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What does it take to help an outgroup?

Submitted by Bianca Jansen to the University of Sussex as a thesis for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Psychology, June 2010.

I certify that all material in this thesis which is not my own work has been identified and that no material has previously been submitted and approved for the award of a degree by this or any other University

Signature:

Acknowledgments

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This thesis is dedicated to Tony and Marcia

Abstract

The present thesis has focused on helping behaviour towards disadvantaged outgroups. Research was done at an intergroup level, and obtained its theoretical foundation from the Social Identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), self-categorization theory (Turner, 1985; Turner et al., 1987) and the empathy-altruism model (Batson, 1987, 1991; Batson et al., 1989; Batson & Shaw, 1991) and focused on the influence of identity content and ingroup norms in investigating outgroup helping.

Experiments were carried out concerning different instances that could affect outgroup helping and were centred around social identity and identity content, accountability, intragroup power and empathy towards the outgroup.

The first two studies focused on the role of particular identities in terms of the Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). In experiment 1 it was found that people regulate their empathy towards beggars by their non-salient religious identity when they are together with others. The presence of others such as friends and partner, who are aware of the participant's religious identity, could possibly evoke accountability concerns, which are then reflected in empathy and prosocial behaviour towards a disadvantaged group. In experiment 2 a salient political identity only led to pro-social behavioural preferences and empathy towards beggars for those with left-wing identities; as opposed to those with a right wing preference. Concluding, the content of ideologically-defined identities (religious, political) served to regulate empathy and pro-social behaviour, but the salience of these identities could play a crucial mediating role in certain contexts. The plausible effect of accountability was further investigated in experiments 3 and 3a. Unfortunately no conclusive results were found.

Experiments 4 and 5 investigated the role of intragroup power on outgroup helping. Results showed that people with high intragroup power either affect the prosocial behaviour of people that are less certain of their political preference compared to people who are certain of their political preference, possibly due to processes in accordance with the social comparison theory (Festinger, 1954) and intragroup differentiation (experiment 4), or were found to be less prosocial towards an outgroup (experiment 5) than people with lower intragroup power.

Finally in experiment 6 and 7, research was directed towards intergroup awareness and empathy. Experiment 6 demonstrated that an outgroup will be perceived with more empathy and prosocial behaviour when awareness of the outgroup is high than when awareness of the outgroup is low. In experiment 7, people high in empathy towards a disadvantaged outgroup were more willing to allocate money to the outgroup than people lower in empathy.

Overall, the results of the experiments in the subsequent chapters led to believe that ingroup identity and content, and ingroup norms are feasible with regard to helping a certain disadvantaged outgroup. These findings fit with the theories of social identity and self categorization, given that feeling and behaving according to ingroup norms is the objective, and suggesting that people each have a variety of different identities, which

become activated in different social contexts. Furthermore inducing empathy towards an outgroup seemed to be an useful tool to promote helping behaviour towards an outgroup.

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General Introduction

If we want to help others is not the question. That question is easily answered by ‘yes’ or ‘no’ or at times ‘maybe’. *Why* we want to help others is more intriguing for researchers. Are we so well off that we can easily spare some money to others? Are we helping others to feel good about ourselves because of our good deed? Is it because we have certain religious obligations or political beliefs that incline us to help or not to help others? When thinking back at the Tsunami disaster that hit South-East Asia in 2004, we can certainly state that people do help others because of the large amount of money donated to help people in the countries that were struck by the tsunami. Furthermore, governments of developed countries spare a percentage of their tax income to assist undeveloped countries.

My interest in helping behaviour comes from my personal experience of witnessing poor people in South East Asia almost dying in the streets. My DPhil gave me the best opportunity to pursue my interest and investigate helping behaviour towards people who come from economically disadvantaged groups.

Helping behaviour means lending a hand to people in need. In every day life we can identify many situations when we (or others we know) have engaged in helping behaviours such as helping a friend in need, giving money to a beggar or helping an elderly person to cross the street. However, helping behaviour is not only an interpersonal-level phenomenon. Internationally, from the United Nations to charities

such as Oxfam and Amnesty International, people are trying to help others who are in a disadvantaged position. For example, the economist Jeffrey Sachs looks into the issue of helping through money. The 'Millennium Villages Project', the brainchild of Sachs (Rich, 2007), is a project in Sauri, an ordinary Kenyan village where poverty, hunger, and illness are facts of everyday life. Sachs' "shock therapy" consists of investing roughly \$100 for each of the village's 5,000 inhabitants every year for five years. Sachs' ultimate aim is to end poverty in Africa. Sachs' helping strategy is to provide financial support to a disadvantaged group. While people, groups or institutions choose to help others in many different ways (e.g., financial, emotional support etc), it is very important to investigate the processes behind these behaviours. What are the psychological processes that occur when people help others? Why and when do people help others? My focus in explaining why people help others is grounded in the social identity approach and the empathy-altruism model which I will describe in Chapter one and two.

My specific interest of study will be intergroup helping. Like Sachs I am interested in helping a disadvantaged group. In Sachs' case the disadvantaged group is Kenyan people. I will focus on disadvantaged groups like for instance beggars and poor children in Africa. Since the people that will help these groups are themselves not beggars or poor children in Africa, they do not belong to these groups. A group you do not belong to is called an outgroup. I will look at helping behaviour towards an outgroup, hence helping at an intergroup level. Furthermore, I focus on an outgroup who needs help, ie. who is in a disadvantaged position relative to the ingroup. The main form of help

I will investigate is financial help, although I will look into emotional support or empathy since it has been found that empathy changes attitudes toward a stigmatized group (Batson et al., 1997)

I believe it is important to further investigate helping behaviour at an intergroup level which is just starting to develop (e.g. Stürmer, Snyder & Omoto, 2005; Nadler & Halabi, 2006). The aim of this project is therefore to discover those specific states and processes at an intragroup and intergroup level that assist intergroup helping. I believe that this is an essential issue if we want to change people's helping behaviour in the future. Although in this thesis helping takes place at an intergroup level, I am interested in intragroup processes. Since it is the ingroup that provides help it will be interesting to investigate processes in the ingroup that could influence outgroup helping.

Studying outgroup helping and the motivations and processes behind this helping behaviour at an intragroup and intergroup level can benefit considerably from the social identity theory (SIT) since SIT is primarily involved in understanding intergroup relations (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Therefore, in the next chapter I will explain my choice of SIT and the social identity approach in general as the theoretical framework for my thesis and I will analyse this approach towards helping behaviour.

Thesis set up

The first and second chapter are intended to set the theoretical outline for the rest of the thesis. In the first chapter I will introduce the social identity approach, which is the main

theoretical background for the thesis. To begin with, the social identity approach will be described, and subsequently the employed theoretical focus of this approach regarding helping at an intergroup level will be addressed. In Chapter 2 models of helping will be analysed. Subsequently, a discussion of both introductory chapters is presented.

Chapter 3 is the first experimental chapter which will focus on different social identities of the ingroup that influence outgroup helping. Then, Chapter 4 will concentrate on the relations between ingroup members regarding the desire to help an outgroup in two experiments. Chapter 5 will focus on the role of intragroup power and the certainty of political preferences as indicators for helping an outgroup, which will be tested in two experiments. In the last experimental chapter (Chapter 6), research will be directed towards intergroup processes, and the implications for intergroup relations towards helping behaviour. As such, the role of awareness of the ingroup for the outgroup, and the manipulation of empathy concerning a disadvantaged outgroup will be investigated. Finally, a general discussion (Chapter 7) will refer back to the results found in all experiments. Further discussion will focus on the limitations of the employed experiments and will provide ideas about future studies and implications of results.

Chapter 1 Introduction Social identity and helping behaviour

This chapter will focus on the social identity approach. More specifically, I will apply the social identity approach to outgroup helping behaviour. This approach has already been investigated in connection with helping behaviour (e.g. Stürmer, Snyder, and Omoto, 2005) and added a constructive line of reasoning. I will further explore how processes of the social identity approach contribute to helping behaviour, specifically at an intergroup level of helping.

Stürmer, Snyder, and Omoto (2005) found that empathy is a stronger predictor for helping ingroup members than outgroup members, whereas attraction for an outgroup member is a stronger predictor for helping the outgroup. Social identity theory (SIT) claims that seeing others as oneself, which is also part of the process of feeling empathy for others makes others not others any more and therefore they are liked and preferred, so it could be proposed that feeling empathy for the outgroup could aid outgroup helping since outgroup members can become ingroup members that are liked and more likely to be helped.

Furthermore, according to SIT it is expected that ingroup members will be helped since these ingroup members are not a threat for the ingroup in comparison to members of the outgroup who can oppose ingroup's identity. Given that the finding by Stürmer et al. (2005) is related to concepts of the social identity theory, it is stated that the social identity approach regarding helping behaviour needs further investigation to better understand the influence of social identity towards intergroup helping. Although Stürmer

et al. (2005) found merely an effect towards ingroup helping explainable by SIT, it would be useful to investigate the possible influence of SIT towards outgroup helping since ingroup and outgroup boundaries are flexible. Therefore, it is argued that helping an outgroup is possible as well because of these flexible group boundaries with which an outgroup can become part of an ingroup. Furthermore, SIT states that when the outgroup is no threat to the ingroup, ingroup members are willing to help the outgroup when asked to. In this chapter the influences of the intergroup context, (salient) ingroup identity, comparison with the outgroup and ingroup distinctiveness towards outgroup helping will be addressed. In addition, social identities might be influenced by ingroup norms and thereby SIT might benefit from considering the influence of ingroup norms, which will be considered at the end of this chapter. I will start with a general overview of group processes, and then the social identity approach (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) towards group processes will be discussed. Next, group processes in general will briefly be discussed to clarify what a group is and what it means to be a member of a group before turning to the the issue of the social identity approach and helping.

