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Factors Affecting the Reporting of Suspected Child Abuse

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FACTORS AFFECTING THE REPORTING
OF SUSPECTED CHILD ABUSE

by

Sandra Shane-DuBow

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of Loyola University of Chicago in Partial Fulfillment
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VITA

Sandra Shane-DuBow was born in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1941. She attended Solon High School and received her B.A. in English literature from Ohio Wesleyan University in 1963. She received a secondary teaching credential in the M.A.T. program at Oberlin College in 1965, and a general teaching credential for grades 7 through 14 from the state of California in 1966. She taught a total of six years at the nursery school, junior and senior high school, and junior college levels in this country, and at University College, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, for one year. In 1973 she entered the graduate program in psychology at Loyola University of Chicago and received a department assistantship. While a graduate student she was also a research assistant on a research project investigating citizen crime prevention programs and funded by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. She is currently employed as a research associate by the American Judicature Society which is conducting a National Science Foundation study of trial court judges.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Problem of Underreporting

The research on reactions to suspected child abuse reported here grew out of an interest in two diverse areas of psychology -- abnormal behavior in parent-child interactions and witness's reactions to crime. In both of these areas, the situation of suspected child abuse presents an unusual set of circumstances to professional and nonprofessional observers. Unlike many of the behaviors with which mental health and law enforcement personnel must deal, cases of suspected abuse are uniquely ambiguous decision-making situations. Not only does the offender act contrary to normal and valued expectations, but she/he usually does so in the unobservable privacy of a home and frequently against a victim who is unable to report the victimization. Lay persons, without the benefit of clinical training or the direct support of legitimate authority, may be seen to have an especially difficult task if they encounter a situation involving a case of possible abuse. Fears of mistakenly invading another person's privacy with consequent social embarrassment, legal or physical reprisal, or ineffective resolution can weigh heavily against the desire to help or to obey the law.

Failure to report suspected victimization or observed victimization is now regarded as widespread with respect to much of what may be called criminal activity. There is extensive documentation of the crime underreporting problem (Block, 1971, 1974; Clark and Word, 1972; U.S. Department of Justice, 1974) although systematic studies of the psychological variables which influence witnesses' decision to report are few in number. (See Bickman, Green, Edwards, Shane-DuBow, Lavrakas, North-Walker, and Borkowski [1976] for an extensive overview of the underreporting problem and related psychological studies.) The tip-of-the-iceberg phenomenon in reference to the underreporting of child abuse appears to be even larger in magnitude and less studied than that associated with other types of crimes. To this writer's knowledge only one recent study, utilizing a large sample of randomly dialed phone interviews, actually attempted to investigate peoples' responses to child abuse. In this study O'Neil (Note 1) included 11 different hypothetical criminal situations presented to 1,200 citizens in the city of Chicago. These hypothetical crimes ranged from overhearing a loud and violent family argument to observing drug sales or witnessing a hold up. All of the criminal situations, including the one describing a child abuse event, were described as actual crimes and were presented as not especially ambiguous events. On the basis of this study, O'Neil found that child abuse is one of the least reported serious crimes proportionate to other hypothetical criminal situations presented in his survey. It is important to note that in

contrast to O'Neil's study, the emphasis of the present study is on the situation of suspected child abuse. The hypothetical situation used here is highly ambiguous.

The literature on child abuse provides reasons why professionals and doctors in particular are reluctant to report suspected abuse (Helfer, 1974) and suggests that the vast majority of calls to protective services come from concerned neighbors (Kempe, 1969; Kempe and Helfer, 1972). However, this literature provides no reports of systematic investigations into antecedent conditions. Materials from interviews with social service professionals indicates that even with federal and state legislation requiring professionals to report, most abuse reports still originate from nonprofessionals, neighbors, or family members. Moreover, these respondents state that daily case-work uncovers unreported child abuse almost as a matter of course in multiproblem families (Shane-DuBow, Note 2). Thus, despite growing concern with the problem of abuse and with the underreporting of crime in general, there is little known about the underreporting of child abuse and little psychological research on the reasons for it.

Although the research reported here was not intended to deal with the more clinical aspects of the abuse problem, the statistics on the incidence of child abuse present a grim backdrop to the more immediate interest of why people do or do not report. In 1972, the reported incidence of physical abuse of children was generally 6 per 1000 live births. This means that the reported prevalence was

approximately 600 cases per million population that year. Also in 1972, just over 10% of injuries seen in hospital emergency rooms in children under 5 years of age were diagnosed as child abuse (Kempe, 1973). Current estimates indicate that between 50,000 and 500,000 children in the United States suffer physical abuse at the hands of their parents or adult caretakers (Koch and Koch, 1975), and officials state that the wide range of variance in estimates of abuse is testimony to the fact that medical and social service personnel believe that the underreporting statistic is a seriously large one.

What influences the decision to report child abuse? Probably a number of important variables, some inherent in the general abuse phenomenon, some peculiar to a specific abuse incident, and perhaps some a function of certain personality characteristics of the potential reporter. This research was an attempt to investigate some of the psychological factors which affect nonprofessionals as they decide whether to intervene in and/or report a case of suspected abuse. While these factors may include personality dimensions such as empathy or a consistent tendency toward altruism, much of the recent social-psychological research dealing with reporting is focused on the witnesses' appraisal of situational variables rather than specific personality traits. The research reported here also focused primarily on situational variables--those of consensus and consequence consideration--but included an attempt to examine the interaction between these and the personality factor

of locus-of-control.

For the purposes of this study, the consensus variable was defined as the presence or absence of another adult's independently derived judgment of child abuse in a suspected abuse case. Consequence consideration was defined as the mention or lack of mention of possible outcomes to subjects' actions. Although the consensus and consequence factors were thought to be potentially important influences on the subjects' form of action, the locus-of-control measure was considered a probable influence on the actual decision to act or not, regardless of the form of the action.

The selection of these three factors, consensus, consequence consideration, and locus-of-control, was based upon the results of previous findings in the literature on bystander and helping behavior, extensive reading of child abuse case files, and interviews with mental health field workers and police officers. It was anticipated that measurement of these selected situational and personality influences on subjects' probable action, with a single hypothetical abuse case as the stimulus for all subjects, would help to establish the salience of these factors in reporting child abuse. The use of this information in public messages about child abuse is one of the possible (albeit distant) applications of such an inquiry.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE AND HYPOTHESES

Situational Variables

Much of the research on bystander and helping behavior is based on a situational analysis approach. This approach also appears applicable to the study of reactions to suspected child abuse. However, the distinctive aspects of child abuse render intervention in it a relatively different phenomenon from those involved in other types of helping behavior. Specifically, early bystander studies indicated that individuals in a group or aggregate of people tend to experience a diffusion of responsibility in emergency situations (Bickman, 1972; Korte, 1971; Latane and Darley, 1968; Latane and Rodin, 1969; Middlebrook, 1974). These studies documented the mediating effects of other people in the way individual subjects interpreted ambiguous situations of a potentially emergency nature. The findings indicated that the presence of others is an important situational determinant of bystander nonintervention in emergency occurrences. Related studies have attempted to isolate specific aspects of the bystander situation. Bystanders have been found to be more likely to help if they are friends of other bystanders or acquainted with the victim (Latané and Darley, 1969; 1970) or when they are directly asked

for help by a victim whom they perceive as genuinely needy (Hudson and Korte, 1976; Piliavin, Rodin, and Piliavin, 1969; Sudefeld, Bochner, and Wnek, 1972).

Although aspects of the above findings pertain to the situation of child abuse, there are some important differences. The actual abuse emergency is seldom seen by one bystander, let alone a group of bystanders. Study of case reports indicates that, more likely than not, the bystander in the abuse situation is a neighbor or community member who notices physical traces of what may be called a previous emergency. Although they may know the victim or other neighbors who have also noted physical traces of abuse, observers of abuse are bystanders after the fact, so to speak. Although the diffusion-of-responsibility finding may hold with reference to those who suspect abuse (in that one neighbor may assume someone else is doing something about it), the emergency or crisis state is generally over or at least diminished by the time it is noticed. Simply, the specific abuse situation is not a highly visible one. In addition, even though it does not take much imagination to perceive an abused child as genuinely needy, the devastating clinical fact is that abused children who are able to speak almost never complain about their abusers. Rather, the abused child develops an elaborate rationalization of why she/he deserved such treatment (Gil, 1972; Helfer, 1968, 1970; Jackson, 1972). It is rare to find a case study which cites the victimized child as having asked anyone for help in the abuse context.

Many of the variables studied in bystander research, then, do not directly apply to the child abuse bystander.

Consensus

The diffusion-of-responsibility finding may, however, relate to the suspected abuse situation in a different way. If interpreting the nature of an ambiguous event (or emergency) involves some attempt to discover what other people think about it, then other peoples' evaluations of a situation should influence the observer's interpretation. (That may very likely be why subjects in Latane and Darley's "smoke, but maybe not fire" experiment [1969] were influenced in their responses by stooges who either calmly ignored the smoke, took apparent charge and did something, or told the subject to do something.) In ambiguous situations, for both the on-hand observer and the after-the-fact observer, understanding or identifying the situation and any relevant behavior is probably influenced by what observers think other observers are thinking or doing. In ambiguous situations we tend toward social comparison (Festinger, 1954; Gordon, 1966). Festinger's social comparison theory posits that there is a drive to evaluate one's opinions and abilities. In general, people use objective reality when forming their opinions, but if it is not available, they will turn to the opinions and actions of others to help interpret the situation (Festinger, Riecken, and Schacter, 1956). If the situation is unclear, therefore, a confirming or disconfirming opinion from someone who has information about the situation may change a per-

son's initial interpretation and subsequent course of action. To determine how important this would be in suspected child abuse situations, the consensus variable was manipulated in this study to determine whether the presence or lack of another adult's independently derived judgment about the ambiguous situation would influence the subject's interpretation of it.

