Squad vs. Old Turks	t = 1.59	n.s.	
Mod Squad vs. Eager Beavers	t = 2.04	p < .06	
Old Turks vs. Eager Beavers	t = 0.51	n.s.	

TABLE 21

Assumed Interests of the Three Groups
Attendance at Special Interest Meetings

<u>Group</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	
	Yes	No
Mod Squad	8 (30%)	19 (70%)
Old Turks	8 (38%)	13 (62%)
Eager Beavers	5 (19%)	22 (81%)
$\chi^2 = 2.33 \quad \text{n.s.}$		

TABLE 22

Assumed Interests of the Three Groups
Favorite Course or Seminar in Interest Area

<u>Group</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	
	Yes	No
Mod Squad	22 (88%)	3 (12%)
Old Turks	11 (58%)	8 (42%)
Eager Beavers	12 (46%)	14 (54%)
<hr/>		
Mod Squad vs. Old Turks	$\chi^2 = 3.74$	$p < .10$
Mod Squad vs. Eager Beavers	$\chi^2 = 8.25$	$p < .01$
Old Turks vs. Eager Beavers	$\chi^2 = 0.23$	n.s.

TABLE 23

Product-moment Correlations Between Help-giving
and Interest and Productivity

<u>Group</u>	<u>Productivity</u> <u>(no. of papers</u> <u>and articles)</u>	<u>Interest</u> <u>(% of papers</u> <u>and articles)</u>	<u>Interest</u> <u>(no. of papers</u> <u>and articles)</u>
Mod Squad n	- 0.07 27	+ 0.05 23	+ 0.14 23
Old Turks n	+ 0.27 21	- 0.08 20	+ 0.23 20
Eager Beavers n	- 0.20 27	+ 0.26 27	- 0.13 27

TABLE 24

Popularity Ratings of Assumed Areas of Interest

<u>Group</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>s.d.</u>
Mod Squad	3.43	23	0.76
Old Turks	2.20	20	0.92
Eager Beavers	3.20	25	1.04

<u>t - tests (two-tailed)</u>			
Mod Squad vs. Old Turks	t = 4.79	p < .001	
Mod Squad vs. Eager Beavers	t = 0.87	n.s.	
Old Turks vs. Eager Beavers	t = 3.37	p < .01	

Note: 1 = very unpopular; 5 = very popular

TABLE 25

Ratings of Satisfaction with Area Popularity

<u>Group</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>s.d.</u>
Mod Squad	2.57	23	1.28
Old Turks	2.83	20	1.04
Eager Beavers	2.74	25	1.16

<u>t - tests (two-tailed)</u>			
Mod Squad vs. Old Turks	t = 0.72	n.s.	
Mod Squad vs. Eager Beavers	t = 0.48	n.s.	
Old Turks vs. Eager Beavers	t = 0.27	n.s.	

Note: 1 = very pleased; 5 = very displeased

TABLE 26

Methods of Spreading the Word
Frequency of Endorsement in the Three Groups

<u>Methods</u>	Mod <u>Squad</u>	<u>Group</u>	
		<u>Old Turks</u>	<u>Eager Beavers</u>
Research & writing	13	12	13
Teaching & supervision	10	11	5
Demonstration & modelling	6	3	6
Colloquia & other talks	2	3	1
Encourage student participation in work	2	0	2
Consultation work	1	1	2
Send reprints	1	0	1
Miscellaneous	2	4	7
Not interested in spreading the word	4	1	3

FIGURE 1

Specific Article Requested: Number of Copies
St. Hyacinth and U. of Mass.