Group processes

Brown (2000) defines a group as two or more people with a common social identification, and whose existence as a group is recognized by at least one other. This definition is relevant for the present work since it acknowledges a common social identification or identity. Furthermore, the recognition of the group by at least one other outside the group implies an intergroup relationship, which is also the focus of this thesis.

People in groups may behave very differently from how they behave when they are on their own. When someone identifies himself or herself as a member of a particular group in opposition to another group, the social identity of this person will become more important (Brown, 2000). This process can be judged as a change in people's identity rather than a loss of a part of their identity. Thus, people's social identity as group members becomes more important, and consequently, the significance of their personal identities will decrease. Therefore, people will function psychologically more in line with their social identities instead of their personal identity (Brown, 2000).

Key theoretical background

This section will describe what the social identity approach states about group processes and the role of social identity theory in helping behaviour. The following questions are considered: 1) What does the social identity approach tell us about how people will behave in a group and towards members of other groups? 2) How can the social identity approach explain prosocial behaviour towards ingroup members and towards outgroup members? However I will start with a statement Tajfel made which expressed the idea that group behaviour is shaped by sensitivity towards other people, may that sensitivity be for one's own group or for an outgroup.

Tajfel (1966) noted that psychological aspects in intergroup cooperation are vested in the attitudes and behaviour of individuals who create groups. He says that, "It is my view that one of the essential ingredients of these attitudes and of the behaviour relating to them is to be found in man's capacity to see others as men like himself, however

different they may be from him” (Tajfel, 1966, p.12). So when group members see members of other groups as dissimilar from themselves discrimination can occur, but when one is able to see the members of the other group as somewhat or even quite similar to themselves a positive attitude towards the other group could evolve and therefore cooperation between the groups is possible. Similarity to oneself is one of the dimensions defining the ingroup (or outgroup) identity.

1. What does the social identity approach tell us about how people will behave in a group and towards members of other groups?

1.1 Social Identity: The self as part of a group.

The main assumption of social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and the self-categorization theory (SCT) is that our group memberships plays a major role in our understanding of who we are, of what we are like, and how we are similar to and different from others. SIT and SCT together are called the social identity approach and will be regarded as such in this thesis. The social identity approach is an explicitly group-based approach to intergroup relations and therefore suits the intergroup focus of my thesis.

Tajfel (1978a) notes that intergroup behaviour is made possible by social identity. Our understanding of who and what we are, we will attain for a part from the groups we are members of, and the social system which groups do belong to will determine our behaviour. Therefore it can be said that the individual and the social self are connected through the ideas that constitute the social identity theory. Regarding social identity, Hogg and Abrams (2001) furthermore state that “Social identities define, prescribe, and

evaluate who one is and how one should think, feel, and act, people have a strong desire to establish or maintain the evaluative superiority of their own group over relevant other groups” (p. 69).

Tajfel and colleagues (e.g., Tajfel, 1972a, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner, 1982; also see Hogg & Abrams, 1988) developed social identity theory as an attempt to understand intergroup behaviour. They also wanted to conceptualize the social group in terms of the collective self, and not the individual self. This initiative was framed by the meta-theoretical agenda of burgeoning European social psychology of that time, which described itself as opposed to the overly individualistic, asocial, and reductionist majority largely American, social psychology.

In 1972, Tajfel introduced the term *social identity* to shift from social, mainly intergroup perceptions (i.e. stereotyping and prejudice) to the concept of the self in intergroup contexts; to how a system of social categorizations "creates and defines an individual's *own* place in society" (Tajfel, 1972a, p. 293). He defined social identity as "the individual's knowledge that he belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him of this group membership" (Tajfel, 1972a, p. 292). The social identity approach states that group processes, above all large-scale group processes, cannot be completely understood just by interpersonal processes (e.g. the 'authoritarian personality').

In linking social categorization and social identity, Tajfel focused on social comparison and expanded and adjusted Festinger's (1954) view on social comparison processes (Hogg, 2000; Turner, 1975). As Turner (1975, p. 10) argues, intergroup

behaviour is distinguished by "a process of competition for positive identity". Using different strategies, groups and the members of these groups will defend and enhance the unique characteristics and the social identity of their group during this competition process (Tajfel, 1974; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). To choose the strategy that they prefer, people are directed by their understanding of intergroup relations. These understandings are called social belief structures and people make internalizations that represent these belief systems and ideologies. The relative status of groups, legitimacy of status relations, stability of status relations, and permeability of intergroup boundaries are all representations that are internalized. Because of the permeability of intergroup boundaries there is the possibility of abandoning a group and becoming part of another group. Abandoning a group is a decision that does not need to take place only at a behavioural level, but also at a cognitive and emotional level. The option of leaving a group and becoming member of another group is advanced by the deliberation of positive aspects of becoming a member of that other group. This may not always result in actual change, but the individual can still identify with the other group which, I argue, will cause the comparison between one's own ingroup and the potential other group to be less strongly positively biased towards one's own group. For this reason one would be inclined to think more positively about the other group. Members of a group that are not content (low identifiers) with their group membership will very likely make this positive comparison between groups compared to members who are identifying more with their ingroup.

The permeability of intergroup boundaries is intriguing since it leaves the

possibility to see the outgroup as not merely a threat to one's own group, since ingroup members could endorse outgroup views without instantly changing group memberships. In this sense, the ingroup could approve of the outgroup which makes intergroup cooperation and helping more feasible. Nevertheless, it is important to take into account the context in which ingroup members become more accepting of outgroup members since cooperation requires a positive or at least accessible intergroup situation.

Therefore, in the next section the importance of the social context towards group identity will be considered. For that matter, Turner (1999) mentions that context, commitment and content are all very important in different ways to social identities, self-categories and stereotypes.

1.2 Context

In a given context the choice of action depends on how plausible the several alternatives are (Tajfel, 1978a; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). For example, members of superior groups try to preserve their ingroup status when it is threatened, whereas members of inferior groups might leave their group in order to seek a better valued group or try to change the inferior status of the whole group. In addition, superior groups could attempt to protect status inequality in the case of a threat against it.

People might also recognize the advantages of some outgroup characteristics, while sustaining their own superiority towards characteristics considered by them as more important. Accordingly, SIT predicts different behaviours to result from both constructive and destructive intergroup comparisons, depending on what is possible and desirable in

various contexts (Ellemers, Wilke and, van Knippenberg, 1993). Thus, processes explained by SIT cause people not just respond to their instincts and motives but let them appraise and translate their social surroundings (Tajfel, 1981). Ingroup bias doesn't mean necessarily doing down the outgroup, for example a monk aspires that his order is the kindest, most religious.

Although I will talk about the role of social identities at a later stage in this chapter I would like to state the point Reicher makes about context here. Reicher (1996) states that “rather than seeing context as something external to and being a predeterminant of human understanding and social identity in particular, we should develop a perspective that acknowledges how context may itself be made of identities and the actions which flow from them” (p. 83). It could be said that social identities at a certain time and place form the context like Reicher notes. Thus, different social identities shape different contexts and so a certain reality in the past could be very different at the present. As said before, social identities are flexible, and since I partly adopt Reicher's view, contexts are flexible as well because people are part of different social groups. I also believe that the social identities people adopt in these groups will form different contexts. Nevertheless, the context will also shape the social identity of a group since it makes the particular group identity salient. This is a point I want to investigate in my research.

1.3 Self-categorization theory (SCT)

The role of social categorization in social identity processes is a cognitive expansion which is elaborated in the self-categorization theory (Turner, 1985; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987; also see Hogg, 2001). The self-categorization theory explains the way groups are defined through prototypes, i.e. multidimensional fuzzy sets of attributes. These sets of attributes describe and prescribe perceptions, thoughts, feelings, and actions of the ingroup and thereby distinguishing it from other groups. The self-categorization theory states that the formation of groups is an adaptive process that will produce socially unitary and collective behaviour.

The self categorization process that SCT acknowledges changes the base of social perception, people being seen in terms of their group membership because of the features that their group category share instead of their individual characteristics. Social categorization of the self, which is termed self-categorization, depersonalizes the perception of the self, and additionally transforms self-conception and adjusts all characteristics of someone's attitudes, feelings, and behaviours to the ingroup prototype. Thus, the individual self is substituted by a collective group membership self (i.e., social identity) and the prototype of that group defines it.

In SCT the concept of prototype is context dependent. If this context therefore sets the stage for the group prototype, ingroup members could also specify the prototype of an outgroup that is perceived by that ingroup since the specific context shapes not only the ingroup prototype but the perceived outgroup prototype as well. So, outgroup prototypes could be similar, dissimilar or partly similar to the ingroup prototype depending on the

social context. When the outgroup prototype is perceived as similar to the ingroup's prototype then ingroup identity threat will occur or ingroup and outgroup members could see themselves as the same group. However, dissimilar and likely partly similar outgroup prototypes could cause an ingroup to behave more positively towards the outgroup because the ingroup identity is less threatened through this dissimilarity then and ingroup members could feel free to help others when asked to.

As mentioned before, self-categorisation theory looks at the cognitive part of social identity, it presumes a social world made up of social forces which are the bases of social identities. Thus, how features of the social context impinge on the salience of a social identity for an individual group member and which social identities will become salient and when is part of SCT.