Consequence Consideration

Another factor peculiar to the emergency of child abuse is the fact that evidence of abuse typically occurs over a period of time. It is possible that the potential helper's disposition to help (report or intervene) reflects a complex interaction of variables which the helper may re-evaluate from day to day as the evidence of suspected abuse seems more or less significant. This is a helping situation which is unlike most of the situations used in previous studies of helping behavior. In this situation the potential helpers have time to reflect on the positive and negative implications of their course of action. Unlike other emergency situations bystanders to the on-going emergency of child abuse may perceive themselves as being in a more or less permanent bystander situation.

Most of the studies of helping behavior focused on situational aspects that are immediate. Berkowitz and Connor (1966), for example, showed that altruistic action increased when subjects were feeling good or experiencing a "glow of good-will." Other studies indicated that subjects were more likely to help when they felt that

they had the time to intervene or assist (Darley and Batson, 1973; Kaufmann, 1970; Staub, 1974) or after they had recently observed helping and altruistic models (Bryan and Test, 1967; Grusec, 1972; Moss and Page, 1972). In these studies subjects decided to help because of relevant information they ascertained or from which they generalized at the moment. In the typical abuse situation the temporal factor of having not only the immediate (or near to immediate) impressions, but rather suspicions and thoughts about possible abuse over a period of time, may affect the decision to help in a way different from the consensus influence discussed above. If helpers have a longer period of time to think through ambiguous evidence, will the consideration of whatever consequences which might ensue from their own helping action have an important effect on whether they actually help or not? Even if an abuse observer had enough time to report, for example, would consideration of legal involvement modify helping reactions or inhibit them altogether? To determine how important this would be in suspected child abuse situations the variable of consequence consideration was manipulated in this study by the mention or lack of mention of possible negative or positive outcomes to helping.

Situational Variables and Locus-of-Control

Of interest to the present study is a group of experiments which focused on how the situational variables of helping relate to the self-expectations held by subject bystanders witnessing various emergencies (Clark and Word, 1972; Goronson and Berkowitz,

1966; Horowitz, 1971; Schwartz and Clausen, 1970; Staub, 1972). In particular, the Schwartz and Clausen study explored subjects' feelings of responsibility and definition of personal expectations in a situation where an experimental confederate feigned a seizure. They found that the speed of helping dropped significantly when another bystander appeared to be medically competent. Subjects' self-perceptions of their own effectiveness as potential helpers were influenced by their evaluations of their own competence relative to the others present. In this particular study it appeared that the presence of someone professing medical training had a powerful effect on whether they assisted the victim. What is at issue in people's reactions to suspected abuse is not this particular variable per se (although the presence of medical personnel might indeed be a significant deterrent to nonmedical bystander intervention), but rather that potential helpers in the child abuse situation must evaluate their own competence without knowing who else might consider helping or who might also identify the possible child abuse as such.

The decision making process relative to suspected child abuse involves, to some degree, the amount of confidence bystanders have in their ability to assist or even to correctly assess the situation. Although the variables of another person's opinion of what is happening (consensus) and/or the consideration of possible consequences if one intervenes (consequence consideration) may influence that process, the degree to which bystanders believe in their

own perceptions of cause and effect may also influence the process. A locus-of-control measure has frequently been used in previous studies to indicate subjects' self-perception of their abilities to accurately assess cause and effects of their own behavior (Gore and Rotter, 1963; Krauss and Blanchard, 1970; Liverant and Scodel, 1960; Phares, 1968; Rotter, Chance, and Phares, 1972; Strickland, 1965), that is, to correctly judge whether they themselves or an external force or person governed their behavior.

In these studies the difference between internal and external locus-of-control is defined as the degree to which individuals perceive that reward follows from their own abilities or behavior versus the degree to which they feel reward is controlled by forces outside themselves and occurs independently of their own actions. Rotter (1966) and others using his locus-of-control measure, believed there were consistent, individual differences between those described as internals versus those described as externals. Among these consistent differences were implications that internals would be more alert to aspects of the environment which provide useful information for future behavior as well as resistive to subtle attempts to influence that behavior once a course of action was determined. Because such interpretations of self seem salient to the decision making process in the ambiguous child abuse situation a locus-of-control measure was included in this study.

Hypotheses and Goals of the Study

The present study was designed to investigate factors that may

be relevant to the problem of the underreporting of child abuse. It is important to understand whether the ambiguity of the abuse situation hinders a correct assessment of the events or whether the seriousness of the situation and possible negative consequences of action taken by the bystander/helper is a more plausible explanation of failure to report or to intervene. A closer inspection of the aspects of the situation which seem most relevant to potential helpers' ability to decide upon a course of action and the form in which the decision is manifested (e.g., further information seeking, reporting, personal intervention, ignoring) is needed. This is tantamount to seeking information of the basic and common situational facts which encourage or retard helping specific to child abuse.

Due to ethical and pragmatic difficulties inherent in studying subjects as they encounter an actual case of suspected abuse, the use of a hypothetical situation for the experimental stimulus was regarded as necessary. To counteract the problem usually identified with simulation and with self-reported behavior, every effort was made to create an abuse story that was as realistic as possible. Questions about subjects' probable behavior were designed to be as specific to the particular abuse situation as possible. A secondary goal of this study was to explore an assessment technique which might be used in future field research as well as to give baseline data on the effects of consensus, consequence consideration, and locus-of-control.

This study, therefore, focused on three variables which may affect decision making and subsequent action in an ambiguous child abuse situation. Specifically, one purpose of this research was to determine how levels of consensus (positive, negative, and absent) and consequence consideration (positive, negative, and absent) affect subjects' decision making process in formulating an opinion or a course of probable action regarding a hypothetical abuse case. The expectation here was that subjects in positive consensus and consequence consideration conditions would be more likely to interpret the ambiguous situation as child abuse and state some form of intervention behavior than those in absent or negative conditions. A second purpose was to investigate the extent to which subjects' locus-of-control influenced their self-reported probable action. The presumption here was that subjects with an internal locus-of-control would tend to be less influenced by variations across conditions, that is, would exhibit more similar mean scores than those of subjects with an external locus-of-control.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

Subjects

The subjects for this study were 45 men and 45 women students in an introductory psychology course at a large, urban university. Their mean age was 20.9 years. Subjects were predominately middle class, 82% being white and the remainder members of Latin, black, and oriental minority groups. All of the sample were living in an urban setting and over 90% came from an urban home environment. Participation in the research was voluntary but helped to fulfill a requirement for the course. Only five were married and only three had children of their own.

Approximately 87% of the subjects had some prior exposure to the child abuse problem through the media, and 17% had real experience with a child abuse situation. This experience ranged from being a neighbor to a suspected abusive family, a friend to someone who had been abused as a child, the childhood subject of an abusive parent, or a volunteer or worker in an agency or hospital that handled abuse cases.

Measures

Story. Subjects were given a hypothetical story of a suspected abuse situation to read. This three paragraph story was

constructed for the purposes of the study. Each subject read the same basic story and then, depending on which of the nine conditions he or she had been randomly assigned to, read two, one, or no additional paragraphs. The paragraphs represented the variations in the three levels of consensus and consequence considerations to which each subject was exposed. Because of the unique nature of helping or intervening in suspected child abuse, the following definitions for consensus and consequence considerations were used:

Positive Consensus: One other adult who independently and without solicitation contributed supporting evidence and/or stated a similar decision about the evidence in question.

Positive Consequence: The victim (s) were assisted (both child and family) and the bystander/helper experienced feelings of gratification or reward without having to undergo prolonged stressful involvement.

Negative levels of consensus and consequence were, of course, the same paragraphs with the opposite substantive information. In conditions with no mention of consensus and/or consequences, the relevant paragraph (s) simply was not present. The following is the story with all of the variations.

THE NEIGHBORS DOWN THE HALL: simulated story of suspected child abuse.

Since they moved in four months ago you have heard much shouting and uncontrollable sobbing coming from the new neighbor's apartment. You have only seen the adults a few times in the hall (the woman stays inside a lot and the man seems to work late hours), but your four-year-old nephew, Danny, who stays

with you a few hours on the days his mother has classes, once played with their boy who looks about Danny's age. That day you watched through your front window as the boys ran up and down the front stairs quite happily until the boy's mother came out. As soon as he saw her the new boy immediately became very quiet and walked along beside her. They did not appear to be talking at all.

When he came in Danny seemed puzzled and said that the new boy was so scared that someone would be angry with them for running up and down the outside stairs. During his bath that night, Danny (who was staying over because his mother was studying for exams), asked how people got round burns on their arms. Thinking he meant measles you started to talk about the little spots children got all over, but he interrupted you to insist he meant little burns, like the new boy had on his arms and on the backs of his legs. When you asked how he knew they were burns, your nephew answered, "Because I asked him and he told me."

This afternoon you heard shouting coming from the apartment again and cries from the child. A little later, as you went out to empty your garbage, you passed the back door of their apartment. Because of the warmer weather their door, like yours, was open and you could see in through the screen. The mother was sitting on a chair, smoking and staring out a window. The boy was huddled on the floor slowly rocking his body back and forth. He was holding his arms in a strange position and even from the doorway you could see the tears on his face. Neither the boy or his mother saw you and you passed quickly down the hall.

CONSENSUS: positive

Tonight you met another neighbor at the nearby grocery store. Their family lives in the apartment on the other side of the new people. They have also heard the shouting and crying and once saw the mother pinch the boy's nostrils shut to keep him quiet in a store.