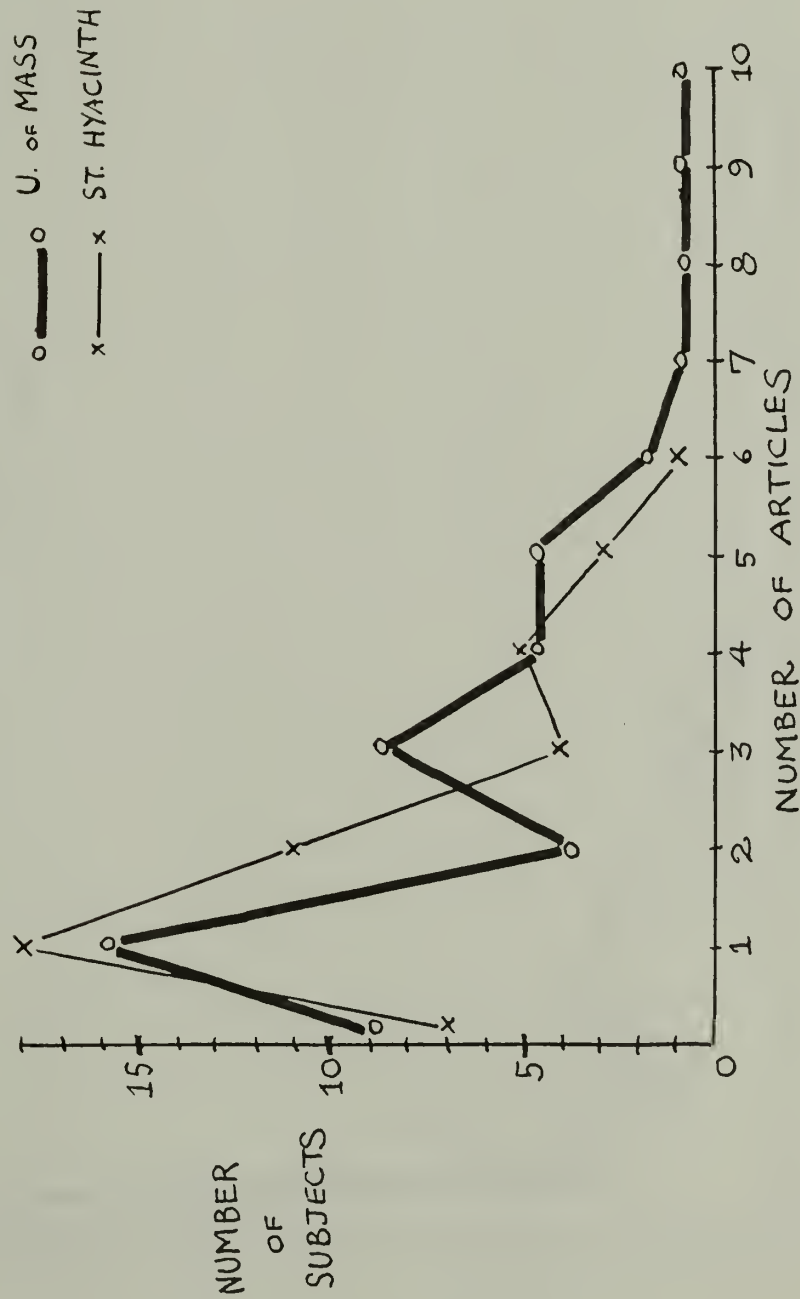


FIGURE 2

Other Relevant Articles (Weighted)
Mod Squad and Eager Beavers

