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**RESPONSIVENESS TO SOCIAL NEED UNDER
CONDITIONS OF PERSONAL COST:
CITIZEN SUPPORT OF PUBLIC EDUCATION
AS A PROTOTYPE OF SOCIAL ALTRUISM**

by

JOYCE LINDA SHOTLAND SICHEL

**A dissertation submitted to the Graduate
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Abstract

**RESPONSIVENESS TO SOCIAL NEED UNDER
CONDITIONS OF PERSONAL COST:
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by

JOYCE LINDA SHOTLAND SICHEL

Adviser: Professor Barbara S. Dohrenwend

Although psychologists have shown increasing interest over the past ten years in altruistic and helping behaviors toward particular other individuals, they have largely neglected positive social behaviors in support of collective others in the community, society or world. This type of behavior, which the author has termed "social altruism", was the subject of the present research. Citizens' support for "quality, integrated education" within their suburban public school district was taken as a prototype of social altruism. The clear social need for high quality education was offset by the high cost to suburban homeowners for acting to help meet the need. Two separate indicators of social altruism were employed: 1) voting on school tax propositions which will maintain or improve educational quality, at the cost of raising one's own property tax; and 2) willingness to undertake volunteer

participation for a school-supportive purpose, which is personally costly in time and energy.

Over three-hundred interviews were conducted with White and Black suburban homeowners, concerning many attitudes and values as well as personal school voting and participation. A multivariate causal model of social altruism was tested and modified by the statistical technique of path analysis for each race on the two indicators of social altruism.

The model included three aspects of personal humanitarian disposition as causal variables: 1) Humanitarian Responsibility, which was conceptualized as the individual's tendency to accept personal responsibility in his interpersonal encounters, and a moral orientation of sensitivity to others' needs more than to absolute normative standards; 2) Traditional Social Responsibility, which was defined as the individual's felt obligation to participate as a good citizen, to give help in socially well-defined and approved ways; and 3) Intergroup Attitude, which focused on the favorableness of the individual's evaluation of potential beneficiaries of help who are different from the self. As these values were measured, they were found to be differentially important, according to the indicator of social altruism being considered and the racial group being studied. School tax voting was most strongly influenced by Intergroup Attitude, while school volunteering was influenced mainly by Traditional Social Responsibility. Humanitarian Responsibility influenced Blacks' voting and volunteering, but had no influence on the voting or volunteering of Whites.

In addition, as expected from prior educational research, having one's children enrolled in the public schools created an important self-interest motive for the positive social behaviors. Having a low income had limited effect in magnifying the financial self-interest motive against favorable school tax voting. Factors which were specific to the school setting had some importance, as well.

Results point to the need for further multivariate research in the area of social altruism, and especially to the need for clearer conceptualization and measurement of humanitarian value dimensions which may underly social altruism of various kinds by and on behalf of various social groups.

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INTRODUCTION

The Problem Area-Social Altruism

In recent years there has been an awakening of interest in the social psychological study of those attitudes and behaviors which are customarily in the domain of morality and ethics. In particular, there has been a burgeoning literature concerned with altruistic and helping behaviors toward particular other individuals. Virtually ignored, however, has been the individual's pro-social behavior in support of collective others in his community, society or world. This neglected area may be thought of as the study of "social conscience" or "social altruism" when self-interest is sacrificed to some extent. Many people claim to be greatly concerned with social needs, but are they willing to act to help alleviate them, particularly when acting will involve substantial personal cost?

The Literature on Social Altruism

Sociologists have devoted some theoretical attention to the topic. Lewis Coser (1969) reminds us that the placing of sufficiently large social distance between one's own group and another may put the other beyond one's "span of sympathy", making support of that group most unlikely. As Coser stresses, our sympathies may be strongly engaged for those who are close to us in geographical, social, or cultural

distance but fail to be engaged for those who are not. Leeds (1963) has discussed the "norm of giving" which is conceived to pertain to situations "beyond the call of role obligations". Sorokin (1954) has written at great length about the desirability of a society teaching concern for others.

Very early psychological research by Hartshorne, May and Maller (1929) on school children's "moral character" included measures of "service to others". Behaviors were sampled which included voting money to charity and making toys for children in the hospital. Teacher's ratings of the children's helpfulness were also obtained. As was true of these researchers' measures of resistance to temptation, there was a small but consistent tendency for generosity and self-sacrificing to be general traits over situations. Girls were found to be more self-sacrificing than boys.

Quite a few recent studies have examined the influence of a model on a child or adult in making charitable donations (Bryan & Test, 1967; Bryan, 1970; Hornstein, Fisch & Holmes, 1968; Liebert & Poulos, 1971; Macaulay, 1970; Midlarsky & Bryan, 1967; Rosenhan & White, 1967.) The studies have usually found that a model's behavior, but not necessarily his or her exhortations, have an important effect on donating.

Other recent research has looked into the personality of activist "do-gooders". David Rosenhan (1970) studied White freedom-riders in the 1960's. Through intensive interviewing he found that those who had made a full commitment to their civil-rights activity differed in perso-

nality from those who had made only a partial commitment. The fully-committed had a much warmer, less neurotic relationship with their parents; in addition, many of the parents of the fully-committed had provided models for commitment to causes. Gore and Rotter (1963) studied Black civil-rights activists, finding a typical personality trait of internal control. Perry London (1970) and his associates involved themselves in a never-completed interviewing project of people who had rescued Jews from the Nazis in the 1930's.

A recent attempt to measure "humanistic" attitudes and to relate them to a criterion of acting on behalf of unseen collective others has been made by Fischer (1971). He found that knowing a person's attitudes toward "helping" and "social responsibility" were a better means of predicting volunteering for a program of companionship with mental patients than were specific beliefs about mental patients and mental illness.

Richard Titmuss (1971), a British political scientist, has been working in this area, concentrating on self-sacrifice on behalf of "the unseen, universal stranger". He compiled statistics on blood donating in various countries, maintaining that the proportion of altruistic as compared to paid or otherwise-motivated donors was an important indicator of "spirit of altruism" in a society. In this respect, Britain, whose blood-donor system is entirely voluntary, compared favorably in altruistic values to the United States which relies heavily on paid and blood-credit donating.

Within experimental social psychology, Shalom Schwartz (1970) has been doing research which has particular relevance for us. Taking his research into an actual American blood donor center, he requested volunteers for possible eventual bone marrow transplant to a needy person who was not known to the donors. Schwartz found that his experimental manipulations of salience of personal responsibility and salience of consequences for acting both resulted in a higher rate of volunteering. Of the background variables examined, it was social class, as indexed by occupation, that showed a significant relation to volunteering, those highest on the occupational scale being most willing to volunteer. Other background factors such as sex and age showed no effect. Of course, the sample used in this research was highly atypical since they were already blood donors.

More recent work by Schwartz has concentrated on responsibility and awareness of consequences as personality dispositions rather than situational factors. Schwartz (1972) found that the tendency to ascribe responsibility toward the self (AR) interacts with one's moral norms to produce behavior in compliance with the norms only when AR is high. One hundred and sixty-four female clerical employees, who were tested for AR and for their personal norms concerning the rightness of organ transplantation, were mailed an appeal to be potential bone marrow donors. When the sample was trichotomized on AR, it was found that

willingness to volunteer could be predicted by personal norms only when AR was high. Schwartz and Clausen (1970) found that AR predicted speed of bystander intervention in a laboratory emergency and that the intervention of those scoring high on the measure was only slightly influenced by the number of other bystanders or the presence of a competent bystander.

Pro-social behavior as conventional obligation has been studied by Leonard Berkowitz and his colleagues. Berkowitz and Daniels (1963; 1964) showed that laboratory subjects will extend maximum effort on behalf of someone who is dependent on their help. Based on earlier efforts to develop a "citizenship type" measure (Gough, et al, 1952; Harris, 1957), Berkowitz (1964) has developed a Revised Social Responsibility Scale (RSRS) to assess individual differences in motivation to conform to a "norm of social responsibility", a societal imperative to help dependent others. The measure has been strongly criticized for its high correlation with measures of social desirability (Stone, 1965). However, the scale and its predecessors are being used in empirical work. Mischel (1961) used the earlier Harris version and found that the SRS showed a direct relation to an ability to delay gratification. Berkowitz and Daniels (1964) used their revised version to predict productivity on behalf of a dependent other under laboratory conditions. And Wrightsman (1966) found that college students who scored high on Berkowitz' scale were more likely to show up when they had promised to participate in an experiment than were those who scored low on the

scale. Berkowitz and Lutterman (1968), using an abbreviation of the scale in a survey of mid-west adults, found that socially responsible individuals also met socially approved and well-defined helping obligations. They were highly involved in their social groups and tended to be joiners, leaders and volunteers.

In connection with investigation of achievement motivation, David McClelland, et al (1958) found that in the United States, more than in other countries, one's obligation to "others" as opposed to "self" is fulfilled by being a "joiner" and a cooperative "doer", rather than by adherence to an abstract code. Almond and Verba (1963), executing a cross-national survey dealing with political attitudes, also found American citizens extremely high on a felt obligation to participate in their communities. Americans were likely to use the voluntary organizational structure for "moral" as well as recreational and social purposes. For example, an American postmaster was quoted as saying, "A citizen should play an active part... He might hold a local office. Other civic work such as drives, such as Red Cross. Here we have a volunteer fire company; he could help out with that."

The Content Area-Citizen Financial and Participatory
Support of Public Education

The exploration of social altruism should be facilitated by a situation requiring substantial personal sacrifice for a social goal.

The most important kinds of sacrifices and social needs can be found in natural settings rather than in the laboratory. Such a natural setting exists in a school district trying to implement "quality education". An ambitious educational program requires community support beyond those who will benefit directly through their own children's education. Merely by virtue of living within certain suburban school districts, citizens are given frequent and repeated options to provide or withhold support for the education of the children in the community.

This opportunity exists, most visibly, where "quality education" is to be implemented almost wholly from the residential property tax levy to be passed by the residents of the district. If the levy is defeated, especially on repeated occasions, the district must cut back the educational programs it offers to its children to an extent consistent with the lowered tax rate. Unlike many social programs which are not locally controlled, all tax-paying citizens, even those having no children attending the public schools, are asked to vote against their narrow financial self-interest to give financial support to the schools. Without any direct benefit to be gained, and at personal cost, such citizens are offered a unique, natural opportunity to exhibit social altruism.

Another kind of opportunity for socially altruistic behavior is offered to citizens in such communities through appeals for volunteer help to the schools. Especially in a school district trying to provide a wide range of educational services on an individualized or small-group basis

to a heterogeneous student population, there is demand on the community to give their time and energy for this kind of participatory support.

Many people claim a commitment to "quality education", but are they willing to act on this commitment when acting involves substantial personal cost? Specifically, is the tax-paying citizen who accepts the value of "quality education" prepared to act in support of it by voting favorably in school budget or school construction referenda when such an action will substantially increase his own financial costs? And further, is this citizen also or instead willing to give his time and energy in support of the goal of "quality education" which he professes to value?

The school voting situation has, in fact, been looked at by educational researchers as a problem in itself. These studies, some sponsored by the U.S. Office of Education, others by states or educational institutions, have examined school voting patterns for the purpose of discovering why school tax levies have often failed at the polls in recent years.

Some of these studies have concentrated on economic aspects of school districts in which tax levies are passed or defeated. Goettel (1971) found that economic factors of a district, such as wealth per pupil, median income, tax rate, and amount of tax increase, were related to 1969 school budget passage throughout New York State. In suburbs of New York City, increase in the tax rate had the strongest relation to budget defeat. Varden (1973) examined such characteristics for two-hundred suburban and rural New York State school districts. He also

found an inverse relation between percentage tax increase and budget passage. Among the suburban New York City districts which Varden sampled, a district's wealth per school pupil was also significantly related to passage of its 1972 school budget. In addition, Varden found that districts showed high consistency over the past several years in defeat or passage of their first budget submitted to the voters. Beal, et al (1966) examined five-year tax levy histories of over two-hundred Iowa school districts, finding a similar tendency toward district consistency in tax levy passage or defeat. The Iowa study also found a district's tax rate to be significantly inversely related to levy passage.

Carter and Odell (1966), as part of a nine year study of school-community relations, identified a large number of characteristics of school districts related to budget passage, which they termed "acquiescence". Important factors in a sample of one-hundred and eighty United States school districts were extensive established communication within the district, little overt conflict, and low voting participation. Different groups in the population were conceived as having different "consumer orientations" toward education and were found to relate to the schools in different ways. Whether a citizen had children in the schools, whether he saw the schools as doing a good job, and whether he saw school taxes as burdensome, all influenced the quality and amount of the citizen's voting in his school district.

The school studies of most immediate interest for the present research problem investigated the actual school budget voting behavior

of individuals and groups by means of interview or questionnaire (Odell and Carter, 1960; Smith, et al, 1968; Dillingham, 1969; Washington State, 1970; Stelzer, 1973). These studies stressed demographic and situational, rather than attitudinal, variables. A major finding was that parental status (that is, whether the voter is a public school parent) is an excellent predictor of favorable voting. It was also the best predictor of voluntary contributions for the reinstatement of curtailed school services (Dillingham, 1969). By implication, people who had direct self-interest motives were most likely to support higher quality education.

Reports of sex differences are rare, and are insignificant when present. Smith, et al (1968) found men slightly more supportive than women, while the Washington State study (1970) found women to be slightly more supportive than men.

Race is a demographic variable which has emerged as related to school support. Dillingham (1969), studying the Cincinnati public school system where there are large numbers of Black families being served by the schools, found a tendency for stronger support of school budgets from registered Black families than from White. Likewise, Smith, et al (1968) found Black citizens in Detroit to be most highly supportive. Young (1970), in a description of a single budget election, also reported strong support from Black families in Canton, Ohio.

Age has also shown a relation to budget voting (Smith, et al, 1968; Dillingham, 1969; Washington State, 1970) but this relationship is

heavily confounded by the relation of age to parental status, homeownership and retirement. Homeownership is strongly negatively related to a positive vote on school levies (Smith, et al, 1968; Dillingham, 1969). This is not surprising since homeownership usually involves high direct cost, in the form of the property tax, for taking the pro-social action. The factor of retirement is undoubtedly important because lowered income creates profound economic anxieties for many retirees and increases their subjective cost. It may also be important because of the "disengagement" from society said to occur for at least some percentage of the retired population, turning their concerns from the social to the personal (Cumming & Henry, 1961; Neugarten, 1968). Belonging to one or more non-school community organizations was found by one study (Washington State, 1970) to be related to more favorable budget voting. The potential importance of community involvement will be followed up in later sections of this paper.

All but one of the studies found that higher social class accompanied favorable budget voting. The exception, a study by Odell and Carter (1960) which indexed class by occupation, yielded the opposite effect. However, the relationship was confounded by parental status, since young voters without children in the schools fell most heavily into the professional occupations, and were the least favorable voters. All of the studies using education as the index to social class found a positive

relation of higher class to favorable budget voting. One explanation for this positive relation is that the more educated hold higher paying jobs and can best afford budget increases. Indeed, income has also been shown to be positively related to favorable voting. Another possible explanation is the differing value accorded to formal education by individuals of differing social class. While this has not been examined in the school studies, in sociological research Hyman (1957) found that those of higher social class, as indexed by interviewers' ratings, placed significantly higher value on formal education. It appears likely that individuals of lower social class have a more utilitarian appreciation of education. Working-class people tend to stress the potential economic rather than intellectual or social benefits of education (Carter and Odell, 1966). They tend to value only certain aspects of education, those which seem useful in some concrete way (McCloskey, 1967; Kohn, 1959). Thus, working class people might not be financially supportive of budgets or propositions which they perceive as furthering less economically useful educational purposes.

Three studies (Odell and Carter, 1960; Washington State, 1970; Dillingham, 1969) examined the relation between attitude toward the particular educational system and favorable voting. Odell and Carter found the most favorable voters to have a positive evaluation of the schools in general, and of school costs, teachers, and the teaching of the "3 R's" in particular. These findings were based on voters in the Southeast, Midwest and Pacific coast.

The Washington State study involved eighteen local school districts in Washington which had failed to pass recent budgets. More budget support was found to come from those residents with a favorable opinion of the district's teachers, administrators and school board. This study also asked voters the reasons for their favorable or unfavorable vote; many of these were couched in terms of specific attitudes toward the schools.

The Dillingham study found that both Blacks and Whites who felt the school board exercised good judgment were more likely to vote favorably on the budget. An intriguing attitudinal finding also made by Dillingham was that satisfaction with the progress of integration in the Cincinnati school system and integration of housing in the Cincinnati area, as measured by two separate questions, were each related to Whites' favorable budget voting. We will follow up this isolated finding in later sections of this paper.

School volunteering has not been studied in the same systematic manner. Most of the literature on the topic discusses practical experiences with volunteer recruitment, training and evaluation. Those reports on extent of volunteering and characteristics of volunteers are most relevant to our research problem.

The use of volunteers to provide a wide variety of services to the nation's public schools has been fostered over the past ten years by a coordinating agency, the National School Volunteer Program. Organized volunteer programs staffed by public school parents have been reported

in Missouri (Gardner, 1969); Tennessee (Bruch, 1971); Georgia (Hartman, 1973); Massachusetts (Keegan & MacLean, 1971); Connecticut (Maerowitz, 1973); New York and California (Caplin, 1970). Carter and Odell (1966) found that public school parents, besides being generally favorable voters, also tended to participate actively in the schools and to find their participation "efficacious". These investigators also found highly educated community citizens to be more involved in school volunteer activities. Highly educated citizens were most likely to be members, or to once have been members, of parent organizations and to participate in school citizens' committees. Evidence from a volunteer program in the schools of Dade County, Florida (School Volunteer Program, 1972) confirms the disproportionate number of parents and highly educated citizens who respond to volunteering appeals. It has been noted by Caplin (1970) that while the school volunteer has typically been middle rather than working class, this has been changing to reflect a recent self-help emphasis on the part of minorities and poverty groups. Caplin also noted a trend toward the recruitment of senior citizen volunteers, a group usually relating to the schools only as taxpayers.

From the voting and volunteering studies which have examined citizen support for public schools as an educational issue, we have learned a great deal about which individuals are likely to be most supportive. They tend to have their own children in the public schools and to be well-educated. Financial supporters are particularly likely to be economically

as well as educationally-advantaged, and thus unlikely to be retired. Financial supporters are also likely to be involved in their community, to view their school system as doing a good job and to possibly place a high value on formal education. Within an integrated school system, financial supporters are likely to be Black or, if White, to be favorably disposed toward integration.

Support of Public Education as Social Altruism

We will try to place the findings from these school studies within a broader, more psychologically oriented frame of reference, so that they can help us formulate our research to illuminate the problem of social altruism. This may secondarily have the effect of clarifying the educational issue of citizen support to the schools. However, it must be remembered that school support is being utilized as a prototype for the study of social altruism.

The school studies' findings about the importance of parental status to school support, point to the power of self-interest in motivating positive social behaviors or their lack. Clearly, it is parents of children in the schools who benefit in a direct sense from educational maintenance and improvement. It is in their self-interest to vote favorably in school elections and to give volunteer help in the schools, and it is not surprising that such a high percentage of parents do so.

Non-parent citizens, unconcerned about benefits to their own children through the schools, usually have little personal investment

in the quality of the local educational system. Rather, their narrow self-interest relative to the schools centers around their own condition, in particular their financial condition. The non-parent's clearest self-interest motive is a negative one for maintaining his own costs at the lowest possible level by turning down school budgets and propositions which call for higher taxes. Low family income, whether through retirement or through low educational preparation for employment, strengthens this economic self-interest factor. For low income parents, parental and economic self-interests may, in fact, be in conflict. But it is in the case of those without children in the schools that the negative economic self-interest motive is most unambiguous.

While level of income is clearly negatively related to socially altruistic school voting, through the elaboration of economic self-interest, it should be far less related to volunteering as an act of social altruism. It is only those financially burdened enough to be working at second and third jobs who do not have an income-free option to provide volunteer service to the schools, at least on evenings or weekends. For all other citizens, with the exception of the incapacitated, the volunteering of time is an excellent comparison indicator of social altruism, offering a choice for costly action on behalf of others, which is freed from financial self-interest considerations.

We know that parental and financial self-interest factors, important though they are, are not sufficient to account completely for all variation in school support, especially among those without their own children in

the public schools. What other factors in addition to self-interest must be considered in a study of social altruism under conditions of personal cost?

The findings of the school studies concerning the positive effect of greater education on favorable voting have already been suggested to be mediated by the higher income resulting from greater education, and indeed the economic self-interest factor is undoubtedly important. However, the effect of education may be mediated by even more important motivational factors. Education may be viewed not simply as amount of formal schooling, but also as an indicator of social class background, partially responsible for different kinds of value systems in individuals of different social class.

At least one of these values is situationally tied to the school setting. Relevant here is the finding that individuals of higher social class accorded higher importance to formal education. This may be a mediator in the relation between higher education and social altruism in the school setting, conflicting with the non-parental and financial self-interest motives for some citizens without their own children in the public schools. Placing a high value on formal education should dispose the individual toward its support, even though no direct self-interest in the schools is involved and though the pro-social action is personally costly. Retired individuals may place the lowest value on education, due to possible disengagement from active societal concern (Cumming and Henry, 1961). Likewise, those of higher social class were reported to

have a broader appreciation of educational programs, to be less concerned that the students' time be put to obviously utilitarian use. Specific attitudes toward the performance of a school system would thus be related to social altruism in the school setting. We saw earlier that a favorable attitude toward the schools frequently accompanied favorable budget voting, but this is limited as an explanatory factor. Many of the same circumstances which dispose toward favorable voting, such as parental status, probably also dispose toward favorable attitude toward the schools.

It is theorized that apart from the motives particular to the research situation we have chosen, there are enduring personal value differences, also tied to social class, which are central to socially altruistic behavior. They are, generally conceived, values placed on being humanitarian. The dictionary¹ defines a "humanitarian" as "a person actively concerned in the promotion of human welfare..." There would seem to the present investigator to be various kinds of values which underly a disposition to promote human welfare. Three separate theoretical constructs relating to different aspects of humanitarianism were synthesized based on research in social altruism, moral development, and the psychology of prejudice. Each focuses on a different expression of humanitarianism which may be developed in an individual's background, especially if it is one of higher social class. The three hypothesized constructs of humanitarianism follow.

1. Webster's Third New International Dictionary. Springfield, Mass.: G. & C. Merriam Co., 1967.

Humanitarian Responsibility

This construct taps personal orientation toward the needs of others. While most individuals grow up to have adequate respect for the rights of others in their society, some individuals seem to have developed a particularly strong tendency to respond to the needs of others when there are no clear rules or rituals to govern their supportiveness. Such people are sensitized to the effects their own behavior will come to have on others, and often seem motivated to avoid guilt in the future for being the agent of harm coming to another person. They find it hard to displace responsibility for interpersonal outcomes away from themselves.

Shalom Schwartz's (1967) conception of "ascription of responsibility toward or away from the self" as a personality dimension is central to this construct. While Schwartz has been most interested in responsibility ascription as a condition for consistency between moral norms and behavior, his findings suggest that this kind of willingness to accept responsibility for outcomes in one's relations with others is a general humanitarian value mediator for acts of social altruism. Schwartz (1968) reported that undergraduates who tended to ascribe responsibility to themselves in their interpersonal encounters were those who were rated by others as most considerate and helpful. In another study (1970) he reported that undergraduates who ascribed responsibility to themselves were most likely to participate in voluntary social service activities.

As reported in the Introduction, Schwartz and Clausen (1970) found greatest help to an apparent seizure victim to come from undergraduates having this same tendency, and Schwartz (1972) found that only those clerical workers who ascribed responsibility to themselves acted in accordance with their personal norms about becoming potential organ donors.

Martin Hoffman's work with children and adolescents is also central to the construct. He discriminated "humanistic-flexible" from "conventional-rigid" middle class adolescent personalities according to whether a stress was put on interpersonal consequences or institutional considerations in response to a set of moral judgment items. He concluded that these differences develop from alternate socialization patterns, both leading to internalized morality, but resulting in differing foci of moral concern. Hoffman (1970) found that humanistic boys were most often raised flexibly by parents whose discipline ranged from power assertion to total permissiveness, depending on the situation, but with minimal love-withdrawal techniques. As adolescents, the humanistic have consciences which are oriented as much outwardly toward consequences for others, as inwardly toward their own impulses. Such adolescents showed evidence of strong guilt to a projective story where the actor's behavior had consequences for the suffering of another person. Conventional adolescents, disciplined heavily by love-withdrawal techniques, also showed internalized morality freed from fear of detection and

punishment, but did not show the same kind of guilt. Their guilt lay only in failure to live up to objective standards of goodness.²

Hoffman did not investigate whether humanistic adolescents would be more prone to take action for the welfare of groups of others than would conventional adolescents. However, we may hypothesize that Hoffman's "humanistic-flexible" individuals, like Schwartz' "self-responsible" ones, should have a humanitarian social motive, and thus be more socially altruistic. In earlier research Hoffman did, in fact, find that children being raised with low power assertion and a stress on reasoning concerning behavioral responsibility and effects on peers, showed the highest "considerate" behavior in a nursery school environment (1963), and middle-class girls with this kind of background were rated as most considerate in a seventh-grade classroom (Hoffman & Saltzstein, 1967).

The motivating force of this kind of humanitarian value should help to explain the positive relation of social class to acts of social altruism such as school support. Schwartz' measure of "ascription of responsibility" is itself positively related to social class (1967). Further, explicit communication of parent expectations for "considerateness" and "generosity"

2. It should be noted that this view is in contrast to the stage theory of morality developed by Piaget (1948). To Piaget, mature morality always meant the replacement of respect for adult authority by autonomous moral decision-making. Moral judgments based on human needs rather than impersonal rules simply reflected more mature moral development. We are viewing it not as an inevitable development stage to be achieved, but rather the outcome of a particular mode of socialization.

also appears to be stressed most by the middle, rather than working, class. Melvin Kohn has a number of findings showing that the ranking given by parents to consideration as an important trait in children, increases with higher social class (1959, 1969). When he asked parents of fifth graders which qualities they considered most desirable in their children, the position they assigned to "being considerate" was highly correlated with class. Almond & Verba (1963) also found that value on "generosity" and "considerateness" was correlated with both educational level and occupational status in the United States and Britain.

To summarize, the first aspect of humanitarianism, Humanitarian Responsibility, refers to the individual's tendency to accept personal responsibility for the outcomes of others with whom he is in contact, and a moral orientation of sensitivity to others' needs more than to absolute normative standards. The value is believed to create a disposition toward socially altruistic financial and participatory support to the schools through heightened awareness of the social need involved, and inability to dissociate one's personal responsibility from that need.

Traditional Social Responsibility

Pro-social behavior which is only manifested when societal consensus would call it appropriate, is felt to be rooted in a different set of values and motives than those included in the Humanitarian Responsibility Construct. Berkowitz and Lutterman (1968) indicate that people high in "traditional social responsibility" aid others as a matter of perceived

social obligation, rather than as a personal sensitivity to others' needs. Traditionally socially responsible individuals have been socialized to accept "good citizen" obligations and to fulfill those which are socially well-defined, even under conditions of some personal cost and lack of direct self-interest. They prefer to channel their aiding activity through the organized social structure, fulfilling their perceived charitable obligations through such organizations as the Community Chest. They are likely to be highly involved in society, expressing this humanitarian value through joining, volunteering, and leading in community efforts. This value may provide a psychological basis for the positive relation found between organizational membership and favorable school voting as an act of social altruism. Johnson (1970) offers a strong argument for this contention, although prior to the present study it had never been empirically tested.