Salience

In SCT, personal and social identities are definitions of the self at different levels of abstraction. Social identities are part of the identity of group members and at the moment that different social identities become salient (e.g. “Dutch”, “mathematician”, “chef”), these self-categorisations become more inclusive, resulting in the self to be perceived as interchangeable with other ingroup category members. In a particular context, the principles of fit (comparative and normative) and perceiver readiness (or accessibility) together determine category salience (Haslam & Turner, 1992).

The principle of comparative fit is based upon the calculation of the meta-contrast ratio. This ratio means that the social category that becomes salient in a particular context

is the one that, at the same time, maximises inter-category differences and maximises intra-category similarity. Thus, as the intergroup frame of reference is enlarged to include new groups, then the salient social category will change into a higher level of abstraction (Haslam & Turner, 1992). For example, Doosje, Spears, and Koomen (1995) showed that the meta-contrast ratio may order that psychologists will categorise themselves as ‘psychologists’ when in a room with sociologists given within group similarity and between group differences. When physicists enter the room however, the psychologists might re-categorise themselves as ‘social scientists, which is a more abstract self-definition that includes sociologists but excludes physicists. This self-definition might emphasise an evaluation of ‘warm’ social behaviour in opposition to ‘cold’, impersonal processes in which physicists are interested.

The principle of normative fit is defined as the degree to which features of the stimulus persons are perceived to be consistent with stored stereotypes or normative expectations. For example, normative fit of the gender category would be strong when women discuss shoes and men discuss cars.

The principle of perceiver readiness or accessibility involves an important contrast between identification with a category, and the *salience* of that category as well (Haslam & Turner, 1992). Regarding the above example, the categorisation from ‘psychologist’ into ‘social scientist’ will be more likely if the psychologists also identify firmly with the ‘social scientist’ category. Nevertheless, although category members may identify highly with a social category (e.g., social scientist), that category might not be salient since in a particular situation when the comparative context is not meaningful (e.g., when the

physicists are not present). In addition, the comparative context might assist to make a particular category salient even for category members who do not identify highly with the category (e.g., a psychologist who uses Freudian analysis instead of the experimental approach applied by the other social scientists could nevertheless appreciate the category of the social scientists when the physicists arrive). The interaction of these processes mean that social category salience, and therefore intergroup perceptions, are fluid and context-dependent processes (e.g., Haslam & Turner, 1992; Haslam, Turner, Oakes, McGarty, & Hayes, 1992). Furthermore, these processes have two important consequences: firstly, the salience of a social category guides members of a category to perceptually mark inter-category differences significantly and to minimize intra-category differences (Tajfel & Wilkes, 1963). Secondly, the meta-contrast ratio means that prototypicality of a category (i.e., simultaneously maximise intra-category similarity and maximise inter-category differences) shifts depending on the comparative context.

All this said, it becomes more clear that in an intergroup context salience of intra-group categories is opened to changes in contexts. Therefore the possibility of changing the salience of intra-group categories which might influence intergroup behaviour in a positive manner is a reality. For instance, when you and your friends are talking about a university course then the category of university students will very likely be the most salient but when a group of old people enter the full bus where you are sitting then the context changes and the category young opposed to old will be more salient if the issue is relevant and potentially make you think that you should stand up and let the older people take your place. Besides that, a category should fit with the social context to become

salient as well as being accessible to the members, which depends on how important it is to their self. Thus, since category salience depends for one thing on the social context and since this context changes so will the category salience change.

The effect of the salience of a particular social identity or category will be investigated in this thesis since category salience triggers action, in this case outgroup helping. In essence, when a specific situation is categorised in different ways, different behaviours can result from it. For example, South African children could be categorized as black as opposed to white or mixed, which will activate different responses, probably discriminatory behaviour from racists. Whereas the category “white” will probably have less negative behavioural effects.

Concluding from this section, I hypothesize that salience of a certain ingroup identity will trigger the ingroup to outgroup helping in certain cases. I investigate the salience of religious identity, a social identity that should focus on doing good to others which is relevant in most religions and for most religious people although this is disputable (e.g. Jihad) and expect that outgroup helping should be feasible then since religious identity will trigger religious people to do good to others, which means helping their own group but also other groups. Furthermore, I also focus on political identity since in addition to being a social identity it also represents a particular social norm that people choose to stand for. The political identity content, something which I will address in a later stage but which can be briefly defined as the norms defining a certain identity, leads people to state their attitudes concerning their political views or to engage in political behaviour when this social identity is made salient. For example, the political

left is known to be more concerned with collective welfare. At a financial level, differences between people should be minimised and therefore left political voters would be prone to more prosocial behaviour towards others, whoever they may be.

I have already described the comparative fit concept in SCT. In SIT, comparison is also an important factor. Therefore in the next section I describe a process on which social identity is based: comparison (Tajfel, 1981). I should emphasize here again that context is an important part of comparison since different features of the social context will shape these processes.

1.4 Comparison

In addition to knowledge about belonging to a certain group or category, comparison with other groups represents the second important process of social identity. Comparison is the motivational aspect of SIT. When people become part of a group they will do so because that particular group is contributing positively to the way they see themselves. Tajfel (1978b) considers that a process of comparison happens when someone will evaluate his or her own group memberships by comparing them with other groups. The context in which comparison with other groups takes place can change and therefore comparing the own advantaged group with a disadvantaged outgroup as in my research could make ingroup members favour the own group over the outgroup and could trigger the ingroup with feelings of compassion and empathy for the outgroup and result in outgroup helping. This comparison factor in social identity theory is therefore very important to my research since it focuses on one group compared to another, an intergroup process.

To illustrate this process, findings from Tajfel's (1970) minimal group studies showed that, ingroup bias occurred when money was allocated between groups. This process revealed the lack of alternatives to establish intergroup distinctiveness. Tajfel interpreted these results as indicators of a possibility to obtain positive differentiation on dimensions that did not imply intergroup discrimination or prejudice. Members of the ingroup could positively differentiate their ingroup from comparison outgroups. For example, they could mention that the ingroup is more modest and considerate than outgroups, or as Postmes and Spears (1998) observed in their experiment, 'we are nicer to them than they are to us'. In this sense, differentiation is accomplished by relatively *positive* intergroup behaviour (Postmes & Spears, 1998; Reicher et al., 1995). Thus, differentiation between groups does not automatically imply discrimination. Therefore, positive intergroup behaviour is possible and implies change instead of stability between groups.

Furthermore, Tajfel and Turner (1979) hypothesised that members of a group would focus more on group competition and ingroup favouritism to the degree that (a) they *identify* with their group, (b) the *context* that surrounds them makes *comparison* with other groups possible, and (c) the other groups in that *context* are relevant *comparison* groups. Thus it is hypothesised that the more strongly a group member identifies with his or her ingroup (i.e., the more important the group membership is to their self concept) then the more likely the group member will show ingroup favouritism. Yet, ingroup favouritism only happens if the social context will increase the collective self-esteem and

therefore ingroup favouritism is useful for the self-esteem of the group. Social identity theory therefore emphasizes that the occurrence of ingroup favouritism is limited by what kind of position the ingroup has in a stratified social system, as well as how group members perceive that position. However, when the context is not relevant for comparison then it could be that ingroup favouritism does not occur since the ingroup does not feel threatened by the other group. Nonetheless, when the context is relevant for comparison then ingroup favouritism can occur because of the same process of threat to ingroup boundaries. So the perception of the surrounding social system is very important in how an ingroup behaves towards an outgroup.

Taking into account these perceptions of the surrounding social context, social identity theory argues that social (group) competition and intergroup conflict will occur only under a quite limited set of conditions. So could it be the case that, in other instances, positive intergroup behaviour, such as helping, can occur or that, at least, groups can have a 'neutral' relationship? I argue that, for intergroup helping to occur, specific contextual conditions are needed and it is these that I would like to investigate in this thesis. In the next section, I will show how the social identity approach explains intergroup behaviour by focussing on the processes of intergroup distinctiveness. Furthermore, the issue of normative content of social identity which also offers an explanation why people help will be described further on in this chapter.

1.5 Social identity and intergroup relations

The social identity approach has had a profound influence on intergroup relations research. For instance, research by Jetten & Spears (2004), Jetten, Spears, and Postmes (2004), and Spears, Jetten, and Scheepers (2002) has explained how the need for meaningful and distinct social identities by group members can cause entirely different forms of intergroup behaviour which is determined by how secure their distinctive social identity is. Although the distinctiveness of ingroup identity may not be defined through comparison with an outgroup, differentiation by ingroup members will be a purpose to achieve and/or maintain a positively distinct identity (Tajfel, 1974).

Firstly, ingroup identity may not be distinct at the stage of group formation, which reflects the absence of previous opportunities to create meaningful differences between ingroup and outgroup. Under these circumstances, group members get involved in processes of *creative* distinctiveness. This means that people will attempt to give their ingroup meaning and distinctiveness through social comparison with the outgroup on available dimensions, like ingroup bias on allocation matrices. The described process is argued to be the reason for the classic minimal group study findings (e.g., Tajfel et al., 1971). These findings showed that ingroup bias emerged when group members used the allocation matrices in order to create a positively distinct identity in comparison with the outgroup. Thus when ingroup distinctiveness is absent this distinctiveness needs to be accomplished through ingroup bias, but when ingroup distinctiveness is present, group members do have a sense of distinctiveness which gives them no reason to engage in ingroup bias.