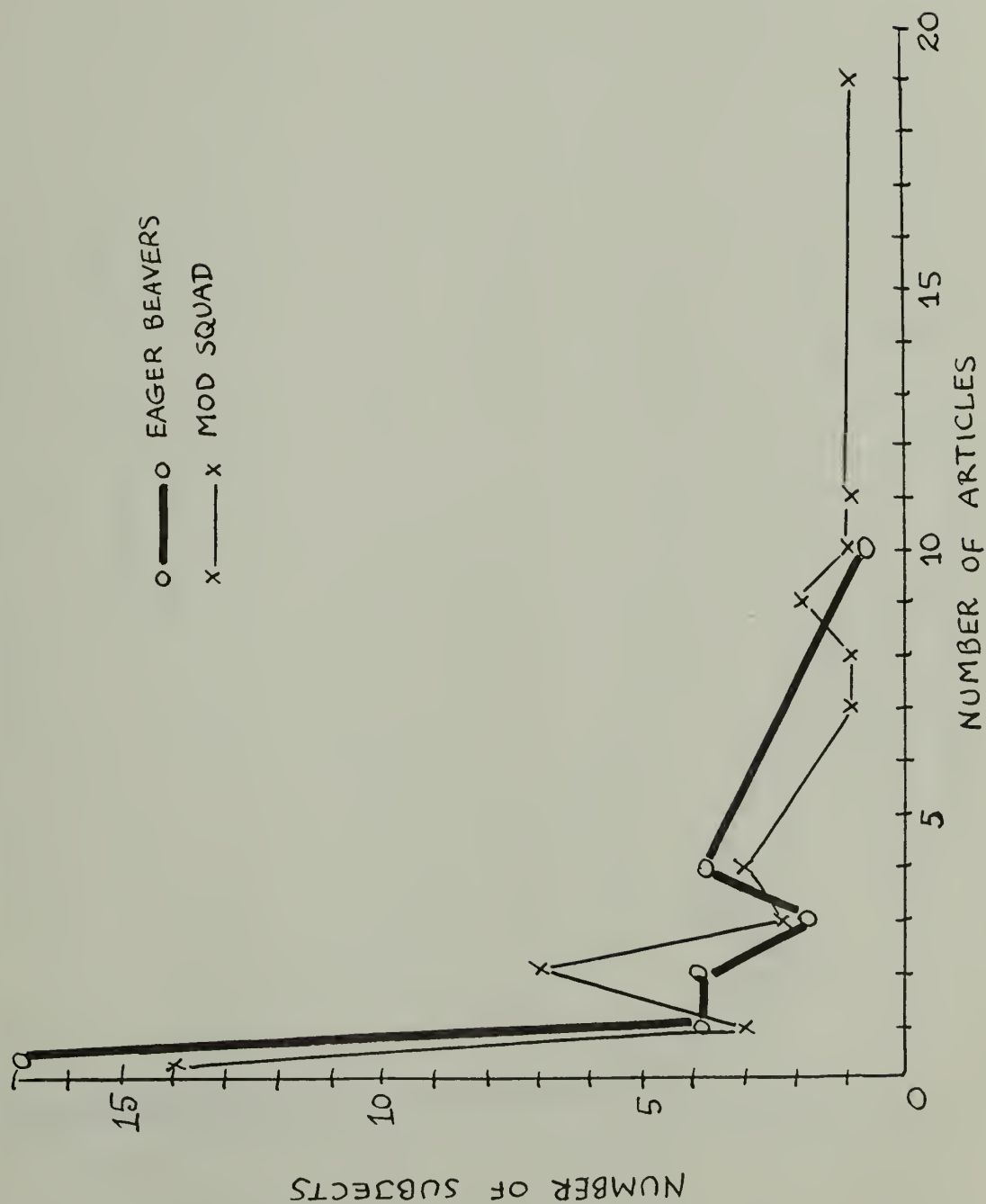


FIGURE 3

Other Relevant Articles (Weighted)