The concept of traditional social responsibility may also provide relief from "alienation" explanations of negative social action. In the days when alienation was a popular concept among sociologists, it was thought to be reflected in protest voting against school budgets (Horton & Thomson, 1962). While Berkowitz and Lutterman (1968) spoke of the socially responsible person as "typically unalienated from his society", if we think in terms of degrees of traditional social responsibility we are able to specify one aspect of a person's aiding orientation toward

others, without getting lost in the morass of the alienation concept.

The humanitarian motive given by traditional social responsibility should help to explain additional findings about school voting as social altruism.

As far as the relation between social class and favorable budget voting, the idea of "nobless oblige" on the part of the upper class seems to fit well into our description of this humanitarian value. Berkowitz' Revised Social Responsibility Scale (RSRS) itself correlates strongly with both educational level and subjective class identification (Berkowitz and Lutterman, 1968). Ability to postpone gratification, which was reported in the Introduction to be correlated with an earlier Social Responsibility scale, has long been known to be class-related. Bronfenbrenner (1961) found upper middle class child rearing patterns most conducive to the development of adolescents rated high in responsibility and leadership by their teachers. In addition, Almond and Verba (1963) report that those at the higher end of the educational range have the greatest impression of ability to influence events through associational activity and who participate to the greatest extent.

Higher income, itself often a product of greater education, may also facilitate the flowering of the traditional social responsibility value into acts of social altruism, through reduced financial preoccupation.

And, finally, if being retired reduces societal involvement as well as income, it may also depress the traditional value, leading to less socially altruistic behavior.

Traditional Social Responsibility is thus the second aspect of humanitarianism suspected to motivate acts of social altruism. The traditionally socially responsible person is characterized by his high sense of obligation to actively work toward social goals which he perceives to be consensual. It is expected that such an individual will be socially altruistic within the school setting through an acceptance of his share of society's responsibility to provide the best possible education for its children.

Intergroup Attitude

When the socially altruistic act is to be taken on behalf of a social group different from one's own, still another kind of humanitarian value is believed to be important. As we recall from the social altruism literature, Lewis Coser (1969) postulated individual differences in "span of sympathy" for the plight of others, which would influence how a needy group would be responded to. There may be low or high readiness to give aid, according to whether the social group is viewed as a proper object of such aid. It is suggested that Intergroup Attitude is a particularly potent kind of humanitarian value orientation to be considered when we are assessing social altruism toward groups of others who are different from the self.

It will be remembered that one school study found that White citizens who were favorable toward the progress of Black's integration into the area's schools and housing were more likely to vote favorably

in school elections. In a school district trying to implement quality bi-racial or multi-ethnic education, a citizen's values concerning the "aid-worthiness" of the integrated population of direct beneficiaries may be an important factor in his decision of whether or not to provide support.

We would expect that Blacks would place a higher value on the joint education of Black and White children, since integrated education has usually furthered the self-interest of Blacks by improving their children's education. Indeed, two school studies cited earlier showed a high degree of school tax support from Black families in school districts attempting to implement needed policies and programs for "quality, integrated education" through their school budget proposals and tax propositions. However, Blacks' intergroup attitudes have been changing in recent years, with greater Black interest in all-Black institutions. Therefore, intergroup attitude is a suggestive motivating factor for Blacks' as well as Whites' school support as a case of social altruism toward a group which is at least partly dissimilar.

Although Whites living in suburban areas, such as those where school tax votes are held, have a reputation for highly negative racial attitudes, a large-scale survey of fifteen United States cities and several middle-West suburban communities (Campbell, 1971) did not find large urban-suburban differences. White suburbanites' attitudes toward inter-racial contact, their sympathy with the Black protest, and their perception of discrimination were similar to those of their inner-city

counterparts, except that suburbanites were more sensitive to the prospect of Black people moving into their all-White neighborhoods.

Intergroup attitude, like the other humanitarian values, should help explain the social class-social altruism relationship, at least for White citizens' school tax voting. A negative correlation is usually shown between amount of formal education and amount of prejudice (Harding, et al, 1969).

It is possible that this value variable may also relate to 'parental status' role in school support, since having one's children in an integrated school system may be reflected in more favorable contemporary value being accorded to such integrated situations.

To summarize, this final aspect of humanitarianism, Intergroup Attitude, refers to the favorableness of the individual's evaluation of a dissimilar group in need of his help. We expect it to play an important role in social altruism within the integrated school setting, where the beneficiary of help is always wider than the individual's own social group.

Thus, the three aspects of humanitarianism distinguished are Humanitarian Responsibility, Traditional Social Responsibility, and Intergroup Attitude. Humanitarian Responsibility refers to the individual's tendency to accept personal responsibility in his interpersonal encounters, along with a sensitivity to human needs. Traditional Social Responsibility designates the individual's felt obligation to participate as a good citizen,

to give help in socially well-defined and approved ways. Intergroup Attitude focuses on the favorableness of the individual's evaluation of potential beneficiaries of help who are different from the self.

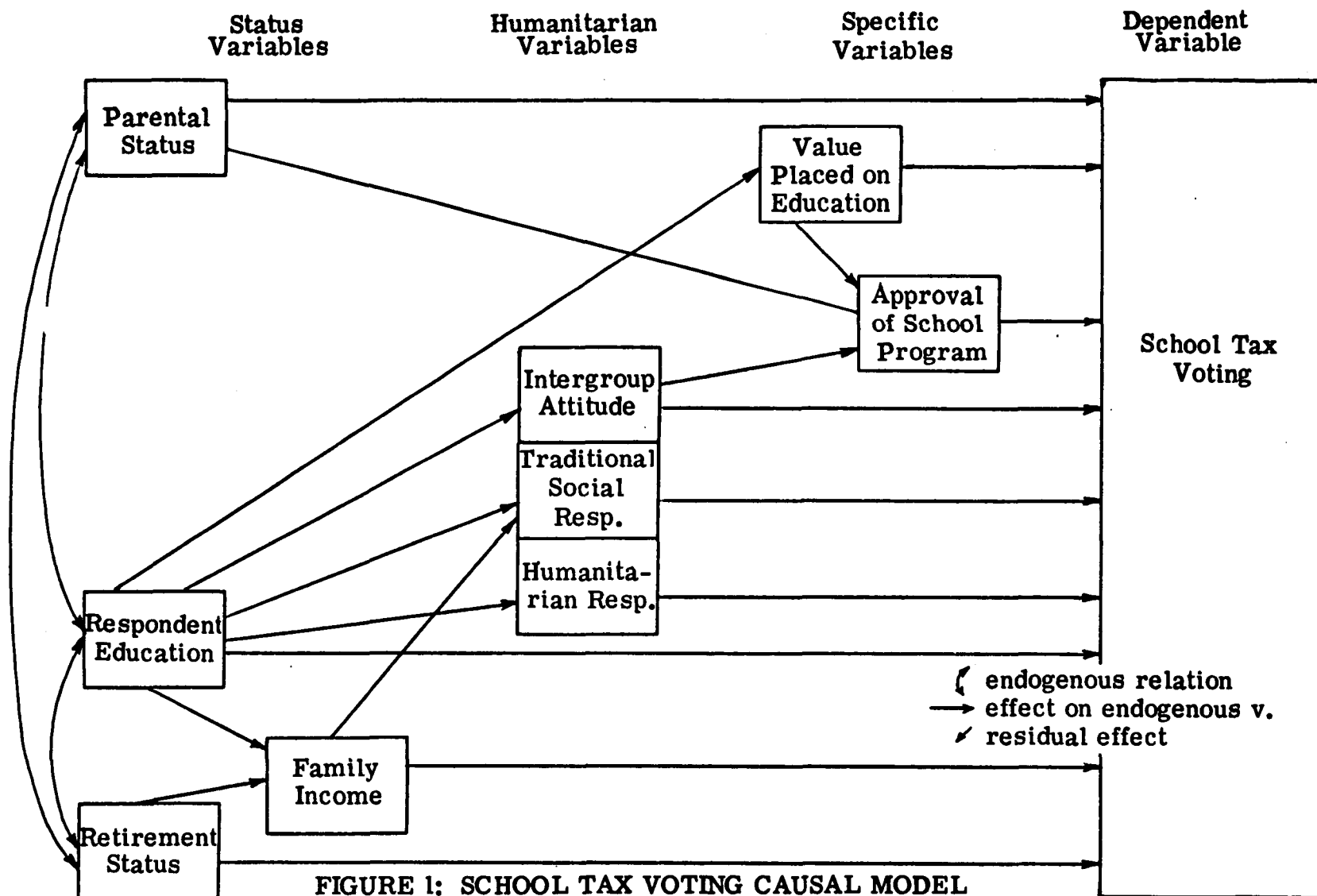
HYPOTHESES

This study of school voting and volunteering as expressions of social altruism is confined to residential property owners, since it is this group which directly pays the increased cost of any educational maintenance or improvement to be supported by tax levy. It is further confined to citizens who maintain registration to vote in school elections.

Hypotheses will be tested separately for White and Black taxpayers. since it is assumed that racial self-interest may alter obtained relationships in a district providing education to both White and Black children.

Sex differences will be evaluated and, if insignificant, data will be combined for the sexes. If necessary, the sex variable will be incorporated into the causal model. No predictions concerning sex will be made.

The major hypothesized relationships concerning school tax voting are presented schematically as the Causal Model in Figure 1. Certain relationships have been diagrammed as correlational with double-headed arrows. The variables involved in these relationships are called "exogenous" in the nomenclature of path analysis (Land, 1969; Kerlinger & Pedhazur, 1973). That is, they are assumed to be determined by variables outside the system under consideration. It is expected that moderate negative correlations will be found between



Retirement Status and Parental Status, and between Retirement Status and Respondent Education. Respondent Education and Parental Status are expected to show a moderate positive correlation. Empirical test will show whether these are, in fact, independent, or whether the predicted relationships among exogenous variables do obtain.

The single-headed arrows relating variables in the diagram indicate paths of postulated causal relationship. The variables reached by these single-headed arrows are considered "endogenous" to the system, and determined, at least partially, by prior exogenous and endogenous variables within the system. Unexplained variation is represented by a residual effect on each endogenous variable.

There is a distinction between direct and indirect effects on endogenous variables, and both kinds have been postulated in the model. A causal variable's direct effect on an endogenous variable is attributable to the cause's own action within the model and not to variables with which the cause may be correlated. A causal variable's indirect effect on an endogenous variable occurs, most importantly, through a mediating cause with which the first cause is correlated.

The causal sequence postulated in the model was derived from empirical findings and from hypotheses concerning the psychological constructs. Time sequence and generality-specificity lend support to postulated directional relationships. Since the Intergroup Attitude and Approval of School Program measures refer to contemporary orientations, Parental Status is antecedent to them. (Were we dealing with

historical attitudes, a case could be made for Approval and Intergroup Attitude being antecedent to placing one's children in the schools.) In the general-specific class are the relations of Intergroup Attitude-Approval of School Program and Value Placed on Education- Approval of School Program; they assumed the more specific attitude measure to depend on the more general value orientation.

The following hypotheses apply to the first dependent measure of social altruism, the extent of a homeowner's support of proposed school budgets and special bond issues over the last two years in a suburban school district.

School Tax Voting

I. Motivating Effects of Status

A) Parental Status on School Tax Voting:

1) Direct effect. Whether a person is a public-school parent or a non-parent is hypothesized to have a direct effect on his school tax voting. Since it is in the direct self-interest of public-school parents to maintain a high quality public educational system, parents should be more willing than non-parents to support school tax levies.

2) Indirect effect through Approval of School Program.

Parental Status should also have an indirect effect on school tax support through its relationship to Approval of the School Program. Parents tend to be more approving of the program, and those persons with a more approving attitude will be more

supportive financially.

B) Respondent Education on School Tax Voting:

1) Direct effect. The level of education which a person attained should have created differential awareness of societal conditions and enlightenment as to the dependence of education on community support. Therefore, higher educated respondents should be more disposed to give financial support to the schools.

(Indirect effects are detailed in hypotheses I.D)2), II.A)2), II.B)2), II.C)2), and III.A)2).)

C) Retirement Status on School Tax Voting:

1) Direct effect. Whether a person is retired from employment is hypothesized to have a direct effect on budget support, with retired persons showing less support due to lessening of active concern with wide societal needs.

2) Indirect effect through Family Income. Retirement Status, through its relationship with lowered income, is also hypothesized to have an indirect effect on tax levy support. Retired persons having low incomes should vote unfavorably due to a strong financial self-interest motive.

D) Family Income on School Tax Voting:

1) Direct effect. Whether a person's family has a low, moderate or high income, for the area of the country, is hypothesized to have a direct effect on school tax support. Since the sacrifice

involved in taking the pro-social action is much greater for low income homeowners and since their financial self-interest is magnified, those who are financially comfortable should be more willing to support school tax levies than those who aren't.

2) As Indirect effect of Respondent Education. A prior cause for income is level of education, so that an indirect effect of Respondent Education is predicted to occur through Family Income.

(An indirect effect of Family Income on school tax voting is suggested in hypothesis III. B)3.)

II. Motivating Effects of General Humanitarian Values

A) Humanitarian Responsibility on School Tax Voting:

1) Direct effect. The presence of a strong sense of personal responsibility relative to the needs and outcomes of others, is hypothesized to motivate greater school tax support as a manifestation of social altruism.

2) As Indirect effect of Respondent Education. Since an individual is influenced by the home social class background which provided a particular level of education, those of greater education were likely to experience the kind of child rearing which develops adults high in Humanitarian Responsibility. This should, in turn, motivate greater school tax support.

B) Traditional Social Responsibility on School Tax Voting:

1) Direct effect. The presence of strong feelings of obligation to

participate in the social structure and render aid through it, is also hypothesized to motivate strong school tax support as a case of social altruism.

2) As Indirect effect of Respondent Education. The social class background providing higher education is most likely to have instilled a strong sense of Traditional Social Responsibility, leading to more school tax support.

3) As Indirect effect of Income. Higher income usually allows more free time to participate in the social structure and to elaborate the Traditional Social Responsibility value, which should lead to more school financial support.

C) Intergroup Attitude on School Tax Voting:

1) Direct effect. The presence of approving dispositions toward aid recipients, many of whom are different from the self, is also hypothesized to motivate greater school tax support as social altruism toward dissimilar others.

2) As Indirect effect of Respondent Education. Individuals of greater education are most likely to have come from a background which instilled favorable intergroup attitudes, these, in turn, leading to more school tax support for an integrated educational program.

3) Indirect effect through Approval of School Program. Intergroup Attitude should influence approval of the local schools' program, if

it is an integrated one. Those who hold favorable intergroup attitudes should hold a better contemporary opinion of the integrated school program, which should result in more school tax support.

III. Motivating Effects of Situationally-Specific Value and Attitude

A) Value Placed on Education on School Tax Voting:

1) Direct effect. Placing greater importance on formal education is hypothesized to lead to greater school financial support.

2) As Indirect effect of Respondent Education. Those with a background providing them with lengthy education should value education more highly, which is predicted to result in more favorable school tax voting.

3) Indirect effect through Approval of School Program. Placing greater importance on formal education should dispose an individual toward greater approval of the local school program. This should result, in turn, in a higher level of school tax support.

B) Approval of School Program on School Tax Voting:

1) Direct effect. More favorable contemporary opinion of the schools should be directly reflected in greater school tax support.

IV. Framework for Qualitative Analysis of Voting Motives

Reasons offered by respondents for voting as they do were categorized and tabulated for all respondents. These reasons were compared with the quantitative results to assess respondents' motivational insight and

concealment.

Various forms of rationalization in respondents' reasons were exposed through additional interview data. Evidence was sought for shifting of blame to the potential beneficiaries of the pro-social behavior. Lerner (1970) has found extensive devaluation of victims from individuals who are involved in a process that leads to the victim's suffering. Ryan (1971) has said that "victim-blaming" comes about through the "unconscious reconciliation of self-interest with the promptings of humanitarian impulses". Finding defect and inadequacy located within the victim rather than the social system means that self-blame for the real conditions can be avoided. For example, if Black people or young people can be condemned as undeserving of help, then any question of personal blame becomes less important.

Evidence was also sought for denial of the consequences likely to arise from failure to take the pro-social action. Sykes and Matza (1957) spoke of "denial of injury" in connection with delinquents' neutralization of their antisocial acts. Schwartz (1970) dealt with "denial of consequences" in the service of neutralizing salient moral norms.

Finally, evidence was sought for denial of responsibility for pro-social behavior. Sykes and Matza (1957) and also Schwartz (1970) referred to this distortion as "denial of responsibility".

Where possible, the presence of these rationalizations was related to elements in the quantitative analysis. Since the Humanitarian Responsibility construct included a tendency toward self-blame in interpersonal

affairs and an acute awareness of interpersonal needs, it is predicted that only those low on this value should offer such uncongenial rationalizations as shifting of blame or responsibility from the self, or minimization of consequences. Those low on the value could rationalize that support of public education was the responsibility of others, that their support would be misused, or that the beneficiaries of education abused their privileges. They could say that it wouldn't make any difference educationally whether a proposition passed or did not.

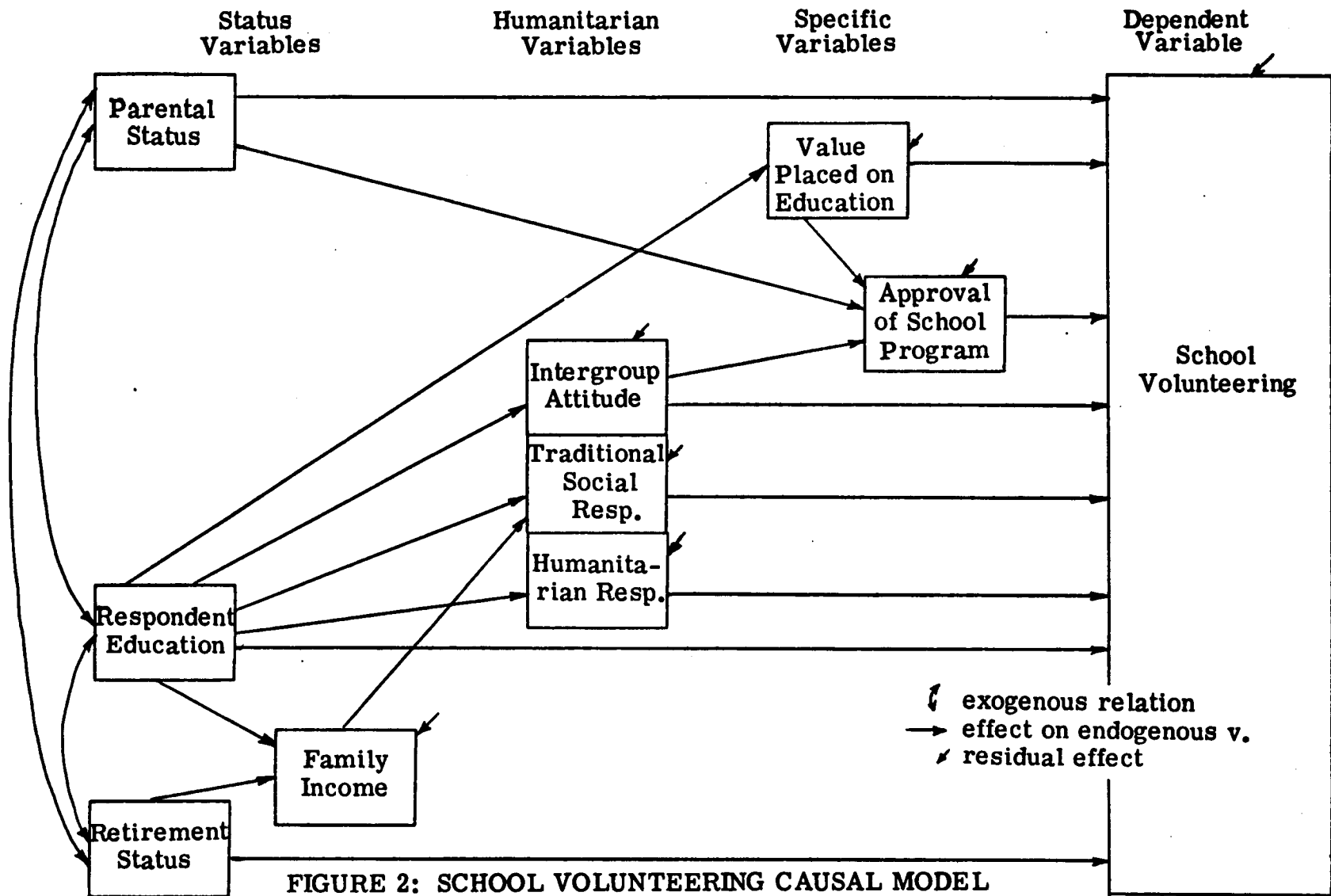
It is expected that those high on traditional social expressions of humanitarianism should provide reasons and rationalizations of high social acceptability for failure to support the schools. This would be consistent with the Traditional Social Responsibility humanitarian value.

Finally, it is expected that those individuals low on the Intergroup Attitude humanitarian value, and thus negatively disposed toward beneficiaries who are different from themselves, would utilize defenses like shifting of blame to the victims. While victim-blaming may reconcile self-interest with humanitarianism, the "humanitarian impulses" of those utilizing this kind of cognitive strategy should not extend to span those who are dissimilar to themselves.

School Volunteering

A second dependent variable was the extent of time which a person projected he was willing to contribute "for the benefit of the local public schools". This represents a different indicator of social altruism than that of financial support. As will be recalled from previous discussion, the volunteering indicator is expected to be free from financial self-interest considerations, but like the voting indicator in all other respects. Therefore, with the exception of financially related factors, all of the hypotheses outlined for financial support also apply to the volunteering dependent measure. Parental Status is expected to exert the same self-interest effects, both directly and through influencing Approval of the School Program. Respondent Education is expected to have the same direct effect and indirect effects through the humanitarian values and through the situationally-specific value. Retirement Status is also expected to have the same direct effect through its creation of disinterest in the schools. However, Family Income, directly or as an indirect effect of education or retirement, is not expected to be a significant self-interest factor, since financial cost is not involved. Therefore, hypotheses I.C)2), I.D)1), and I.D)2) are not applicable to the volunteering dependent measure. The effects of the motivating humanitarian values are expected to be the same for the volunteering dependent measure as for the financial one, as are the effects of the situationally-specific value and attitude. Among the humanitarian values, the Traditional Social Responsibility

construct, which reflects humanitarian values expressed through the helping structure, will probably be even more important for this kind of social altruism than for financial support. Figure 2 presents the volunteering model.



METHOD AND PROCEDURES

Path Analysis

The variety of regression analysis called "path analysis" was applied to the data according to the postulated causal model. Path analysis, developed originally by Sewall Wright (1921), is designed to study the direct and indirect influence of variables taken as causes on variables taken as effects. The assumptions of the technique are that the variables in the model have linear, additive and unidirectional causal relations, that the residual effects are uncorrelated and that the variables are measurable on an interval scale. This last assumption will be violated in the present research since many of the variables are categorical or order variables. However, Boyle (1970) found by applying dummy variables to interval data that "...the empirical dangers of assuming equal intervals are not great" when applying the technique to data that do not meet the interval assumption.

Direct influences in the model are known as "paths". The numerical value associated with a path, called the "path coefficient", is a standardized partial regression coefficient. All variables are assigned equal unit variance and their effects are comparable. Path diagrams are also able to show indirect effects between variables by the sets of paths between them. Such "compound paths" are assigned a numerical value equal to the product of their constituent paths. The

difference between the zero-order correlation for two variables and the value of the direct path between them, yields the theoretical quantity of "total indirect effects". An important contribution of path analysis is the ability to analyze a correlation into its direct and indirect components.

As Wright (1934) stated, "... the method of path coefficients is not intended to accomplish the impossible task of deducing causal relations from the values of the correlation coefficients". Rather, it is the researcher's theoretical model which postulates causal relations; the analysis can only determine the reasonableness of that particular model. Having formulated causal models from the best empirical and theoretical information available to the investigator, the present analysis assesses and compares the postulated direct and indirect contributions of variables to the dependent measures. On the basis of these tests, the original models were revised. Both original and revised models are shown in the Results Section. The ability of the revised models to reproduce the correlations observed in the data tests the models' reasonableness. This does not, of course, "prove" the correctness of the models. Clear presentations of the path analysis technique are given by Land (1969) and by Kerlinger and Pedhazur (1973).

Statistical results on school tax voting will be supplemented by qualitative analysis of interview responses, according to the framework presented with the hypotheses.

Research Setting

The study was conducted in a large suburban school district in Westchester County, N. Y. It is a district of about eight and a half square miles and about three thousand-five hundred families, well mixed racially and economically, although the extremely poor are under-represented. The district was created six years prior to the study through the merger of a moderate size integrated district with a smaller, all-White district. Costs of education in the merged district are kept particularly high by the continuation of the historical policy of the integrated district to implement "quality integrated education" (Goodman, 1972). Almost all public-school children are bused to non-neighborhood schools scattered throughout the district in Black, White and racially mixed neighborhoods. Small classes of heterogeneous student ability require a very large number of teachers. In addition, remedial and special services are being provided for a wide range of children. For six years the district has been doing its best to provide a high quality, individualized, integrated educational program to meet the needs of all children in the district.

This ambitious educational program is financed mainly through the residential property tax. A yearly budget is proposed to district citizens for approval in a tax referendum held each spring. In the years since 1968, only one out of four yearly budgets was passed by the voters as originally presented. Proposed bond issued for con-

struction of a middle school, a swimming pool, and a sports field complex were also recently defeated. The taxpayers' burden is high, the district's tax rate for 1973 ranking seventeenth from the top among forty-four school districts in Westchester and Putnam counties. However, by virtue of its relatively high "wealth per pupil", ranking tenth among these forty-four school districts, it is a district which has the financial means to support its educational commitment, if it wishes to do so.

The district relies heavily on community support in the form of participation as well. Besides an active P. T. A., there are standing citizens' committees, special study committees and frequent projects within the schools. Volunteer aides and tutors are actively sought. Recently, a direct appeal was made for senior citizen volunteers, but most requests for non-parent participation are less formal.

The Sample

To assess the influence of parental self-interest on school support, the sample included both parents and non-parents. Parents were defined by having at least the majority of their school-aged children in public school. Non-parents either had no children at all or no child younger than eighteen years of age. The non-parents sampled included a certain percentage of "post-parents", those who once had children in the public schools. The meaning of the distinction between "post-parents" and

non-parents is, however, difficult to interpret on a continuum of self-interest. It is also true that many respondents had sent children to school prior to the district merger so that some were sent through an essentially all-White system, some through an integrated system. Because of the ambiguous status of having once had children in the schools, it was decided to confine the parental status variable to the dichotomy between parent and non-parent.

Education studies relating demographic characteristics to school vote patterns usually show 41-52% of non-parents to be favorable voters as compared to 60-71% of parents (Dillingham, 1969; Washington State, 1971; Schoonhoven & Patterson, 1966). To insure a sufficient number of interviews with favorable non-parents to allow analysis, White non-parents were sampled three times as heavily as White parents. Table 1, which describes the sampling design, shows these sample sizes to be 150 White non-parents and 50 White parents.

TABLE 1
Sampling Design

		<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>White</u>	Non -parents:	75	75	150
	Parents:	25	25	50
<u>Black</u>	Non -parents:	25	25	50
	Parents:	25	25	50
				<u>300</u>

To allow racial comparisons, Black parents and non-parents were included.

Parents of pre-school children were not interviewed since they represent a specialized group with separate motives not to be dealt with in the present study. Similarly, those parents sending at least half of their children to parochial or private school were not interviewed. Like the parents of pre-school children, this group has special motives relative to the public schools which are not within the scope of the present study. It was not attempted to have the sample reflect the population, in either proportions or groups included, since it was not the major purpose of the study to make statements about this particular population.

Equal numbers of men and women were drawn to permit sex differences to be assessed.