The second form of distinctiveness is *reactive* distinctiveness, which is the need to differentiate because of a threat to the distinctiveness of an existing identity (Spears et al., 2002). Through a perceived similarity of ingroup and outgroup norms the ingroup identity can be threatened, and a threat to the ingroup identity can be established through perceived similarity and even an overlap between the ingroup and an outgroup on an important dimension to ingroup identity (Jetten et al., 1996, 1997, 1999, 2001). For example, Jetten et al. (1996, Study 2) found that manipulating norms of pre-existing social groups in order to establish similarity among ingroup and outgroup norms (indistinct), established more discrimination and differentiation than when the norms of the ingroup and outgroup were dissimilar (distinct). Furthermore, Jetten et al. (1997, 2001) found that a threat to distinctiveness led to increased intergroup differentiation. This increase in intergroup differentiation was larger for ingroup members who identified highly with the ingroup (Jetten et al., 2001) and members who were more prototypical of the ingroup (Jetten et al., 1997).

However, ingroup identity could actually be secure and the ingroup and comparison outgroups would clearly be distinct from each other on significant dimensions of comparison. Spears et al. (2002) call the differentiation and ingroup bias that occur in these circumstances *reflective* distinctiveness. Reflective differentiation could be separated into reflecting real intergroup differences (almost free of motivation), and reflecting instrumental group needs and goals, which is a motivational process.

This more instrumental process relates to the goals, which a social identity may be aimed at (Scheepers, Spears, Doosje, & Manstead, 2002, 2003; Spears et al., 2001; Spears

et al., 2002; Spears et al., 2004). It seems that creative and reactive distinctiveness processes are aimed towards the confirmation and maintenance of a social identity as a goal in itself. Instrumental motivations that are beneath reflective distinctiveness show social identity as a means to an end, for example, the foundation from which to challenge intergroup status differences by groups with low status (Spears et al., 2001; Reicher, 2004; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Thus, intergroup differentiation is context specific and therefore the context will make ingroup members rely on very specific elements in their ingroup identity for intergroup differentiation to occur and secure their ingroup boundaries. One of these specific elements is, as mentioned by Jetten et al. (1996) are ingroup norms.

Up to now, I have presented social identity theory and self-categorisation theory towards general principles of group behaviour, which should be relevant to a broad range of settings. Yet, the social identity approach, and especially SCT, also concentrates strongly on the differences between groups, and the consequences that these differences have for behaviour (e.g., Brown, Hinkle, Ely, Fox-Cardamone, Maras, & Taylor, 1992). In Tajfel's (1978a) tradition "differences" between groups are the subjective aspects of group membership that are essential. In particular, norms, values and history give subjective meaning to the membership of a group. Thus, besides the issue of identity salience, context, categorisation and comparison in (inter)group behaviour, the content of the social identity of a group is another important aspect regarding intergroup relations.

Social identity theory does not say much about the importance of group norms and values. Self-categorization theory (Turner, 1985; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, &

Wetherell, 1987) give more attention to the different ways in which social identities can be defined. The normative fit principle that I described before controls the salience of a category, and also commands the specific norms, values, characteristics and behaviours that differentiate the ingroup category from a comparison category. Research by Doosje, Haslam, Spears, Oakes & Koomen (1998) showed that “we” (e.g. psychologists) are not only different from “them” (e.g. physicists), “we” are different in specific, meaningful ways (e.g., more sociable). Salience of a category also makes a self-stereotyping process possible by which members of that category take on the norms and values that are part of that category. Because of this process some forms of behaviour are prescribed as a result, and these behaviours are then consistent with the norms of the category (Brown & Turner, 2002; Reynolds, Turner, & Haslam, 2000).

It seems that to understand intergroup relations we need to value the differences between groups, together with general processes that underlie group life *per se* (Brown et al., 1992). Thus, intergroup behaviour is driven not only by categorisation, but also by the specific meaning that categories of both ingroup and outgroup have for their members.

The present section has outlined that the social identity approach gives meaning to different intra- and intergroup behaviours like distinctiveness, but lacks for a large part the meaning or content that shapes the behaviour for the group members themselves, their ingroup norms and identity content. Thus the aim of the next section is to show that norms and identity content should have a more prominent role in today's social identity research in understanding intergroup behaviour as already pointed out by Jetten et al.

(1996) and Livingstone (2006). In line with the theoretical approach of the present thesis, the norms and identity content will be defined within the social identity approach.

1.6 Ingroup norms and identity content

The first issue is that of the definition of identity content and norms. It is not easy to find a working conceptualisation of norms, although it has been employed frequently within and also beyond social psychology. In sociology several classic definitions exist. All of these definitions put a different emphasis on the essential characteristics of a norm. In this thesis the concept of norm will be defined using the social identity approach. Research using the social identity framework considers the concept of 'norm' as 'social pressure' or 'prescriptive rule'. A norm prescribes what must be done. However, the social identity approach puts emphasis on the motivation of the prescriptive concept, thus the motivation behind the prescription of norms.

As outlined before social identities or categories become important parts of the self-concept when they are internalised by group members (Turner, 1982). These identities become salient guides for behaviour as they become salient. For example, during the process of self-stereotyping, the norms and values associated with the group are applied to him or herself by the group member (Turner et al., 1987). It results then that central to the concept of obligation that defines the norm is the *internalisation* of the norm rather than the influence of external sanctions (positive or negative) that are often used to explain the notion of obligation. Thus the working definition of 'norm' in this thesis will be that of a set of attitudes and/or behaviours, which are prescribed by an individual's social identity. When looking at the principles of comparative and normative

fit in SCT, the norms that are relevant in a given situation are contextually defined (Turner et al., 1987). Therefore norms vary when the social context changes. Since we defined that social identities prescribe norms, then also the need to adhere to group norms will depend on someone's *identification* with the group. This identification means that someone feels like a member of the group, is committed to, and affectively evaluates his or her group. Furthermore, the *salience* of group identity also plays a part in how group norms are construed since salience indicates how relevant a social identity is in a given context. Sanctions also have implications when group members stick to a group norm. Group members will expect to receive sanctions when they do not support the group norm and will also sanction other group members when they do not adhere to the group norm (Turner et al., 1987). Thus, ingroup norms specifically apply to ingroup members.

Although Livingstone (2006) argues that the pressure to stick to ingroup norms comes as much (if not more) from the internalisation of the norms that group members have as it comes from external pressures, one does not need an external audience to feel compelled toward or away from a particular behaviour, I believe that group salience and therefore norm salience is an important player in this process, since salience of group identities makes group identity part of the identity of its group members and then they live by this group identity. Group norms are part of group identity, salience of group identity therefore makes group norms salient as well.

Although the ingroup norm can be made salient by the specific context, an ingroup member can put more emphasis to the ingroup norms, especially when this ingroup member is a significant member, someone who has power in the ingroup and

someone other ingroup members would take notice of. Therefore, I will investigate the process of ingroup accountability towards outgroup helping. The concept of accountability refers to group members feeling obligated to behave like they should, in this case adhering to the ingroup norm, since they feel accounted by their fellow group members. When accountability comes into play behavioural reactions towards in- and outgroup members could change. For example, when the ingroup norm is to be nice to other people and one of your ingroup members is in the same room as you are, you are more willing to be nice to someone (who is not part of your group) who spills coffee on the new carpet. As Reicher, Spears, and Postmes (1995) state, there are important issues of *audience*, *accountability* and *power* when considering ingroup norms. In the case of sanctions that are given to and received from other ingroup members these issues are implicit. However, the importance that groups place on how ingroup norms are expressed and supported, the issues of accountability, audience and power will then come into play and place importance on the ingroup norms. The authors also note that it is in someone's own power to behave as ingroup norms prescribe.

Until now the roles of norms and identity content have received more research attention in situations of intragroup behaviour than intergroup behaviour. Experimental studies by Jetten, Spears and Manstead (1997) showed the importance of norms for understanding intergroup behaviour. The authors investigated if the association between ingroup identification and ingroup bias between group members could have been moderated by the norms of that group. Jetten et al. (1997) implied that although higher identification may raise the necessity for positive distinctiveness, group members should

also increase their support towards group norms.

The social identity approach suggested, as mentioned before, that the impact of norms would depend on the extent to which group members would identify with their group and how context would shape the salience of their group identity. Several studies showed that identification with the group moderates the predictive value of norms like Jetten et al.'s experiments (1997), but specific situations have also been found to have a moderating effect (e.g., DeRidder & Tripathi, 1992; Sherif, 1936). Sherif (1936) conceptualised norms to have relevance in specific frames of reference only. For that matter, Postmes, Spears, and Lea (2000) found that when ingroup norms were developed in computer-mediated communication spheres these norms only influenced behaviour in computer-mediated communication contexts that were similar to these, and not in other contexts.

To summarize, norms and identity content play an important role in intragroup as well as intergroup behaviour. Foremost, the question is whether the social context will influence normative behaviour, either at an intragroup or intergroup level.

Next, I will summarize how the social identity approach explains prosocial behaviour towards ingroup members and towards outgroup members. As mentioned, SIT considers belonging to a certain group an aspect of social identity, and SCT a certain category. How people seek certain group memberships that will add positively to their self-image is done by comparing their own groups with other groups (Tajfel, 1978b). This will happen in a specific context, which is influenced by these social identities or

categories and, in turn, a particular context could affect these social identities or categories. In addition, ingroup norms could influence the way people behave in their own group and towards other groups. So how do these interrelated concepts explain intergroup helping behaviour?