CONSENSUS: negative

Tonight you met another neighbor at the nearby grocery store. Their family lives in the apartment on the other side of the new people. They have not heard any shouting or extraordinary crying. They once saw the mother spank the boy for running close to the curb of a busy street.

CONSEQUENCES: positive

The clerk who has heard you talking and who has lived in the

neighborhood for a long time remembers that someone in her building had once tried to do something about a situation like that. She remembers that it was a very long process, but that the family eventually worked things out and that before they moved away they invited the person to a special family dinner.

CONSEQUENCES: negative

The clerk who has heard you talking and who has lived in the neighborhood for a long time remembers that someone in her building had once tried to do something about a situation like that. She remembers that it was a very long process and that the family did not seem to work things out. Before they moved away there was an angry scene with the family and that person.

Based on case reports of child abuse, interviews with community workers and police who deal with the abuse problem, and developmental and social psychological literature relevant to this study, the following considerations were included in story construction. The status, attractiveness, and role of the victim and parent as well as the potential helper were kept as neutral as possible. The potential helper was not, for example, a friend of the victim. In varying the levels of consensus and consequences, modeling was avoided as much as possible. In the positive consequence condition, for example, mention was made of a person who had intervened in a situation like this, but no detail of what that person had done was included. The emotional level of the story was kept as neutral and factual as possible and sex identification of the potential helper and the adult providing consensus kept ambiguous. The type of abuse suggested in the story is clearly recognized as abuse by the vast majority of people (some persons do not frown on spanking, but no one condones burning a child). This case was not, for example, a situation of psychological abuse, but rather graphic

and physical mistreatment recognized as such by most persons.

Finally, the information gathering process was seen as occurring, as it would if the hypothetical abuse situation was happening in actuality, over a period of time. This last consideration especially applies to the ongoing bystander role most neighbors or friends are in when they are witness to the unfolding of a suspected abuse case.

Open-ended question. The open-ended question placed immediately following the story required subjects to describe what they would do about the situation they had just read and explain why they would do so. They were also asked to indicate what they would not do and why, and urged to make their answer as complete as possible. The answer to the open-ended question was regarded as the major dependent variable. It read as follows:

If you were the person in this story (the "you"--Danny's relative), what would you decide to do about this situation and why? What would you not do and why? Please answer as completely as possible.

Answers to this question were scored by the author and another rater using a code of possible answer categories developed by the author after extensive reading of actual child abuse case files. These answer categories were "avoid or ignore," "further information seeking," "report to agency or police," and "directly intervene." Of the 90 responses made by subjects, 89 were readily grouped into one of the four categories. One response which began with "I don't know" also included sufficient indication of probable

information seeking that the answer was recoded as "further information seeking." There was 88% interrater reliability on the blind coding of these four categories. In cases of disagreement, the author's ratings were used.

Questionnaire. The second part of the assessment of subjects' reactions to the story consisted of a multipart questionnaire designed by the author to serve as a check on subjects' responses to the open-ended question and to provide additional information. On an 11-point scale ranging from "extremely likely" (10) to "not at all likely" (0) subjects were asked to respond to three sets of questions. The first set of 12 items (called "If You Were Danny's Relative") represented a wide range of their own possible behaviors if they themselves had to deal with the abuse setting described in the story they had read. They included a representative sample of common reactions to child abuse, were based on actual case files, and included the following possible behaviors:

IF YOU WERE DANNY'S RELATIVE

On the line before each of the following statements please write the number which indicates how likely or unlikely you would be to do the action described if you were Danny's relative. Number 10 indicates that you would be extremely likely to take this course of action. Zero indicates that you would be not at all likely to take this course of action. (You can, of course, choose your probable course of action as any of the numbers in between).

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
not at										extremely
all likely										likely

_____ invite the new boy's parents over for a beer and generally try to befriend them to see if there is something you can do to help them

- _____ call the police and make a report
- _____ try to invite the new boy in to play with Danny so you can reassure him about some adults at least
- _____ forget the whole thing and mind your own business
- _____ avoid the new boy's mother
- _____ try to find out more about the situation by watching closely
- _____ report what you have observed and heard to an agency that deals with child abuse
- _____ talk to other neighbors to see if you can find out more information about the family
- _____ go over to the new neighbor's apartment to stop whatever is going on the next time you hear the boy screaming
- _____ move to a new building
- _____ get Danny to find out more about the "spots" on the boy's arms and legs
- _____ call a friend in social work school to find out how to report the situation

The second set of 12 items (called "Further Information") represented a wide range of what subjects felt other people's possible behaviors would be if they were faced with the abuse setting described in the story. The measurement of what subjects thought other people would do was included to see whether subjects thought there would be differences between the way they might respond and the way other people would respond, as well as to explore the possibilities of any such differences varying significantly with locus-of-control scores. The other's behavior items included the following possible opinions:

FURTHER INFORMATION

Part of this experiment is understanding why individuals react as they do to the story "The Neighbor Down the Hall". Please indicate your reactions by writing the most appropriate number for each of the following questions. Because this is an especially sensitive issue, please read each question carefully.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
not at										very
all										much

_____ Would most people feel that if they got to know the parents of the new boy, they might help change the way he is treated?

_____ Would most people find that avoiding the boy's mother was the easiest thing to do?

_____ Do you think most people feel that reporting a case like this to some professional and/or therapeutic agency helps?

_____ How much do you think a situation like this would make most people want to move?

_____ Do you think most people would try to get to know the boy's parents and offer to do things with the boy from time to time?

_____ Would most people get their nephew (or a similar person) to find out more about what was going on with the new neighbors?

_____ Would most people rather phone the police than actually get involved themselves?

_____ Would most people want to talk to someone - like a teacher or social worker who they knew a little - before deciding what to do in a situation like this?

_____ Do you think most people would try to be especially friendly to the boy?

_____ Would most people want to talk to other neighbors before deciding what to do?

_____ Do you think the majority of people who were witnesses to a case like this would just try to forget the whole thing?

_____ Do you think most people would want to know more about this situation before they decided what to do?

The last items of the questionnaire asked for a variety of additional information including demographic data and prior experience with child abuse. Several different manipulation check items were also included in the last group. These items included reference to whether there was another adult mentioned in the story who felt something terrible was happening to the boy and whether there was mention of another adult who tried to do something about a situation similar to the one in the story.

Locus of control. The final measure in the study was a 20-item locus-of-control test, the Northwestern Personality Inventory (NPI) (see Appendix A), recently developed and regarded by Youkalis (Note 3) as more appropriate for college students than the much used scale developed by Rotter (1966). It is worth noting, however, that Youkalis reported that scores on the two measures were significantly correlated at .64. Answers to the locus-of-control measure were scored by adding subjects' scores for each item. Possible scores for each individual item ranged from 1 to 4. The range of total possible scores (locus of control) was 20 to 80 with the 20 being the highest possible internal score and the 80 being the highest possible external score. Actual scores resulting from this testing ranged from 22 to 54. This range was in keeping with previous research which was indicated that college students--as measured in laboratory studies--tend to achieve higher internal scores than randomly chosen numbers of the general population, also measured in laboratory studies (Baron, 1968; Evans and Alexander, 1970).

Procedure

The actual testing sessions were brief. Participation in the experiment itself and in a debriefing discussion (see Appendix B) held immediately afterward required less than one hour. Because one of the principal goals of the study was to ascertain the suitability of a simulated stimulus to investigate people's reporting and intervention behavior with regard to child abuse, the debriefing sessions involved careful questioning of subjects on matters of story realism. Particular attention was paid to subjects' evaluation of the story's appropriateness and quality of general detail.

All subjects were tested in 20 to 25 member groups and all subjects participated in the experiment in the same manner. That is, all subjects first read the hypothetical abuse story and answered the open-ended question and then responded to the multipart questionnaire. Finally, all subjects answered the questions on the locus-of-control measure. After all of the experiment response booklets were turned in, all subjects participated in the debriefing sessions held immediately after the testing.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

One of the goals of this study was to design and test a measurement instrument useful for investigating social-psychological factors which might influence nonprofessional judgment in cases of suspected abuse. The study was also designed to investigate two substantive hypotheses regarding psychological factors which may be involved in such cases. It was hypothesized that the positive consensus and consequence consideration conditions would significantly influence subjects' decision-making process. It was expected that these conditions would elicit more intervention and reporting behavior than was reported by subjects in negative or absent consensus and consequence consideration conditions. It was also hypothesized that types of scores (internal or external) on the locus-of-control measure would be related to subjects' choice of probable action, with high internals being less influenced by variation across consensus and consequence considerations.

Two major dependent variables were used in the analyses. The first was based on the answers to the open-ended question asked immediately after presentation of the abuse story. The second was a standardized score derived from subjects' answers to the two 12-item questionnaires which asked them to rate respectively how

likely they ("If You Were Danny's Relative") and others ("Further Information") would be to act in various manners if they had been in the situation described in the story. Subjects' scores on the locus-of-control test, the Northwestern Personality Inventory, were also examined as were their answers on other questionnaire items involving demographic and descriptive background.

Manipulation Check

Since determining the usefulness of simulation as an appropriate mode of inquiry in this problem area was considered as important as the substantive findings, a brief look at the results of several method checks is in order. Despite the artificiality of a simulated stimulus, 42% of the subjects rated a questionnaire item which asked how real the story seemed the full 10 points on a 10-point scale. (Possible scale points ranged from "0" which was "no agreement" to "10" which was "strong agreement.") The mean of all answers to that item was 8.5 with only 9% of the subjects rating the story "realness" as 5 (scale midpoint) or below. The means of scores to two other questionnaire items, "Do you think this sort of thing happens a lot?" and "How severely abused do you think this boy has been?" were 7.4 and 8.5 respectively. These consistently high scores were interpreted as indicating a high degree of realism in the experimental stimulus.