Since the study was restricted to taxpayers, someone in the respondent's family had to own, rather than rent, the place of residence. The respondent, himself, must have registered to vote in school elections and have lived within the school district at least one year.

Up-to-date school census records and school voter registration records were made available to the investigator by the school district.³ From these records, the investigator prepared two inclusive lists of parents and of non-parents who met the criteria of property ownership, voting registration, and length of residence. Each list was then divided

3. In return for the School Board's cooperation, the investigator made research findings available to the district, to the extent that the findings could be useful. Appendix B contains the report submitted to them in the fall of 1973.

by all possible race and sex combinations. Within each of the eight sub-populations created, a random sample was drawn to meet the number of such respondents called for in the sampling design.

Interviewing Procedures

A total of five interviewers were hired to work along with the investigator. They all came from within Westchester (but not within the school district being studied) and all had prior interviewing experience in either census, market-research or casework interviewing.

Each interviewer received approximately five hours of training for the current project in the form of a group session and individual conferences with the investigator. A total of five interviewers were trained, but one interviewer left shortly due to a family health problem.

Since the interview material was highly racially sensitive for White respondents, the one Black interviewer interviewed only Black respondents, with three exceptions when the race of the respondent had been misjudged beforehand. The Black interviewer completed almost 50% of all interviews with Black respondents. Full matching of interviewer and respondent sex to improve interview communication was impossible, but the single male interviewer on the project interviewed approximately 50% of all male respondents.

A letter introducing the study as independent of the school district and valuable to the community was sent to all selected residents. Then

phone calls were made to set up appointments. The investigator and one interviewer set up almost all of the appointments. Callbacks for appointments were made until a definite acceptance or refusal was obtained. Those potential respondents with unlisted telephones were sent appointment cards in the mail which they were asked to fill out and return. Those who did not comply were visited in person by the interviewers to set up an immediate or future interview. This was done repeatedly, if necessary, until the person was found home and either agreed or refused to grant an interview.

An interview lasted approximately one hour and was almost always conducted in the respondent's home. A few were conducted at the respondent's place of business and one at the investigator's home. The interviews were completed over a two and one half month period between April and June of 1973.

The completion rate was 70.13% of interviewable respondents (excluding those who had moved, were seriously ill or had died).

Analysis is based on 319 completed interviews, including forty-five done by the investigator. No significant interviewer differences were found on the voting dependent measure, but they were present on the volunteering measure for both Whites and Blacks. Interviewer C had an unusually small percentage of White and Black respondents who would not volunteer their time at all, while Interviewer B had an unusually large percentage of these people. This is probably due to non-random assignment of respondents to the interviewers but may

be due to some biasing in their interview techniques. In addition, the volunteering measure showed a significant difference by interviewer's race, with Black Interviewer F having fewer Black respondents willing to volunteer on a regular basis than the average for White interviewers with Black respondents.

Among the independent variables, significant interviewer individual differences were found for Whites on Traditional Social Responsibility, for Whites on Intergroup Attitude, and for Whites on Approval of School Program. Different interviewers were responsible for each of the effects, and they did not occur with Black respondents. For these reasons, it is felt that interviewer effects on these variables can be discounted as having affected the results in any systematic manner.

Following the budget-referendum in June, each interviewer re-contacted her or his respondents by telephone to ask how the respondent had voted and to record any other comments the respondent was willing to provide. Letters requesting the same information were sent to respondents with unlisted telephones. Ninety-five percent of all respondents furnished information as to their vote.

Later coding of open-ended material by two independent coders showed between 85-97% agreement.

The Interview Instrument

The interview instrument included questions eliciting status

information; measures of attitudinal and value variables; dependent measures of voting history and volunteering intent; and, finally, open-ended questioning about reasons for favorable or unfavorable voting. A fixed schedule allowing a certain amount of flexibility in obtaining information was constructed (Richardson, Dohrenwend & Klein, 1965). A copy of the entire instrument is included in Appendix A. Examples and discussion of the items measuring each of the major variables follows.

Measures of status variables: Parental Status had been determined from the school census records prior to sampling. A single-item (Appendix A, question 6) verified the Parental Status of the respondent being interviewed. Parenthood was assigned the higher value for this dichotomous variable.

Respondent's level of education (Appendix A, question 11) was recorded on six-point scale according to customary divisions: grade school; some high school; high school graduate; some college; college graduate; and higher.

Retirement was determined from questions concerning the respondent's employment and that of the respondent's spouse, if there was one (Appendix A, questions 13, 14). Due to the presence of large numbers of housewives who had never been employed, the Retirement Status variable was actually measured by the head of the household's having retired or not.

Retirement was assigned the higher dichotomous value.

Family Income information (Appendix A, question 94) was requested on a three-point scale: yearly family income below \$15,000; between \$15,000 and \$25,000; and above \$25,000. The scale divisions were made on the basis of prior demographic information about the geographic area to reflect a relevant and balanced income distribution. For those respondents reporting their income, 27% reported low income, 44% moderate income, and 29% high income. Thirty-six respondents, twenty-seven of whom were White non-parents, were unwilling to provide this information. For these respondents, interviewers' estimates of yearly family income on the same scale were taken as the income measure. These estimates were distributed over the income scale almost identically to the income self-reports.

Measures of Humanitarian Responsibility: This humanitarian value construct refers to the individual's tendency to accept personal responsibility in his interpersonal encounters as well as his tendency to be sensitive to human needs above normative standards. To reflect this operational definition, two measures of the construct were included in the interview. Their reliability was compared in the present study to select the more reliable for inclusion in the analysis.

Shalom Schwartz's 28-item Ascription of Responsibility scale (AR) was used intact. It was reported to have a Kuder-Richardson reliability of .67. Construct validity was previously shown by its ability to predict

whether people will act in accord with their stated moral norms (Schwartz, 1968; 1972; Schwartz & Clausen, 1970). The scale includes such items as: "No matter what a person has done to us, there is no excuse for taking advantage of him"; "You can't blame basically good people who are forced by their environment to be inconsiderate of others"; "When you have a job to do, it is impossible to look out for everybody's best interests". (Appendix A, questions 63-90)

Also included was Martin Hoffman's (1970) set of four moral judgment items which he used to distinguish humanistic from conventional morality. He demonstrated construct validity from child-rearing data on the two groups, as well as by differences in guilt responses to projective stories. He has used the measure only with adolescents, but pre-testing has shown the feasibility of applying it to adult subjects in the present research. Its items call for judgments on theft under different conditions and on well-motivated dishonesty. (Appendix A, questions 51-54)

Measures of Traditional Social Responsibility: This second humanitarian value construct refers to an individual's felt obligation to actively work toward social goals which he perceives to be consensual.

The main measure employed to meet this operational definition was Berkowitz's abbreviated Revised Social Responsibility Scale (RSRS). This 8-item scale has already been standardized on 766 Wisconsin

adults (1968). Berkowitz reports the abbreviated scale to have "high internal consistency", although neither Berkowitz nor his colleague Irvin Staub provided exact reliability information in response to the investigator's letters of inquiry. The scale includes such items as "It is no use worrying about current events or public affairs; I can't do anything about them anyway;" "People would be a lot better off if they could live far away from other people and never have to do anything for them;" "I feel very bad when I have failed to finish a job I promised I would do." (Appendix A, questions 55-62)

Four additional items also measure the construct. One is a question concerning the rightness of participating in activities of benefit to others, taken from Almond and Verba's survey (1963). One is a check-list for extent of actual recent community organizational participation. The other two are questions concerning leadership in these organizations and whether the person has ever done any volunteer work of any kind. (Appendix A, questions 20-22, 24)

Measures of Intergroup Attitude: This final humanitarian value construct refers to an individual's evaluation of a dissimilar group in need of his help.

No single existing scale which met this operational definition was found in pre-testing to have sufficient respondent acceptance under personal interview conditions. Instead, eight separate questions were

combined into what pretesting indicated was a relatively inoffensive and topic-relevant measure of favorableness of Intergroup Attitude, specifically attitude toward integration and its speed of progress. Two of the questions concerning satisfaction with school and housing integration were taken from Dillingham's school study (1969). Two questions, one about the desirability of interracial contact for children, and one measuring approval of the Black "push" for integration, were taken from the Fifteen City Survey (Campbell, 1971). One question about the effect of integrated schools on White children was taken from a Harris poll done for Newsweek in 1966 (Brink and Harris, 1967). Three questions were original to this study. They dealt with approval of busing for integration in the district, of heterogeneous grouping in the school classrooms and of the current racial balance in the public schools. The questions were phrased in varied ways to minimize response set. (Appendix A, questions 42-49)

Measure of Value Placed on Education: Three original questions tapping this factor are included in the instrument. They concern the respondent's view of public education's absolute value, its value to the community in comparison to police protection, and in comparison to fire protection. (Appendix A, questions 28-30)

Measure of Approval of School Program: A five-item Attitude toward the Local Schools scale (ATLS) used by Toscano (1963) in school-

community relations research has been employed here. Toscano reports its coefficient of scalability of items to be between .7 and .8 in three different school districts. The scale items deal with a respondent's opinion of whether the schools are doing a good job; whether he favors the schools more or less than the average person; whether the students are playing too much; whether students' time is being wasted; and whether too many unnecessary activities are being offered. (Appendix A, questions 31-35)

Dependent measures: The first dependent variable of school financial support, School Tax Voting, was constructed from six separate self-report measures: 1) vote on budget proposed two years ago; 2) vote on budget proposed last year; 3) vote on recent middle-school bond issue; 4) vote on recent sports complex bond issue; 5) vote on recent swimming pool bond issue; 6) vote on current school budget proposal. The first five were gathered during the interview (Appendix A, questions 103-105, 107-108) The sixth was gathered in telephone calls and letters during the weeks following the referendum. Based on the number of occasions on which the respondent had actually voted, his percentage of favorable votes constituted the voting dependent measure.

The second dependent measure, School Volunteering, was simply a question about willingness to volunteer time rather than money for a school-supportive purpose: "If you were asked to volunteer your time

to do something for the benefit of the local public schools, would you be ready to give your time once each week, once each month, on an occasional basis or not at all at this time?" (Appendix A, question 26)

RESULTS

Adequacy of Interview Method

It was the interviewers' opinions, through ratings made after each interview, that almost every respondent had been honest and earnest in his self-reporting. However, it was the impression of one interviewer and the investigator that the questions in the Inter-group Attitude measure were subject to some deliberate response distortion in the direction of more favorable attitude toward integration. If this measure was indeed susceptible to social desirability problems, this may have obscured some of the relation between this variable and the dependent measures. However, the fact that those White respondents making spontaneous anti-integration and anti-Black remarks during the interview also scored low on the Inter-group Attitude questions lends some support to the measure's validity.

Index Construction

All measures were tested for their internal consistency within the Black and White segments of the sample. Cronbach's Alpha Coefficient (Nunnally, 1967) was the test of consistency. It has been suggested that only those measures having alpha coefficients of at least .5 - .6 should be used in research.

TABLE 2

Alpha Coefficients
for Measures
of Constructs

	<u>Alpha Coefficient</u>	
	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>
<u>Humanitarian Responsibility</u>		
Schwartz's AR-28 items	.64	.65
Hoffman's Moral Judgment Stories - 4 items	.41	.35
<u>Traditional Social Responsibility</u>		
Berkowitz's RSRS - 8 items	.43	.02
Societal Participation Composite - 3 items	.61	.60
<u>Intergroup Attitude</u>		
Composite - 6 items	.65	.08
<u>Value Placed on Education</u>		
Composite - 2 items	.74	.68
<u>Approval of School Program</u>		
Toscano's ATLS - 5 items	.81	.58
<u>Voting Dependent Measure</u>		
Composite - 6 items	.92	.84

Schwartzs' AR scale was selected as the measure of Humanitarian Responsibility since its Alpha Coefficients proved far more satisfactory than those for Hoffman's moral judgment items as a measure of the same construct. Table 2 presents these results as well as those for the measures which follow.

Berkowitz's Abbreviated RSRS did not have satisfactory Alpha Coefficients to allow its use as the measure of Traditional Social Responsibility. It was reluctantly dropped from the analysis in favor of the alternate measure of Traditional Social Responsibility through societal participation. Three items tapping membership in groups, leadership in groups, and volunteering record combined into an index having satisfactory internal consistency for both Black and White respondents. The substitution of this measure for Berkowitz's scale means that the Traditional Social Responsibility construct is being inferred from participation rather than measured directly through attitudes. However, the indirect measure seems legitimate since we included in the value construct the stipulation that helping will be expressed through participation in the social structure.

Six out of eight of the questions tapping Intergroup Attitude were able to be combined into an index having satisfactory internal consistency for Whites. The other two questions were excluded for having too many "don't know" responses, indicating they were too difficult for respondents. The set of final questions dealt with feelings about: the relative advantage of busing for integration; desirable racial balance

in the schools; whether Black integration is going at a good speed in general; whether housing integration in Westchester is going at a good speed; and their real or hypothetical preference, if any, for the race of their children's playmates. No combination of these questions had adequate internal consistency for the Black portion of the sample, so it was excluded from their analysis. Instead, the single question concerning busing for integration, which had the highest correlation to the whole index for Whites, was used as a variable in the Black analysis.

Value Placed on Education was tapped by three questions, of which two produced an internally consistent measure. They were the questions concerning the relative importance of public education to the community compared to police protection and compared to fire protection. The third question did not show a broad enough range of response.

Toscano's ATLS scale had a very high Alpha for Whites and a sufficiently high Alpha for Blacks to be used intact as the measure of Approval of School Program.

The voting dependent measure showed very high internal consistency over all six votes reported and so all were included in this index. It is possible that this measure's consistency was somewhat inflated by respondents presenting their own voting histories as consistent. While this tendency may have amplified group differences, there would be no change in the direction of relationships.

Computation of each Alpha coefficient was based on those respondents having a complete set of scores for that index. For further analysis, an individual's score on an index is computed as the mean of all his non-missing scores.

Race Differences

Since data for Whites and Blacks will be looked at in separate path diagrams, it will be helpful to first give a comparative overview.

Race differences were found in both education and income, with Whites being significantly higher on both ($p < .001$). This is true even though education and income are distinctly higher for these suburban homeowner Blacks than would be the case in other Black populations.

Contrary to the findings reported by Smith for Detroit, and Dillingham for Cincinnati, Whites in this Westchester school district were more favorable in general than Blacks in their voting. Of those who had actually voted in the June election which defeated the proposed budget, White non-parents had been 34% favorable, Black non-parents 22% favorable. The figures for parents were 89% favorable for Whites and 51% favorable for Blacks.

Table 3 presents data for non-parents on the voting dependent measure made up of six separate school votes. Moderate and high income respondents are combined to compensate for the small number of Black respondents in the highest income category. When the

significant chi square is partitioned, the voting pattern of Black non-parents at both income levels does not differ significantly from that of their White counterparts, although level of income is itself shown to have a significant effect. The non-parent groups of both races show an essentially similar pattern of low voting support, especially at the low income level.

For the parents shown in Table 4, income difference is not itself significant, but there is an important race difference at the moderate/high income level. Black parents in this income range show significantly less voting support than their White counterparts.

TABLE 3

School Tax Voting
of Non-parents by
Income and Race

	<u>Low Income</u>		<u>Moderate/High Income</u>	
	White %	Black %	White %	Black %
Favorable Voters	2.5	8.0	29.3	23.1
Unfavorable Voters	97.5	92.0	70.7	76.9
(n)	(40)	(25)	(116)	(26)

<u>Source</u>	<u>d. f.</u>	<u>Chi Square</u>	<u>p</u>
Within low income	1	1.06	n. s.
Within mod. /high income	1	.41	n. s.
Low income x mod. /high income	1	15.03	<.001
Total	3	15.65	<.001

TABLE 4
School Tax Voting
of Parents
by Income and Race

	<u>Low Income</u>		<u>Moderate/High Income</u>	
	<u>White</u> <u>%</u>	<u>Black</u> <u>%</u>	<u>White</u> <u>%</u>	<u>Black</u> <u>%</u>
Favorable Voters	50.0	36.4	82.6	29.3
Unfavorable Voters	50.0	63.6	17.4	70.7
(n)	(6)	(11)	(46)	(41)

<u>Source</u>	<u>d. f.</u>	<u>Chi Square</u>	<u>p</u>
Within low income	1	.28	n. s.
Within mod. /high income	1	25.21	<.001
Low income x mod. /high income	1	1.53	n. s.
Total	3	26.81	<.001

Results concerning Approval of School Program are presented for non-parents in Table 5 and for parents in Table 6. Among the non-parents, race showed a non-significant effect. In contrast, among the parents, Blacks at the moderate/high income level are significantly less approving of the school program than Whites, which parallels parents' racial voting differences.

TABLE 5

Approval of
School Program
from Non-Parents
by Income and Race

	<u>Low Income</u>		<u>Moderate/High Income</u>	
	White <u>%</u>	Black <u>%</u>	White <u>%</u>	Black <u>%</u>
Approving	35.0	64.3	48.3	42.3
Disapproving	65.0	35.7	51.7	57.7
(n)	(40)	(28)	(118)	(26)

Chi Square = 5.96; 3 d. f.; $p > .10$

TABLE 6
Approval of
School Program
from Parents
by Income and Race

	<u>Low Income</u>		<u>Moderate/High Income</u>	
	White <u>%</u>	Black <u>%</u>	White <u>%</u>	Black <u>%</u>
Approving	57.1	27.3	84.8	53.7
Disapproving	42.9	72.7	15.2	46.3
(n)	(7)	(11)	(46)	(41)

<u>Source</u>	<u>d. f.</u>	<u>Chi Square</u>	<u>p</u>
Within low income	1	1.63	n. s.
Within mod. /high income	1	10.05	<.01
Low income x mod. /high income	1	6.35	<.02
Total	3	17.38	<.001

In willingness to volunteer time to the schools, Table 7 shows a racial difference for non-parents. Chi square partition shows this effect to be from the smaller percentage of Black non-parents who would never volunteer time for a school supportive purpose. Black non-parents were more willing to volunteer than White non-parents, but less willing than parents of either race.

TABLE 7

School Volunteering Willingness
of Non-Parents by Race

	White <u>%</u>	Black <u>%</u>		
Would Volunteer:				
Regularly	12.4	15.4		
Occasionally	18.3	46.2		
Never	69.3	38.5		
(n)	(153)	(52)		
<u>Source</u>			<u>d. f.</u>	<u>Chi Square</u>
Regularly x occasionally			1	2.56
Regularly/occasionally x never			1	15.56
Total			2	18.13
				<u>p</u>
				n. s.
				<.001
				<.001

Table 8 shows parents of both races to be very similar in their high willingness to volunteer.

TABLE 8
School Volunteering Willingness
of Parents by Race

	White %	Black %
Would Volunteer:		
Regularly	36.0	31.9
Occasionally	50.0	53.2
Never	14.0	14.9
(n)	(50)	(47)

Chi Square = .18; d. f. = 2; p = n. s.

It is noteworthy that the overwhelming majority of respondents (92%) gave unqualified verbal support to the district goal of high quality, integrated education. How they act to implement this goal is the subject of the rest of our analysis.

Whites' School Tax Voting

Zero-order correlations for Whites on all the major variables are presented in Table 9. No significant sex differences were found so this variable was not included in the Whites' analyses.

Application of the data to the original path model yielded the model shown in Figure 3. When non-significant paths were deleted, so that only variables with significant direct or indirect effects were represented by paths, a revised model of Whites' budget voting was obtained. Figure 4 presents this revised model which is able to explain 65% of the variance

TABLE 9

Zero-order Correlations for Whites

	Respondent Sex (F)	Parental Status	Respondent Ed.	Retirement Status	Family Income	Humanitarian Resp.	Traditional Soc. Resp.	Intergroup Attitude	Attitude twd. Busing	Value Placed on Ed.	Approval of School Prog.	School Tax Voting	School Volunteering
Respondent Sex (F)	.00												
Parental Status	.00												
Respondent Ed.	-.12	.28											
Retirement Status	-.09	-.26	-.15										
Family Income	-.04	.19	.41	-.40									
Humanitarian Resp.	.06	-.05	.16	-.04	.08								
Traditional Soc. Resp.	-.02	.15	.34	-.20	.32	.17							
Intergroup Attitude	.00	.30	.26	-.21	.24	.08	.33						
Attitude twd. Busing	-.02	.35	.25	-.06	.12	.00	.19	.73					
Value Placed on Ed.	-.11	.14	.22	-.20	.23	-.05	.03	.20	.19				
Approval of School Prog.	.04	.37	.29	-.19	.26	-.02	.07	.53	.47	.31			
School Tax Voting	.02	.49	.45	-.20	.43	-.01	.27	.63	.62	.34	.63		
School Volunteering	-.02	.44	.39	-.23	.25	.14	.41	.28	.19	.11	.22	.37	

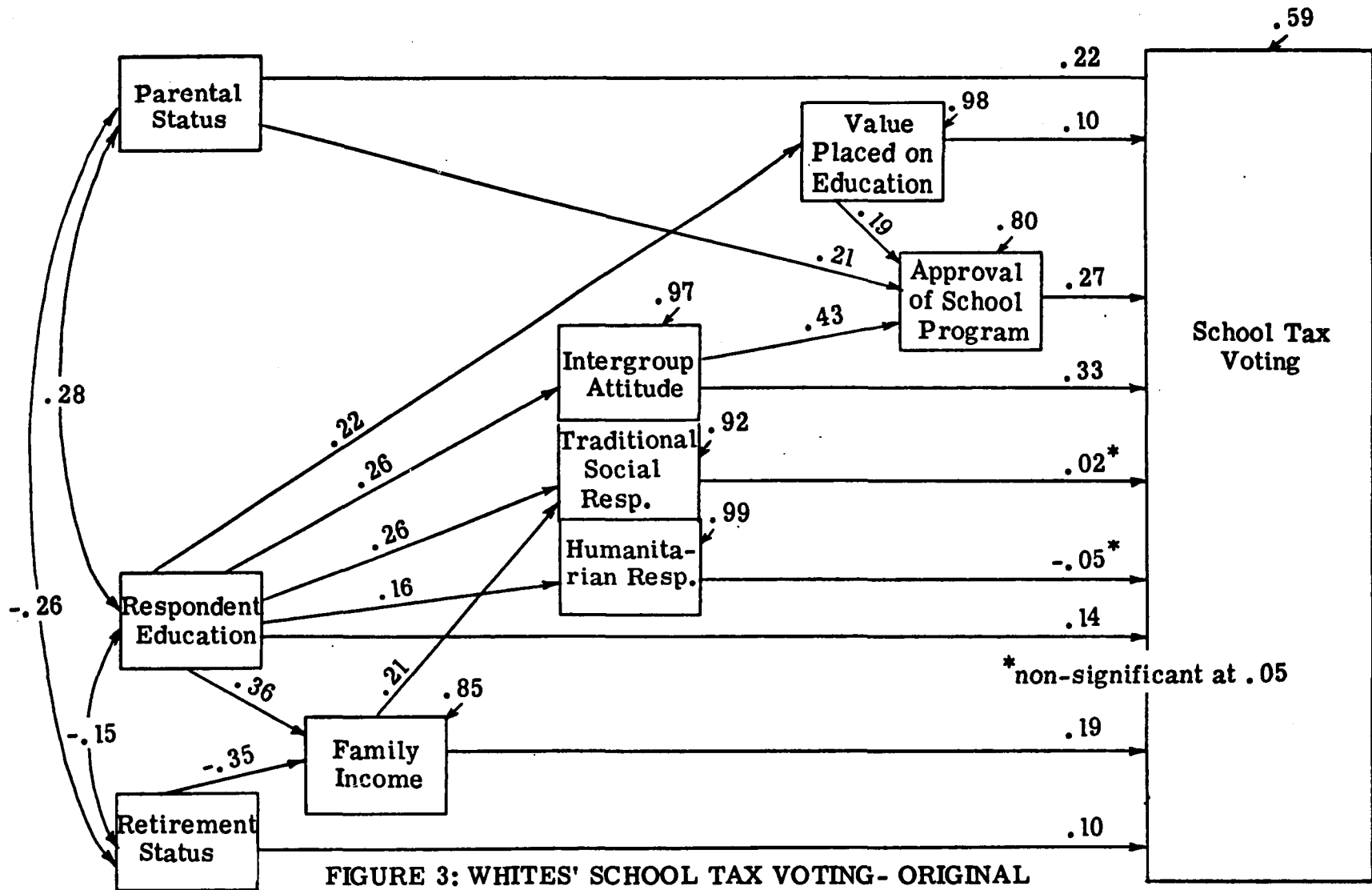


FIGURE 3: WHITES' SCHOOL TAX VOTING - ORIGINAL

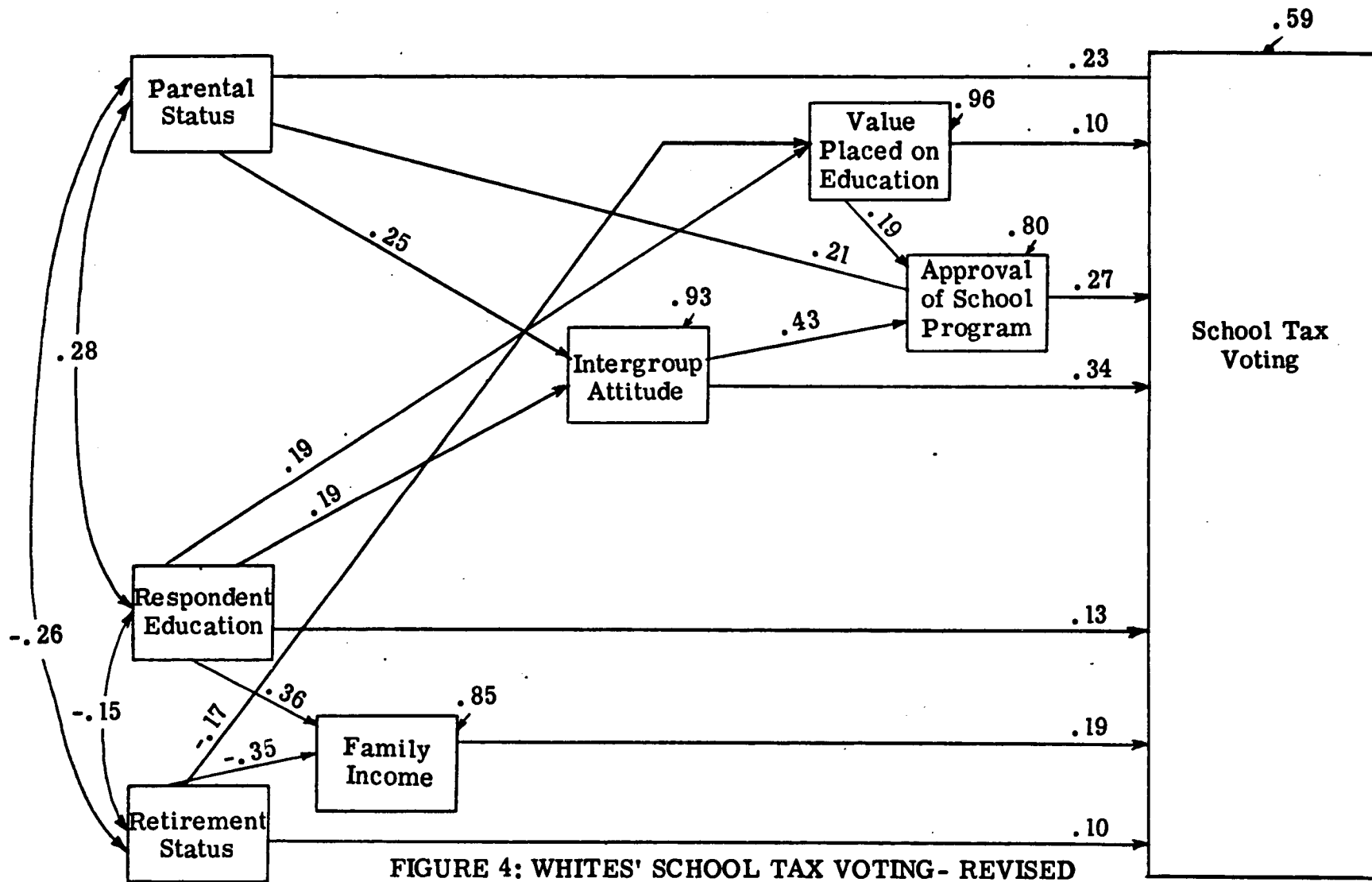


FIGURE 4: WHITES' SCHOOL TAX VOTING- REVISED

in school voting behavior.