2. How does the social identity approach explain prosocial behaviour towards ingroup members and towards outgroup members?

One of the questions that preoccupied me while doing my doctoral research was why people give money to charities to help poor people and to single-time causes, like people hit by the Tsunami in Asia, which are not close to us geographically and therefore could be seen as outgroups, or are they seen as ingroup members because they share the same human conditions, in this case enduring hard times? In the present thesis I have focused on the social identity theory, given that this theory can account, in my view, for most research questions that arise at an intragroup and intergroup level such as the effects of the salience of social identities and the societal context that affects them. Nevertheless, will merely (salient) social identities affect prosocial behaviour towards disadvantaged groups, or is a more complex model with different factors like context and ingroup norms more likely?

2.1 Helping the ingroup

According to the social identity theory, helping ingroup members is a matter of helping someone who is inside the ingroup boundaries and therefore receives ingroup preference.

Helping an ingroup member is good for the ingroup since it keeps the ingroup healthy, all members are in good spirit and the ingroup identity and ingroup boundaries are not endangered.

Deriving from the social identity theory and self-categorization theory, intragroup behaviour is more likely to be positive since ingroup members want to maintain their collective self-esteem. Prosocial behaviour towards other members of their group will most easily maintain a good group atmosphere and therefore the individual members will feel well about the group and keep their self-esteem.

2.2 Helping the outgroup

Considering intergroup helping, the social identity approach states that the outgroup is more likely to be perceived by the ingroup as strange and therefore not considered as an ingroup preference. Furthermore the outgroup could pose a threat to ingroup boundaries. In line with this argument, one could argue that intergroup helping is less likely to occur. However, a positive intergroup context, for example the ingroup is rich and the outgroup does need help, could aid prosocial behaviour towards the outgroup. When for example ingroup identity is liberal (left-wing), ingroup members are prone to help others, also outside their own group.

Next, salience of an ingroup identity which has as its norm doing good to others, as is the case for some kinds of religious identity, contributes to the perception of an outgroup in need as a means for the expression of the norm. In the case of a political identity, it could be stated that the salience of this identity content would lead people to

engage in intergroup prosocial behaviour when their political views are more left-wing than right-wing.

Furthermore, distinctiveness of ingroup identity makes outgroup helping possible when the outgroup is far from the positive state (for example, less powerful or less resourceful) the ingroup is, as is the case with a financially secure ingroup and a poor outgroup. In that case, the ingroup will be more willing to behave prosocial towards an outgroup since their own group distinctiveness is not at stake.

Ingroup norms could have a profound influence on intergroup helping. As such, an ingroup norm that for example states to 'help others if you can' will make ingroup members stay true to their group identity *and* help the outgroup.

Therefore, predictions of my research are:

Hypothesis 1: A *salient* social identity causes people to behave more prosocially towards a disadvantaged outgroup than when their social identity is not salient, but only when that identity content includes altruism as a prominent norm.

more specifically:

Hypothesis 1a: Religious participants whose religion has been made salient would help the outgroup more compared to religious people whose religious identity is not made salient and non-religious people. It is presumed that religious identity involves altruism.

Hypothesis 1b: A salient political identity would make people more prone to outgroup helping when their political views are congruent with helping behaviour (i.e. political left) compared to people whose political identity is not made salient and those whose

political views are not congruent with helping behaviour (i.e. political right).

Hypothesis 2: Ingroup members with an altruism norm expecting to be judged by a significant ingroup member which will make *ingroup norms* of outgroup helping salient would be more likely to engage in outgroup helping than people who are not observed by others.

To conclude

It is proposed that social identities are flexible and our identity will be shaped by context. An interplay of social identities, ingroup norms and social contexts shape us and the contexts we live in. Since context is a very broad concept a part of the thesis will focus on different contexts in which an ingroup and outgroup ‘meet’ each other. Furthermore, context in the sense of entangling groups out of their present or familiar context will be expected to have an influence on the prosocial behaviour of the ingroup towards the outgroup. For example, group members need to envision themselves to be in a particular intergroup context, they are in an advantaged group and another group is disadvantaged because they did not go to school for example. Prosocial behaviour of the participants towards the outgroup will then be measured.

Employing the social identity approach in my research and investigating the enhancement of prosocial behaviour towards outgroups is the aim of my thesis. If one identifies with and understands the situation of an outgroup, through such feelings and motives as empathy, one could perceive an outgroup more positively and help this group.

This brings me to conclude this chapter and proceed to the next chapter in which I will discuss the the prosocial behaviour literature, in which empathy plays an important role.

Chapter 2 Helping behaviour

After introducing the theoretical framework of the thesis in the first chapter, I will now proceed to introduce the focus of this thesis: helping behaviour or otherwise called prosocial behaviour. In the first section of this chapter prosocial behaviour will be illustrated. The following section will discuss some key points in the prosocial intergroup behaviour literature. Finally, I will conclude the two introductory chapters by stating the hypotheses which will be investigated empirically in this thesis.

Prosocial behaviour

Inequality is increasing around the world while the world appears to globalize. Even the wealthiest nation has the largest gap between rich and poor compared to other developed nations. In many cases, international politics and various interests have led to a diversion of available resources from domestic needs to western markets. Historically, politics and power play by the elite leaders and rulers have increased poverty and dependency. These have often manifested themselves in wars, hot and cold, which have often been trade and resource-related. Mercantilist practices, while presented as free trade, still happen today. Poverty is therefore not just an economic issue, it is also an issue of political economics ([Poverty Around The World](#), 2007).

The UN produced the Millennium Development Goals, which range from halving extreme poverty to halting the spread of HIV/AIDS and providing universal primary education, all by the target date of 2015.

We will have time to reach the Millennium Development Goals – worldwide and in most, or even all, individual countries – but only if we break with business as usual. We cannot win overnight. Success will require sustained action across the entire decade between now and the deadline. It takes time to train the teachers, nurses and engineers; to build the roads, schools and hospitals; to grow the small and large businesses able to create the jobs and income needed. So we must start now. And we must more than double global development assistance over the next few years. Nothing less will help to achieve the Goals. *United Nations Secretary-General, 2007*

(UN, 2007).

It becomes apparent from the above statements that some people and institutions see the need, and have the will, to change inequality in the world. Inequality could be changed by advantaged groups helping disadvantaged groups. To obtain a better understanding of how this can be achieved in practice, a clearer picture is needed about how helping behaviour works, thus also filling existing gaps of knowledge in the helping behaviour literature. Furthermore, given the difficulty and, sometimes even the impossibility of influencing people in this world to stop treating each other negatively, I believe that science has a responsibility to investigate and understand the processes taking place underneath certain established behaviours and attitudes. This thesis will hopefully take another step towards understanding helping behaviour, specifically towards disadvantaged groups.

I will start by giving definitions of helping behaviour or prosocial behaviour, and altruism. Traditionally, theologians and philosophers defined altruism as behaviour that is intended to help others, without an expectation of external reward or self-reward (Batson, 1991). The definition of prosocial behaviour is the intention to help others, and altruism is pro-social behaviour that is costly to the supplier without an expectation of an external or self reward, and which is carried out voluntarily (Batson, 1991).

2.1 At present, what is known about prosocial behaviour?

Prosocial behaviour as an inborn tendency is claimed by some theorists to be the natural selection of the preference of transmitting genes that make an organism behave prosocially towards other members of its species. Darwin (1872) hypothesized in his *Descent of Man*: “As a man is a social animal it is almost certain that he would form an inherited tendency to be willing to defend, in concert with others, his fellow man; and be ready to aid them in any way which did not too greatly interfere with his own strong desires (page 67).” The natural selection argument states prosocial behaviour is inherited and therefore we not have to think about or learn this behaviour, it is part of our being for survival. However, this argument does not include the social system or culture we live in that can also provide us with norms and rules about prosocial behaviour.

However, prosocial behaviour is known to be influenced by norms. The norm of reciprocity entails that people help those others who helped them in the past (Gouldner, 1960). Further, the norm of social responsibility requires that people should help others who might need help (apart from whether the given help might reciprocate in the future) (Berkowitz, 1972). Lastly, the norm of equity indicates that justice should serve as a condition for the way we deal with others. Group norms that are a part of a certain social group could also have an impact on helping. I will return to group norms when I describe the studies done by Nadler and Halabi (2006). Both the natural selection argument and norms that influence prosocial behaviour do not mention the feeling of empathy for others. However, helping others is argued to be

facilitated by empathy for others by Batson (e.g., 1997). In the next section I will discuss research carried out on helping behaviour that focuses on feeling empathy for others.

The experiments by Batson (e.g., 1989) suggest that *empathy* for others will institute prosocial behaviour. Empathy is the feeling elicited by another person, whose emotional state is congruent with the perceiver's emotional state, or the ability to notice exactly what another person is feeling, and to perceive things from the other person's perspective. Batson and his colleagues mean by empathy an other orientated emotional response similar to another's perceived welfare. When the other is distressed or in need feelings including sympathy, compassion, tenderness, and so on, are empathetic feelings (Batson, 1991). Empathy has been investigated in a lot of empirical research in social, personality, and developmental psychology and is described as an emotional reaction that includes feelings of compassion, concern, and tenderness, (e.g. Batson, 1991).