Old Turks and Eager Beavers

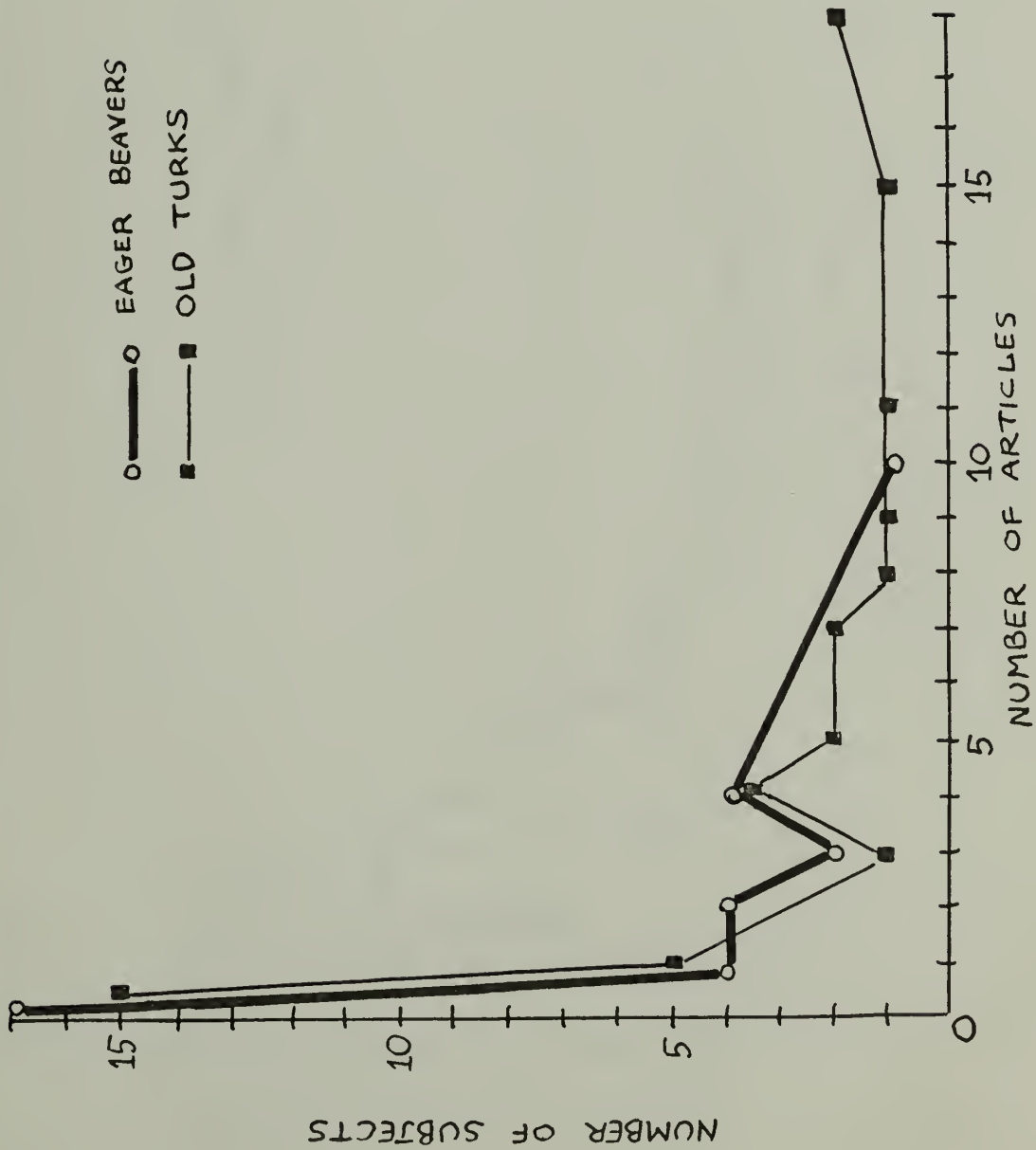
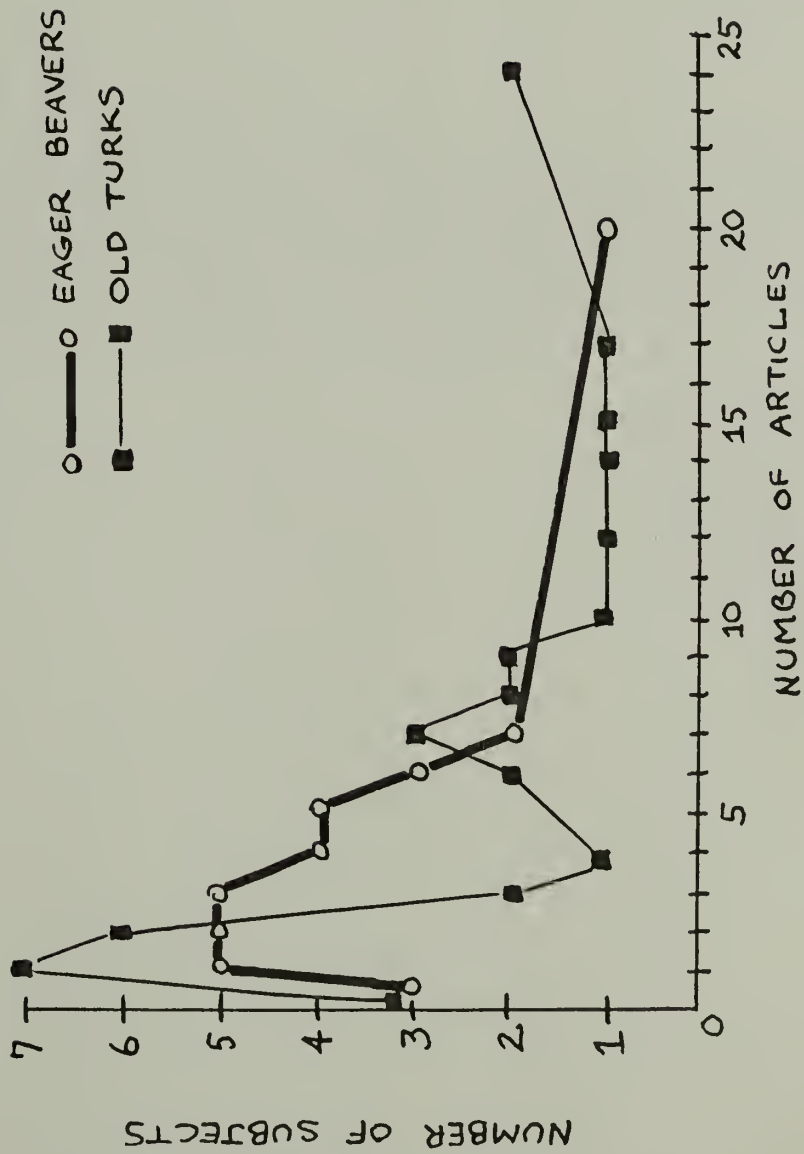