The direct effect of one variable on another is shown by the presence and magnitude of the single path between them. A variable's indirect effect on another is represented by any series of single paths connecting them. Each such "compound path" is calculated as the product of the constituent paths. The total indirect effects on school voting which would be expected for each variable is equal to difference between that variable's zero-order correlation with school voting and its direct path coefficient on school voting.

We can see that our predictions concerning Parental Status were confirmed. Being a parent has a moderate positive direct effect on school voting, the path being above .20. Its indirect effect through parents being more favorable toward the school program and thus voting more favorably is also confirmed, but this effect is trivial since the product of the compound paths is below .10. A slightly larger indirect effect found, but not predicted, for parental status is through its effect on Intergroup Attitude. Parents are more favorable toward integration and vote more favorably. In fact, the total indirect effects of Parental Status are even greater than its direct effect. Table 10 shows the total indirect effects expected for this and succeeding variables.

Contrary to prediction, being retired does not, of itself, lead to unfavorable school voting. It actually has a small but significant effect in the opposite direction! Retirement is shown to have its predicted

TABLE 10
Total Indirect Effects
on Whites' School Tax Voting

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Zero-order Correlation with Voting</u>	-	<u>Direct Effect On Voting</u>	=	<u>Total Indirect Effects</u>
Parental Status	.49		.23		.26
Respondent Education	.45		.13		.32
Retirement Status	-.20		.10		.30
Family Income	.43		.19		.24
Intergroup Attitude	.63		.34		.29
Value Placed on Education	.34		.10		.24
Favorability toward the Schools	.63		.27		.36

indirect effect through lowered income leading to less favorable voting. However, it is apparent from calculation that retirement's indirect effect through income, while present, is trivial (below .10). An indirect effect found but not predicted was Retirement Status' effect in lowering Value Placed on Education, and thus lowering school financial support. While this is also a trivial indirect effect, Table 10 shows that, as was the case for Parental Status, the sum of retirement's indirect effects is more substantial than retirement's direct effect.

It was important to rule out respondent's age as a more critical variable than Retirement Status. Age could not be tested in the full model,

however, without violating the path techniques assumption of linearity due to age's curvilinear relationship to Family Income. Therefore, to rule out its effect as a more important variable than retirement, preliminary path analyses incorporating the age variable were performed for non-retired respondents only. The only significant effects found for age were for Whites upon Respondent Education and Parental Status. Respondent's age was not included in any further analyses.

As predicted, a direct effect was found for Respondent Education on school voting, with more educated respondents showing slightly more favorable voting. Several of its indirect effects were confirmed, as well. The indirect effects predicted for a person's education were found to be present through Family Income, through Intergroup Attitude and through Value Placed on Education, although each is trivial.

The predictions that education's effect would be mediated by Humanitarian Responsibility and Traditional Social Responsibility were not confirmed. That Schwartz's Ascription of Responsibility (AR) scale used as an index of Humanitarian Responsibility did not show a significant effect is perhaps due to validity problems of the measure itself. This measure was a problem for some low-education respondents, since it required good reading comprehension. The interviewers clarified all respondent questions as they arose and read the scale aloud to those few respondents who seemed to require it. However, its difficulty did seem to detract from its validity in use with a broad-ranging sample.

It is, however, true that the substantial .45 zero-order correlation between education and school voting was mostly composed of indirect effects. (See Table 10.) Education appears primarily important as an index to social class background producing income differentials and important value mediators to acts of social altruism.

That Family Income's direct effect was only moderate, below .20, confirms its predicted effect on voting but at a lower level than expected.

Of all the mediators for the education-voting relationship, it was Intergroup Attitude which was most important. In fact that aspect of humanitarian orientation had the most important direct effect on voting of any found. Those Whites who were favorably disposed toward sharing society's benefits with Blacks were most likely to support school tax levies in this integrated school district. This value also operated indirectly on voting through its significant relation to Approval of School Program. Those who were favorable toward integration were best disposed toward the local integrated schools and expressed this in terms of financial support.

That the revised model fits the observed data reasonably well is shown by the small amount of discrepancy between each observed zero-order correlation and the same correlation constructed from the sum of the direct and indirect paths between those two variables in the model. The range of such discrepancies in this case is .00-.14. Of the discrepancies for non-exogenous pairs, 80% were under or equal

TABLE 11
Discrepancies between
Zero-Order Correlations
and Revised Model Correlations
for Whites' School Tax Voting

	Parental Status	Respondent Education	Retirement Status	Family Income	Intergroup Attitude	Value Placed on Education	Approval of School Program
Parental Status							
Respondent Education	.00						
Retirement Status	.00	.00					
Family Income	.00	.01	.01				
Intergroup Attitude	.00	.00	.12	.11			
Value Placed on Education	.04	.00	.00	.09	.14		
Approval of School Program	.01	.08	.06	.14	.02	.07	
School Tax Voting	.01	.03	.05	.09	.06	.10	.01

to .09, and 50% under or equal to .05, a discrepancy that Kerlinger and Pedhazur (1973) judge to represent excellent fit of model to data. If we view this as an evaluative rather than "all-or-none" criterion, we could say this model fits the data for White respondents moderately well. Table 11 presents the amounts of discrepancy between zero-order correlation and correlation constructed from the model for each pair of variables.

It may legitimately be argued that including parents in the analysis may, since they have such a powerful self-interest motive, be obscuring the effects of the humanitarian values. However, when the data for non-parents was subjected to separate analysis the results were essentially unchanged, and the power of the model to explain variance in voting behavior was severely reduced by the elimination of the Parental Status variable.

Blacks' School Tax Voting

Table 12 presents the zero-order correlations for Blacks on the major variables. The original model for Black voting is shown in Figure 5. Since respondent's sex was not significantly related to Blacks' voting, it was not introduced into the revised model. Figure 6 presents the revised model, in which variables without significant direct or indirect effect on school tax voting have been deleted. This model is able to explain 25% of the variance in Blacks' school tax voting. The largest direct effects are from Parental Status and Attitude toward Busing.

TABLE 12

Zero-order Correlations for Blacks

	Respondent Sex (F)	Parental Status	Respondent Ed.	Retirement Status	Family Income	Humanitarian Resp.	Traditional Soc. Resp.	Attitude twd. Busing	Value Placed on Ed.	Approval of School Prog.	School Tax Voting	School Volunteering
Respondent Sex (F)												
Parental Status	.04											
Respondent Ed.	.11	.08										
Retirement Status	.14	-.24	-.05									
Family Income	-.16	.26	.42	-.34								
Humanitarian Resp.	-.02	.02	.23	.05	.13							
Traditional Soc. Resp.	.10	.12	.28	-.07	.12	.02						
Attitude twd. Busing	-.06	.13	.10	-.07	.05	-.02	.08					
Value Placed on Ed.	-.16	.08	.12	-.05	.24	.05	-.11	-.01				
Approval of School Prog.	-.01	-.03	.06	.17	-.06	.01	.00	.26	-.01			
School Tax Voting	-.05	.35	.19	-.05	.25	.18	-.04	.28	.22	.08		
School Volunteering	.17	.28	.25	-.35	.26	.18	.28	-.01	.17	.05	.13	

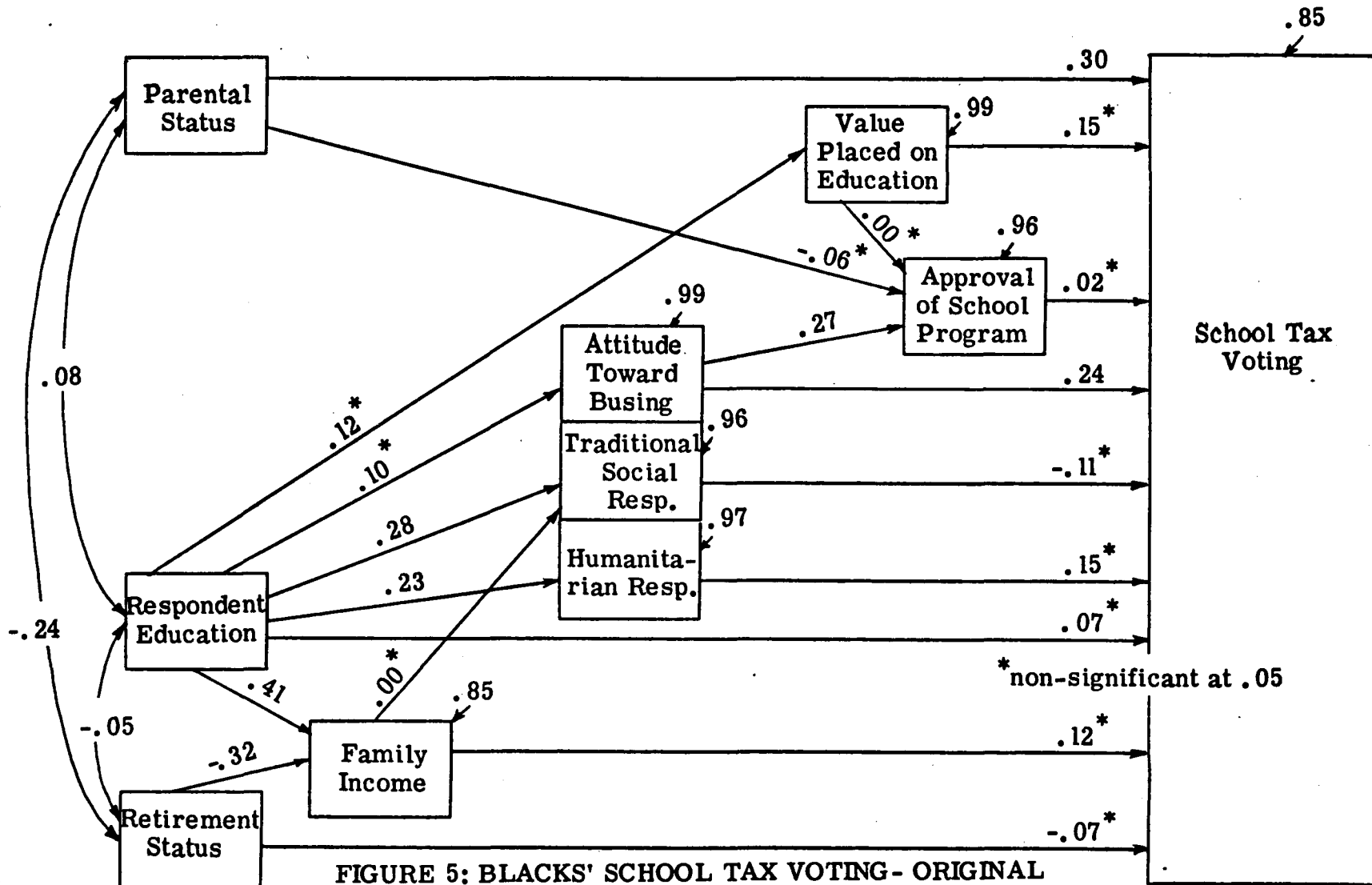


FIGURE 5: BLACKS' SCHOOL TAX VOTING - ORIGINAL

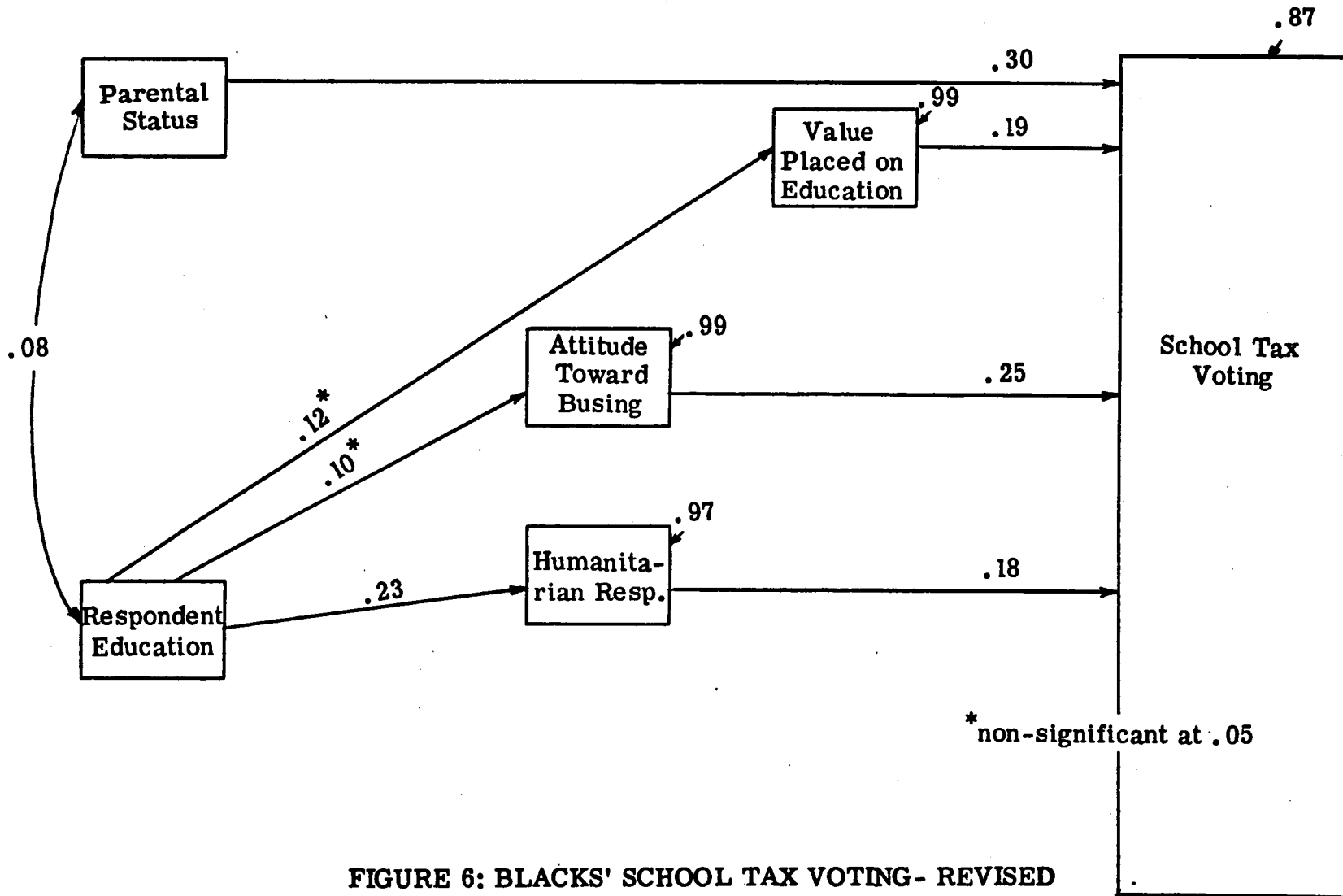


FIGURE 6: BLACKS' SCHOOL TAX VOTING- REVISED

TABLE 13

**Total Indirect Effects
on Blacks' School Tax Voting**

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Zero-order Correlation with Voting</u>	<u>Direct Effect On Voting</u>	<u>Total Indirect Effects</u>
Parental Status	.35	.30	.05
Respondent Education	.19	.00	.19
Humanitarian Responsibility	.18	.18	.00
Attitude toward Busing	.28	.25	.03
Value on Education	.22	.19	.03

TABLE 14
Discrepancies between
Zero-Order Correlations
and Revised Model Correlations
for Blacks' School Tax Voting

	Parental Status	Own Education	Humanitarian Responsibility	Attitude Toward Busing	Value Placed on Education
Parental Status					
Respondent Education	.00				
Humanitarian Responsibility	.04	.00			
Attitude toward Busing	.12	.00	.04		
Value Placed on Education	.07	.00	.02	.02	
School Tax Voting	.04	.08	.02	.02	.02

With the exception of Education, indirect effects in the model are trivial. (See Table 13.) That this model fits the data for Blacks quite well is shown by the agreement between observed correlations and those constructed from the model. Table 14 shows that all but one of the correlations have discrepancies under or equal to .08, the single larger discrepancy being .12.

The similarities and differences in the White and Black models for school tax voting are apparent. Parental Status is for Blacks, as it was for Whites, an important self-interest variable in voting. Notably absent for Blacks, however, are the self-interest effects from Income and Retirement. Low income and retired Blacks did not in general vote less favorably than wealthier, younger Blacks. The hypotheses were generally confirmed better for Whites than for Blacks. While the Black model, unlike the White, did show education to be mediated by Humanitarian Responsibility, the Black model does not show education to have a significant direct effect on voting, to be mediated by income, nor to be mediated by any other value variable. Traditional Social Responsibility was not important in the model at all, and the variables of Attitude toward Busing and Value Placed on Education contributed essentially independently to the variance in Blacks' voting behavior. Finally, Approval of School Program was without significant relation to Blacks' school tax voting.

Qualitative Analysis of Voting

Probing for respondents' subjective reasons for their recent voting on yearly budget proposals resulted in a large amount of open-ended material. Two hundred and forty-eight interviews contained enough information to be coded for major reason being stressed. Table 15 presents the most frequently offered reasons.

TABLE 15

**School Tax Voting Reasons
Offered by Respondents
(Whites and Blacks)**

	Non-parents <u>%</u>	Parents <u>%</u>
<u>Generally Favorable Voters:</u>		
The particular budget was reasonable	44.2	43.9
People should support education	25.6	12.3
Funds needed by district	9.3	29.8
The children need the best possible education	9.3	7.0
Following advice of others	9.3	3.5
Own children or grandchildren's interest	2.3	3.5
	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>
<u>Generally Unfavorable Voters:</u>		
Personal financial	59.8	55.2
District not fiscally responsible	13.6	17.2
The particular budget was too high	12.9	13.8
District not doing good enough education job for \$	9.8	10.3
The financial problems of others	3.0	3.4
Vandalism	0.8	0.0
	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>

The quantitative analysis revealed a broad range of factors which appeared to motivate school tax voting. Self-presented motives and other open-ended material provide an interesting opportunity to examine respondent insight, concealment, and rationalization of actual motives.

A) Parental Status, which was a most important variable, and almost certainly reflects a dichotomy of presence or absence of self-interest, is extremely underrepresented in self-reported motives.

One middle-aged woman had the honesty to report on her lack of a self-interest motive for favorable voting. She said, "I still don't think it's good and I can't afford the extra taxes the budget would have meant -- I don't have children in school and nobody I know does -- they all go to Catholic school." In contrast, one of the few grandparents of children in the district reflected: "I think that school is very important and everything is more expensive, but of course I probably wouldn't feel that way if I didn't have the two grandchildren." Perhaps the high stress by parents on the admirable qualities of the particular budget and on the district's need for funds to operate is a socially acceptable expression of their self-interest.

B) Economic self-interest was most frequently offered by both non-parents and parents who voted against tax propositions, supporting the conceptual importance of this factor. When we remember that objective Family Income and the effect of Retirement Status through lowered income, were only moderately important as a variable in the White

voting model and not even significant in the Black voting model, it is consistent that straightforward complaints about financial hardship came from respondents at low, moderate, and high income levels.

From a low-income retired woman: "I can't afford the taxes now -- they're going to push me out of my house. It's assinine." From a low income retired Black truck driver: "I'm not crying on anyone's shoulder -- but it's pretty steep." From a moderate income working man: "I don't make much money and I don't want my taxes to go up anymore." In response to whether she would vote more favorably if her income was higher, a clerical worker from a two-income family replied: "If I had a lot of money, I'd want to keep a lot of money." And from a high income executive, "I saw my friend's house in a suburb of Palo Alto, and his taxes were \$800 less than my house, even though his is twice as big."

Through an unexpected cognitive maneuver, the personal financial motive was occasionally presented as altruism. From a moderate income respondent: "There are so many other people to think of who couldn't afford it." In a more transparent form from another moderate income respondent: "We're thinking about all the people who can't pay their taxes. Taxpayers need a breather. My boy is in college -- that's costing me too." Of the respondents offering personal financial reasons for unfavorable voting, a small percentage showed evidence of an internal conflict that was still active between personal cost and perceived social

need or obligation. From an elderly respondent: "I had a little misgiving when I voted against it, but my husband is retired and we are both sick people and we don't know how we will keep the house with all the medical bills if the taxes keep going up." And from a woman whose husband had influenced her anti-budget voting: "Sometimes I think maybe everyone else sees it right and I see it wrong. I'm concerned about doing the right thing for children."

C) Sensitivity toward the children's needs was infrequently given as a motive, which does reflect the failure of the White path analysis to find any significant effect for the Humanitarian Responsibility value. Most of the respondents voicing these concerns scored high on this value, and, interestingly, all of them had a high Intergroup Attitude value score (or Attitude toward Busing score). This highlights the importance of the intergroup humanitarian values for the kind of social altruism we have been studying. To give the flavor of these self-reported motives, a number of which show particular sensitivity to the needs of Black children, the following are offered:

"Children need all they can get educationally."

"We live in the kind of community that should have an adequate budget. The kids would suffer."

"Walk down through Fairview -- they are badly in need of better basic education."

"Helping children to be something is most important. I want to see young people get ahead. If you want to have better schools and

better education, you must help. I don't have any children, and I'm willing to help." This last quote came from a Black woman food-service worker, probably one of the lowest income respondents in the study!

D) Significantly absent from self-reported motives is negative Intergroup Attitude. It was shown to be the most important independent variable in the quantitative analysis of Whites' voting behavior, as was Attitude toward Busing an important variable for Blacks. It is a fact that dispersed throughout the interviews was much open-ended material which, while not in direct response to motivational probing, did confirm the importance of negative intergroup value as a real motive, although not easily admitted in the context of the personal interview.

The following are quotes taken from interviews with respondents who scored below average on the Intergroup Attitude index.

"I lost interest in school things about six years ago. I was for merging with White Plains at the time -- there were no Blacks at that time."

"The schools have deteriorated since the Blacks have entered these schools. The White children are being discriminated against -- too much attention to Blacks. In the election, taxpayer dollars were paid for bringing over Blacks in buses to vote."

And from a Black respondent opposed to busing: "The district discriminates against Blacks since the merger. I'm not concerned with integrated education -- just high quality."

There is also scattered through the interviews a distressingly large amount of anti-Black material which goes beyond negative Attitude toward Integration, and has a distinctly victim-blaming quality. The following is a small sample of this kind of material:

"They are pushing too hard for demanding things but not fast enough in educating themselves."

"The school needs discipline; the budget is secondary. Biggest lie about the perfect integrated schools. It's throwing money down a rat hole."

"I didn't mind at one time because the education was good, but now the school has gone down -- the real estates (sic) are having a terrible time selling houses -- the colored dug up the campus -- cars are running all over the place -- fights between Whites and Blacks."

Very few respondents stressed anger at vandalism as their motivating concern, but much open-ended material contained references to it. These comments, like the anti-Black ones, had a victim-blaming quality beyond negative intergroup values. For example:

"The rowdiness and vandalism have made me think twice about my tax money."

"They abuse and deface what they already have."

"Taxes are high enough in Hartsdale. They should cut down the vandalism, not say if you rip up the field we'll get you a newer and better one. It was probably done purposely for that reason."

Other closely related comments center on youth's failure to be

deserving of support:

"They don't need sports -- it's another way for them to cut classes."

"It would only increase our taxes and the children today don't appreciate their educational opportunities."

Any area where the district spends too much tax money? "Yes, teachers are sent to tutor pregnant girls," was an engineering manager's serious reply.

Approval of the school program was found in the path analysis for Whites to be strongly related to Intergroup Attitude. In an integrated school district, criticisms of the schools' operation, of the district's fiscal policies and of specific budget items may be codes for anti-integration feelings. However, we do not find that a majority of White respondents voicing operational, fiscal, or specific budget criticisms as reasons for negative voting, score below average on the Intergroup Attitude measure.

E) Quantitative analysis showed Traditional Social Responsibility to be unimportant to the voting indicator of social altruism. This motive could be suspected to be reflected in non-parent respondents' frequent mention of their feeling of obligation to support education. However, no respondents offering this reason were particularly high on the traditional humanitarian value, as measured by societal participation. Rather, it was found that 82% of those offering this kind of reason were

high on the Value Placed on Education index, suggesting that more situationally-specific factors underlay their favorable budget voting. The statements sometimes combined feelings of obligation toward educational support with a desire to reciprocate for the education their own children had received in the past. This is particularly interesting since we were not able to deal with the effects of post-parenthood through the Parental Status variable.

The following quotes are illustrative:

"My whole orientation is in favor of schools and good education costs and I don't object to paying for it either for my children or for other people's children."

"When my children were in the schools, I supported the budgets. And now since my children are out of the district, I feel a moral obligation to support the budget."

"I can't imagine that I would be voting against a budget unless the increase meant that I would be starving to pay it or that someone told me that the money would be pocketed by someone running off to Argentina."

"I'm not the kind of person who goes around voting down budgets."

F) The path model for Whites did show a strong relationship between specific Approval of School Program and favorable school tax voting. The qualitative analysis elaborates this finding since a large number of negative voters, 76% of whom scored low on the Approval measure, offered as motives that the district was not fiscally responsible or that

it was not doing a good job for the money collected. Many additional respondents claimed to be motivated by objections to specific spending proposals, which is questionable considering the high internal consistency of the voting dependent measure. These criticisms of specific kinds of items in the budget often referred to "frill" items similar to those which Toscano found to be socially acceptable rationalizations of negative feelings about the schools in general (1963). Seventy-two percent of these respondents did, in fact, also have low scores on the Approval measure and appeared to be responding to their generally negative evaluation of the schools.

G) Not touched upon yet in this qualitative analysis is evidence for the cognitive defenses of "denial of consequences" and "denial of personal responsibility". We expected that those resorting to these mechanisms would be low on the Humanitarian Responsibility construct which was measured by the Ascription of Responsibility (AR) scale. Indeed, some of the highest scorers on this measure showed high awareness of consequences and acceptance of personal responsibility in the situation.

The following quotes are illustrative:

"Education evolves from a frame of mind. If the kids are deprived, they will be hurt by it, and will lose respect for the adults."

"The trend is toward voting against budgets, not just here but all over the United States, and I hate to think that people are so uncaring."

"People have no right to complain about schools unless they vote to finance them properly."

Examples of denial of consequences are frequent, but these came from both high and low scorers on the AR scale.

"The children are not interested as a whole in the extra projects anyway. Why pay for something they're not interested in?"

"There is a tremendous budget for busing. It would do the kids good to walk once in a while -- it would make them hardy -- the best thing for them!"

A closed question was included in the interview as to whether the respondent believed there would be an educational detriment if the district were forced to operate on an austerity budget with the minimum state mandated programs. Those who believed it would make no real difference, were essentially denying the consequences of their budget voting act. Table 16 shows that only 30% of those respondents who denied the consequences of austerity had an above-the-median school tax voting record, compared to almost 80% of those who reported awareness of consequences.

TABLE 16

**School Tax Voting by
Awareness or Denial
of Act's Consequences**

	Awareness of Consequences of Austerity <u>%</u>	Denial of Consequences of Austerity <u>%</u>
Above -median Voting Pattern	78.5	30.4
Below -median Voting Pattern	21.5	69.6
(n)	(121)	(158)

Chi Square total = 13.57; d. f. = 2; $p < .001$

Denial of personal responsibility to support public education was also frequently encountered in the open-ended material. Examples are:

"I don't know what they're doing with my money. My taxes have tripled. I've never used the schools."