Answers to two questionnaire items designed to serve as manipulation checks clearly confirmed that subjects were aware of the levels of consensus and consequence consideration and responded as

anticipated in six of the nine conditions. All subjects in the consensus positive condition, for example, correctly answered in the affirmative when responding to the questionnaire item asking if there had been mention in the story of another adult who believed something terrible was happening to the boy. In each of the three conditions in which all subjects did not confirm they had been aware of the levels of consensus and consequence consideration, a negative level (i.e., there had been mention of another adult but that adult had not heard any shouting) caused the manipulation check item to be misinterpreted. One subject in the negative consensus condition, for example, tried to indicate that there had indeed been mention of another adult in the story, but that the adult did not believe something terrible was happening to the boy. However, response variation in these three conditions occurred in less than 4% of all 90 answers (a total of 3 subjects), and careful debriefing discussions with the few incorrectly scoring subjects indicated that the source of misinterpretation was the working of the manipulation check item relative to the negative level in the experimental conditions rather than subjects' misperception of their condition. In sum, the method of using a variety of simulated stimuli for investigation subjects' response to a suspected child abuse situation was judged to be effective in this study.

Open-Ended Question

The open-ended question placed immediately after the story required subjects to describe what they would do if they were in

the place of Danny's relative and why. It also asked them to indicate what they would not do and why, and urged them to make their answer as complete as possible. Contrary to the experimenter's expectations that most subjects would report high degrees of helping and altruistic intervention behaviors in this laboratory, paper-and-pencil situation, the results of the open-ended question (see Table 1) suggested a relatively judicious attending to situational variables. Although 44.4% of all subjects across all conditions indicated that they would report the suspected abuse to an agency or to the police, 36.7% indicated that they would either try to find out more about the situation before doing anything or would ignore it altogether. Only 18.9% of all subjects reported that they would actively and personally intervene in the situation.

The total scores for each of the four types of possible answers to the open-ended question were found to be significantly different from each other, $\chi^2(1) = 17.42$, $p < .001$. The distribution of the four types of responses was not significantly associated with locus-of-control scores (internal or external) discussed below, $\chi^2(5) = 2.32$, $p > .80$, or by sex, $\chi^2(5) = 7.07$, $p > .31$. The frequency of answer types to the open-ended question, then, apparently reflected differences in the way subjects responded to the story. They were not significantly affected by either internal or external tendencies as described by the locus-of-control measure or by sex.

Table 1

Types of Answers to Open-Ended Question For All Conditions^a

Answer Category	Story Condition									Total	
	+0	+-	-+	0+	-0	0-	++	00	--		
Avoid or Escape	$\frac{N}{\%}$	1 1.1	1 1.1	1 1.1	0 0	1 1.1	0 0	3 3.3	0 0	1 1.1	8 8.9
Further Information Seeking	$\frac{N}{\%}$	3 3.3	2 2.2	1 1.1	1 1.1	6 6.7	3 3.3	2 2.2	2 2.2	5 5.5	25 27.8
Report to Agency Or Police	$\frac{N}{\%}$	2 2.2	7 7.8	7 7.8	3 3.3	2 2.2	5 5.6	4 4.4	7 7.8	3 3.3	40 44.4
Intervene Personally	$\frac{N}{\%}$	4 4.4	0 0	1 1.1	6 6.7	1 1.1	2 2.2	1 1.1	1 1.1	1 1.1	17 18.9

^aAbbreviations for conditions use the first symbol to refer to consensus and the second symbol to refer to consequence considerations. The "0" indicates absence of level, the "-" indicates a negative level, and the "+" indicates a positive level. For example, +0 indicates the condition with positive consensus and absent consequence considerations.

Besides the initial scoring of the open-ended question (described above), answers were also scored by rating (a) the subject's first response indicating what she/he would not do, (b) the subject's second response indicating what she/he would do if the first course of action did not have a satisfactory result, (c) whether an abuse decision (both confirming or disconfirming) was actually made or not, (d) whether consensus was mentioned as necessary to be able to make a decision, and (e) whether consequence consideration was mentioned as important in making a decision. Only the subject's first response indicating what she/he would do and the abuse decision response (whether an abuse decision--confirming or disconfirming--was actually made or not) generated enough data to analyze statistically.

Despite directions urging them to answer as fully as possible, almost 60% of all subjects made no mention of what they would do or not do as an alternative if their first response did not have a satisfactory result. Over 80% of all subjects made no mention of consensus or consequence considerations in their open-ended answers and those who did were not related to condition. Approximately 57% of all subjects did make a decision about the abuse situation (see "c" above). The distribution of subjects who did make a decision was significant across the nine conditions, $\chi^2(8) = 19.55$, $p < .02$, and was interpreted as reflecting differences in the way subjects responded to the story they read. In particular, levels of consensus (but not consequence consid-

eration) and a decision about the abuse situation appeared to be significantly related (see Table 2), $\chi^2(2) = 16.55$, $p < .001$. Subjects in a positive consensus condition were 2.5 times more likely to make a decision about the abuse situation than those in a negative consensus condition. Subjects in a consensus absent condition were almost as likely as those in a consensus positive condition to make a decision. Sex and locus-of-control scores (internal and external) were not significantly associated with whether a subject actually made a decision about the possibility of abuse, $\chi^2(1) = .18$, $p > .67$ and $\chi^2(1) = .02$, $p > .89$, respectively.

Open-ended question: Analysis of variance. To further investigate the frequency distributions of the open-ended answers, the coded scores were used to establish an ordered metric scale as described by Coombs (1953) with which to rank answers so that an analysis of variance incorporating the variations in treatment levels might be performed. (The ordered metric scale falls, for statistical purposes, between the ordinal and interval levels and consists of ordered categories where the relative ordering of the intercategory distances is known even though their absolute magnitude cannot be measured.) The means derived from the ordered metric scale were interpreted as indicating differences along a theoretical bipolar helping dimension and were used in the analysis of variance. To establish the scale, answers to the open-ended question were rescored as follows: a score of 1 indicated avoidance or escape, 2 indicated some form of information seeking,

Table 2

Frequency of Abuse Decision Across Levels of Consensus

<u>Consensus</u>	<u>Did Not Decide</u>	<u>Did Decide</u>
Positive	9	21
Negative	22	8
Absent	8	22

3 indicated some form of reporting, and 4 indicated some form of personal intervention.

The 3 (consensus) X 3 (consequence consideration) analysis of variance performed on the means obtained from the converted scores indicated a significant main effect due to the consensus variable, $F(2,89) = 4.5, p < .02$ (see Table 3). Effects due to the consequence variable or interactions between consensus and consequence considerations were not significant. In other words, subjects were significantly influenced by variations in levels of consensus when they responded to the open-ended question. The direction of that influence, however, was not expected. Based on the means of the ranked open-ended scores (see Table 4), subjects tended to be more likely to help by reporting (mean of 3.4) if they were in a consensus absent condition than if they were in a consensus positive or consensus negative condition (means of 2.3 and 2.6 respectively). The Scheffé method of testing the differences between means indicated that only the difference between the positive consensus and negative consensus was not significant. Subjects were more likely to report if they had read nothing of another adult's confirming or disconfirming opinion. The difference between subjects reading of another adult's confirming opinion and those reading of another adult's disconfirming opinion was negligible.

Locus-of-Control Analysis

The locus-of-control measure was used to investigate subjects'

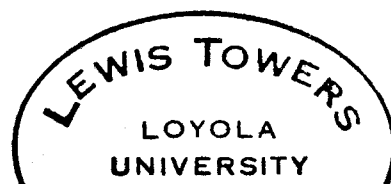


Table 3

Analysis of Variance of Open-Ended Question

<u>Source of Variation</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>p</u>
Main Effects				
Consensus	2	3.10	4.50	<.02
Consequence	2	.43	1.61	
Consensus X Consequences	4	1.18	1.72	
Residual	81	.68		
<hr/>				
Total	89	.76		

Table 4

Frequency of Answer Types to Open-Ended Question
According to Consensus Level

Open-Ended Answer		Absent	Negative	Positive	Total
Avoid or Escape	$\frac{N}{\%}$	0 0	3 3.3	5 5.6	8 8.9
Further Infor- mation Seeking	$\frac{N}{\%}$	6 6.7	12 13.3	7 7.8	25 27.8
Report to Agency or to Police	$\frac{N}{\%}$	15 16.7	12 13.3	13 14.4	40 44.4
Personally Intervene	$\frac{N}{\%}$	9 10.0	3 3.3	5 5.6	17 18.9
Totals	$\frac{N}{\%}$	30 33.3	30 33.3	30 33.3	90 100.0
Mean Rating ^a		3.4	2.6	2.3	

^aThese means were derived from the ordered metric scale used for the answers to the open-ended question. A score of 1 indicated avoidance or escape, 2 indicated some form of information seeking, 3 indicated some form of reporting, and 4 indicated some form of personal intervention.

perceptions of their abilities to accurately assess causes and effects of their own behavior in terms of action in the ambiguous child abuse situation. In this study the median locus-of-control score was 32. For purposes of analysis, subjects were divided into two groups, those with locus-of-control scores of 32 or below and those with scores of 33 and above. Scores of 32 and below were interpreted as internal locus of control. Scores of 33 and above were interpreted as external locus of control. (This was a rather low median, given the possible range of 20 to 80.) A total of 42 subjects were internals and 48 were externals.