FIGURE 4

Total Number of Articles (Weighted)
Old Turks and Eager Beavers



Appendix I

General Form of the Letter which was Sent to All Ss

May 19, 1971

Dear Dr. _____,

I am teaching a seminar in _____ this summer at (the University of Massachusetts OR St. Hyacinth College) and would greatly appreciate receiving a few copies of your article, (article named and year of publication and journal in which the article appeared noted parenthetically), and any other relevant articles for use in this course. I hope the lateness of this request does not inconvenience you.

Sincerely,
(signed)
Charles Zanor
(Assistant Professor
of Psychology OR
Instructor in
Psychology)

Appendix II

The Years in which Requested Articles were Published
(Within Groups and Across Conditions)

Requestor Condition	Groups and sub-Groups	Number of <u>Ss</u>	Number of <u>Ss</u> whose articles were pub- lished in given year		
			1968	1969	1970
St. Hya- cinth, Instructor	<u>Mod Squad</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
	Behavior mod	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
	Community	4	0	2	2
	<u>Old Turks</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>
	History	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
	Adlerians	4	1	1	2
	Parapsych.	2	0	2	0
	<u>Eager Beavers</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>
St. Hya- cinth, Asst. Prof.	<u>Mod Squad</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>
	Behavior mod	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
	Community	5	2	2	1
	<u>Old Turks</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
	History	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
	Adlerians	4	2	0	2
	Parapsych.	2	1	1	0
	<u>Eager Beavers</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>
Univ. of Mass., Instructor	<u>Mod Squad</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
	Behavior mod	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
	Community	4	1	1	2
	<u>Old Turks</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>
	History	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
	Adlerians	3	0	2	1
	Parapsych.	1	1	0	0
	<u>Eager Beavers</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>
Univ. of Mass., Asst. Prof.	<u>Mod Squad</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
	Behavior mod	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
	Community	5	2	1	2
	<u>Old Turks</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
	History	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
	Adlerians	3	1	1	1
	Parapsych.	2	1	0	1
	<u>Eager Beavers</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>

Appendix III

Cover Letter and Questionnaire Sent to All Ss

Psychology Service
V.A. Hospital
Portland, Oregon 97206
December, 1971

Dear Dr. _____,

In May of this year I sent you a letter requesting a few copies of one of your articles plus any other relevant material for a course I was going to teach. This letter was sent from the Psychology Department of (the University of Massachusetts OR St. Hyacinth College and Seminary).

I was not, in fact, planning to teach a course at (the University OR St. Hyacinth's), but sent you the request as part of a study on the reprint policies of various kinds of psychologists. The study dictated that the recipients of this request be unaware of its experimental nature, and hence the deception.