"When we had children in the school we paid for it -- we shouldn't have to pay for the children in school now, especially on our limited salary."

A closed question also tapped this tendency. The respondent was asked whether he or she felt people without children in the schools should be freed from the cost of their support. Table 17 shows that those non-parents who denied their personal responsibility, however weakly, had a record of highly unfavorable school tax voting.

TABLE 17

**School Tax Voting of Non-Parents by
Acceptance or Denial
of Non-Parent Responsibility for Cost**

	Non-Parents Should Bear Equal Cost <u>%</u>	Parents Should Bear Most Cost <u>%</u>	Parents Should Bear All Cost <u>%</u>
Above-median Voting Pattern	41.7	23.5	17.2
Below-median Voting Pattern	58.3	76.5	82.8
(n)	(139)	(34)	(29)
<u>Source</u>		<u>d. f.</u>	Chi <u>Square</u> <u>p</u>
Equal cost x unequal		1	8.46 <.01
Parents most cost x parents all cost		1	.27 n. s.
Total		2	8.76 <.02

Schwartz' AR scale, which we used as an index of Humanitarian Responsibility, was developed specifically to address the tendency to accept or deny personal responsibility. However, Table 18 shows non-parent AR score to be non-significantly related to this situationally-specific ascription of responsibility.

TABLE 18

**AR Scores of Non-parents by
Acceptance or Denial
of Non-parent Responsibility
for Financial Support of Education**

	Non-parents Should Bear Equal Cost <u>%</u>	Parents Should Bear Most Cost <u>%</u>	Parents Should Bear All Cost <u>%</u>
Above Median AR Score	58.3	45.7	40.0
Below- Median AR Score	41.7	54.3	60.0
(n)	(139)	(35)	(30)

Chi Square = 4.27; d. f. = 2; $p > .10$

The data do confirm Schwartz' repeated findings that those having higher AR scores are most likely to act in accord with their stated moral norms. The present study tapped a less personal moral norm than that usually employed by Schwartz. The respondent was asked whether he felt that people, in general, had an obligation to support school tax propositions. Table 19 shows that holding this impersonal norm is itself a predictor of favorable voting, as is higher AR score within the group holding the norm.

TABLE 19

School Tax Voting by
Moral Norm and AR Score

	Presence of Moral Norm for Favorable Voting			Absence of Moral Norm for Favorable Voting		
	Low AR %	Med. AR %	High AR %	Low AR %	Med. AR %	High AR %
Above-Median Voting Pattern	48.4	65.2	89.3	15.5	20.0	14.1
Below-Median Voting Pattern	51.6	34.8	10.7	84.5	80.0	85.9
(n)	(31)	(23)	(28)	(58)	(80)	(71)

<u>Source</u>	<u>d. f.</u>	<u>Chi Square</u>	<u>p</u>
Within presence of moral norm	2	11.14	<.01
Within absence of moral norm	2	1.06	n. s.
Presence x absence	1	69.78	<.001
Total	5	81.64	<.001

Whites' Volunteering

When we look (quantitatively again) at the alternate dependent variable of volunteering time for a school-supportive purpose, the results are quite different. Figure 7 shows the original path model for Whites. When variables without significant direct or indirect effect on school volunteering are removed from the model, the revised model of volunteering shown in Figure 8 is obtained. This model explains 34% of the variance in White's willingness to volunteer. The self-interest factor of Parental Status is as important to volunteering by Whites as it was to their school tax voting. Also as predicted, Family Income does not play an important self-interest role in volunteering and was not found to be directly related to it. Likewise, Retirement Status, while it is an important cause of lowered income, does not play anything but the most indirect role through income in explaining willingness to volunteer service to the schools. Retirement Status and Family Income are included in the model only because of the latter's significant effect on Traditional Social Responsibility, as measured by societal participation record. This humanitarian variable was second only in importance to Parental Status in explaining Whites' volunteering. More educated respondents volunteered more partly because they were people who felt it was important to participate in societal structures and partly because their greater income had allowed this kind of participation. Higher level of education did have a direct effect on greater volunteering, as was predicted, but Table 20 shows that Education's indirect effect

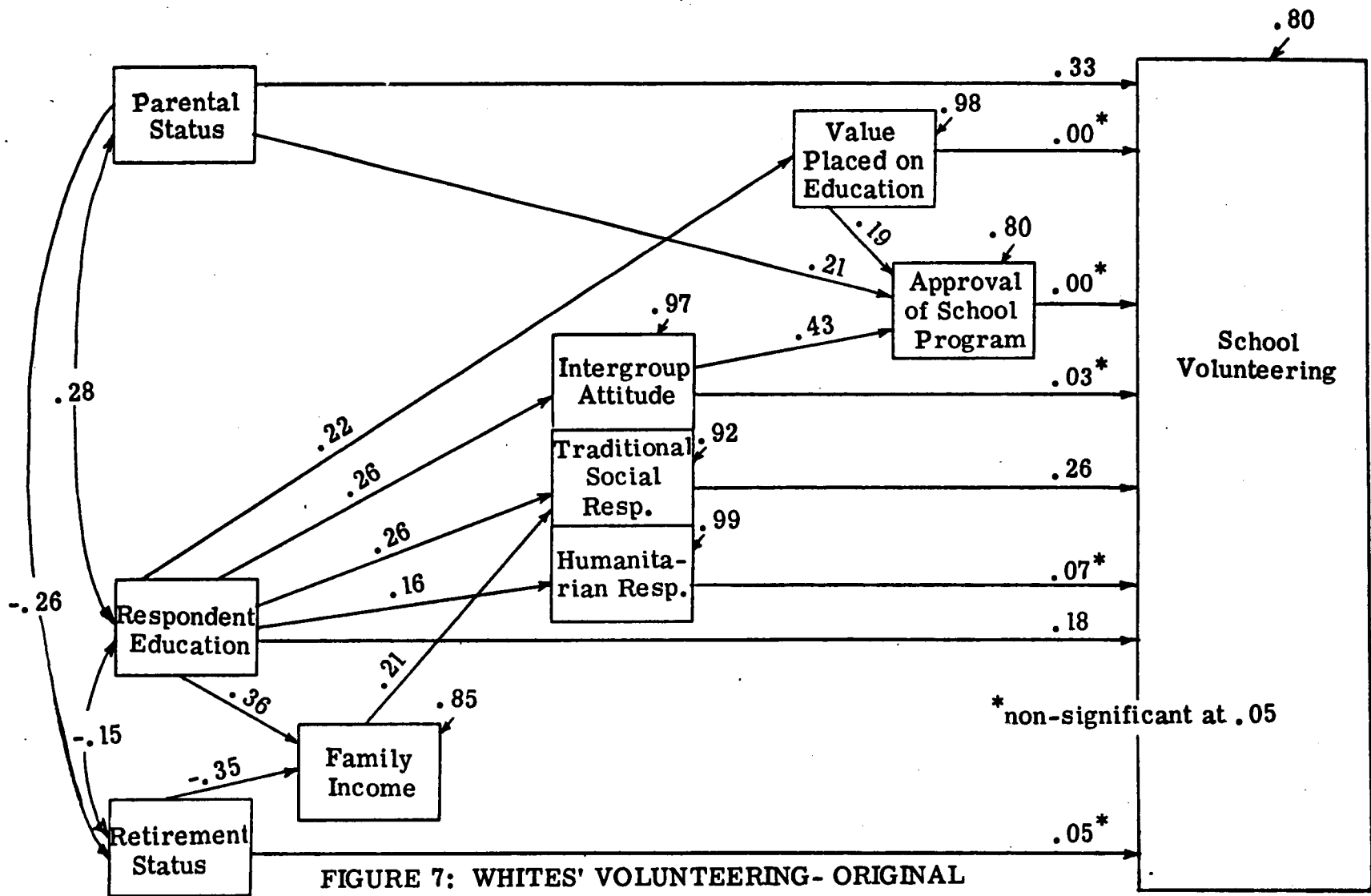


FIGURE 7: WHITES' VOLUNTEERING- ORIGINAL

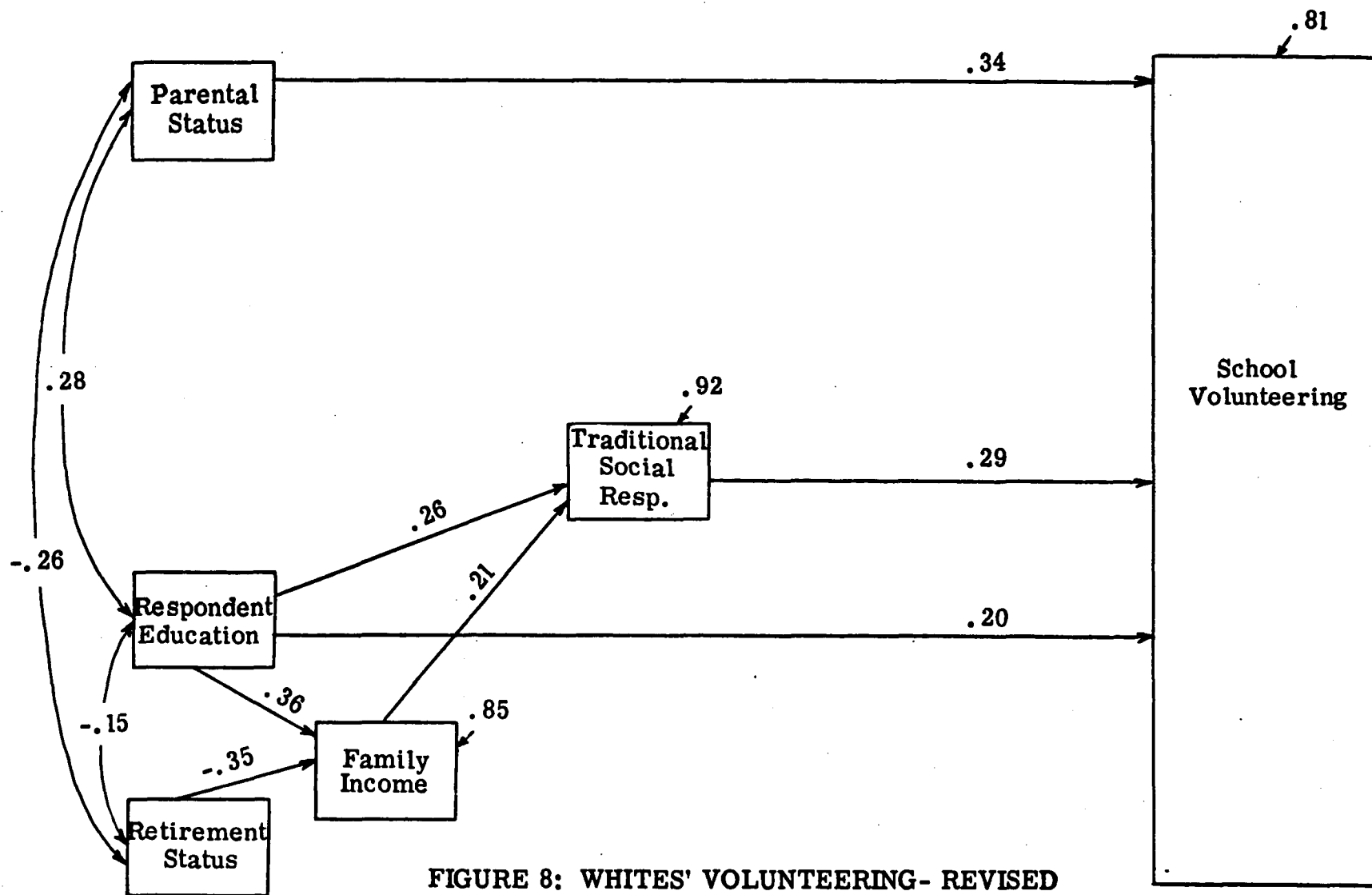


FIGURE 8: WHITES' VOLUNTEERING- REVISED

through the other variables in the model was almost as great. None of the predictions about other value mediators of the education-volunteering relationship were confirmed for Whites. While Intergroup Attitude, Value Placed on Education and Approval of School Program were all important in Whites' school tax voting, they did not have any significant effects on volunteering, and were completely dropped from the volunteering model.

TABLE 20
Total Indirect Effects
on Whites' Volunteering

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Zero-order Correlation with Volunteering</u>	-	<u>Direct Effect on Volunteering</u>	=	<u>Total Indirect Effects</u>
Parental Status	.44		.34		.10
Respondent Education	.39		.20		.19
Retirement Status	-.23		.00		.23
Family Income	.25		.00		.25
Traditional Social Responsibility	.41		.29		.12

That the revised volunteering model fits the observed data for Whites is shown by the small discrepancies between observed and constructed correlations. All but one is equal to or below .05, with the remaining one being .07. Table 21 presents these evaluations.

TABLE 21

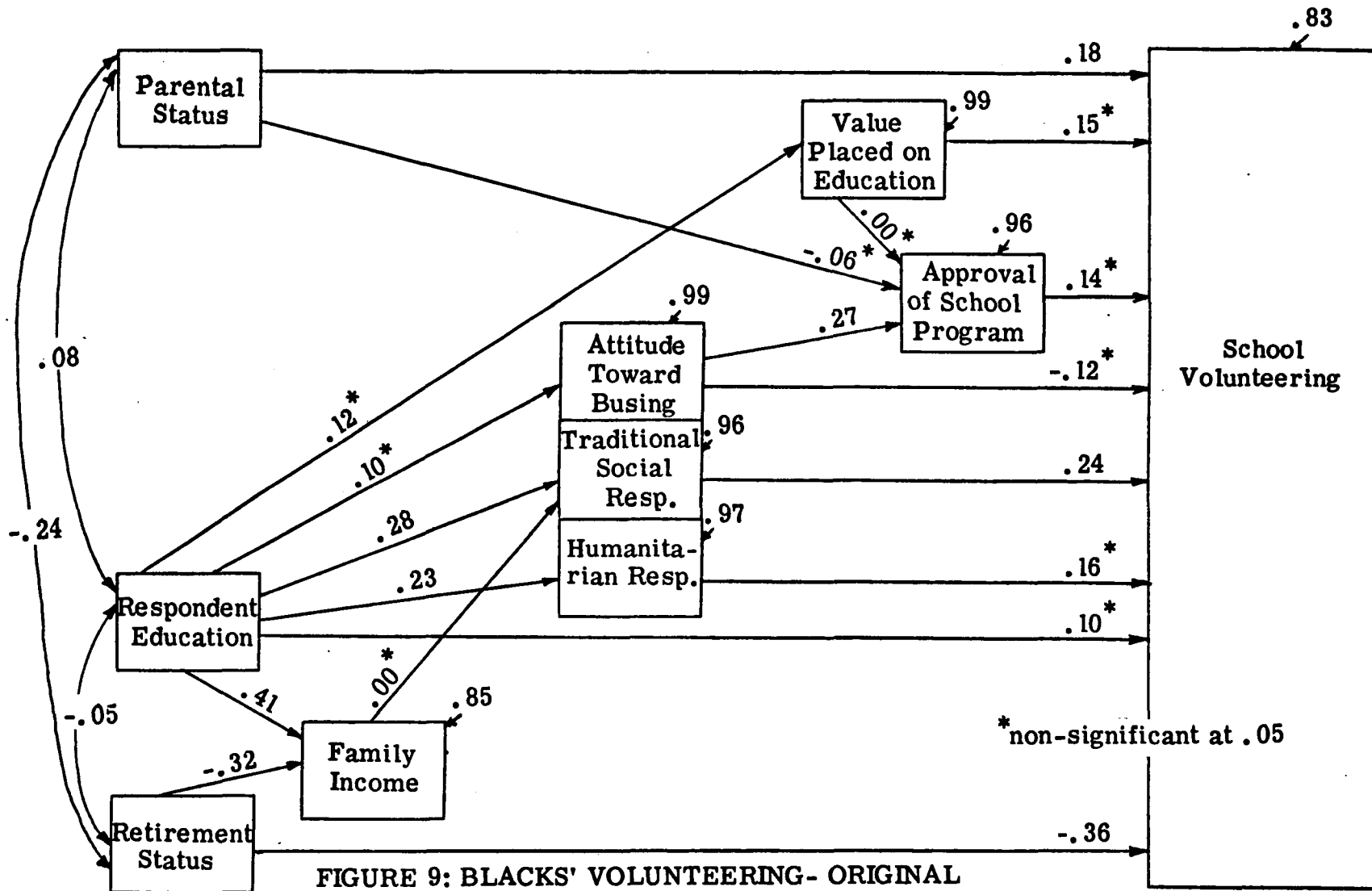
**Discrepancies between
Zero-Order Correlations
and Revised Model Correlations
for Whites' Volunteering**

	Parental Status	Respondent Education	Retirement Status	Family Income	Traditional Social Resp.	School Volunteering
Parental Status						
Respondent Education	.00					
Retirement Status	.00	.00				
Family Income	.00	.01	.01			
Traditional Social Resp.	.05	.00	.07	.00		
School Volunteering	.01	.01	.05	.02	.01	

Blacks' Volunteering

The original model for Black volunteering is shown in Figure 9. Blacks' volunteering was the only dependent measure to show a sex difference, so that a revised model was created to include sex as well as to delete variables without significant direct or indirect effect. The revised model is presented in Figure 10.

This model accounts for 31% of the variance in willingness to volunteer by Blacks. The significant sex difference in volunteering by Blacks was the only important sex difference encountered in the research. Black women are prepared to volunteer much more frequently than Black men. The direct effect of sex is even larger than its zero-order correlation with volunteering. This is possible because of negative relationships between sex and other exogenous variables. Also unique in this model of Black volunteering is the failure of Parental Status to reach the level of a significant direct effect. This was the only case where the prediction of parental self-interest's substantial effect on pro-social behavior was not confirmed. Retirement Status had the predicted direct effect on volunteering, although it had not been important to Blacks' school tax voting. Financial self-interest through Family Income was, as predicted, not important in volunteering. Respondent Education did not have the predicted direct effect in raising volunteering. Respondent Education's moderate zero-order correlation with volunteering was primarily due to the mediating value variables



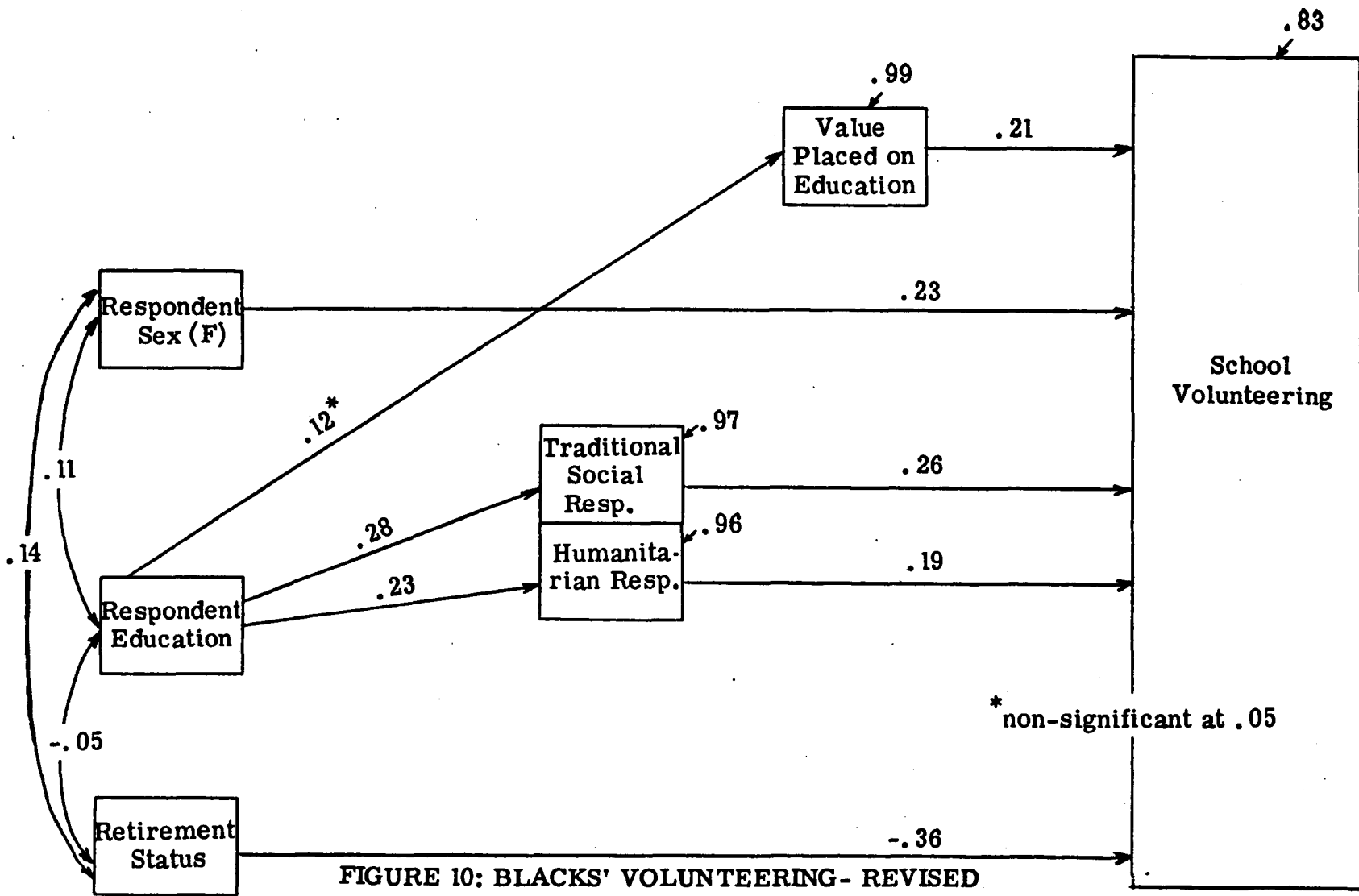


FIGURE 10: BLACKS' VOLUNTEERING- REVISED

of Traditional Social Responsibility and, secondarily, Humanitarian Responsibility. The indirect effect of Respondent Education and the other variables is shown in Table 22. Value Placed on Education while having a significant effect on volunteering appeared to be acting relatively independently of Respondent Education.

TABLE 22

**Total Indirect Effects
on Blacks' Volunteering**

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Zero-order Correlation with - Volunteering</u>	<u>Direct Effect on = Volunteering</u>	<u>Total Indirect Effects</u>
Respondent Sex	.17	.23	-.06
Respondent Education	.25	.00	.25
Retirement Status	-.35	-.36	.01
Humanitarian Responsibility	.18	.19	-.01
Traditional Social Resp.	.28	.26	.02
Value Placed on Education	.17	.21	-.04

The model again fits the observed data fairly well (all but two discrepancies below or equal to .07 with the remaining two discrepancies equal to .14 and .18). Table 23 presents these findings.

TABLE 23

**Discrepancies between
Zero-Order Correlations
and Revised Model Correlations
for Blacks' Volunteering**

	Respondent Sex	Respondent Education	Retirement Status	Humanitarian Responsibility	Traditional Social Resp.	Value Placed on Education	School Volunteering
Respondent Sex							
Respondent Education	.00						
Retirement Status	.00	.00					
Humanitarian Responsibility	.05	.00	.06				
Traditional Social Resp.	.07	.00	.05	.05			
Value Placed on Education	.18	.00	.04	.02	.14		
School Volunteering	.03	.06	.01	.04	.02	.06	

Differences Between Voting and Volunteering

Referring to the zero-order correlations in Tables 6 and 9, the relationship of voting to volunteering was .37 for Whites, and only .13 for Blacks.

The differences in the tax voting and volunteering models for White respondents are summarized by direct effects in Table 24. Parental Status self-interest as well as higher educational status were common to both kinds of social altruism. As expected, income considerations were only important for the financial dependent variable. The expected effect of Retirement Status, per se, in reducing social altruism was not confirmed in either case. Of the humanitarian values, a different one was important to each indicator. For voting, Intergroup Attitude was an important motivator; for volunteering, it was Traditional Social Responsibility. Interestingly, the situationally-specific factors were important only to Whites' voting.

A comparison of the voting and volunteering dependent measures for Blacks is shown in Table 25. Parental self-interest was not even a factor in Blacks' volunteering, and self-interest through Family Income was not important for either form of social altruism. Status conditions of sex, education and retirement were insignificant in Blacks' willingness to volunteer. The differential motivating effects of the humanitarian values for voting and volunteering, duplicates the results for Whites. In addition, Humanitarian Responsibility had

a small positive effect on both indicators of Blacks' social altruism.

The situationally specific value, but not the attitude, was also a common effect on both kinds of Blacks' social altruism.

TABLE 24

School Tax Voting and Volunteering
Differences in Direct Effects for Whites

	<u>School Tax Voting</u>	<u>School Volunteering</u>
	(R=. 81)	(R=. 58)
	<u>Direction and magnitude of direct effect</u>	
<u>Status Variables</u>		
Parental Status	. 23	. 34
Respondent Education	. 13	. 20
Retirement Status	. 10	n. s.
Family Income	. 19	n. s.
<u>Humanitarian Value Variables</u>		
Humanitarian Responsibility	n. s.	n. s.
Traditional Social Responsibility	n. s .	. 29
Intergroup Attitude	. 34	n. s.
<u>Situationally-specific Variables</u>		
Value Placed on Education	. 10	n. s.
Approval of School Program	. 27	n. s.

TABLE 25

**School Tax Voting and Volunteering
Differences in Direct Effects for Blacks**

	<u>School Tax Voting</u>	<u>School Volunteering</u>
	(R=. 50)	(R=. 56)
	<u>Direction and magnitude of direct effect</u>	
<u>Status Variables</u>		
Respondent Sex	n. s.	. 23
Parental Status	. 30	n. s.
Respondent Education	n. s.	n. s.
Retirement Status	n. s.	-. 36
Family Income	n. s.	n. s.
<u>Humanitarian Value Variables</u>		
Humanitarian Responsibility	. 18	. 19
Traditional Social Responsibility	n. s.	. 26
Attitude toward Busing	. 25	n. s.
<u>Situationally-specific Variables</u>		
Value Placed on Education	. 19	. 21
Approval of School Program	n. s.	n. s.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

It should first be remembered that the overwhelming majority of respondents gave their approval to the district goal of quality integrated education. We are therefore dealing with people who recognize at least to some extent, the existence of a social need. The cost to these suburban homeowners for taking pro-social action, however, is high and direct - an increase in their property tax to be expected from favorable school tax voting, or an expenditure of time from a promise to volunteer for a school-supportive purpose.

To summarize briefly, the data confirmed most, but not all, of the hypotheses concerning school tax voting as an indicator of social altruism. Parental Status was an important positive self-interest factor for both White and Black voters. However, it was discovered that Black parents of moderate and high income levels are less approving of the school program and less favorable in voting than their White counterparts. Low income, through education or retirement, had the predicted effect of magnifying the negative financial self-interest motive only within the White sample. Retirement status per se was not confirmed to have a negative effect on Whites' or Blacks' tax voting, but was, unexpectedly, associated with slightly more favorable voting by Whites; retirement also had the unpredicted effect of reducing Whites' Value Placed on Education. The effect of level of education was mainly indirect, operating for Whites through Family Income, Value

Placed on Education, and the Intergroup Attitude humanitarian value. The intergroup value was the most important mediator of voting for both Whites and Blacks. Humanitarian Responsibility had an additional effect on Blacks' voting. Traditional Social Responsibility was not found to be a factor in either race's voting. Fewer of the hypotheses were confirmed for the volunteering indicator of social altruism. As predicted, income difference was not a significant factor in either White or Black volunteering. However, Parental Status was a factor only in the volunteering of Whites, and respondent's level of education was itself only important for Whites. Retirement showed an effect only for Blacks, as did Value Placed on Education. A sex difference was found only for Blacks, with Black women being most likely to volunteer. The single value mediator common to volunteering by both races was Traditional Social Responsibility. Blacks' volunteering was also affected by the Humanitarian Responsibility value.