To determine if the distribution of internals and externals was random and not associated with subjects' sex or with experimental condition two statistical checks were made. Locus-of-control scores were not significantly associated with sex (see Table 5), $\chi^2(1) = .42, p > .53$. A one-way analysis of variance of internal and external locus-of-control scores for the nine conditions indicated that the locus-of-control distribution was random as well, and not associated with experimental condition (see Table 6), $F(8,81) = 1.43, p > .20$.

As stated earlier in this section, the locus-of-control scores were not significantly associated with the type of answer to the open-ended question or with the making of an actual decision about the possibility of abuse. That is, internals did not appear to be any more inclined to personally intervene or report than did externals, and externals did not appear to hedge less in making a

Table 5

Distribution of Internal and External Locus-of-Control

Scores^a by Subject's Sex

Sex

Locus of Control		Sex		Total
		Men	Women	
Internal	$\frac{N}{\%}$	19	23	42
		21.1	25.6	46.7
External	$\frac{N}{\%}$	26	22	48
		28.9	24.4	53.3
Total	$\frac{N}{\%}$	45	45	90
		50.0	50.0	100.0

^aLocus-of-control scores were collapsed by grouping scores of 32 and below as internal locus and 33 and above as external locus.

Table 6

Distribution of Internal and External Locus-of-Control
Score Means^a and Standard Deviations by Experimental Condition
Consensus Conditions

Consequence Conditions		Absent	Negative	Positive
Absent	<u>M</u>	1.50	1.50	1.30
	<u>SD</u>	.53	.53	.48
Negative	<u>M</u>	1.50	1.60	1.60
	<u>SD</u>	.53	.52	.52
Positive	<u>M</u>	1.60	1.50	1.70
	<u>SD</u>	.52	.53	.48

^aMeans and standard deviations of the locus-of-control scores were based on the coding of scores 32 and below as internal (coded 1) and scores 33 and above as external (coded 2), $F(8,81) = 1.43$, $p > .20$.

decision about the abuse situation (confirming or disconfirming) than internals. This was true across all conditions. Therefore, based on answers to the open-ended question, it seems that locus of control as measured by the Northwestern Personality Inventory did not contribute to choice of probable action reported by subjects. (Locus of control did interact significantly with consensus in one section of the questionnaire part of the study and is discussed below.)

Questionnaire

The second major dependent variable was derived from the scores subjects achieved on the questionnaire. This variable was a two-fold measure -- subjects' ratings of how likely they would be to do the acts described in the first 12 items ("If You Were Danny's Relative") and their ratings of how likely most other people would be to do fairly similar (but not exactly the same) acts described in the second 12 items ("Further Information") if they were in the situation. The data from these two measures were analyzed separately, but in the same manner.

Questionnaire: Factor analysis. For purposes of data reduction and determination of variable patterns, subjects' scores on each of the two 12-item questionnaires were factor analyzed. Based on correlations between variables (R-factor analysis) using inferential factor techniques (with communality estimates replacing the main diagonals of the correlation matrix before factoring), three rather similar factors emerged from each of the questionnaires.

On the self-behavior rating ("If You Were Danny's Relative"), the three factors with items loading above .30 were labeled (I) Do Something, (II) Escape or Avoid, and (III) Further Information Seeking (see Table 7). Factor I, labeled "Do Something," included items 2 (call police), 7 (report to abuse agency), 9 (go over to the boy's apartment the next time screaming is heard), and 12 (call a friend in social work school to find out how to report). Factor II, labeled "Escape or Avoid," included a negative response on item 1 (invite the boy's parents over), and positive responses on items 4 (forget the whole thing), 5 (avoid the boy's mother), and 10 (move to a new building). Factor III, which was labeled "Further Information Seeking," included items 3 (invite the boy in to play with Danny), 8 (talk to other neighbors to see if you can find out more information), and 11 (get Danny to find out more information). Item 6 (try to find out more about the situation by watching more closely) did not load high on any of the factors and was dropped from subsequent analysis of the factors.

On the other people's behavior rating ("Further Information"), the three factors were (I) Do Something Personally, (II) Ask Someone What to Do or Report, and (III) Avoid or Escape (see Table 8). On this second questionnaire of 12 items, the factor labeled "Do Something Personally" included items 13 (most people would want to get to know the boy's parents), 15 (most people would report to an agency), 17 (most people would want to do things with the boy), and negative responses on items 14 (most people would avoid the

Table 7

Factor Analysis of Self-Behavior Ratings

Loadings of the Three Factors of the Self-Behavior Ratings, "If You Were Danny's Relative": Varimax
Rotated Factor Matrix after rotation with Kaiser Normalization

ITEMS	mean ^a	SD	factors		
			I. Do Something	II. Avoid or Escape	III. Seek Infor- mation
1. Invite parents over	5.58	3.35	-.27	-.41	.08
2. Call police	5.28	3.70	.64	.04	.09
3. Invite boy in	7.21	2.59	-.05	-.21	.52
4. Forget whole thing	.90	1.72	-.27	.56	-.13
5. Avoid boy's mother	2.18	2.40	.11	.82	.18
6. Find out more by watching	7.78	2.32	.21	-.16	.29
7. Report to abuse agency	8.08	3.00	.94	-.07	-.04

- continued -

Table 7

Continued

ITEMS	mean ^a	SD	factors		
			I. Do Something	II. Avoid or Escape	III. Seek Infor- mation
8. Talk to neighbors to get more info	6.20	3.12	.27	-.05	.69
9. Go over to boy's next time	3.51	3.10	.40	.09	.07
10. Move to a new building	.26	.98	-.12	.48	-.30
11. Get Danny to find out more	3.50	3.13	.03	.10	.50
12. Call friend to find out how to report	7.63	3.04	.72	-.07	.12

^aThese means and standard deviations are based on initial rating responses with a rating range of very likely to very unlikely, 0 to 10.

Table 8

Factor Analysis of Other's Behavior Ratings

Loadings of the Three Factors of the Others' Behavior Ratings, "Further Information": Varimax Rotated
Factor Matrix After Rotation with Kaiser Normalization

ITEMS	mean ^a	SD	factors		
			I. Do Something Personally	II. Ask What Or Report	III. Avoid Or Escape
13. People would get to know boy's mother	5.14	2.61	.44	.03	-.06
14. People would avoid the boy's mother	6.42	2.71	-.53	.19	.04
15. People would report to an agency	6.79	2.42	.52	.22	.24
16. People would move	3.57	2.45	-.03	.11	.47
17. People would try to do things with the boy	4.24	2.31	.74	.03	-.21

- continued -

Table 8

Continued

ITEMS	mean ^a	SD	factors		
			I. Do Something Personally	II. Ask What Or Report	III. Avoid Or Escape
18. People would get Danny to find out more	5.84	2.50	.05	.07	-.33
19. People would phone police	7.74	2.35	-.27	.50	.26
20. People would talk before deciding	6.82	2.33	.30	.48	.15
21. People would be friendly to the boy	7.90	2.06	.27	.21	-.18
22. People would talk to neighbors before deciding	6.90	2.32	-.06	.65	-.18
23. People would try to forget whole thing	4.81	2.81	-.57	-.02	-.16

- continued -

Table 8

Continued

ITEMS	mean ^a	SD	factors		
			I. Do Something Personally	II. Ask What Or Report	III. Avoid Or Escape
24. People would want more information	7.44	2.17	.11	.14	.10

^aThese means and standard deviations are based on initial rating responses with a rating range of very likely to very unlikely, 0 to 10.

boy's mother) and 23 (most people would try to forget the whole thing). Factor II, labeled "Ask What to do or Report" included items 19 (most people would phone the police), and 20 (most people would want to talk to a teacher or social worker before deciding). Factor III, labeled "Avoid or Escape", included item 16 (most people would want to move) and a negative response to item 18 (most people would want to get Danny to find out more information). Items 21 (most people would try to be especially friendly to the boy) and 24 (most people would want to know more about the situation before deciding) were not included in the subsequent analysis because none of their loadings reached .30.

The three factors from each of the questionnaires closely paralleled the four types of responses (Avoid, Information Seek, Report, and Intervene) that subjects used when answering the open-ended question. Based on the factor loadings from the questionnaires, it appeared that subjects across all conditions differentiated slightly between what they thought they themselves would do and what they thought other people would do. (It should be noted, however, that the three factors from each questionnaire, although similar, were sufficiently different that they could not be analyzed by correlational methods.) Both self-behavior prediction (If You Were Danny's Relative") and others' behavior prediction ("Further Information") allowed for an escape or avoidance response to the abuse situation. The "Do Something" loading for the self-behavior questionnaire, however, involved both reporting

and personal intervention items, while the "Do Something Personally" loading of the other's behavior questionnaire involved only personal intervention items. In predicting the behavior of others, then, subjects tended to differentiate between personal intervention and reporting. The latter was included in a factor loading best labeled as "Ask Someone What to Do or Report."

Questionnaire: Analysis of variance. In order to assess the effect of varying consensus and consequence on subjects' responses to the questionnaire, standardized composite scores using the factor score coefficients (see Appendices C and D) were calculated. The formula used was $F = S^T R^{-1}$, where F represents the factor score coefficient matrix, S is the rotated factor structure matrix, and R is the correlation matrix. The resultant standardized factor scores represent the theoretical dimensions associated with the respective factors. They were calculated, therefore, for each subject for each of the three respective factors associated with the self-behavior ratings ("If You Were Danny's Relative") and for each of the three associated with the others' behavior ratings ("Further Information"). These factor scores have a mean of 0, a standard deviation of 1.0, and were calculated by the complete estimation method described in the 1975 edition of the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (pp. 487 - 488).