Some researchers have assumed that empathy is a product of group, or at least subgroup, identity. For example, Turner (1987) stated that the depersonalization of self-interest that occurs with group identity leads to "mutual perception by ingroup members of their interests as interchangeable" (p. 65) and that this interchangeability underlies empathic altruism. If Turner is right, then inducing empathy for another individual who is defined as a fellow group member in a social dilemma, such as keeping your money or donate it to the group cause, should reduce allocation to the personal self rather than reducing allocation to the group as a whole, it might even increase allocation to the

group. For that reason, donating personal money for the group interest (i.e. empathic behaviour) could be aided. In a way Turner questions the individualism implicit in the usual definition of altruism, within the group there is no other. At the group level, however a privileged group might give to a less privileged group. For example when the ingroups' political identity is left-wing, ingroup members have a norm to help others, also outside their own group

Empathy-altruism research bases its assumptions on the idea that empathy does not involve a reduction of the differentiation between the self and others. Thus someone feels for the other as another person, the self of the person is not extended, or empathy is felt because of a group identity (e.g. Batson, 1991; Batson & Shaw, 1991). Research has shown that people who are aroused with empathy observe a difference between the needs of themselves and the needs of the person for whom they feel empathy (Batson, 1991). Furthermore, the feeling of empathy is person and need specific (Dovidio, Allen, & Schroeder, 1990). The empathy-altruism research assumes that empathy does not result from group identity. In contrast, the aim of this thesis is to investigate the roles of group empathy and social identity in increasing outgroup helping, thereby linking the social identity approach and the feeling of empathy in explaining intergroup helping behaviour. Research by Stürmer et al. (2005), which I will describe further on in this chapter and mentioned in the first chapter, already showed that empathy and social identity theory can be linked together when it comes to helping behaviour.

2.2 *When do people help?*

Not only are some people more likely to help than others, but some people in need are more likely to be helped. The factors that influence who gets help are: physical attractiveness, perceived similarity between the requester and the helper, and degree of apparent need (e.g. Nadler, Shapira & Ben-Itzhak, 1982)

Batson (1991) suggested that to understand prosocial behaviour one had to observe the issue of motivation. Definitions of helping motivation have changed over the years, but motivation as a hypothetical concept that clarifies the focus, amplitude, and perseverance of behaviour is generally described in these definitions (Kleinginna & Kleinginna, 1981). People in a motivational state which has the aim to improve the welfare of others should help others more than people in a motivational state which has the aim of improving his or her own welfare. Thus, discovering the causes of differences in motivation, proximal as well as ultimate, is an important issue (Graziano, Jensen-Campbell, & Finch, 1997; Preston & de Waal, 2002).

Some authors state that a person-situation interaction approach will produce the most complete description of the ways in which motivations, disposition, and situations combine to influence prosocial behaviour. However, detecting differences in prosocial motivation is made more difficult because of the validity problems of self-report measures such as the self-awareness of motives (Ainslie, 2001; Graziano & Tobin, 2002). In a person-situation analysis, self-reports of prosocial motivation would be obtained and expressed in a different way because of the manipulated context that surrounds the person. In some contexts, for some persons, self-centred egoist motives

may be dominant and hence hinder prosocial responses, while for other people self-centred motives are suppressed so that these people experience other-oriented empathic feelings which aid helping behaviour (Batson, 1991; Tobin and Sprague, 2000). For example, when noticing a person that is drowning some people will look on, or walk on and do not act prosocially since they might be afraid to jump in the water and possibly drown themselves while other people will jump after the drowning person since they feel that the only right thing would be to rescue the person.

As I mentioned in Chapter 1, context is very important in shaping a certain social identity and, in return, a group's social identity will influence context. Following from this, I argue that context could play an important role in the way it interacts with prosocial behaviour and its antecedents. Furthermore, in this project, the motivation to help in a particular situation is grounded in the ideas of the social identity approach and the concept of feeling empathy for others in need, which will be discussed later on in this chapter. As an example, the study by Shepperd (2001) shows the importance of context in prosocial behaviour.

Shepperd (2001) looked at two different contexts in which helping could occur. He states that the wish to help can have a powerful influence on behaviour, and can lead to greater helping in diverse settings. Shepperd looked at the desire of people to help in two naturally occurring community traumas. One study suggested that the wish to help led to input in settings in which people normally loiter. Specifically, participants exerted greater effort when they thought their contributions would help soldiers fighting in the Persian Gulf War than when their contribution was for a good

cause without specific information. The second study showed that donations to a public radio fund in Boston drive were made directly following an earthquake in California. Paradoxically, donations to the radio station increased, albeit the station was in Boston and the earthquake sufferers in California would not benefit from these. These studies showed that people help when they are really motivated to help. When they heard there was an earthquake, they immediately started to donate to a fund. It seems that people's altruism was set to act since they did not gain from helping, they helped soldiers in the Gulf war and earthquake victims in a state they did not live in. This altruistic behaviour brings me to the debate of the bystander problem regarding altruism.

2.3 Analytical description of helping literature

An amount of the research on altruism has focused on the bystander problem: the reluctance of people to offer a hand in emergencies when other people or bystanders are present. When there is ambiguity about whether there is in fact an emergency, then the bystander effect will arise (Darley & Latané, 1968; Piliavin, Rodin & Piliavin 1969). As people note that others do not react, they are inclined to misread the situation and presume that there is no actual emergency. However, when it is obvious that the situation is an emergency, bystanders' presence does not reduce the tendency to intervene. The kind of help people offer depends on how the rewards and costs entailed in several alternative actions will be perceived. An example of bystander intervention is shown in the (in)famous situation of the murder of Kitty Genovese.

The circumstance sadly pointed out that, even after 35 minutes of screaming, the neighbours in her street did not intervene or call the police (Rosenthal, 1964).

However, Manning, Levine and Collins (2007) suggest that the inactivity of the witnesses during the murder of Kitty Genovese is not held up by the available evidence. Archive material did not demonstrate evidence for the presence of 38 witnesses. Neither was it found that witnesses watched the murder, or that the witnesses stayed inactive. The authors state that the telling of the modern fable 'Kitty Genovese' limits the investigation range into emergency helping. Thus, the Manning et al. study showed that the key example of the bystander effect was mythologized. In reality witnesses were active to help out and they did not look on while the murder took place. Although old evidence about Kitty Genovese's murder made us believe that 'the bystander effect' does exist, and that when an emergency takes place people are not helping, now this 'effect' makes investigating emergency helping more difficult since it is still believed that 'the bystander effect' takes place. Thus, investigators should take Manning et al. study into account in their research on helping behaviour.

Based on early bystander research (the original sources of which have been questioned) a number of researchers have suggested the variables and motivations that matter in explaining why people help, or do not help others in need (in public): although it muddles up the issue of 'public helping' with helping per se, these models of helping behaviour are:

Latane's model of diffusion of responsibility. When there is ambiguity about whether there is in fact an emergency, then the bystander effect will arise (Darley & Latané,

1968). The Piliavin model (Piliavin, Rodin & Piliavin 1969) is an arousal reduction model or cost–reward model, (Dovidio, Piliavin, Gaertner, Schroeder, and Clark, 1991), helping or not helping is a function of emotional arousal and an analysis of costs and rewards. Batson's empathy-altruism model (Batson, 1987, 1991; Batson et al., 1989; Batson & Shaw, 1991) as I described before assumes that empathy does not result from group identity but empathy exists because of altruism. Lastly, the Levine model is an approach to bystander behaviour that is also influenced by social identity theory (Levine, 1999; Levine, Cassidy, Brazier, & Reicher, 2002; Levine, Prosser, Evans, & Reicher, 2005). The authors argue that bystanders are more likely to intervene when victims are part of the same category (Levine et al., 2002, 2005). Furthermore, by relating bystander behaviour to SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) bystanders will be influenced by others to the extent that other bystanders are perceived as ingroup members rather than outgroup members (Levine et al., 2002).

Three key articles in the helping literature will be analysed and criticised in the light of the way the authors view the literature on helping behaviour, how they made a choice of a particular strand of hypotheses to investigate, and how they researched helping behaviour. Hereby a clearer understanding of the scientific frame and experimental direction of the present project will be given. The articles of Batson, Polycarpou, Harmon-Jones, Imhoff, Mitchener, Bednar, Klein, and Highberger (1997), Stürmer, Snyder and Omoto (2005), and Nadler and Halabi (2006) are very important since the authors focus on a specific issue or research line towards helping behaviour

which gives new knowledge about the field of prosocial behaviour.

The articles by Batson et al. (1997), and Stürmer et al. (2005) both investigate empathy towards helping behaviour and do that by the empathy-altruism model (Batson, 1987, 1991; Batson et al., 1989; Batson & Shaw, 1991), they do not see helping as a negative state relief like Cialdini et al. (1987). Stürmer et al. (2005) use the empathy-altruism model (Batson, 1987, 1991; Batson et al., 1989; Batson & Shaw, 1991) and connect this with social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) to investigate helping behaviour. Lastly, Nadler and Halabi (2006) investigate helping behaviour based on social identity theory and add the issue of norms.

The articles by Stürmer et al. (2005) and Nadler and Halabi (2006) are investigating helping behaviour focusing on social identity theory in which my research is also grounded. It is important to investigate how they have done their research by taking in account the social identity theory and see where my research will add to or criticises their research.

Batson, Polycarpou, Harmon-Jones, Imhoff, Mitchener, Bednar, Klein, and Highberger (1997) sought to improve attitudes toward a stigmatized group, for instance a racial or cultural minority or people with some social stigma or disability. They investigated this empirically by evoking empathy in people for one or a few members of the stigmatized group thereby applying the empathy-altruism model (Batson, 1981). Batson and colleagues define empathy as an other-orientated emotional response similar to another's perceived welfare. Batson et al. asked

themselves the question whether or not feeling empathetic for a stigmatized group member makes us also feel more positively towards the whole group. What they found in three experiments was that induced to feel empathy for a member of a stigmatized group does improve attitudes toward the group as a whole. Thus it seemed that the empathy-altruism model worked not just to feel empathy for one member of a group but extended to feel empathy for the whole group.