Now that the findings have been presented at length and summarized, it is important to discuss their implications for the problem area of social altruism.

Parents' favorable voting and willingness to volunteer represented forms of prosocial behavior, but cannot be considered truly altruistic, since direct benefits were expected for their children. The parental self-interest factor explained up to 24% of the variance in the voting and volunteering indicators. It was surprising to find this factor non

- significant in Blacks' volunteering, but this is traceable to the unusually high willingness of Black non-parents to volunteer their time to the schools.

For those without the parental self-interest motive, it was conceptualized that financial self-interest, the desire to minimize one's costs, would be primary, and would provide negative motivation for socially altruistic tax support. Indeed, personal financial reasons for unfavorable voting were most frequently offered by non-parent respondents. However, these respondents were at all income levels and actual variation in income was not even found to be significant in Blacks' school tax voting and only moderately important for Whites. Even considering the expected effect found for being retired upon lowered income and unfavorable voting, this was of trivial size and far from the magnitude expected. Our research did not confirm those school studies which found an important effect of income on school tax voting. The notorious "taxpayers' revolt" in turning down school tax levies may be only partly related to real economic disadvantage. It clearly seems to yield to the self-interest furnished by parental status, and appears little influenced by actual ability to pay among the White non-retired population.

Among other status variables hypothesized to affect social altruism in the school setting, being retired, of itself, led to decreased social altruism only in the case of Blacks' volunteering. It may have shown

the same effect for Whites' volunteering, were it not for the extremely low general level of willingness to volunteer among White non-parents. Likewise, retirement per se may have shown more of a negative effect on both groups' school tax voting, were it not for the low level of favorable voting among all non-parents, retired or not. There was one additional piece of evidence that retirees have particular disinterest in societal concerns which discourages social altruism. White retirees accorded significantly lower value to education than pre-retirees, which in turn decreased the retirees' socially altruistic school tax voting. However, we must conclude that the present findings failed to show important differences in the social altruism of retirees from that of other non-parents, and that, in fact, they seemed most importantly to share a lack of direct interest with the existing social need and a presence of strong negative financial self-interest motivation.

Level of education had been suggested by the school studies to be correlated with favorable school budget voting. Our use of this variable also showed a substantial zero-order correlation between education and school tax voting for White respondents, but it was through value variables that education, as a reflection of social class background, had its more important effects.

Our findings with respect to the role of humanitarian values suggest that they are important motivators of social altruism, but they may be differentiated in their effects on different indicator acts and in terms of their importance in different social groups.

Humanitarian Responsibility showed a small but significant effect on both indicators of social altruism for Blacks, but on neither for Whites. It is possible that the Humanitarian Responsibility construct, measured by the Ascription of Responsibility scale, was not truly a satisfactory measure of all that our theoretical discussion of the construct implied. It did not deal with awareness of the consequences of one's actions on others; it did not tap sympathetic orientation toward people; it did not assess orientation toward human needs rather than institutional considerations (as did the Hoffman measure which was not internally consistent as a measure of Humanistic Responsibility). Further, it was a difficult task for low-education respondents.

It is the feeling of the investigator that the hypotheses concerning Humanitarian Responsibility may not have been confirmed for Whites because of the nature of the measure.

What the AR scale did assess was, as Schwartz has stated, the tendency to ascribe responsibility toward or away from the self in one's interpersonal life. As a measure of this style of defense, the AR showed some relation to the self-reported motives for budget voting. Those who stressed effects on children scored high on the scale, many of those who blamed others for their failure to vote favorably, did not. While the AR measure failed to show a significant relation to non-parents' situationally-specific ascription of responsibility, the measure did show power to predict acting on the basis of a stated norm for favorable voting.

With increasing AR score, as Schwartz would predict, respondents were more likely to act on, rather than to neutralize, a stated norm for favorable tax voting. There was also high likelihood that all 28% of respondents who held the favorable norm would be financially supportive of the schools. However, saying that people are socially altruistic in a situation because they have, or will act on, a specific norm for the action, is not in the very best tradition of psychological explanation. It is hoped that the scope and depth of explanation in the present study went far beyond this kind of normative analysis.

The effect of our second humanitarian value construct, Traditional Social Responsibility, was strong on both Blacks' and Whites' volunteering, but showed no effect on the voting of either group. Since the value was measured by the respondent's record of joining, leading and volunteering, it is not surprising that active citizens were also prepared to be active on behalf of the schools. We do not know whether an attitudinal measure of the construct would have been important in voting as well as volunteering. Since Berkowitz included in his concept of Traditional Social Responsibility not only active participation in the social structure but also a high sense of social obligation, it is unfortunate that Berkowitz' abbreviated scale showed unsatisfactory internal consistency for the study sample. It is possible that the scale contained too few items, and that an expanded version would have yielded results. Berkowitz himself

had utilized an earlier 22-item Revised Social Responsibility Scale (1964), but it was specific to college students rather than to a general adult population. It is also possible that the range on a scale of this sort was too restricted by the nature of our sample itself. They were homeowners, and thus presumably responsible members of the community; they had all registered to vote in school elections, which also implies social responsibility; and, finally, they had responsibly agreed, rather than refused, to participate in the present study. A more satisfactory measure of this value is needed which would be able to distinguish levels within a generally responsible adult population, which could then be applied to the study of socially altruistic behavior motivation.

As measured through attitudes toward integration, the Intergroup Attitude humanitarian value had no effect on the volunteering indicator, but profoundly affected how a person voted on the school budgets and propositions intended to implement "quality, integrated education" in the district. Its effects on voting were the largest of any found. Considering that social desirability problems may have restricted the range of responses on the intergroup measure somewhat, it is indeed an impressive relationship! A person who felt favorable toward integration was very likely to be a favorable school tax voter, a person who felt negatively about integration to be an unfavorable voter. Having a generally favorable orientation toward integration was also related to contemporary approval of the school program.

These findings are all as predicted, but the intergroup humanitarian value had even greater power than was expected. There was also unexpected indication from the data analysis that being a White parent within an integrated school district is related to more favorable intergroup humanitarian values, besides furnishing a self-interest motive toward better education. The parents group had selected, in general, to send children to the public schools, and therefore may have originally been more favorable in attitudes toward integration than the heterogeneous non-parents group. We may also speculate that the opposite direction of effect shown in the path analysis was even more importantly operative. The experience of having one's White children in an integrated school system may have acted to enhance existing intergroup humanitarian values, making such people even more likely to express satisfaction with the integrated school system and to vote favorably to finance it.

While it was disappointing to find that the Intergroup Attitude measure, which was framed to be appropriate for both Black and White respondents, was only internally consistent for Whites, the analysis suggested that Blacks' Intergroup Attitude, measured through the single-item "busing" measure, paralleled the effect of the whole measure for Whites. We can tentatively conclude from our results that socially altruistic behavior called for on behalf of a group different from the self, will be facilitated by a social class background or life

experiences which have led to the development of an intergroup humanitarian value.

Each of the three humanitarian values bear further attention in investigations of socially altruistic behavior where self-interest considerations have been expected to predominate. Even when direct self-interest lay in refraining from the socially altruistic behaviors in this study, the humanitarian values appeared to have had important motivating effects in producing the behaviors. Since their effects differed according to the indicator employed and the social group measured, this points to the need for extensive empirical work involving systematically varied indicators in varied settings utilizing a number of different social groups. Increasingly precise specification and measurement of these humanitarian values, and perhaps additional ones, might be facilitated by developmental studies probing the ethnic backgrounds developing such values to the highest degree.

With reference to examining acts of social altruism in different groups, it is important to realize that, as statuses and values may be differentially important, so may there be differing situationally-specific definitions of self-interest. This was illustrated by one of the surprising findings of the study that Blacks, especially Black parents, were actually less supportive of the schools in their voting than were Whites. This is contrary to the findings of Dillingham (1969) and Smith, et al (1968) in Cincinnati and Detroit, which are also integrated school districts.

Two reasons for Greenburgh Blacks' failure to be more supportive emerge. First there is the generally high cost of education in Westchester, making the financial self-interest motive salient, especially for the relatively hard-pressed non-parents. Second and relevant to the issue of differential self-interest, there was a relatively negative evaluation of the schools by Black parents. The district believes itself to be highly concerned with the education of its Black students, including in its budget the programs which implement the educational policies of busing, low class size to allow individualized teaching, remedial instruction, special services, and a full sports program. In fact, it seemed that many White respondents had a negative opinion of the schools due to this stress on integrated education. The Black parents, however, saw these programs as not working for the benefit of their children. Perhaps there is truth to their perceptions, since their contact with the contemporary school system is quite extensive through their children. Or perhaps suburban Black parents in today's world have exceptionally high expectations of education, causing them frustration with educational realities. Entering into Black parents' negative evaluation of the schools may have been a different concept of what constitutes education from that of the White parents. Rather than seeing extras in the schools as contributing to a better educational program, as do White parents, they seem to see the extras as costly and as taking away stress from the fundamental "3 R's" which they see as instrumental to their children's advancement in the world.

Many of the Black parents felt that their act of supporting the school budget would serve to further a system that was not giving Black children the best education it could. They probably did not perceive their self-interest as associated with favorable school tax voting at all.

There was evidence that Blacks, especially Black women, believed their self-interest as Blacks, as taxpayers, and even as parents, would be better served by volunteering in the schools than by favorable school tax voting. Volunteering was seen as a means by which Black children might be helped in some way or, at the least, their treatment within the schools could be monitored.

The sex difference in willingness to volunteer by Blacks, but not Whites, again points to the importance of studying indicators of social altruism within various social groups. It is possible that in the Black sub-culture men are traditionally concerned with paid employment, relegating unpaid altruistic functions to women. It is also possible that involvement with education, both in the home and in contacts with the schools, is considered a responsibility of Black women rather than men. A third possibility is that Black men have learned to avoid involvement with any institution which they perceive to represent White authority. In contacts with the White power structure - be it with school, job, hospital, police or other governmental representative - Black males have frequently been seen as a threat and treated in an emasculating manner. Black women, representing less

of a threat to White authority, have probably not had experiences creating the same degree of avoidance. Even a truly integrated educational system, where a proportion of administration and faculty as well as students are Black, may be an aversive symbol of societal authority to Black men, reducing their willingness to volunteer time to the schools.

With particular attention to the situationally-relevant factors in this study, it is not surprising that they were found to be important, with some difference in emphasis according to the indicator and the social group involved. The finding that those who placed higher importance on education showed more social altruism in the school setting may also have more general implications. It confirms an earlier unpublished study by the present investigator in a different setting which found that strong commitment to an institution increased the likelihood that a sacrifice would be made to further it (Sichel, 1971). Perhaps those who placed a great value on education in the present study were those who were truly committed to the social need for quality education. Verbal assent to the importance of this need from the majority of respondents may have been a less meaningful agreement with a socially desirable statement.

In general, the social desirability problem tends to plague research on moral attitudes and behaviors of all kinds. While the interviewers in the present study were intentionally non-judgmental and the respondents judged to be generally honest, respondents were undeniably

anxious to present themselves favorably. They avoided discussion of parental self-interest or its lack; never referred to knee-jerk anti-budget voting to avoid incurring higher cost regardless of ability to pay; and, many were uncomfortable about presenting negative inter-group values. Respondents resorted to the cognitive defenses which we examined with moderate frequency. Many depersonalized their voting behavior by stressing the desirable or undesirable characteristics of particular tax propositions, of the school administration, or the strain on their neighbors' pocketbooks.

However, the particular strength of the voting indicator lay in its relative freedom from these desirability constraints. Respondents' actual voting decisions were not made within the context of this setting. They were made under naturalistic conditions where self-interests were salient and cost was high; they had expectations of having to make similar decisions many times in the future as well. However ample their post-hoc justifications during the interview, they were reporting actual decisions made over a two year period of their taxpaying lives.

The single-item dependent measure of willingness to volunteer seemed, in retrospect, to be far more vulnerable to social desirability effects as well as to interviewer effects, especially when Black respondents were indicating their willingness to a White interviewer. A better measure of volunteering, more comparable to the voting measure, would have come from respondents' reports of actual

decisions about volunteering at different historical points when requested by the schools. However, no formal and periodic requests had been made by the school district of the general population, so this was not possible. A major challenge to investigators in the area of social altruism lies in finding socially significant and reliable indicators of social altruism.

It is hoped that future studies of significant and well-measured socially altruistic behaviors will be undertaken which utilize at least the range of variables which were employed here. Status effects, especially those suspected to reflect self-interest, should certainly be considered. Situationally-specific factors, particularly those relating to self-interest and to content-relevant commitment, also seem necessary. Most importantly to this investigator, it is hoped that such humanitarian motives as those found here to underly two forms of socially altruistic behavior, can be increasingly well specified and measured so that their role in various kinds of social altruism by and on behalf of various social groups can be better understood.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

I'm very happy you agreed to speak with me today about school budgets. As we said by letter and on the telephone, this research will help the Central 7 schools and the Central 7 community to know themselves better. The survey is being directed by a social scientist from the City University of New York who, like yourself, is a resident of the Central 7 school district. The study is not being conducted by your school district- they will receive a report at the conclusion of the study which will give them the results in anonymous form. Please feel free to be frank. Your name will not be attached to any information you give us, and even the fact that you took part in the study will be strictly confidential.

Col 1 Col 2-4 Col 5,6 Col 7
 I: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 R #: _____ St. name _____ Unit: 1 2 3

Col 8 Col 9 Col 10
 RS: 1 2 RA: 1 2 3 REth: 1 2 3 4 5

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>Q. 1. First, you are the owner of this house/unit, aren't you?</p> | <p style="text-align: right;">Col 11
 Respondent/spouse 1
 Other 2</p> |
| <p>2. And I assume you pay property taxes on the house.</p> <p><u>IF "NO" TO Q. 2: STOP ! END INTERVIEW.</u></p> | <p style="text-align: right;">Col 12
 Yes 1
 No 2</p> |
| <p>3. You're also registered to vote in school elections, correct?</p> <p><u>IF "NO" TO Q. 3: STOP ! END INTERVIEW.</u></p> | <p style="text-align: right;">Col 13
 Yes 1
 No 2
 ? 8</p> |
| <p>4. What is the total number of persons- both adults and children-who currently live in your household?</p> | <p style="text-align: right;">Col 14
 One 1
 Two 2
 Three 3
 Four 4
 Five 5
 Six 6
 Seven + 7</p> |
| <p>5. <u>IF GREATER THAN "ONE" TO Q. 4, ASK:</u>
 Who in this household, besides yourself, is past high school age? _____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> | |

9. Do you have any children who are now finished with high school who used to attend the local public schools? Any who used to attend private or parochial school in the Westchester area?
- | | | |
|--------------------|--------|---|
| Yes- public only | Col 18 | 1 |
| Yes- public & pri. | | 2 |
| Yes- private only | | 3 |
| No | | 4 |
10. Are you presently supporting any children who are in college full-time? IF "YES"; ASK: How many children?
- | | | |
|-------|--------|---|
| One | Col 19 | 1 |
| Two | | 2 |
| Three | | 3 |
| More | | 4 |
| None | | 5 |
11. What was the highest grade that you yourself completed in school?
- | | | |
|--------------|--------|---|
| Grade school | Col 20 | 1 |
| Some H.S. | | 2 |
| H.S. grad. | | 3 |
| Some coll. | | 4 |
| Coll. grad. | | 5 |
| Higher | | 6 |
12. IF SPOUSE MENTIONED IN Q. 5, ASK: What was the highest grade in school that your husband/wife completed?
- | | | |
|--------------|--------|---|
| Grade school | Col 21 | 1 |
| Some H.S. | | 2 |
| H.S. grad. | | 3 |
| Some coll. | | 4 |
| Coll. grad. | | 5 |
| Higher | | 6 |
13. What is your usual occupation? _____
- _____
- IF PERSON IS WORKER, ASK: Are you working full-time or part-time or are you not employed at present?
- | | | |
|-------------------|--------|---|
| Working full-time | Col 22 | 1 |
| Working part-time | | 2 |
| Unemployed | | 3 |
| Retired | | 4 |
| Housewife only | | 5 |
| Student | | 6 |
| Other | | 7 |
- IF UNEMPLOYED AND OLDER, ASK: Have you retired?
14. IF SPOUSE MENTIONED IN Q. 5, ASK: How about your husband/wife - what is his/her usual occupation? _____
- _____
- IF SPOUSE IS WORKER, ASK: Is he/she working full-time or part-time or is he/she not employed at present?
- | | | |
|-------------------|--------|---|
| Working full-time | Col 23 | 1 |
| Working part-time | | 2 |
| Unemployed | | 3 |
| Retired | | 4 |
| Housewife only | | 5 |
| Student | | 6 |
| Other | | 7 |
- IF UNEMPLOYED AND OLDER, ASK: Has he/she retired?

15. IF ADDITIONAL ADULTS MENTIONED IN Q. 5, ASK:

How about your _____ . Is he/she
 working full-time or part-time or is he/she not employed
 at present?

Working full-time	1
Working part-time	2
Other	3

How about your _____ . Is he/she
 working full-time or part-time or is he/she not employed
 at present?

Working full-time	1
Working part-time	2
Other	3

How about your _____ . Is he/she
 working full-time or part-time or is he/she not employed
 at present?

Working full-time	1
Working part-time	2
Other	3

How about your _____ . Is he/she
 working full-time or part-time or is he/she not employed
 at present?

Working full-time	1
Working part-time	2
Other	3

Col 24

Total for household:

One working adult	1
Two working adults	2
Three working adults	3
Four working adults	4
More	5
No working adults	6

16. Does anyone in your household or among your close
 relatives work for the Central 7 school district?

Col 25	
Yes	1
No	2

17. How long have you lived in this house?

Col 26	
0 - 11 mos.	1
1 - 3 yrs. 11 mos.	2
4 - 9 yrs. 11 mos.	3
10 yrs. and over	4

18. How long have you lived in the Hartsdale-Greenburgh
 area? IF "0 - 11 mos." : STOP : END INTERVIEW.

Col 27	
0 - 11 mos.	1
1 - 3 yrs. 11 mos.	2
4 - 9 yrs. 11 mos.	3
10 yrs. and over	4

19. Would you say that your activities are oriented toward
 this area more than toward some other area like N. Y. C. ?

	Col 28
Local	1
N. Y. C.	2
Both	3
Other	4
?	8

20. There are quite a few group activities which people
 around here can involve themselves in. I'm going to
 read you a list of kinds of groups which people belong to.
 For each kind of group, please tell me if you yourself be-
 long to a group of that kind, or more than one group of
 that kind, or if you don't belong to a group of that kind.

ONCE A MEMBERSHIP IS MENTIONED, PROBE FOR
OTHERS OF THAT KIND. COUNT SCHOOL-RELATED
ORGANIZATIONS IN Q.'S. 23, 108, 109.

	Col 29
0 - 2 total groups	1
3 - 5 total groups	2
6 or more total	3

<u># of memberships</u>	<u># of memberships</u>
<input type="checkbox"/> block or neighborhood assn.	<input type="checkbox"/> veterans group
<input type="checkbox"/> civic organization	<input type="checkbox"/> voluntary fire-fighting
<input type="checkbox"/> social or cultural club	<input type="checkbox"/> police support group
<input type="checkbox"/> athletic club for adults	<input type="checkbox"/> scouting organization
<input type="checkbox"/> athletic club for children	<input type="checkbox"/> civil rights & liberties group
<input type="checkbox"/> religious club	<input type="checkbox"/> special issue group
<input type="checkbox"/> fraternal organization	<input type="checkbox"/> political group
<input type="checkbox"/> service organization	<input type="checkbox"/> other _____
<input type="checkbox"/> charitable group	<input type="checkbox"/> other _____
	<input type="checkbox"/> other _____

21. Have you ever been an officer or served on a committee of any of these groups? Col 30
Yes 1
No 2

22. We know that the ordinary person has many problems that take his time. In view of this, what part do you think the ordinary person ought to play in the local affairs of his town? _____

23. Do you currently participate in public school affairs around here? Col 31
Yes 1
No 2

IF "YES", ASK: What kinds of things do you do?

24. Have you ever done any kind of volunteer work for the local public schools - such as working on special projects, doing tutoring, assisting teachers, raising funds for special purposes? Col 32
Yes 1
No 2

25. Have you ever done any kind of volunteer work - as an adult or as a teenager? Col 33
Yes 1
No 2

26. If you were asked to volunteer your time to do something for the benefit of the local public schools, would you be

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>ready to give your time once each week, once each month,
on an occasional basis or not at all at this time ?</p> | <p style="text-align: right;">Col 34</p> <p>Weekly 1
Monthly 2
Occasionally 3
Not at all 4
? 8</p> |
| <p>27. IF WILLING TO VOLUNTEER ON Q. 26, ASK:</p> | |
| <p>Would you rather do this kind of volunteer work with
others or by yourself - or wouldn't that make much
difference to you?</p> | <p style="text-align: right;">Col 35</p> <p>With others 1
Alone 2
No difference 3
? 8</p> |
| <p>28. Do you feel that school is really important in preparing
children for the world?</p> | <p style="text-align: right;">Col 36</p> <p>Yes 1
No 2
? 8</p> |
| <p>29. Would you say that public education in this community
is <u>more</u> important, <u>as</u> important, or <u>less</u> important
than police protection?</p> | <p style="text-align: right;">Col 37</p> <p>More 1
As 2
Less 3
? 8</p> |
| <p>30. How about in comparison to fire protection? Would you
say that public education in this community is <u>more</u> impor-
tant, <u>as</u> important, or <u>less</u> important than fire protection?</p> | <p style="text-align: right;">Col 38</p> <p>More 1
As 2
Less 3
? 8</p> |
| <p>31. On the whole, would you say that the public schools here
are doing a good job?</p> | <p style="text-align: right;">Col 39</p> <p>Yes 1
No 2
? 8</p> |
| <p>32. Does it seem to you that the children play too much in the
local public schools?</p> | <p style="text-align: right;">Col 40</p> <p>Yes 1
No 2
? 8</p> |
| <p>33. Are there a lot of sugar-coating and frills in the public
schools here, would you say?</p> | <p style="text-align: right;">Col 41</p> <p>Yes 1
No 2
? 8</p> |
| <p>34. As you see it, does going to school seem to be a waste
of time for many of the local youngsters?</p> | <p style="text-align: right;">Col 42</p> <p>Yes 1
No 2
? 8</p> |

35. How do you compare to the average person you know on what you think about the local public schools? Would you say you favor them more than the average person, less than the average person, or about the same as the average person you know?
- | | |
|------|--------|
| | Col 43 |
| More | 1 |
| Less | 2 |
| Same | 3 |
| ? | 8 |
36. If you had close friends with young children who were thinking about moving into this school district, would you advise them to move here, or not?
- | | |
|-----|--------|
| | Col 44 |
| Yes | 1 |
| No | 2 |
| ? | 8 |
37. How about if their children were ready for high school, would you advise them to move here, or not?
- | | |
|-----|--------|
| | Col 45 |
| Yes | 1 |
| No | 2 |
| ? | 8 |
38. Would you say that the Central 7 schools are generally well-administered?
- | | |
|-----|--------|
| | Col 46 |
| Yes | 1 |
| No | 2 |
| ? | 8 |
39. Do you feel that adequate discipline is being maintained in the Central 7 schools?
- | | |
|-----|--------|
| | Col 47 |
| Yes | 1 |
| No | 2 |
| ? | 8 |
40. The Central 7 school district has described its educational goals as follows: that the district aims to meet the needs and interests of each child and to provide a challenge to his or her abilities - all this to be done within racially integrated schools. Do you approve of these goals?
- | | |
|-----|--------|
| | Col 48 |
| Yes | 1 |
| No | 2 |
| ? | 8 |
41. In general, do you feel that the Central 7 school district is living up to these goals?
- | | |
|-----|--------|
| | Col 49 |
| Yes | 1 |
| No | 2 |
| ? | 8 |
42. As you probably know, to achieve racially integrated schools, almost all of the public-school children in this school district are bused out of their own neighborhoods into other parts of Central 7 to go to school. In balance,

do you think the advantage of this system outweighs the
drawbacks?

Col 50	
Yes	1
No	2
?	8

43. As you also probably know, to achieve racially integrated
classrooms in the Central 7 schools, children of the same
age who have very different abilities are put together in the
same classes. In balance, do you think the advantage of this
system outweighs the drawbacks?

Col 51	
Yes	1
No	2
?	8

44. Thinking of the current racial balance in the Central 7
schools, 2/3 white children and 1/3 black children, do you
favor this balance or would you like to have a higher pro-
portion of white children, or a higher proportion of black
children, in the Central 7 schools?

Col 52	
Status quo	1
More white	2
More black	3
?	8

45. It's been said that if black children all went to school with
white children, the education of white children would suffer
from being held back. Do you believe this or not?

Col 53	
Yes	1
No	2
?	8

46. Some say that black people have been pushing too fast for
what they want. Others say they haven't pushed fast enough.
How about you - do you think black people are trying to push
too fast, are going too slowly, or are moving at about the
right speed?

Col 54	
Too fast	1
Too slowly	2
Right speed	3
?	8

47. Some people feel that many American communities are
moving too rapidly in their efforts to racially integrate
things. Other people feel they are moving too slowly.
How about racial integration of the schools in Westchester-

are things moving: too fast, too slowly, or about the right speed?

Col 55
 Too fast 1
 Too slowly 2
 Right speed 3
 ? 8

48. Thinking about the Westchester area again, would you say that the racial integration of housing is going: too fast, too slowly, or about the right speed?

Col 56
 Too fast 1
 Too slowly 2
 Right speed 3
 ? 8

49. If you had small children, would you rather that they had only white/black friends, or would you like them to have black/white friends too, or wouldn't you care one way or the other?

Col 57
 Own race 1
 Both 2
 Don't care 3
 ? 8

50. All of us have ideas about what children should be like.

Here is a list of qualities which various people have said they like to see in children. GIVE THEM CARD.

Which three of the qualities listed on this card would you say are the most important in a child of ten?

USING LIST BELOW, INTERVIEWER SHOULD MARK "1" IN FRONT OF THOSE QUALITIES CHOSEN.

Now, please pick out three more qualities which are next in importance to you. INTERVIEWER MARK "2".

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> happy | <input type="checkbox"/> popular with other children |
| <input type="checkbox"/> honest | <input type="checkbox"/> good student |
| <input type="checkbox"/> considerate of others | <input type="checkbox"/> neat and clean |
| <input type="checkbox"/> obeys his parents well | <input type="checkbox"/> curious about things |
| <input type="checkbox"/> dependable | <input type="checkbox"/> ambitious |
| <input type="checkbox"/> has good manners | <input type="checkbox"/> able to defend him or herself |
| <input type="checkbox"/> has self-control | <input type="checkbox"/> affectionate |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> acts in a serious way |

Col 58
 Considerate "1" 1
 Considerate "2" 2
 Not picked at all 3
 ? 8

In order to understand people's feelings about school budgets, it is very helpful to know how they feel about some other things in life. I would like to have your impressions now of a few incidents involving people. These incidents all have to do with your opinions of "right" and "wrong". PROBE BEYOND PERFUNCTORY RESPONSE.

51. First, why shouldn't someone steal from a store ?

Col 59

52. Two young men, Al and Joe were in trouble. They were secretly leaving town in a hurry and needed money. Al broke into a store and stole \$500. Joe went to a man who was known to help people in town. Joe told the man that he was very sick and needed \$500 to pay for an operation. Really he wasn't sick at all and he had no intention of paying the man back. Although the man didn't know Joe very well, he loaned him the money. So Al and Joe skipped town, each with \$500. If you had to decide who did worse, Al who broke into the store and stole \$500 or Joe who borrowed \$500 with no intention of paying it back, which one would you say did worse? _____ Why do you think he did worse?