Three three-way analyses of variance (3 consensus X 3 consequence consideration X 2 locus-of-control scores) were performed on each of the two groups of the standardized, composite scores--

the self-behavior rating scores and the others' behavior rating scores. These analyses were done to determine whether experimental conditions or locus of control significantly influenced the way subjects answered the two questionnaires.

Of the three factors associated with the self-behavior scores ("Do Something," "Avoid or Escape," and "Seek Further Information"), only one was found to be significant (see Table 9). A main effect due to the levels of consensus and an interaction between consensus and locus-of-control scores for Factor III, "Further Information Seeking," were significant, $F(2,88) = 4.33, p < .02$, and $F(2,88) = 4.58, p < .02$, respectively. Variations in the levels of consequence considerations, in consensus and consequence interactions, or in locus-of-control score interactions with consequence were not significant determinants of information seeking behavior.

Consideration of the significant main effect for consensus in Factor III ("Further Information Seeking") indicated that subjects in the consensus absent conditions were least likely to rate information seeking behavior as a probable reaction to the abuse situation. Their mean score was $-.25$. Subjects in consensus negative conditions, with a mean score of $.32$, were most likely to rate information seeking behavior as a probable reaction to the abuse situation and subjects in consensus positive conditions, with a mean score of $-.04$, rated information seeking as slightly improbable. The Scheffé method of testing the significance of differences between the means indicated that the differences

Table 9

Three-Way Analysis of Variance: Self-Behavior Factor Scores

factors:	I. Do Something			II. Escape or Avoid		III. Seek Further Information		
<u>Source of Variation</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>	
Main Effects								
Consensus	2	1.1	1.2	.3	<1.0	2.4	4.3* (* p <.02)	
Consequence	2	.7	<1.0	.6	<1.0	1.5	2.7	
Locus of Control	1	3.1	3.1	.01	<1.0	.1	<1.0	
Two-Way Interactions								
Consensus/Consequence	4	.5	<1.0	.3	<1.0	.1	<1.0	
Consensus/Locus	2	1.6	1.7	.4	<1.0	2.5	4.6*	
Consequence/Locus	2	.1	<1.0	1.4	1.6	1.2	2.2	
Three-Way Interactions								
Consen/Conseq/Locus	4	.6	<1.0	.3	<1.0	.7	1.3	
Residual	72	.9		.9		.6		
Total	89	.92		.80		.70		

between all of the means were significant.

Thus, it appears that subjects in the negative consensus condition, a highly ambiguous situation (the plausible abuse story but in conjunction with a suggestion that another adult did not interpret the situation as abuse), were more likely to seek more information in order to determine a course of action. Subjects in the positive consensus conditions (the least ambiguous) were relatively unlikely to seek further information in order to determine a course of action. Subjects in the absent consensus condition may have had little story related awareness of possible situational ambiguity because the opinion of another adult had not even been suggested. It appeared that they were most likely to determine a course of action without seeking further information.

The interaction between consensus and locus-of-control scores for the "Further Information Seeking" factor, also found to be significant (see above), gave support to the hypothesis that subjects with high internal locus of control would be least affected by variations in experimental conditions. This finding was the only significant finding involving the locus-of-control measure.

Means for these variables (see Table 10) showed that subjects with scores that placed them in the external category were influenced in the expected direction. That is, externals who were in a consensus negative condition stated that they were very likely to seek further information when asked what they would do in the potential abuse situation. Externals in a consensus positive con-

Table 10

Locus-of-Control Scores by Levels of Consensus:
Information Seeking Factor Based on Self-Behavior Rating
Locus-of-Control Scores

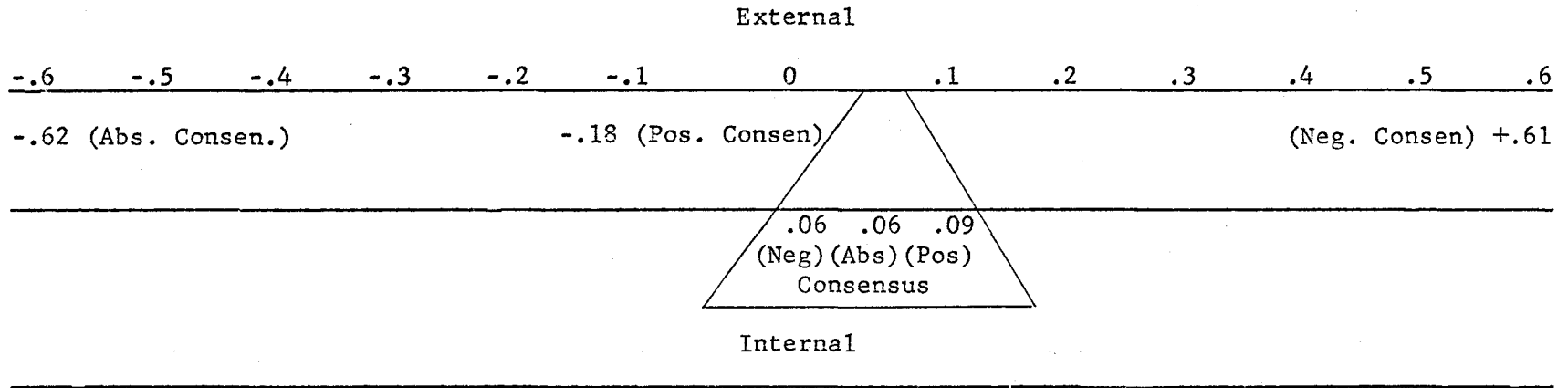
<u>Consensus</u>	<u>External</u>	<u>Internal</u>
Absent	-.62	.06
Negative	.61	.06
Positive	-.18	.09

dition stated that they were somewhat unlikely to seek further information. Externals in a consensus absent condition stated that they were very unlikely to seek further information. The direction of these means indicate that subjects with external locus-of-control scores were influenced by what another adult said, and also by the lack of another adult's confirming presents. If another adult did not indicate that they felt something terrible was happening to the boy, externals tended to want to find out more about the situation. If the adult did indicate positive consensus about the abuse situation, externals tended to be somewhat unlikely to seek further information. If there was no mention of an adult who confirmed or disconfirmed the evidence of possible abuse, externals were even more likely to seek further information. Therefore, in each level of consensus variation, externals were influenced by what another person did or did not say.

As had been expected, the influence of the variation in consensus levels had a much smaller effect upon subjects with internal locus-of-control scores. The range of means for each level of consensus was between .06 and .09 for the internals (see Table 11) and between -.62 and +.61 for the externals. The direction of the influence for the internals is too small to be interpretable and, indeed, the Scheffé test indicated that the differences between the means of the internals were not significant. The differences between the means of the externals were significant. This finding was considered supportive of the hypothesis that internals would

Table 11

Locus-of-Control Scores by Levels of Consensus:
 Information Seeking Factor of Self-Behavior Rating



be less influenced by variations in condition and would have similar means across conditions.

Of the three factors associated with the others' behavior scores ("Do Something Personally," "Ask What to Do or Report," and "Avoid or Escape") only one was found to be significant. The three three-way analyses of variance (3 consensus X 3 consequence consideration X 2 locus-of-control scores) performed on these (others' behavior) scores indicated that a main effect due to the levels of consequence consideration for the "Do Something Personally" factor was significant, $F(2,88) = 3.25$, $p < .05$ (see Table 12).

The means of the standardized, composite scores used in calculating the "Do Something Personally" factor suggest that subjects in consequence absent conditions (mean = .29) were most likely to rate personal intervention behavior as a probable reaction of other people to the abuse situation. Subjects in consequence negative conditions (mean = -.30) were least likely to rate personal intervention as a probable reaction of other people to the abuse situation. Subjects in the consequence positive conditions rated personal intervention behavior as slightly possible (mean = .01) for other people faced with the suspected abuse situation. Thus, it appears that subjects who had some awareness of the potential for undesirable consequences were influenced and were unlikely to think that most people would intervene in a personal manner. Subjects with some awareness of the potential for consequences (the story

Table 12

Three-Way Analysis of Variance: Others' Behavior Factor Scores

factors:	I. Do Something Personally	II. Ask What or Report	III. Avoid or Escape				
<u>Source of Variation</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Main Effects							
Consensus	2	.31	<1.0	.04	<1.0	.75	1.5
Consequence	2	2.60	3.3**	.71	1.2	1.12	2.3
Locus of Control	1	.21	<1.0	.34	<1.0	.05	<1.0
Two-Way Interactions							
Consensus/Consequence	4	.20	<1.0	.61	<1.0	.35	<1.0
Consensus/Locus	2	1.50	1.8	.81	1.3	.58	1.2
Consequence/Locus	2	.15	<1.0	.20	<1.0	.54	1.1
Three-Way Interactions							
Consen/Conseq/Locus	4	.26	1.0	1.40	2.3	.36	<1.0
Residual	72	.81		.61		.49	
Total	89	.78		.62		.50	

(**p < .05)

with positive consequences) may have been reminded of the possibilities of consequences, both negative and positive, and were only slightly inclined to think that most other people would personally intervene in the abuse situation. Subjects in the consequence absent condition had no reminder of the probability of consequences and were most likely to think that other people would personally intervene in the abuse situation.