In Experiments 1 and 2, inducing empathy for a young woman with AIDS or a homeless man led to more positive attitudes towards these specific targets. Batson and his colleagues try to improve attitudes toward a stigmatized group, for instance a racial or cultural minority or people with some social stigma or disability. They investigated this empirically by evoking empathy in people for one or a few members of the stigmatized group.

Social psychologists who wanted to improve the attitudes towards stigmatized groups have concentrated on the pros and cons of offering positive, stereotype-inconsistent information (e.g., Brewer, 1988) or on the pros and cons of personal contact with the members of the stigmatized group (e.g., Brewer & Miller, 1984; Cook, 1985; Wilder, 1978; Wilder & Shapiro, 1989). Attitudes towards stigmatized groups are very hard to change. People could place a member of a stigmatized group in a subgroup or category when we get information about this member that is positive and stereotype-inconsistent. This cognitive process will then treat this member as an exception, and therefore the attitude towards the group as a whole is not changed (e.g., Brewer, 1988). Furthermore, when motivated to have a more positive attitude towards

a stigmatized group, people might display prosocial behaviour towards this stigmatized group, yet this prosocial behaviour could be costly and could also have implications for the helpers' own advantaged position (Levine & Campbell, 1972).

However, Batson and colleagues believed that inducing empathy can work since empathy can be induced in low-cost, low-risk situations, such as when we sit in our living room and see dying children in Ethiopia on television. Batson proposed a three-step model of improving attitudes towards a stigmatized group by inducing empathic feelings. Firstly, one adopts the perspective of a member of a stigmatized group, which should increase feelings of empathy towards this individual. Then, these empathic feelings will lead to a perception that the value of this individual's welfare should be increased. Lastly, since it is assumed that the individual's group membership is salient, the increase in value should be generalized to the group as a whole, which will increase positive beliefs, positive feelings towards, and concern for the whole group.

However, Batson also doubts the effectiveness of inducing empathy for a member of a group with the aim to improve attitudes towards stigmatized groups since empathy is typically felt for an individual and not for groups (Batson, 1991; Batson, et al., 1995). It could be the case, that person-specific cognitive information about one member of a stigmatized group, may only lead to empathy for subcategorization or that one person (e.g. Brewer, 1988; Rothbart & John, 1985). Thus, this particular individual may be treated as a special case and the feelings towards the whole group might not change or become even more negative. Therefore Batson et al. (1997)

highlight the need of the group membership to be salient to evoke empathy for the whole group.

Furthermore, there is the likelihood of personal threat by feeling empathy for a member of a stigmatized group because of the salience of one's own vulnerability to become like the member of the stigmatized group. When one feels this vulnerability one could distance him or herself from the individual and the stigmatized group at a psychological level. Because of this it is possible that attitudes towards a stigmatized group do not improve or stay negative when it is attempted to induce empathy towards a stigmatized group. However the results of Batson et al.'s experiments showed that indeed inducing empathy for one member of the stigmatized outgroup improved attitudes towards that group. The possible limits of the positive effect that empathy has on attitudes towards a stigmatized group were tested by inducing empathy towards a convicted murder. Convicted murderers are a highly stigmatized group. The authors measured attitudes towards this group immediately and one to two weeks later. While attitudes toward murderers were improved only slightly when measured immediately, attitudes were improved strongly when measured one to two weeks later.

The main issue I want to consider concerning Batson et al.'s results is that Batson et al. (1997) has shown empathy in intergroup contexts but did not investigate empathy as a normative process (i.e. to do with identity content). Furthermore, whether feeling empathy not only improves attitudes to the stigmatized outgroup but also leads people to help the stigmatized group Batson et al. (1997) did not test for.

Batson et al. (1997) looked at attitudes that are cognitive constructs towards an emotional issue in this instance. Since Batson is mainly interested in changing attitudes it is not known if empathy is also aiding prosocial behaviour for a whole group. I agree with and will implement the empathy-altruism model also in my thesis. The empathy-altruism model works for one group member and is able to extend to feeling empathy for a whole group, thereby changing attitudes about the stigmatized. If the empathy-altruism model also makes people behave more prosocial to an outgroup when empathy for the whole group is induced I would like to investigate.

Batson et al. (1997) take the step to investigate improving attitudes by focusing on the empathetic feelings towards a member of an outgroup and extend this empathetic feeling to all members of the outgroup: from individual empathy towards group empathy. In this sense, Batson et al.'s research has moved from an interpersonal towards an intergroup level. However, they did not investigate empathy as a normative process (i.e. to do with identity content). My aim is to continue looking at the intergroup context but also focus on the identity content and I will investigate the behavioural aspect of prosocial processes since Batson has focused mainly on changing attitudes.

In the next section, helping behaviour towards stigmatized or disadvantaged outgroups is investigated in an intergroup context and the use of empathy regarding intergroup helping is based on the empathy-altruism model, like Batson et al. (1997). However, Stürmer and colleagues (2005) investigated empathy regarding intergroup by adding the concept of social identity in understanding helping behaviour.

In the article by Stürmer and colleagues in 2005, the authors use a group-level perspective on the role of empathy and interpersonal attraction in helping. Social psychology started investigating helping behaviour mostly at an individual and interpersonal level (e.g., Gaertner & Dovidio, 1977; Batson, 1998; Omoto & Snyder, 1995; Clark, Mills, & Corcoran, 1989). Recently the role of group memberships in helping has started to develop more systematically (Dovidio et al., 1997; Omoto & Snyder, 2002; Simon, Stürmer, & Steffens, 2000).

In line with Stürmer's predictions, a longitudinal field study of AIDS volunteers found that empathy was a stronger predictor of helping when the person that was helped was an ingroup member than when that person was an outgroup member. Ingroup members are liked because of their shared group membership (Hogg & Hardie, 1991; Turner et al., 1987) and therefore people should be willing to help their ingroup member. For the ingroup the outgroup is other and therefore empathetic concern for the other is not to be expected. The ingroup implies the other is not other and therefore feeling empathy for the ingroup is expected. Stürmer et al. (2005) therefore hypothesised that the ingroup would feel empathy for the ingroup but not empathy for the outgroup, as SIT would predict. Considering the empathy-altruism model empathy is felt because of altruism and altruism is concern for the other. Thus, empathy should also be felt for the outgroup. However, Stürmer et al. (2005) found that attraction was a stronger predictor of helping when the person that was helped was an outgroup member than when that person was an ingroup member.

In a second study, Stürmer et al. extended these results in a laboratory by measuring spontaneous helping of a person suffering from hepatitis. When potential other predictors for helping behaviour were controlled statistically in both studies the effects of empathy and attraction were found.

Stürmer and colleagues focus on the specific intergroup emotions of empathy and attraction between people to direct their research in helping behaviour. Yet, it is also important to consider these predictors in specific contexts since their predictive power might vary according to the intergroup situation. Brown and Gaertner (2001), Haslam (2001) and Smith and Mackie (2000) all state that in a large variety of contexts people's social behaviour is shaped by group memberships, i.e. social identities, which also shape the helping behaviour that takes place at an intergroup context.

The group-level perspective states that people are willing to help because of different processes and motivations and that these will depend on the relationship between the ingroup and the outgroup (Dovidio et al., 1997; Simon et al., 2000). Normally ingroup members will be more likely to help fellow ingroup members because they prefer ingroup members and they want to keep ingroup boundaries intact. Other ingroup members identify with the common ingroup and the motives that ingroup members share which arise from their shared group membership (e.g., "community concern"; Omoto & Snyder, 1995). Helping outgroup members is likely inhibited by intergroup discrimination and differentiation (e.g., Smith & Mackie, 2000). Therefore, Stürmer et al. argue that feelings of interpersonal attraction could be

less important when the person that is helped is an ingroup member because they share the same group membership (e.g., Dovidio et al., 1997). Ingroup members are liked because of their shared group membership (Hogg & Hardie, 1991; Turner et al., 1987) and therefore people should be willing to help their ingroup member independently of feelings of interpersonal attraction.

However, when feelings of attraction are not important why does empathy towards an ingroup member make it more likely to help this person? If shared ingroup membership, and therefore likeability of the ingroup member, which will include feelings of empathy, is the main process that triggers prosocial behaviour then an increased influence of empathy on ingroup helping should not be found. Thus it is argued, in opposition to Stürmer's ideas, that it is not merely the ingroup membership or social identity that influences prosocial behaviour but an interaction between different factors. These factors are the social identity of the ingroup and possibly the ingroup norm. The group of people that needed help were critically ill people (AIDS victims) who we either empathize with them as a category or some other process accounts for intergroup helping. What would happen if members of the ingroup and the outgroup were mutually interpersonally attractive and both needed help? In this context it could be the case that the ingroup is helped because of shared group membership and attractiveness and in the case of the outgroup because of empathetic feelings towards people in need and attractiveness. The basis of empathy would be a group norm then.