Col 60

53. In Europe a woman was near death from a special kind of cancer. There was one drug that the doctors thought might save her. It was a form of radium that a druggist in the same town had recently discovered. The druggist was charging over twice what the drug cost to make. He paid \$800 for the radium needed to make the drug and charged \$1800 for a small dose of the drug.

Col 61

The sick woman's husband, Lawrence, went to everyone he knew to borrow the money. He also went to banks and loan companies. But he could only get together about \$900 which is half of what the drug cost. He told the druggist that his wife was dying, and asked him to sell the drug cheaper, or to let him pay the rest later. But the druggist said, "I'm sorry, but I discovered the drug and it's only fair that I make money from it." So Lawrence got desperate and broke into the man's store to steal the drug for his wife.

Do you think Lawrence was right or wrong to do that? _____

Why? _____

54. Jim is the best bowler of all his friends. One day some of the boys are teasing Jim's friend, Bob, about how poorly Bob bowled the day before. They keep saying Bob doesn't know how to bowl and never did. Bob isn't smiling at all. Finally, Bob says, "I didn't bowl very well last night, but once I bowled 145." The other boys don't believe him. They just laugh. Jim never saw Bob bowl 145. But he says, "It's true what Bob says. I was there when he bowled 145, I saw him myself."

Col 62

Do you think Jim was right or wrong to say that? _____
 Why? _____

Col 63

We will talk more specifically about school elections in just a few minutes. First, I would like you to take the time to answer some more opinion questions. Each of the statements on the sheet I'm going to give you is an opinion which some people hold.

Please mark down whether you agree or disagree with each of the opinions by circling one of the choices next to it. Since they are opinions, there are no correct or incorrect answers. If you are not certain how you feel about an opinion, agree or disagree according to which comes closer to your own opinions.

Each of the items below is a statement of an attitude or an opinion which some people have. There are no right or wrong answers to these statements. For each one, circle the number which best indicates the extent to which you agree or disagree with it. If you are not certain, agree or disagree according to which comes closer to your opinions.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
55. It is no use worrying about current events or public affairs; I can't do anything about them anyway.	1	2	3	4
56. Every person should give some of his time for the good of his town or country.	1	2	3	4
57. Our country would be a lot better off if we didn't have so many elections and people didn't have to vote so often.	1	2	3	4
58. Letting your friends down is not so bad because you can't do good all of the time for everybody.	1	2	3	4
59. It is the duty of each person to do his job the very best he can.	1	2	3	4
60. People would be a lot better off if they could live far away from other people and never have to do anything for them.	1	2	3	4
61. When I was in school, I usually volunteered for special projects.	1	2	3	4
62. I feel very bad when I have failed to finish a job I promised I would do.	1	2	3	4
63. If a good friend of mine wanted to injure an enemy of his, it would be my duty to try to stop him.	1	2	3	4
64. Failing to return the money when you are given too much change is the same as stealing from a store.	1	2	3	4
65. I wouldn't feel that I had to do my part in a group project if everyone else was lazy.	1	2	3	4
66. If I hurt someone unintentionally, I would feel almost as guilty as I would if I had done the same thing intentionally.	1	2	3	4

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
67. Gossiping is so common in our society that a person who gossips once in a while can't really be blamed so much.	1	2	3	4
68. When a person is nasty to me, I feel very little responsibility to treat him well.	1	2	3	4
69. I would feel less bothered about leaving litter in a dirty park than in a clean one.	1	2	3	4
70. No matter what a person has done to us, there is no excuse for taking advantage of him.	1	2	3	4
71. When a man is completely involved in valuable work, you can't blame him if he is insensitive to those around him.	1	2	3	4
72. If I damaged someone's car in an accident that was legally his fault, I would still feel somewhat guilty.	1	2	3	4
73. When you consider how hard it is for an honest businessman to get ahead, it is easier to forgive shrewdness in business.	1	2	3	4
74. When a person is pushed hard enough, there comes a point beyond which anything he does is justifiable.	1	2	3	4
75. Even if something you borrow is defective, you should still replace it if it gets broken.	1	2	3	4
76. You can't blame basically good people who are forced by their environment to be inconsiderate of others.	1	2	3	4
77. No matter how much a person is provoked, he is always responsible for whatever he does.	1	2	3	4
78. Being upset or preoccupied does not excuse a person for doing anything he would ordinarily avoid.	1	2	3	4
79. As long as a businessman doesn't break laws, he should feel free to do his business as he sees fit.	1	2	3	4

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
80. Occasionally in life a person finds himself in a situation in which he has absolutely no control over what he does to others.	1	2	3	4
81. I would feel obligated to do a favor for a person who needed it, even though he had not shown gratitude for past favors.	1	2	3	4
82. With the pressure for grades and the widespread cheating in school nowadays, the individual who cheats occasionally is not really as much at fault.	1	2	3	4
83. I wouldn't feel badly about giving offense to someone if my intentions had been good.	1	2	3	4
84. Extenuating circumstances never completely remove a person's responsibility for his actions.	1	2	3	4
85. You can't expect a person to act much differently from everyone else.	1	2	3	4
86. It doesn't make much sense to be very concerned about how we act when we are sick and feeling miserable.	1	2	3	4
87. You just can't hold a store clerk responsible for being rude and impolite at the end of a long work day.	1	2	3	4
88. Professional obligations can never justify neglecting the welfare of others.	1	2	3	4
89. If I broke a machine through mishandling, I would feel less guilty if it was already damaged before I used it.	1	2	3	4
90. When you have a job to do, it is impossible to look out for everybody's best interests.	1	2	3	4

91. What is the approximate assessed valuation on your house? _____
92. About how much is your present yearly tax bill from the town and the school district combined?
- | | | |
|--------------|---|---------|
| \$ 500 - 999 | 1 | Col 115 |
| 1000 - 1499 | 2 | |
| 1500 - 1999 | 3 | |
| 2000 - 2499 | 4 | |
| 2500 - 2999 | 5 | |
| 3000 - 3499 | 6 | |
| 3500 + | 7 | |
| ? | 8 | |
93. How difficult do you feel it is for you to pay your current taxes? Would you say it is very difficult, somewhat difficult, or not really difficult at all?
- | | | |
|------------|---|---------|
| | | Col 116 |
| Very | 1 | |
| Somewhat | 2 | |
| Not really | 3 | |
| ? | 8 | |
94. Naturally this will be strictly confidential, as will everything else we have been discussing. Please tell me whether your family's total yearly income is: below \$15,000, between \$15,000 and \$25,000, or above \$25,000.
- | | | |
|---------|---|---------|
| | | Col 117 |
| Below | 1 | |
| Between | 2 | |
| Above | 3 | |
95. Generally speaking, do you think that the Central 7 school district is using your tax money wisely?
- | | | |
|-----|---|---------|
| | | Col 118 |
| Yes | 1 | |
| No | 2 | |
| ? | 8 | |
96. Of the nine million - four hundred thousand dollar school budget under which Central 7 is operating for this current school year, about half of this amount goes to pay teachers' salaries and benefits.
- Do you feel that the school district should increase its class size limits and cut down on the number of teachers employed?
- | | | |
|-----|---|---------|
| | | Col 119 |
| Yes | 1 | |
| No | 2 | |
| ? | 8 | |
97. Do you think that the school district ought to be spending tax money, as it presently does, to teach music and art in the primary grades?
- | | | |
|-----|---|---------|
| | | Col 120 |
| Yes | 1 | |
| No | 2 | |
| ? | 8 | |

98. Do you think the school district ought to be providing, as it presently does, psychological services to students who need them?

	Col 121
Yes	1
No	2
?	8

99. Should it be providing speech therapy, as it presently does, for students who need that?

	Col 122
Yes	1
No	2
?	8

100. Last year's budget called for over \$57,000 to be spent on inter-scholastic sports. Do you feel that this is a justified expenditure?

	Col 123
Yes	1
No	2
?	8

101. Are there any particular areas where you feel the school district is spending more money than is necessary for good education? _____

Concerning the special bond issues just recently put up
for approval and defeated:

102. Do you favor the middle-school proposal strongly or
weakly or are you not in favor of it?

Col 124
Strong pro 1
Weak pro 2
Against 3
? 8

Why do you feel that way? INTERVIEWER CHECK AS

MANY REASONS AS APPLY.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Too expensive project | <input type="checkbox"/> More expensive to wait |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Uneconomical building | <input type="checkbox"/> Economical building |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Unattractive building | <input type="checkbox"/> Attractive building |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Impractical building | <input type="checkbox"/> Efficient building |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Educationally questionable design | <input type="checkbox"/> Opportunities for exciting ed. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Educationally questionable to have a middle school | <input type="checkbox"/> Middle school best policy |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Webb school and Woodlands poorly administered | <input type="checkbox"/> Problems at Webb and at Woodlands will be helped by new building |
| <input type="checkbox"/> A middle school needed- but not this one ! | <input type="checkbox"/> Good for children |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Afraid of what would happen to Bailey property | <input type="checkbox"/> Good for image of district |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Afraid of what would happen to Wash. Ave. property | <input type="checkbox"/> Good for property values |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Bailey should be renovated | <input type="checkbox"/> Bailey school must be replaced or renovated- better to replace |

103. Did you actually vote for or against the middle school proposal in the March election, or didn't you vote on that proposition?

	Col 125
For	1
Against	2
Didn't vote	3

104. On the separate proposition calling for a swimming pool to be built, did you vote for or against it in the March vote or didn't you vote on the proposition?

	Col 126
For	1
Against	2
Didn't vote	3

105. On the sports proposition calling for the development of a track and a football and soccer field, did you vote for or against it in the March vote, or didn't you vote on the proposition?

	Col 127
For	1
Against	2
Didn't vote	3

106. This sports complex will be/was presented to the voters again on April 28 at the same cost of \$. 30 per \$1000 of assessed valuation for the next five years, or \$6.00 a year for a home assessed at \$20,000. Are you in favor of the development of this sports complex or opposed to it?

	Col 128
For	1
Against	2
?	8

107. If you recall the regular school budget election last spring, the budget passed on the first vote.

Did you yourself vote for or against the proposed budget, or didn't you vote on that occasion?

	Col 129
For	1
Against	2
Didn't vote	3
?	8

IF "FOR" OR "AGAINST", ASK: Why do you think you voted as you did? _____

108. Do you remember the year before that? The budget was defeated twice before it was passed. On the first vote held, did you yourself vote for or against the proposed budget, or didn't you vote on that occasion? IF "FOR" OR "AGAINST", ASK: Why would you say, looking back on it, that you voted the way you did?

Col 130
 For 1
 Against 2
 Didn't vote 3
 ? 8

109. Did you ever do any work for the passage of a school budget? IF "YES", SAY: Tell me a little about it.

Col 131
 Yes 1
 No 2
 ? 8

110. Did you ever do any work against the passage of a school budget? IF "YES", SAY: Tell me a little about that.

Col 132
 Yes 1
 No 2
 ? 8

111. Do your friends generally work for or against the budgets -or don't they involve themselves?

Col 133
 For 1
 Against 2
 Both 3
 Neither 4
 ? 8

112. Tell me about any changes there may have been over the years in your feelings about school budgets.

Last year when the budget was passed, it meant an increase in the tax rate of about \$4.00 per \$1000 of assessed valuation, or about \$80.00 for the year on a house assessed at \$20,000. As you probably know, the next annual school budget is coming up for a vote soon.

113. If the proposed budget is going to raise your taxes about the same amount as last year's budget did- \$4.00 per \$1000 of assessed valuation or \$80.00 on a house assessed at \$20,000- do you intend to vote for the proposed budget or against it?
 Why do you feel you will do that? _____

	Col 134
For	1
Against	2
Won't vote	3
?	8

114. What if the proposed budget is going to mean less of a tax increase than last year's did- say \$3.00 per \$1000 of assessed valuation or \$60.00 on a house valued at \$20,000- will you vote for the proposed budget or against it?

	Col 135
For	1
Against	2
Won't vote	3
?	8

115. What if the proposed budget is going to mean a greater tax increase than last year's did- say \$5.00 per \$1000 of assessed valuation or \$100.00 on a house valued at \$20,000- will you vote for the proposed budget or against it?

	Col 136
For	1
Against	2
Won't vote	3
?	8

116. IF "AGAINST" ON Q. 115, ASK: If you had a higher income, would you vote differently, do you think?

Col 137

Yes 1
No 2
? 8

117. IF "FOR" ON Q. 115, ASK: Would you feel like you're making a sacrifice to do it?

Col 138

Yes 1
No 2
? 8

118. IF "FOR" ON Q. 115 AND PUBLIC PARENT (Q. 6), ASK: How do you think you would vote if you weren't the parent of school-age children?

Col 139

For 1
Against 2
? 8

119. IF PERSON USED TO HAVE CHILDREN IN LOCAL PUBLIC SCHOOLS (Q. 9), ASK: How do you think having had children in the local public schools has affected the way you now vote on school budgets?

120. If a person does not have great financial hardship, do you think he or she ought to vote favorably on the annual budget proposed to the community by the school district?

Col 140

Yes (generally) 1
No (not necessarily) 2
? 8

121. As you probably know, if proposed budgets are defeated, a school district may have no choice but to adopt an austerity budget. This would mean having only the limited programs and services that the state says a school district must provide for its children's education.

If this happened, and a number of programs and services were eliminated, do you think it would make much difference to the education of the children around here?
Why do you feel that way? _____

Col 141
Yes 1
No 2
? 8

122. Some people have suggested that only those who have children in the public schools should bear the cost of public education. Do you agree with them?

Col 142
Yes 1
No 2
? 8

123. Is there anything else about school budgets that we haven't touched on, and that you would like to talk about?

That's the end of the interview. Thank you so much for your time !

APPENDIX B

REPORT TO CENTRAL 7 SCHOOL BOARD AND INTERESTED RESIDENTS CONCERNING SPRING 1973 SURVEY OF CENTRAL 7 HOMEOWNERS

To the reader:

In order to explore tax-payers' feelings about financial support for the public schools, interviews were conducted with homeowners (including condominium owners) within the Central 7 school district during the spring of 1973. The project was undertaken as part of my doctoral dissertation and was made possible by funding from the National Science Foundation under the supervision of Dr. B. Dohrenwend at the City University of New York.

The people to be interviewed were selected from a list of those owning their residences in Central 7 and also being registered to vote in school elections. My thanks are extended to the School Board, the Board Clerk, and the Census Dept. for making this data available to me.

Equal numbers of men and women were selected, and twice as many White homeowners as Black. The sample also included twice as many "non-parents" (no children of public school age) as "parents" (those with the majority of their children in the public schools). Those with only preschool children, and those with the majority of their children in private school were excluded from the original list. The sample was designed to provide for various group comparisons rather than to accurately reflect population proportions. For this reason, it is comparative proportions rather than absolute figures which are meaningful and will be reported here.

Overall, 70% of those selected who were available to be interviewed agreed to participate. The cooperation of these 319 residents is greatly appreciated and, along with the dedicated work of 4 interviewers, has made possible this report.

The bulk of the report contains tables of results. In the next few paragraphs are some of the most striking findings from these tables. More detailed information is to be gained from the tables themselves. If the reader has questions

concerning interpretation, he or she is invited to phone me at 428-0187.

The most impressive finding which is consistent throughout the tables are the large differences in the opinions of "parents" and "non-parents", with "parents" holding the more favorable and supportive positions on the schools and their finance.

"Non-parents" approve the basic goals of the district almost as overwhelmingly as "parents". However, opinion divided on the policies which implement the goals. "Non-parents" were far less favorable toward busing than "parents" but further scrutiny shows that this is only true for White "non-parents", not for Black. This trend is also apparent on the issue of limiting class size. On the policy of heterogeneous grouping in the classroom, the "parents" group shows a marked racial difference, with Black parents being far more favorable than White.

In terms of how the school system is performing, many "non-parents" said they didn't know. Likewise, many male parents had no opinion on what kind of job the schools were doing. Among the "parents", the Black "parents" as a whole indicated a less favorable view of educational quality than did White "parents", but a closer look shows this to be true only for middle and upper income "parents". The opposite effect of race was shown among lowest income "parents" and among all "non-parents" with Black residents perceiving a better job than did White.

Concerning the effectiveness of discipline in the schools, the majority of both "parents" and "non-parents" believe the level of discipline to be inadequate. Nevertheless, the majority of both "parents" and "non-parents" would advise friends with young children to move into the district and a slim majority would advise friends with children of high school age to make the move.

Retired persons are most likely to feel the system is not making wise use of the tax dollar. White "parents" and "non-parents" at the lowest income level also show this opinion. A majority of the "parents" but not of the "non-parents" feel there would be an educational detriment if the district adopted

an austerity budget.

Naturally, income and work status show a strong relation to budget vote in both "parent" and "non-parent" groups, with higher income accompanying favorable voting. At the lowest income level, however, Black parents show much more budget support than do White parents. At the middle income level this situation is reversed, with White "parents" showing more budget support than Black "parents". This parallels the racial and income differences found in evaluation of district performance.

Disappointment with performance does indeed seem to show a strong relation to whether either a "parent" or "non-parent" will vote for or against the budget. Also interesting is the fact that for both "parents" and "non-parents" approval of the district's goals and policies is generally accompanied by more favorableness toward the school budget. The "non-parents" who express no opinion concerning policy or performance seem to vote relatively heavily against the budget proposal.

Both "parents" and "non-parents" who oppose the budget generally say it's because they have personal financial concern. Both "parents" and "non-parents" voting for budgets stress the reasonableness of the particular budget. "Parents" secondarily stress the district's need for funds in order to operate, while "non-parents" invoke people's obligation to support the schools.

On the issue of the middle school, much less support was shown by the "non-parents" than by the "parents" group. Also, relatively weak support came from the Black "parents" group. The Hillside-Manhattan Ave. neighborhood showed maximum opposition to the middle school. A variety of reasons were offered for both favorable and unfavorable attitudes. It is noteworthy that those "parents" and "non-parents" who were committed to limiting class size were those who were more favorable toward the middle school.

On the sports proposal, better support also came from the "parents", but with lowest income Black "parents" being as favorable as those with highest incomes and even more favorable than middle-income White "parents".

Apart from all these findings and others which may be gained from examining

the tables, it was clear from residents' comments that a great number of them felt with great intensity that a new means of financing for the public schools was needed. Suggestions included the use of the income tax rather than the property tax to redistribute financial support, and tax abatement for senior citizens.

Many "non-parents" brought up the distance they feel from school affairs. Many were uninformed; some were misinformed. One person made what seems an excellent suggestion that the district issue a periodic newsletter, not merely pre-election material. Such a newsletter could serve the function of informing (and soliciting input from) all residents concerning policies, curriculum and events. Especially since the present survey shows a relation between "non-parents" lack of opinion and unfavorable budget voting, reaching out to the non-involved residents of the community might accrue to the benefit of the district in trying to pass the budget.

It is noteworthy that 80% of the "parents" and 37% of the "non-parents" indicated they would volunteer time, at least occasionally, to be of help to the public school system. Here, perhaps, is a mostly untapped reservoir of strength for the district.

Finally, it is hoped that the outcome of this survey is a better understanding of our varied points of view as taxpayers within the Central 7 district.

Joyce Sichel
September 28, 1973

HOMEOWNERS' APPROVAL OF VARIOUS CENTRAL 7 POLICIES

Question: The Central 7 school district has described its educational goals as follows: that the district aims to meet the needs and interests of each child and to provide a challenge to his or her abilities - all this to be done within racially integrated schools. Do you approve of these goals?

	<u>Parents</u>			<u>Non-parents</u>		
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>I</u>
TOTAL SAMPLES:	96.2%	2.9%	1.0%	90.2%	6.5%	3.3%
BY SEX:						
Women	94.4	3.7	1.9	90.7	4.6	4.6
Men	98.0	2.0	0.0	89.6	8.5	1.9
BY WORK STATUS OF MAJOR "BREADWINNER":						
Working full-time	96.0	3.0	1.0	94.4	4.2	1.4
Working part-time	-*	-	-	87.5	12.5	0.0
Retired or unemployed	-	-	-	80.4	10.7	8.9
BY YEARLY FAMILY INCOME:						
Under \$15,000	94.4	0.0	5.6	85.5	8.7	5.8
Between \$15-25,000	96.1	3.9	1.0	94.4	3.4	2.2
Above \$25,000	97.2	2.8	0.0	89.3	8.9	1.8
BY RACE AND INCOME:						
White-all incomes	96.2	1.9	1.9	88.1	8.1	3.7
Under \$15,000	85.7	0.0	14.3	78.0	14.6	7.3
Between \$15-25,000	94.4	5.6	0.0	92.8	4.3	2.9
Above \$25,000	100.0	0.0	0.0	90.0	8.0	2.0
Black-all incomes	96.2	3.8	0.0	96.3	1.9	1.9
Under \$15,000	100.0	0.0	0.0	96.4	0.0	3.6
Between \$15-25,000	97.0	3.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
Above \$25,000	87.5	12.5	0.0	83.3	16.7	0.0
BY NEIGHBORHOOD:						
Orchard-Sky Meadow	92.3	7.7	0.0	90.3	3.2	6.4
Harts.Lawns	100.0	0.0	0.0	84.2	10.5	5.3
Harts.Manor-Secor	-	-	-	94.7	0.0	5.3
Woods-W.Harts.-Ridge	100.0	0.0	0.0	85.7	14.3	0.0
Central Ave.(W.&S.)-Colony	100.0	0.0	0.0	90.0	10.0	0.0
Central Ave.(E.)	100.0	0.0	0.0	77.4	16.1	6.5
Greenvale Cir.-Fulton Pk.	-	-	-	90.0	10.0	0.0
O.T.R.-Wyndover	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
Pkwy.Gdns.-Homes	100.0	0.0	0.0	95.7	0.0	4.3
Hillside-Manhattan	87.5	12.5	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
Juniper Hill-Dobbs F.Rd.	94.1	5.9	0.0	88.9	11.1	0.0

* "-" indicates that frequency was too low to percentage.

HOMEOWNERS' APPROVAL OF VARIOUS CENTRAL 7 POLICIES

Question: A majority of the public-school children in this school district are bused out of their own immediate neighborhoods into other parts of Central 7 to go to school. In balance, do you think the advantage of this system outweighs the drawbacks?

	<u>Parents</u>			<u>Non-parents</u>		
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>I</u>
TOTAL SAMPLES:	75.2%	15.2%	9.5%	42.5%	49.1%	8.5%
BY SEX:						
Women	74.1	16.7	9.3	41.1	51.4	7.5
Men	76.5	13.7	9.8	43.8	46.7	9.5
BY WORK STATUS OF MAJOR "BREADWINNER":						
Working full-time	76.8	14.1	9.1	43.3	48.9	7.8
Working part-time	-	-	-	43.8	50.0	6.3
Retired or unemployed	-	-	-	40.0	49.1	10.9
BY YEARLY FAMILY INCOME:						
Under \$15,000	66.7	22.2	11.1	44.1	44.1	11.8
Between \$15-25,000	80.4	13.7	5.9	42.7	48.3	9.0
Above \$25,000	72.2	13.9	13.9	40.0	56.4	3.6
BY RACE AND INCOME:						
White-all incomes	69.8	18.9	11.3	32.9	58.9	8.2
Under \$15,000	42.9	42.9	14.3	30.0	60.0	10.0
Between \$15-25,000	77.8	22.2	0.0	33.3	56.5	10.1
Above \$25,000	71.4	10.7	17.9	34.7	61.2	4.1
Black-all incomes	80.8	11.5	7.7	70.4	20.4	9.3
Under \$15,000	81.8	9.1	9.1	64.3	21.4	14.3
Between \$15-25,000	81.8	9.1	9.1	75.0	20.0	5.0
Above \$25,000	75.0	25.0	0.0	83.3	16.7	0.0
BY NEIGHBORHOOD:						
Orchard-Sky Meadow	61.5	15.4	23.1	58.1	35.5	6.5
Harts.Lawns	100.0	0.0	0.0	36.8	57.9	5.3
Harts.Manor-Secor	-	-	-	31.6	57.9	10.5
Woods-W.Harts.-Ridge	75.0	12.5	12.5	30.0	70.0	0.0
Central Ave.(W.&S.)-Colony	58.3	41.7	0.0	20.0	70.0	10.0
Central Ave.(E.)	42.9	28.6	28.6	12.9	77.4	9.7
Greenvale Cir.-Fulton Pk.	-	-	-	20.0	70.0	10.0
O.T.R.-Wyndover	75.0	0.0	25.0	50.0	36.4	13.6
Pkwy.Gdns.-Homes	90.0	10.0	0.0	77.3	9.1	13.6
Hillside-Manhattan	87.5	12.5	0.0	66.7	27.8	5.6
Juniper Hill-Dobbs F.Rd.	76.5	17.6	5.9	55.6	33.3	11.1

HOMEOWNERS' APPROVAL OF VARIOUS CENTRAL 7 POLICIES

Question: To facilitate individualized education, it is district policy to keep class size relatively low. Do you feel that the school district should increase its class size limits and cut down on the number of teachers employed?

	<u>Parents</u>			<u>Non-parents</u>		
	<u>No</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>I</u>
TOTAL SAMPLES:	88.6%	8.6%	2.9%	53.7%	33.2%	13.1%
BY SEX:						
Women	88.9	5.6	5.6	63.9	26.9	9.3
Men	88.2	11.8	0.0	43.4	39.6	17.0
BY WORK STATUS OF MAJOR "BREADWINNER":						
Working full-time	90.9	7.1	2.0	57.0	31.0	12.0
Working part-time	-	-	-	50.0	43.8	6.3
Retired or unemployed	-	-	-	46.4	35.7	17.9
BY YEARLY FAMILY INCOME:						
Under \$15,000	88.9	5.6	5.6	43.5	40.6	15.9
Between \$15-25,000	82.4	13.7	3.9	56.2	32.6	11.2
Above \$25,000	97.2	2.8	0.0	62.5	25.0	12.5
BY RACE AND INCOME:						
White-all incomes	94.3	1.9	3.8	44.4	41.2	14.4
Under \$15,000	100.0	0.0	0.0	19.5	61.0	19.5
Between \$15-25,000	88.9	0.0	11.1	49.3	39.1	11.6
Above \$25,000	96.4	3.6	0.0	58.0	28.0	14.0
Black-all incomes	82.7	15.4	1.9	81.5	9.3	9.3
Under \$15,000	81.8	9.1	9.1	78.6	10.7	10.7
Between \$15-25,000	78.8	21.2	0.0	80.0	10.0	10.0
Above \$25,000	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
BY NEIGHBORHOOD:						
Orchard-Sky Meadow	92.3	0.0	7.7	64.5	32.3	3.2
Harts.Lawns	100.0	0.0	0.0	47.4	42.1	10.5
Harts.Menor-Secor	-	-	-	36.8	52.6	10.5
Woods-W.Harts.-Ridge	100.0	0.0	0.0	57.1	28.6	14.3
Central Ave.(W.&S.)Colony	91.7	0.0	8.3	40.0	40.0	20.0
Central Ave.(E.)	85.7	14.3	0.0	38.7	38.7	22.6
Greenville Cir.-Fulton Pk.	-	-	-	30.0	60.0	10.0
O.T.R.-Wyndover	91.7	8.3	0.0	40.9	40.9	18.2
Pkwy.Gdns.-Homes	80.0	20.0	0.0	78.3	4.3	17.4
Hillside-Manhattan	75.0	25.0	0.0	72.2	16.7	11.1
Juniper Hill-Dobbs F.Rd.	88.2	5.9	5.9	88.9	11.1	0.0

HOMEOWNERS' APPROVAL OF VARIOUS CENTRAL 7 POLICIES

Question: In the Central 7 schools, children of the same age who have very different abilities are put together in the same classes. In balance, do you think the advantage of this system outweighs the drawbacks?