The Scheffé test indicated that the means of the consequence negative and consequence positive groups differed significantly from each other (95% confidence interval for consequence negative was $-.63$ to $.05$ and for consequence positive was $-.32$ to $.33$). The means of consequence positive and consequence absent groups also differed significantly from each other (95% confidence interval for consequence absent was $-.01$ to $.58$). The differences between the means of consequence absent and consequence negative was not significant.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

This study focused on three variables which were thought to affect decision making and subsequent action in an ambiguous child abuse situation. The consensus variable was manipulated (positive, negative and absent) to determine whether the presence or lack of another adult's independently derived judgment about the abuse situation would influence the subject's interpretation of it. The consequence consideration variable was manipulated (positive, negative and absent) by the mention or lack of mention of possible negative or positive outcomes to helping in order to determine whether consideration of potential consequences affected subjects' probable course of action. Finally, subjects' locus-of-control tendencies were measured in order to see whether having an external or internal locus would influence choice of action in the ambiguous child abuse situation.

It was hypothesized that the positive consensus and consequence consideration conditions would significantly influence subjects' decision-making process. It was expected that these conditions would elicit more intervention and reporting behavior than was reported by subjects in negative or absent consensus and consequence consideration conditions. This was not the case. However, consensus

significantly influenced subjects' information seeking behavior, and consequence consideration significantly influenced whether subjects thought other people would personally intervene or not. It was also hypothesized that types of scores (internal or external) on the locus-of-control measure would be related to subjects' choice of probable action, with high internals being less influenced by variation across conditions. This was also not clearly indicated by the results of this study, although one significant interaction between locus-of-control scores and further information seeking behavior was indicated.

Of initial interest in the responses to the open-ended question was the distribution of answer types across all conditions. Contrary to experimenter expectations that almost all subjects would report high degrees of helping or altruistic intervention behaviors, only 44.4% indicated that they would report the suspected abuse to an agency or the police. A cautious 36.7% indicated that they would either try to find out more about the situation before doing anything or would ignore it altogether. Only 18.9% of all subjects reported that they would actively and personally intervene in the situation. This distribution was regarded as a relatively judicious attending to situational variables on the part of the subjects who were expected to indicate high amounts of helping action in a laboratory, paper-and-pencil task. If they were like other undergraduate subjects (Edwards and Tomino, Note 4), the saying (or writing) should have been easier than the doing. It may be that

these particular subjects were different from others who indicated high amounts of helping behavior in other laboratory emergency experiments. Or, it may be that the emergency of child abuse, as portrayed in this study, involved such a conflict between sanctions and personal norms (children are to be protected but parents have a right to raise their children as they see fit) that subjects were less inclined to report near unanimous altruism. At any rate, this experimental underreporting certainly mirrors the abuse underreporting situation in real life.

Of additional interest in the responses to the open-ended question was the distribution of responses which indicated that a decision about the abuse situation had been made. Subjects in the negative consensus condition were 2.5 times more likely to not make a decision about the ambiguous abuse evidence than those in either the positive or the absent consensus conditions. Although this finding is not surprising--less confirming evidence undoubtedly makes decision making harder--it may also be seen as additional support for the use of social comparison theory (discussed below) to explain the importance of consensus in less-than-clear interpersonal situations.

As stated above, analysis of responses indicated that the consensus variable was a significant influence on subjects' self-reported probable action. It appeared to affect whether subjects thought they would react to the abuse situation by reporting the

suspicious events (answers to the open-ended question, converted metric scale scores) or by seeking further information (answers to the questionnaire). However, the effects obtained for the two measures were somewhat unexpected.

Based on the analysis of variance of the answers to the open-ended question, it appeared that subjects in the consensus absent condition were more inclined to state that they would report the abuse situation than those in the consensus negative or consensus positive condition. Subjects in these conditions were almost equal in their tendency to state that they would seek further information. It had been expected that the positive consensus condition would elicit more reporting if not intervening behaviors. This unexpected finding may reflect what previous studies have termed a diffusion of responsibility in that the very mention of another adult, no matter whether confirming or disconfirming of abuse evidence, was enough to make the potential reporter feel somewhat off the hook and not responsible for action on the part of the child.

The consensus variable was also a significant influence over subjects' self-reported probable behavior as measured by the questionnaire. Subjects' ratings of how likely they would be to act in a variety of ways ("If You Were Danny's Relative") again indicated that consensus affected whether subjects would attempt to find out more information. Based on this measure, however, consensus appeared to influence their behavior in an expected manner. Subjects who read that another adult did not seem to feel that

anything bad was happening to the boy tended to rate further information seeking behavior as more probable than subjects who read that another adult did feel something bad was happening to the boy. Subjects who did not read about another adult, confirming or disconfirming, were least likely to rate information seeking behavior as a probable course of action. In this instance the absence of another adult's opinion of the potential abuse may allow the subject to feel that his or her interpretation of the situation is accurate and further information seeking behavior superfluous.

If the results of the open-ended question can be regarded as pertinent to this finding (which is based on the self-behavior ratings), the subjects who rated information seeking as less likely may be more likely to make a decision on what to do. Subjects in both consensus positive and consensus negative conditions hedged their decisions, and possibly their intervention or reporting behavior when they rated their own probable reactions to the abuse situation. They wanted to find out more about the situation before they took any responsibility about a decision on a course of action. The subjects who did not read about another adult could not assume someone else was either doing something or at least deciding about the situation. They could not share the feeling of responsibility about a course of action or a decision, and they may have tended to feel that the situation was theirs to deal with.

One of the intervening variables in this case may be whether subjects tend to view their world as being an environment in which

their choices govern what happens to them, or one in which they are subject to the whims of fate and/or other people. Subjects' scores on the locus-of-control measure were examined relative to all findings in this study and were significantly related to information seeking behavior on the self-behavior ratings. Subjects considered to have an external locus of control were much more influenced by what other people said about the abuse, or lack of apparent abuse (consensus), than subjects considered to have an internal locus of control. This finding indicates that for further information seeking, at least, subjects with external locus did not tend to feel either competent enough or decisive enough to accurately assess the situation. The influence of other peoples' opinions may hold greater weight for them than it does with subjects regarded as having an internal locus when they attempt to decide about their probable behavior in the abuse situation. Some caution should be used in making this interpretation, however, since the locus-of-control measure did not result in scores which were significantly associated with subjects' reported probable behavior in any of the other measures used in this study.

The variables examined in this study were not significantly associated with any other probable action reported by subjects except for personal intervention. On the "Doing Something Personally" factor (based on the second 12-item questionnaire entitled "Further Information"), subjects indicated that they believed other people would be more inclined to intervene personally if they had

read of someone who had intervened in a similar circumstance and had encountered positive consequences, than if they read of someone who had intervened and encountered negative consequences. Surprisingly, however, they were most likely to feel that other people would personally intervene when there had been no mention of consequences in the story.

It is possible that in this case the person considering reporting is not so much affected by a diffusion of responsibility, but rather the simple oversight of what the consequences of actions might be in a situation of suspected abuse. Subjects reminded of consequences, either negative and positive, were not as likely to feel that other people would personally intervene in the abuse situation, although those in the positive consequence consideration were more likely to believe other people would personally intervene than those in the negative consequence consideration. Consequence considerations did not, it should be emphasized, significantly influence subjects' own personal intervention behavior.

Consensus, then, tended to influence subjects' information seeking behavior. Consequence considerations tended to influence what subjects thought other people's personal intervention behavior would be. Although it is possible that these results are due to a diffusion of responsibility phenomenon, there may be other factors involved in the responses of a bystander to a crime (or in this case, to a child abuse situation) than merely the diffusion of responsibility. It is possible, for example, that the bystander's

locus of control may also influence responses to the situation, as it did in one portion of this study.

In addition, and perhaps more basic than the resultant diffusion of responsibility, is how a person gets to that point. What causes a person to attempt to ascertain if a situation is her or his responsibility in the first place, especially if the interpretation of the situation is ambiguous and, therefore, difficult? Is the diffusion of responsibility phenomenon the end point of a complex series of decisions?

In the hypothetical situation used in this study, the very occurrence of abuse was kept ambiguous. Here, as in most abuse cases, observation of the crime did not occur. Subjects as bystander/reporters, then, had to interpret the information given them in order to make a decision about their own reactions, including their own responsibility in the situation. Here, as perhaps in most ambiguous situations, subjects were motivated to take into account what other people said about the situation, and to compare their own interpretations with those of others. The fact that we tend toward social comparison in interpreting ambiguous situations seems relevant to this study and to the bystander studies in general. Consideration of the bystander findings in light of social comparison theory (Festinger, Schachter, and Bach, 1950) may give some insights into the reasons for the diffusion of responsibility.

Although the incorporation of the concept of social comparison with the decision-making process that people must go through when

confronted with ambiguous and emergency situations does not necessarily conflict with the diffusion of responsibility findings, it may suggest a broader approach to further research. The diffusion of responsibility phenomenon may well be only part of a larger one--the desire to correctly interpret an ambiguous situation and one's own reaction to it. Situational variables and personal factors, such as belief in one's own ability to correctly assess cause and effect, may contribute to people's perceptions of surety and their eventual action.

In this study, the decision to seek further information was influenced by whether someone else expressed a confirming or disconfirming or no opinion of the matter, and, in addition, on whether the subject tended to have an internal or external locus of control. Additional studies, perhaps measuring subjects' first reactions to the abuse situation, then adding confirming, disconfirming, or no additional opinions with a second measurement of reactions might shed more information on this behavior. Assessing the degree to which subjects feel responsible and confident of their interpretations in a simulated experimental study, using an ambiguous abuse situation as stimulus, may be the next logical step. Ethical considerations cannot be minimized and role playing in a simulated abuse situation may be the only way to tread a path between the problems of self-reported behavior and the impossibility of staging an abuse situation in the field.