I realize that my request may have already caused you some inconvenience, but I would also like to ask another favor of you. It would be very helpful to me if you would kindly complete the enclosed short questionnaire. I have included a stamped, self-addressed envelope for its return.

If you would like a copy of the results of this study, please check the box on the top of the questionnaire. I am also interested in knowing your feelings about this kind of research, if you are inclined to share them.

Thank you for your cooperation. I regret having to again ask you to help me, but it is the only way I know of determining your interests and your perceptions of the field of psychology.

Sincerely,
(signed)
Charles Zanor

Appendix III (continued)

QUESTIONNAIRE

Name _____

I would like a copy of
the results of this
study _____

Part I Professional Activities

	In the area of _____	In other areas of psychology
1. Approximately how many seminars and/or courses have you taught in the past 2 years?	_____	_____
2. Approximately how many articles have you written in the past 10 years?	_____	_____
3. Approximately how many papers have you read at professional meetings in the past 10 years?	_____	_____
4. How many symposia have you chaired or participated in in the past 10 years?	_____	_____
5. How many chapters have you written in the last 10 years?	_____	_____
6. How many books have you written or edited?	_____	_____

7. What professional meetings do you regularly attend?8. What course or seminar would you / do you most like
to teach?

Part II The Current Status of _____

1. How widespread or popular, in your opinion, is the area of
_____ among other people in the field of
psychology? (Please comment.)

1.....2.....3.....4.....5
 ^ ^ ^
 very unpopular average very popular

Appendix III (continued)

2. How do you feel about the degree of popularity of this area?

1.....2.....3.....4.....5

very pleased

ambivalent

very displeased

3. How do you go about "spreading the word" about the area of _____? (i.e., what is the best way to convince other psychologists and students in the field of the attractions, contributions, etc. of this area?)

Additional Comments:

Appendix IV

Latency of Response (in days) to Reprint Request:
Cell Means

	A ₁ (St. Hyacinth)					
	B ₁ (Instructor)			B ₂ (Asst. Prof.)		
	C ₁	C ₂	C ₃	C ₁	C ₂	C ₃
Mean	12.29	6.83	6.14	16.17	10.43	13.43
n	8	6	7	6	7	7
s.d.	51.89	5.04	3.53	12.59	7.32	8.73

	A ₂ (Univ. of Mass.)					
	B ₁ (Instructor)			B ₂ (Asst. Prof.)		
	C ₁	C ₂	C ₃	C ₁	C ₂	C ₃
Mean	13.17	10.33	12.80	12.43	12.89	6.67
n	6	9	5	7	9	9
s.d.	14.89	8.83	8.23	4.93	12.05	6.10

Note: C₁ = Mod Squad; C₂ = Old Turks; C₃ = Eager Beavers

Appendix V

Number of Copies of Specific Article Requested:
Cell Means

	A ₁ (St. Hyacinth)					
	B ₁ (Instructor)			B ₂ (Asst. Prof.)		
	C ₁	C ₂	C ₃	C ₁	C ₂	C ₃
Mean	1.78	1.75	2.71	1.78	1.67	1.86
n	9	8	7	9	9	7
s.d.	1.48	1.39	1.71	1.48	2.06	1.07

	A ₂ (Univ. of Mass.)					
	B ₁ (Instructor)			B ₂ (Asst. Prof.)		
	C ₁	C ₂	C ₃	C ₁	C ₂	C ₃
Mean	1.89	3.44	1.22	2.89	2.89	3.44
n	9	9	9	9	9	9
s.d.	1.76	2.13	1.92	2.93	2.52	2.83

Note: C₁ = Mod Squad; C₂ = Old Turks; C₃ = Eager Beavers

Appendix VI

Number of Other Relevant Articles (Weighted):
Cell Means

	A ₁ (St. Hyacinth)					
	B ₁ (Instructor)			B ₂ (Asst. Prof.)		
	C ₁	C ₂	C ₃	C ₁	C ₂	C ₃
Mean	1.89	4.63	1.14	2.89	2.56	1.29
n	9	8	7	9	9	7
s.d.	3.32	5.68	1.57	2.88	5.88	1.71
	A ₂ (Univ. of Mass.)					
	B ₁ (Instructor)			B ₂ (Asst. Prof.)		
	C ₁	C ₂	C ₃	C ₁	C ₂	C ₃
Mean	4.67	4.67	0.44	2.56	2.78	2.56
n	9	9	9	9	9	9
s.d.	6.00	6.02	0.73	4.03	3.11	3.24