	<u>Parents</u>			<u>Non-parents</u>		
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>I</u>
TOTAL SAMPLES:	60.0%	27.6%	12.4%	34.6%	53.1%	12.3%
BY SEX:						
Women	55.6	33.3	11.1	37.4	52.3	10.3
Men	64.7	21.6	13.7	31.7	53.8	14.4
BY WORK STATUS OF MAJOR "BREADWINNER":						
Working full-time	60.6	26.3	13.1	39.3	50.7	10.0
Working part-time	-	-	-	25.0	62.5	12.5
Retired or unemployed	-	-	-	25.5	56.4	18.2
BY YEARLY FAMILY INCOME:						
Under \$15,000	38.9	33.3	27.8	33.8	54.4	11.8
Between \$15-25,000	64.7	27.5	7.8	32.6	50.6	16.9
Above \$25,000	63.9	25.0	11.1	38.9	55.6	5.6
BY RACE AND INCOME:						
White-all incomes	49.1	35.8	15.1	30.4	56.3	13.3
Under \$15,000	14.3	42.9	42.9	22.5	62.5	15.0
Between \$15-25,000	55.6	38.9	5.6	30.4	50.7	18.8
Above \$25,000	53.6	32.1	14.3	36.7	59.2	4.1
Black-all incomes	71.2	19.2	9.6	47.2	43.4	9.4
Under \$15,000	54.5	27.3	18.2	50.0	42.9	7.1
Between \$15-25,000	69.7	21.2	9.1	40.0	50.0	10.0
Above \$25,000	100.0	0.0	0.0	60.0	20.0	20.0
BY NEIGHBORHOOD:						
Orchard-Sky Meadow	69.2	23.1	7.7	41.9	45.2	12.9
Harts.Lawns	57.1	28.6	14.3	36.8	47.4	15.8
Harts.Manor-Secor	-	-	-	26.3	57.9	15.8
Woods-W.Harts.-Ridge	37.5	50.0	12.5	15.0	70.0	15.0
Central Ave.(W&S)-Colony	33.3	50.0	16.7	20.0	80.0	0.0
Central Ave.(E.)	42.9	42.9	14.3	19.4	64.5	16.1
Greenville Cir.-Fulton Pk.	-	-	-	40.0	40.0	20.0
O.T.R.-Wyndover	66.7	16.7	16.7	54.5	40.9	4.5
Pkwy.Gdns.-Homes	75.0	20.0	5.0	38.1	52.4	9.5
Hillside-Manhattan	62.5	25.0	12.5	33.3	55.6	11.1
Juniper Hill-Dobbs F.Rd.	70.6	17.6	11.8	67.7	22.2	11.1

HOMEOWNERS' EVALUATION OF CENTRAL 7 PERFORMANCE

Question: In general, do you feel that the Central 7 school district is living up to its goals?

	<u>Parents</u>			<u>Non-parents</u>		
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>I</u>
TOTAL SAMPLES:	50.5%	44.8%	4.8%	31.0%	38.0%	31.0%
BY SEX:						
Women	51.9	46.3	1.9	28.6	44.8	26.7
Men	49.0	43.1	7.8	33.3	31.5	35.2
BY WORK STATUS OF MAJOR "BREADWINNER":						
Working full-time	52.5	42.4	5.1	29.6	43.0	27.5
Working part-time	-	-	-	56.3	12.5	31.3
Retired or unemployed	-	-	-	27.3	32.7	40.0
BY YEARLY FAMILY INCOME:						
Under \$15,000	44.4	55.6	0.0	31.9	31.9	36.2
Between \$15-25,000	52.9	43.1	3.9	29.2	39.3	31.5
Above \$25,000	50.0	41.7	8.3	32.7	43.6	23.6
BY RACE AND INCOME:						
White-all incomes	58.5	34.0	7.5	32.7	37.1	30.2
Under \$15,000	28.6	71.4	0.0	26.8	34.1	39.0
Between \$15-25,000	72.2	22.2	5.6	33.3	37.7	29.0
Above \$25,000	57.1	32.1	10.7	36.7	38.8	24.5
Black-all incomes	42.3	55.8	1.9	25.9	40.7	33.3
Under \$15,000	54.5	45.5	0.0	39.3	28.6	32.1
Between \$15-25,000	42.4	54.5	3.0	15.0	45.0	40.0
Above \$25,000	25.0	75.0	0.0	0.0	83.3	16.7
BY NEIGHBORHOOD:						
Orchard-Sky Meadow	38.5	46.2	15.4	41.9	41.9	16.1
Harts.Lawns	71.4	28.6	0.0	47.4	21.1	31.6
Harts.Manor-Secor	-	-	-	47.4	36.8	15.8
Woods-W. Harts.-Ridge	37.5	62.5	0.0	33.3	33.3	33.3
Central Ave.(W.&S.)-Colony	75.0	16.7	8.3	20.0	20.0	60.0
Central Ave.(E.)	57.1	28.6	14.3	13.3	53.3	33.3
Greenvale Circ.-Fulton Pk.	-	-	-	30.0	40.0	30.0
O.T.R.-Wyndover	41.7	50.0	8.3	22.7	36.4	40.9
Pkwy Gdns.-Homes	50.0	50.0	0.0	34.8	43.5	21.7
Hillside-Manhattan	25.0	75.0	0.0	5.6	44.4	50.0
Juniper Hill-Dobbs. F.Rd.	52.9	47.1	0.0	55.6	22.2	22.2

HOMEOWNERS' EVALUATION OF CENTRAL 7 PERFORMANCE

Question: On the whole, would you say that the public schools here are doing a good job?

	<u>Parents</u>			<u>Non-parents</u>		
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>I</u>
TOTAL SAMPLES:	64.1%	25.2%	10.7%	38.1%	36.7%	25.2%
BY SEX:						
Women	73.1	23.1	3.8	42.1	32.7	25.2
Men	54.9	27.5	17.6	34.0	40.8	25.2
BY WORK STATUS OF MAJOR "BREADWINNER":						
Working full-time	64.9	24.7	10.3	42.9	39.3	17.9
Working part-time	-	-	-	31.3	12.5	56.3
Retired or unemployed	-	-	-	27.8	37.0	35.2
BY YEARLY FAMILY INCOME:						
Under \$15,000	58.8	29.4	11.8	35.3	32.4	32.4
Between \$15-25,000	58.8	29.4	11.8	37.5	35.2	27.3
Above \$25,000	74.3	17.1	8.6	42.6	44.4	13.0
BY RACE AND INCOME:						
White-all incomes	73.1	15.4	11.5	33.1	40.1	26.8
Under \$15,000	28.6	42.9	28.6	22.0	41.5	36.6
Between \$15-25,000	77.8	16.7	5.6	33.8	36.8	29.4
Above \$25,000	81.5	7.4	11.1	41.7	43.8	14.6
Black-all incomes	54.9	35.3	9.8	52.8	26.4	20.8
Under \$15,000	80.0	20.0	0.0	55.6	18.5	25.9
Between \$15-25,000	48.5	36.4	15.2	50.0	30.0	20.0
Above \$25,000	50.0	50.0	0.0	50.0	50.0	0.0
BY NEIGHBORHOOD:						
Orchard-Sky Meadow	66.7	8.3	25.0	61.3	25.8	12.9
Harts.Lawns	85.7	14.3	0.0	33.3	16.7	50.0
Harts.Manor-Secor	-	-	-	31.6	57.9	10.5
Woods-W.Harts.-Ridge	62.5	25.0	12.5	28.6	52.4	19.0
Central Ave.(W.&S.)-Colony	83.3	8.3	8.3	30.0	40.0	30.0
Central Ave.(E.)	71.4	28.6	0.0	20.7	44.8	34.5
Greenvale Cir.-Fulton Pk.	-	-	-	10.0	60.0	30.0
O.T.R.-Wyndover	72.7	18.2	9.1	36.4	27.3	36.4
Pkvy.Gdns.-Homes	65.0	35.0	0.0	56.5	21.7	21.7
Hillside-Manhattan	37.5	37.5	25.0	44.4	33.3	22.2
Juniper Hill-Dobbs. F.Rd.	41.2	41.2	17.6	50.0	37.5	12.5

HOMEOWNERS' EVALUATION OF CENTRAL 7 PERFORMANCE

<u>Paraphrased questions:</u>	<u>Parents</u>			<u>Non-parents</u>		
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>I</u>
1. Are the schools generally well-administered?	50.0%	40.0%	10.0%	29.2%	37.8%	33.0%
2. Is adequate discipline being maintained in the schools?	30.5	61.0	8.6	17.8	56.5	25.7
3. Would you advise friends with young children to move into district?	67.3	20.2	12.5	50.7	33.3	16.0
4. Would you advise friends with children ready for h.s. to move into district?	43.3	34.6	22.1	44.6	38.0	17.4

HOMEOWNERS' OPINION ON FISCAL RESPONSIBILITY OF CENTRAL 7

Question: Generally speaking, do you think that the Central 7 school district is using your tax money wisely?

	<u>Parents</u>			<u>Non-parents</u>		
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>I</u>
TOTAL SAMPLES:	45.7%	44.8%	9.5%	25.2%	58.9%	15.9%
BY SEX:						
Women	40.7	51.9	7.4	26.9	55.6	17.6
Men	51.0	37.3	11.8	23.6	62.3	14.2
BY WORK STATUS OF MAJOR "BREADWINNER":						
Working full-time	47.5	42.4	10.1	30.3	52.8	16.9
Working part-time	-	-	-	18.8	75.0	6.3
Retired or unemployed	-	-	-	14.3	69.6	16.1
BY YEARLY FAMILY INCOME:						
Under \$15,000	33.3	50.0	16.7	15.9	71.0	13.0
Between \$15-25,000	31.4	58.8	9.8	28.1	55.1	16.9
Above \$25,000	72.2	22.2	5.6	32.1	50.0	17.9
BY RACE AND INCOME:						
White-all incomes	54.7	32.1	13.2	25.6	58.7	15.6
Under \$15,000	0.0	71.4	28.6	7.3	78.0	14.6
Between \$15-25,000	38.9	44.4	16.7	33.3	53.6	13.0
Above \$25,000	78.6	14.3	7.1	30.0	50.0	20.0
Black-all incomes	36.5	57.7	5.8	24.1	59.3	16.7
Under \$15,000	54.5	36.4	9.1	28.6	60.7	10.7
Between \$15-25,000	27.3	66.7	6.1	10.0	60.0	30.0
Above \$25,000	50.0	50.0	0.0	50.0	50.0	0.0
BY NEIGHBORHOOD:						
Orchard-Sky Meadow	38.5	38.5	23.1	32.3	54.8	12.9
Harts,Lawns	42.9	42.9	14.3	36.8	47.4	15.8
Harts,Manor-Secor	-	-	-	36.8	63.2	0.0
Woods-W.Harts.-Ridge	62.5	25.0	12.5	23.8	57.1	19.0
Central Ave.(W.&S.)-Colony	66.7	25.0	8.3	30.0	50.0	20.0
Central Ave.(E.)	71.4	28.6	0.0	9.7	71.0	19.4
Greenvale Cir.-Fulton Pk.	-	-	-	10.0	80.0	10.0
O.T.R.-Wyndover	66.7	33.3	0.0	27.3	45.5	27.3
Pkwy.Gdns.-Homes	35.0	65.0	0.0	30.4	60.9	8.7
Hillside-Manhattan	25.0	37.5	37.5	0.0	72.2	27.8
Juniper Hill-Dobbs F.Rd.	29.4	70.6	0.0	55.6	44.4	0.0

HOMEOWNERS' OPINIONS OF CENTRAL 7 FISCAL PRACTICES

<u>Paraphrased questions:</u>	<u>Parents</u>			<u>Non-parents</u>		
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>I</u>
1. Would there be an educational detriment on austerity?	63.8%	29.5%	6.7%	26.4%	61.8%	11.8%
2. Are there a lot of sugar-coating and frills in the schools?	36.2	57.1	6.7	54.5	20.2	25.4
3. Should music and art continue to be taught in the elementary grades?	86.7	10.5	2.9	70.1	28.0	1.9
4. Should the district be providing psychological services?	85.7	8.6	5.7	65.3	27.7	7.0
5. Is there excessive spending in any other area? (Spontaneous responses most frequently given. ^a)						
Transportation mgmt.		1.9%			1.9%	
Board of ed.		4.8%			3.3%	
Administration		15.2%			10.8%	
Specialized teachers		3.8%			6.1%	
Supplies		4.8%			6.1%	
Teachers aides		3.8%			.9%	

^aThe area of teachers' salaries was not tabulated.

HOMEOWNERS' POSITION ON FIRST 1973 BUDGET VOTED UPON

	<u>Parents</u>			<u>Non-parents</u>		
	<u>For</u>	<u>Against</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>For</u>	<u>Against</u>	<u>I</u>
TOTAL SAMPLES:	65.3%	30.7%	4.0%	32.5%	63.5%	3.9%
BY SEX:						
Women	60.8	33.3	5.9	39.4	54.5	6.1
Men	70.0	28.0	2.0	26.0	72.1	1.9
BY WORK STATUS OF MAJOR "BREADWINNER":						
Working full-time	64.9	30.9	4.1	41.8	56.0	2.2
Working part-time	-	-	-	6.3	93.8	0.0
Retired or unemployed	-	-	-	17.0	73.6	9.4
BY YEARLY FAMILY INCOME:						
Under \$15,000	31.3	56.3	12.5	9.5	85.7	4.8
Between \$15-25,000	58.0	40.0	2.0	40.0	55.3	4.7
Above \$25,000	91.4	5.7	2.9	47.3	50.9	1.8
BY RACE AND INCOME:						
White-all incomes	77.4	20.8	1.9	36.0	62.0	2.0
Under \$15,000	14.3	85.7	0.0	5.6	88.9	5.6
Between \$15-25,000	72.2	22.2	5.6	43.1	55.4	1.5
Above \$25,000	96.4	3.6	0.0	49.0	51.0	0.0
Black-all incomes	52.1	41.7	6.3	22.6	67.9	9.4
Under \$15,000	44.4	33.3	22.2	14.8	81.5	3.7
Between \$15-25,000	50.0	50.0	0.0	30.0	55.0	15.0
Above \$25,000	71.4	14.3	14.3	33.3	50.0	16.7
BY NEIGHBORHOOD:						
Orchard-Sky Meadow	84.6	15.4	0.0	50.0	43.3	6.7
Harts. Lawns	71.4	14.3	14.3	38.9	61.1	0.0
Harts. Manor-Secor	-	-	-	43.8	56.3	0.0
Woods-W.Harts.-Ridge	87.5	12.5	0.0	40.0	60.0	0.0
Central Ave.(W.&S.)-Colony	100.0	0.0	0.0	44.4	55.6	0.0
Central Ave.(E.)	71.4	28.6	0.0	23.3	73.3	3.3
Greenville Cir.-Fulton Pk.	-	-	-	0.0	88.9	11.1
O.T.R.-Wyndover	50.0	50.0	0.0	38.1	47.6	14.3
Pkwy.Gdns.-Homes	41.2	47.1	11.8	21.7	73.9	4.3
Hillside-Manhattan	75.0	12.5	12.5	11.8	88.2	0.0
Juniper Hill-Dobbs F.Rd.	43.8	56.3	0.0	33.3	66.7	0.0
BY APPROVAL OF GOALS:						
Approve	67.0	28.9	4.1	35.1	61.1	3.8
Disapprove	33.3	66.7	0.0	7.7	92.3	0.0
?	-	-	-	0.0	80.0	20.0
BY APPROVAL OF BUSING:						
Approve	66.7	28.0	5.3	49.4	46.1	4.5
Disapprove	62.5	37.5	0.0	18.8	78.1	3.1
?	60.0	40.0	0.0	18.8	75.0	6.3
BY APPROVAL OF HETERO- GENEOUS GROUPING:						
Approve	64.4	30.5	5.1	43.7	49.3	7.0
Disapprove	65.5	31.0	3.4	24.8	72.4	2.9
?	69.2	30.8	0.0	29.2	70.8	0.0
BY APPROVAL OF CLASS SIZE LIMIT:						
Approve	66.7	28.9	4.4	45.9	47.7	6.4
Disapprove	55.6	44.4	0.0	11.8	88.2	0.0
?	-	-	-	30.8	65.4	3.8

FIRST 1973 BUDGET(cont.)

	Parents			Non-parents		
	For	Against	I	For	Against	I
BY OPINION ON DISTRICT LIVING UP TO GOALS:						
Yes	66.0	30.0	4.0	47.6	49.2	3.2
No	60.9	34.8	4.3	24.4	74.4	1.3
?	100.0	0.0	0.0	27.9	63.9	8.2
BY EVALUATION OF JOB DISTRICT DOING:						
Good	74.6	20.6	4.8	48.7	48.7	2.6
Not Good	44.0	52.0	4.0	18.1	77.8	4.2
?	63.6	36.4	0.0	27.5	66.7	5.9
BY OPINION OF USE OF FUNDS:						
Wise	84.8	13.0	2.2	68.0	28.0	4.0
Not wise	42.2	53.3	4.4	17.5	80.0	2.5
?	80.0	10.0	10.0	33.3	57.6	9.1
BY RESPONDENTS' FEELING OF TAX HARDSHIP:						
Very hard	45.0	55.0	0.0	14.3	85.7	0.0
Somewhat hard	62.5	31.3	6.3	34.4	61.1	4.4
Not really hard	81.8	15.2	3.0	46.7	46.7	6.7
BY OPINION ON WHETHER AUSTERITY DETRIMENTAL:						
Detrimental	75.8	18.2	6.1	69.2	26.9	3.8
Not really detrimental	35.7	64.3	0.0	18.3	77.8	4.0
?	85.7	14.3	0.0	30.4	65.2	4.3

Reasons offered for favorable position***

	% of favorable parents stressing	% of favorable non-parents stressing
1. Own children or grandchildren's interest	3.5	2.3
2. Funds needed by district	29.8	9.3
3. People should support education	12.3	25.6
4. The children need the best possible education	7.0	9.3
5. The particular budget was reasonable	43.9	44.2
6. Following advice of others	3.5	9.3
	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>

Reasons offered for unfavorable position***

	% of unfavorable parents stressing	% of unfavorable non-parents stressing
1. Personal financial	55.2	59.8
2. The financial problems of others	3.4	3.0
3. District not doing good enough education job for \$	10.3	9.8
4. The particular budget was too high	13.8	12.9
5. District not fiscally responsible	17.2	13.6
6. Vandalism	0.0	0.8
	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>

*** Only the main reason offered by each person has been tabulated.

HOMEOWNERS' ATTITUDE TOWARD 1973 MIDDLE SCHOOL PROPOSAL

	<u>Parents</u>			<u>Non-parents</u>		
	<u>For</u>	<u>Against</u>	<u>?</u>	<u>For</u>	<u>Against</u>	<u>?</u>
TOTAL SAMPLES:	54.3%	41.9%	3.8%	22.4%	72.9%	4.7%
BY SEX:						
Women	57.4	40.7	1.9	26.9	68.5	4.6
Men	51.0	43.1	5.9	17.9	77.4	4.7
BY WORK STATUS OF MAJOR "BREADWINNER":						
Working full-time	56.5	39.4	4.0	26.1	69.7	4.2
Working part-time	-	-	-	12.5	87.5	0.0
Retired or unemployed	-	-	-	16.1	76.8	7.1
BY YEARLY FAMILY INCOME:						
Under \$15,000	27.8	66.7	5.6	11.5	82.6	5.8
Between \$15-25,000	47.1	49.0	3.9	23.6	70.8	5.6
Above \$25,000	77.7	19.4	2.8	34.0	64.3	1.8
BY RACE AND INCOME:						
White-all incomes	69.8	28.3	1.9	25.6	69.4	5.0
Under \$15,000	28.6	71.4	0.0	14.6	80.5	4.9
Between \$15-25,000	61.1	38.9	0.0	27.5	65.2	7.2
Above \$25,000	85.7	10.7	3.6	32.0	66.0	2.0
Black-all incomes	38.5	55.8	5.8	13.0	83.3	3.7
Under \$15,000	27.3	63.6	9.1	7.1	85.7	7.1
Between \$15-25,000	39.4	54.5	6.1	10.0	90.0	0.0
Above \$25,000	50.0	50.0	0.0	50.0	50.0	0.0
BY NEIGHBORHOOD:						
Orchard-Sky Meadow	69.2	30.8	0.0	29.0	71.0	0.0
Harts,Lawns	85.7	14.3	0.0	31.6	63.2	5.3
Harts,Manor-Secor	-	-	-	21.1	73.7	5.3
Woods-W.Harts,-Ridge	75.0	12.5	12.5	28.6	71.4	0.0
Central Ave.(W.&S.)-Colony	83.3	16.7	0.0	30.0	50.0	20.0
Central Ave.(E.)	57.2	42.9	0.0	19.4	77.4	3.2
Greenville Cir.-Fulton Pk.	-	-	-	10.0	90.0	0.0
O.T.R.-Wyndover	58.3	41.7	0.0	27.2	63.6	9.1
Pkwy.Gdns.-Homes	35.0	65.0	0.0	13.0	82.6	4.3
Hillside-Manhattan	0.0	75.0	25.0	0.0	88.9	11.1
Juniper Hill-Dobbs F.Rd.	47.1	47.1	5.9	33.3	66.7	0.0
BY APPROVAL OF GOALS:						
Approve	56.5	40.6	3.0	23.3	72.0	4.7
Disapprove	0.0	66.7	33.3	21.4	78.6	0.0
?	-	-	-	0.0	85.7	14.3
BY APPROVAL OF BUSING:						
Approve	59.5	36.7	3.8	37.8	57.8	4.4
Disapprove	31.3	68.8	0.0	9.6	86.5	3.8
?	50.0	40.0	10.0	11.1	77.8	11.1
BY APPROVAL OF HETERO- GENEOUS GROUPING:						
Approve	50.8	46.0	3.2	30.2	67.1	2.7
Disapprove	62.0	34.5	3.4	14.3	80.4	5.4
?	53.9	38.5	7.7	26.9	65.4	7.7
BY APPROVAL OF CLASS SIZE LIMIT:						
Approve	61.3	34.4	4.3	32.2	61.7	6.1
Disapprove	0.0	100.0	0.0	8.4	90.1	1.4
?	0.0	100.0	0.0	17.8	75.0	7.1

MIDDLE SCHOOL (cont.)

	<u>Parents</u>			<u>Non-parents</u>		
	<u>For</u>	<u>Against</u>	<u>?</u>	<u>For</u>	<u>Against</u>	<u>?</u>
BY OPINION ON DISTRICT LIVING UP TO GOALS:						
Yes	56.6	39.6	3.8	33.3	62.1	4.5
No	46.8	48.9	4.3	17.2	80.2	2.5
?	100.0	0.0	0.0	18.2	74.2	7.6
BY EVALUATION OF JOB DISTRICT DOING:						
Good	63.6	34.8	1.5	34.9	60.0	5.0
Not good	34.6	61.5	3.8	10.4	89.6	0.0
?	45.5	36.4	18.2	20.7	67.9	11.3
BY OPINION OF USE OF FUNDS:						
Wise	75.0	25.0	0.0	51.9	38.9	9.3
Not wise	34.1	61.7	4.3	5.6	93.7	0.8
?	50.0	30.0	20.0	38.2	50.0	11.8
BY RESPONDENTS' FEELING OF TAX HARDSHIP:						
Very hard	40.0	60.0	0.0	7.7	90.4	1.9
Somewhat hard	46.9	46.9	6.1	23.7	69.1	7.2
Not really hard	72.2	25.0	2.8	35.0	61.7	3.3
BY OPINION ON WHETHER AUSTERITY DETRIMENTAL:						
Detrimental	65.7	29.9	4.5	55.4	39.3	5.4
Not really detrimental	32.3	64.5	3.2	10.7	85.5	3.8
?	42.9	57.1	0.0	12.0	80.0	8.0

MIDDLE SCHOOL (cont.)

<u>Reasons offered for favorable attitude**</u>		
	<u>% of parents mentioning</u>	<u>% of non-parents mentioning</u>
1. Economically advisable to build now	14.3	4.2
2. Need for better physical facilities	21.0	8.4
3. Need for children in middle grades to be separate	42.9	10.8
4. Opportunities for better education	19.0	6.5
5. Attractive or efficient design	20.0	2.8
6. Will enhance district	15.2	3.7
<u>Reasons offered for unfavorable attitude**</u>		
	<u>% of parents mentioning</u>	<u>% of non-parents mentioning</u>
1. Existing maladministration in district	4.8	7.0
2. Too expensive or uneconomical	34.3	55.4
3. Present buildings desirable or adequate (or adequate with renovation)	26.7	42.1
4. School enrollment declining	3.8	7.0
5. Design too open or impractical or unattractive	21.0	22.9
6. Educationally questionable to have a middle school	10.5	13.1

**As many reasons as each respondent mentioned were included in frequency counts so percentages total over 100.0.

HOMEOWNERS' ATTITUDE TOWARD 1973 PROPOSED SPORTS
COMPLEX

	<u>Parents</u>			<u>Non-parents</u>		
	<u>For</u>	<u>Against</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>For</u>	<u>Against</u>	<u>I</u>
TOTAL SAMPLES:	70.5%	21.0%	8.6%	30.5%	63.8%	5.6%
BY SEX:						
Women	70.4	20.4	9.3	28.7	64.8	6.5
Men	70.6	21.6	7.8	32.4	62.9	4.8
BY WORK STATUS OF MAJOR "BREADWINNER":						
Working full-time	69.7	22.2	8.1	35.9	59.9	4.2
Working part-time	-	-	-	12.5	81.3	6.3
Retired or unemployed	-	-	-	21.8	69.1	9.1
BY YEARLY FAMILY INCOME:						
Under \$15,000	55.6	27.8	16.7	17.4	76.8	5.8
Between \$15-25,000	66.7	23.5	9.8	32.6	61.8	5.6
Above \$25,000	83.3	13.9	2.8	43.6	50.9	5.5
BY RACE AND INCOME:						
White-all incomes	67.3	25.0	7.7	29.6	65.4	5.0
Under \$15,000	42.9	57.1	0.0	14.6	82.9	2.4
Between \$15-25,000	61.1	16.7	22.2	30.4	63.8	5.8
Above \$25,000	89.3	7.1	3.6	40.8	53.1	6.1
Black-all incomes	73.6	17.0	9.4	33.3	59.3	7.4
Under \$15,000	63.6	9.1	27.3	21.4	67.9	10.7
Between \$15-25,000	69.7	27.3	3.0	40.0	55.0	5.0
Above \$25,000	62.5	37.5	0.0	66.7	33.3	0.0
BY NEIGHBORHOOD:						
Orchard-Sky Meadow	84.6	7.7	7.7	41.9	54.8	3.2
Harts.Lawns	71.4	14.3	14.3	21.1	78.9	-
Harts,Manor-Secor	-	-	-	31.6	68.4	-
Woods-W.Harts.-Ridge	100.0	0.0	0.0	23.8	71.4	4.8
Central Ave.(W.&S.)-Colony	66.7	16.7	16.7	40.0	60.0	0.0
Central Ave.(E.)	57.1	42.9	0.0	33.3	50.0	16.7
Greenvale Cir.-Fulton Pk.	-	-	-	0.0	100.0	0.0
O.T.R.-Wyndover	75.0	16.7	8.3	40.9	50.0	9.1
Pkwy.Gdns.-Homes	60.0	30.0	10.0	21.7	73.9	4.3
Hillside-Manhattan	62.5	37.5	0.0	27.8	61.1	11.1
Juniper Hill-Dobbs F.Rd.	75.0	18.8	6.3	44.4	55.6	0.0

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