A final and more practical suggestion comes from the consequence considerations finding. As mentioned above, variations in levels of consequence did not appear to have any significant influence over subject's reactions to the abuse situation. They did influence whether subjects believed other people would personally intervene or not in that it appeared that no mention of consequences persuaded subjects to think that most people would be more likely to personally intervene than if positive consequences were mentioned. Although further research is obviously needed, it may be that public messages urging persons to report their suspicions about possible child abuse need not include reassurances about legal consequences and the like. Based on these preliminary findings, mention of positive or negative consequences may be no greater spur to witness' action than the lack of such mention.

A final methodological note--the use of the open-ended question intended to illicit subjects' responses to the simulated abuse situation, was found to be a somewhat cumbersome assessment technique. The structured statements of probable response provided by the questionnaire not only generated similar response categories, but was a far easier measure to score. Since the two assessment approaches resulted in such similar findings, the questionnaire used in this study is recommended as more appropriate for further research in this area.

SUMMARY

Factors affecting the reporting of suspected child abuse were investigated by means of a series of paper-and-pencil measures. There were three factors which were thought to affect decision making and subsequent action in an ambiguous child abuse situation; consensus, consequence considerations, and locus of control. The consensus variable was manipulated (positive, negative, and absent) to determine whether the presence or lack of another adult's independently derived judgment about the abuse situation would influence the subject's interpretation of it. The consequence consideration variable was manipulated (positive, negative, and absent) by the mention or lack of mention of possible negative or positive outcomes to helping. Finally, subjects' locus-of-control tendencies were measured in order to see if having an external or internal locus would influence choice of action in the ambiguous child abuse situation.

A hypothetical abuse story with an open-ended question asking subjects to indicate what they would do if they were the adult in the story, two questionnaires asking subjects to rate how likely they would be and how likely they thought most people would be to respond in a variety of ways, and the Northwestern Personality Inventory, a locus-of-control test, composed the measures administered to 90 undergraduates. Consensus appeared to influence sub-

ject's responses in relation to further information seeking. Consequence appeared to influence what subjects thought most people would do in relation to personal intervention. Subjects' locus of control was associated only with consensus in relation to information seeking behavior.

The problem of crime and abuse underreporting was discussed in terms of the bystander and helping behavior literature. The diffusion of responsibility phenomenon was suggested as one part of a more complex decision making process. Further research is indicated.

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APPENDIX A

NORTHWESTERN PERSONALITY INVENTORY (NPI)

Please read the following statements carefully. Indicate whether you agree, sometimes agree, sometimes disagree or disagree with each statement by drawing a circle around your choice. Be sure to answer the way you really feel and not the way you think you ought to respond. Please answer every question. Check to be certain you haven't skipped any.

- | | | | | |
|--|-------|-----------------|--------------------|----------|
| 1. I have a good chance to change the unpleasant things in my life if I work at it. | agree | sometimes agree | sometimes disagree | disagree |
| 2. I don't have any self-confidence . | agree | sometimes agree | sometimes disagree | disagree |
| 3. Life is nothing more than a lottery. | agree | sometimes agree | sometimes disagree | disagree |
| 4. Most people do not feel that their decisions could be made just as well by flipping a coin. | agree | sometimes agree | sometimes disagree | disagree |
| 5. When my work turns out poorly it was not because it was doomed from the start. | agree | sometimes agree | sometimes disagree | disagree |
| 6. People are not able to determine the direction of their lives. | agree | sometimes agree | sometimes disagree | disagree |
| 7. There is very little that I can do to change the way people feel about me. | agree | sometimes agree | sometimes disagree | disagree |
| 8. The quality of my work is unrelated to how much effort I make. | agree | sometimes agree | sometimes disagree | disagree |
| 9. The good things that happen to me are a matter of fate. | agree | sometimes agree | sometimes disagree | disagree |

- | | | | | |
|--|-------|-----------------|--------------------|----------|
| 10. I believe that chance has nothing to do with how happy I am. | agree | sometimes agree | sometimes disagree | disagree |
| 11. I have very little influence over the bad things that happen to me. | agree | sometimes agree | sometimes disagree | disagree |
| 12. People can be sure that they have done well only if someone praises them. | agree | sometimes agree | sometimes disagree | disagree |
| 13. People don't get bad grades in school because of bad luck. | agree | sometimes agree | sometimes disagree | disagree |
| 14. When I don't succeed I feel I was just destined to fail. | agree | sometimes agree | sometimes disagree | disagree |
| 15. Bad luck accounts for the bad things that happen to most people. | agree | sometimes agree | sometimes disagree | disagree |
| 16. Fate does not determine my accomplishments. | agree | sometimes agree | sometimes disagree | disagree |
| 17. People have the power to determine the direction of their lives. | agree | sometimes agree | sometimes disagree | disagree |
| 18. I have a sense of accomplishment when I finish a difficult job even if no one knows how much effort it took. | agree | sometimes agree | sometimes disagree | disagree |
| 19. I never make plans for the future because I can never make them turn out the way I want. | agree | sometimes agree | sometimes disagree | disagree |
| 20. Chance has nothing to do with people not liking me. | agree | sometimes agree | sometimes disagree | disagree |

APPENDIX B

DEBRIEFING INFORMATION

Child abuse has recently "come of age" in terms of news coverage and public discussion. Where they previously followed the practice of benign neglect, medical and social service personnel now attempt to deal openly with this problem. We now have laws requiring professionals to report cases of suspected abuse, special child abuse training programs for workers in relevant helping agencies, and even voluntary parent's anonymous groups to help parents who have been abusive change the way they treat their children. We also have some ideas of the stresses and problems that contribute to the abuse of a child by an adult. We know, for example, that most abusive adults were themselves abused as children. We also know that real or perceived social isolation contributes to the feeling of overwhelming frustrations that lead to child abuse. And we know only too well the effects of abuse on the child -- over 1000 deaths per year in children under the age of three, and untold numbers of permanently brain damaged and psychologically scared children.

We don't really know the extent of the problem. The 1973 estimate of 60,000 annual cases of possible abuse in this country is now regarded as a conservative figure. Nevertheless, even if only 15% of all children under the age of five admitted to hospital

emergency rooms are accurately diagnosed as "battered children," the problem is a significant one. And these figures do not include the child who is the victim of severe neglect or psychological abuse.

One aspect of this problem is that of reporting or intervening in suspected abuse. Despite legislation requiring professionals to report, most suspected abuse reports come from neighbors, who, after all, live where abuse occurs and are likely to hear or see its results. The experiment you participated in was the first stage of a study designed to investigate the factors that contribute to a person's decision to try to do something about a possible abuse situation. Because the reasons a person has for doing anything may be a complex blend of personality characteristics, situational variables and societal norms, this experiment focused on two major behavioral influences - consensus and consequence considerations. They were the independent variables.

There were nine experimental conditions - variations in the story "The Neighbors Down the Hall" - which were randomly assigned to all subjects. All Ss read the same base story of three paragraphs. The paragraphs following those, if there were any, were designed to further or reduce S's self-reported willingness to do something about the suspected abuse. If the level of consensus was positive in your story, you read about a neighbor who agreed that the boy was being abused. If it was negative you read about a neighbor who hadn't heard any extraordinary crying and shouting.

Or you might have been in the consensus absent condition where the suspicious evidence about the new neighbors was neither confirmed or disconfirmed. The same three levels (positive, negative, and absent) were also varied in consideration of consequences. If the level was positive, for example, you read that someone had once tried to do something about a situation like this one and had actually done some good.

In some part, then, the version of the story you read influenced (or was thought to have influenced) what you said you would do. The purpose in doing this was to try to see if there were consistent differences in what people would do if they had different information. The additional pages of choice and further information served as checks on and elaborations of your response.

As you know, there are many difficulties in trying to generalize these kinds of experimental results to the real world. This experiment is particularly susceptible because it uses simulation and relies upon the (more-or-less) willing subjects' self-evaluation of their probable behavior as measures of the dependent variables. Strong experimenter demand characteristics is a further problem. It was designed, however, as a preliminary study. If some of the levels of consensus and consequence considerations lead to strong effects, these levels will be explored in further, field based research. But even there, there are experimental problems. Child abuse is a difficult thing to study in the real world. People have a right to privacy, and various ethical con-

siderations prevent infringing on those rights. Designing an experiment on the reporting of child abuse is a problematical task!

APPENDIX C

FACTOR SCORE COEFFICIENTS FOR SELF-BEHAVIOR RATINGS

	Do Something	Avoid or Escape	Further Infor- mation Seeking
ITEM	FACTOR I	FACTOR II	FACTOR III
1	.01389	.10431	-.01015
2	.10295	.02342	.02322
3	-.03130	-.08867	.24867
4	.02307	-.21577	.08737
5	.04012	.63244	.20227
7	.76617	-.03372	-.28003
8	.01068	-.03143	.48517
9	.08229	.04062	.00390
10	-.00415	.14006	-.15195
11	.02800	.04558	.19822
12	.09559	-.00399	.08599

APPENDIX D

FACTOR SCORE COEFFICIENTS FOR OTHER'S BEHAVIOR RATINGS

ITEM	Do Something Personally	Ask What To Do Or Report	Avoid or Escape
	FACTOR I	FACTOR II	FACTOR III
13	.09545	-.00068	-.03996
14	.16920	-.11978	-.02438
15	.26636	.13381	.39405
16	.00372	.01956	.30314
17	.42176	.05068	-.37315
18	.01181	-.03588	.13571
19	-.10170	.35587	.08024
20	.11824	.22120	.04949
22	-.01027	.42684	-.20328
23	.20371	-.01869	.10223

APPROVAL SHEET

The thesis submitted by Sandra Shane-DuBow
has been read and approved by the following committee:

Dr. Jeanne Foley, Director
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The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the thesis is now given final approval by the Committee with reference to content and form.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

May 7, 1977
Date

Jeanne M. Foley
Director's Signature