Note: C₁ = Mod Squad; C₂ = Old Turks; C₃ = Eager Beavers

Appendix VII

Number of Other Relevant Articles (Unweighted):
Cell Means

	A ₁ (St. Hyacinth)					
	B ₁ (Instructor)			B ₂ (Asst. Prof.)		
	C ₁	C ₂	C ₃	C ₁	C ₂	C ₃
Mean	1.78	2.00	1.14	2.78	2.44	1.29
n	9	8	7	9	9	7
s.d.	3.53	2.67	1.57	2.70	5.92	1.71

	A ₂ (Univ. of Mass.)					
	B ₁ (Instructor)			B ₂ (Asst. Prof.)		
	C ₁	C ₂	C ₃	C ₁	C ₂	C ₃
Mean	4.33	4.33	0.44	1.33	2.78	2.56
n	9	9	9	9	9	9
s.d.	5.48	5.83	0.73	2.65	3.11	3.24

Note: C₁ = Mod Squad; C₂ = Old Turks; C₃ = Eager Beavers

Appendix VIII

Total Number of Articles (Weighted):
Cell Means

	A ₁ (St. Hyacinth)					
	B ₁ (Instructor)			B ₂ (Asst. Prof.)		
	C ₁	C ₂	C ₃	C ₁	C ₂	C ₃
Mean	3.67	6.38	3.86	4.67	4.11	3.14
n	9	8	7	9	9	7
s.d.	4.77	6.02	2.48	3.12	7.77	1.68

	A ₂ (Univ. of Mass.)					
	B ₁ (Instructor)			B ₂ (Asst. Prof.)		
	C ₁	C ₂	C ₃	C ₁	C ₂	C ₃
Mean	6.56	8.11	1.67	5.44	5.67	6.00
n	9	9	9	9	9	9
s.d.	6.48	7.04	1.94	4.19	4.85	5.41

Note: C₁ = Mod Squad; C₂ = Old Turks; C₃ = Eager Beavers

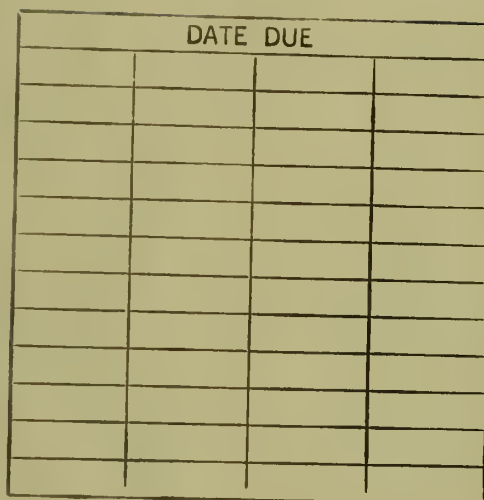
Appendix IX

Total Number of Articles (Unweighted):
Cell Means

	A ₁ (St. Hyacinth)					
	B ₁ (Instructor)			B ₂ (Asst. Prof.)		
	C ₁	C ₂	C ₃	C ₁	C ₂	C ₃
Mean	3.56	3.75	3.86	4.56	4.11	3.14
n	9	8	7	9	9	7
s.d.	4.80	3.20	2.48	2.96	7.77	1.68

	A ₂ (Univ. of Mass.)					
	B ₁ (Instructor)			B ₂ (Asst. Prof.)		
	C ₁	C ₂	C ₃	C ₁	C ₂	C ₃
Mean	6.22	7.78	1.67	4.22	5.67	6.00
n	9	9	9	9	9	9
s.d.	6.06	6.80	1.94	3.93	4.85	5.41

Note: C₁ = Mod Squad; C₂ = Old Turks; C₃ = Eager Beavers



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