To summarize, a group-level perspective on prosocial behaviour is helped by

empathy for the ingroup and interpersonal attractiveness to the outgroup in the situation of AIDS volunteers. The social identity approach explains helping at an intergroup level but lacks in my view the reason why other predictors or moderators for intergroup helping are in a specific direction. It can be argued that the predictors of Stürmer et al. (2005) are mainly a specific contribution to helping behaviour than a contribution in general concerning helping behaviour in groups (i.e., because of shared identity ingroup member attractiveness aids prosocial helping). A main objective of the present thesis is then to further explore the group-level perspective on helping behaviour and the influence of the social identity approach and thereby adding the influence of ingroup norms to outgroup helping.

Like Stürmer et al. (2005), Nadler and Halabi (2006) investigate helping at an intergroup level but they focus on helping behaviour which maintains unequal power relations between groups. Furthermore, social identity processes as in the article by Stürmer et al. (2005) are being linked to helping behaviour. In addition, group norms will also be taken into account regarding intergroup helping.

'Intergroup helping relations as status relations' is the title of the research carried out by Nadler and Halabi (2006). Nadler et al. distinguish between social identity processes, such as ingroup favouritism, and social identity content or norms in their research on intergroup helping. Regarding this, Tajfel and colleagues argued that members of a group looking for a positive identity will under certain conditions positively distinguish themselves by discriminating against outgroups (i.e., Tajfel &

Turner, 1979). More recent research found that the status of the ingroup and the outgroup affect favouritism and devaluation of the outgroup (e.g. Ellemers, Spears & Doosje, 1997; Dovidio, Gaertner & Validzic, 1998; Bourhis & Gagnon, 2003). Furthermore, more discrimination is found by members of high-status groups towards low-status groups than towards equal-status groups (Sachdev & Bourhis, 1991).

Because the present focus is on behaviour and perceptions directed at the low status outgroup that needs help, I have centred my attention on the effects of help from the high-status group on the disadvantaged outgroup in Nadler et al's research.

Nadler (2006) states that helping relations are inherently unequal social relations. He argues that the helper has enough resources to give to someone that needs help, who is dependent on the helper and his or her motivation to actually help. The inequality between helper and the person that needs help makes receiving help potentially threatening to the self of the person that receives help (Nadler & Fisher, 1986). Empirical research found that when help that is offered is threatening the self of a person, people will not be likely to accept that help (e.g., Nadler, 1987; Nadler & Fisher, 1986). Although this research is at an interpersonal level of helping, a study that investigated Arab-Israelis' response to helping from a Jewish-Israeli as opposed to an Arab-Israeli found similar results (Halabi, 2003). The study found that Arab-Israeli who received help showed lower self-evaluations when they were helped by Jewish-Israelis (the dominant group in Israel) than when they were helped by Arab-Israelis (the less dominant group). So it seems that, when social identity of a group is salient, the group norms are more apparent as well (high status or low status) and will be more

likely to influence intergroup relations, in this case, the response of the group that receives help.

Nadler (2006) mentions two forms of intergroup helping relations: firstly, when status relations are perceived as stable and legitimate, and secondly when they are perceived as unstable and illegitimate. For the first type of relation, it is expected that the high-status group tries to hold on to its social advantage by helping the low-status group in a dependency-oriented manner and the low status group will respond by accepting this dependency-orientated help since status relations are perceived as stable and therefore the low-status group cannot do much more than accepting the dependency orientated help the high-status group offers them. However, for the second helping relation, the high-status group will perceive its advantaged position as being threatened. It is therefore expected that it will attempt to secure its social advantage by increasing its efforts to provide the low-status group dependency-oriented help. In that case the low-status group will stay dependent on the help of the high-status group, which keeps the position of the high-status group intact. In turn, members of the low-status group, who would like to be socially advantaged as well, are expected not to accept the dependency-oriented help from the high-status group. The low-status group only accepts help when it is in the form of autonomy-oriented help, which is a form of help that offers instructions or hints and implies that the people who receive help can help themselves (Brickman et al., 1982).

The context of helping in this thesis is related to the ingroup helping the outgroup. Nadler et al. (2006) focuses on the status difference between helper and

helpee, which I will also consider in my work since helping situations are inherently unequal with respect to the people involved. Where I part with Nadler is the helping situation. He looks at a helping situation as a dependency situation for the group that receives help, i.e., the disadvantaged group. I argue that this is a negative focus that is constructed by the context of intergroup contact. Dependency orientated help is in the long run not good for the group that receives help which makes it a negative form of help. Although I agree with the theoretical reasoning of Nadler et al., I believe the direction of their research is just one way of focussing on and interpreting intergroup helping. Although it is important to consider the role of intergroup dependency in intergroup helping, it might as well be the case that a group helps another group because it simply wants to help or because the group feels a moral obligation to help. When ingroup norms capture this moral principle and the social identity of the group that offers help is made salient, outgroup helping is likely to occur. Nadler and Halabi (2006) acknowledge that their findings of dependency-orientated helping are embedded in the specific context they had investigated. The group that receives help does not need to feel dependent on the help offered by the other group but certainly there are examples of dependency-orientated help as we can see in African countries. I believe historical reasons can explain this dependency on help from a high-status group. A colonial past where obeying the governor was more the rule than the exception made people in these countries depend on the ruler for the wrong reasons, since they had no choice, they were colonized and had no say what happened in their country. Since this colonial past made people depend on the help of their rulers, it

could be so that old habits die hard and that people in these African countries are only used to dependency orientated help from others. Although this is a very general view of a highly difficult and controversial issue, the idea of situation-specific helping is the same as Nadler et al.'s specific helping context. Dependency-orientated helping could occur only in a particular kind of situation. When the focus is on a different situation, other forms of helping besides dependency-orientated help could occur. It is these other forms of helping, like help that is given because of empathy for others, because of moral reasons or norms that make people care for and help each other and that does not reproduce dependency that interests me in this thesis.

To summarise the main issues raised by the three articles I have reviewed in this section, it can be said that in the case of Batson et al. (1997) the empathetic feelings for a stigmatized group member make us feel more positively towards the whole stigmatized group. The empathy-altruism model (Batson, 1981) extends feeling empathy for one group member to feeling empathy for the whole group. Our cognitive abilities seem to broaden our positive experience to the outgroup as a whole: we can feel empathetic and therefore develop prosocial attitudes for the whole group. In this case, interpersonal empathy becomes intergroup empathy. The empathy-altruism model (Batson, 1987, 1991; Batson et al., 1989; Batson & Shaw, 1991) that this study is based on found results in accordance with this model and I therefore will also apply the empathy-altruism model in a study that will investigate empathy specifically at an intergroup level. However, prosocial attitudes are not the same as prosocial behaviour, which Batson et al. (1997) did not investigate hence I will focus on prosocial

behaviour towards a disadvantaged group in relation to empathy towards that group.

Stürmer et al. (2005) looked at empathy and attraction as possibilities to trigger helping in an intergroup context. In this case, members of the ingroup were helped because of feelings of empathy by the helpers which followed social identity theory and the empathy-altruism model, whereas members of the outgroup were helped when there were feelings of attraction towards the outgroup members. Feeling empathy for the ingroup and help the ingroup are in accordance with SIT that states ingroup members are preferred. Helping the outgroup occurred when feelings of attraction were present, which SIT would explain by the shift from other to the other as similar as you. However, a possible ingroup norm of feeling empathy for others because of interpersonal attraction must have influenced this effect.

Stürmer et al. (2005) place the context of helping in another light than Batson and colleagues (1997). Batson et al. look specifically at the outgroup and the way empathy could evoke helping behaviour towards the whole outgroup, whereas Stürmer et al. broaden the helping context by comparing ingroup with outgroup member helping and thereby taking intergroup relations into account and the ingroup and outgroup as possible targets of help. Therefore, investigating empathy in a more complex intergroup context as in the case of Stürmer et al. (2005) changed the way how empathy influenced helping behaviour. In the case of Batson et al. (1997) empathy for one stigmatized person was enhanced to feeling empathy towards the whole stigmatized group, but in the experiments by Stürmer et al. (2005) empathy was

only helping the ingroup and not the outgroup. So, differences in context in which prosocial processes take place can alter or modify helping behaviour. Although the difference in results between Batson et al. (1997) and Stürmer et al. (2005) is a function of method and measure not theory, I find this an important differentiation that could help broaden the knowledge of the empathy-altruism model in relation with social identity theory.

The third key article by Nadler et al. (2006) makes the helping context even more complex by focussing on specific intergroup status relations showing that context constructs the particular form of outgroup helping. Although I agree that dependency-related help has ecological validity and that we should be aware of this kind of help, focussing on helping in a more positive light is another subset of intergroup helping situations which is scientifically legitimate to investigate. Like people help others because they feel empathetic for them or moral norms make people help others. I therefore move now to an identity-norm account of intergroup helping.

Since I will for a large part focus on the influence of social identity towards helping behaviour, my particular question regards the kinds of social identity that one wants to trigger to assist outgroup helping. That is, which social identities have an empathetic content in itself and will make it easier to induce helping behaviour as well? My final aim is to understand those situations when helping behaviour does work. That is, on which contexts should we focus to adopt helping behaviour that is actually really working?

Of course a group will have specific positive and negative characteristics for

someone, especially when that group is someone's own social group or when the group is stigmatized or stereotyped historically. Certain social identities will be more salient in that case. These more salient or more apparent social identities however are not the only social identities a group can, will or should have. Therefore, I argue that it is essential that we focus on the salient identity of the outgroup that evokes helping the outgroup, although I realize that who counts as outgroup and their meaning is part of the definition of the ingroup. I have already written about the importance of empathy towards helping behaviour, I will explain my reasons for investigating emotions in my research in the next section more.

2.4 Emotions and outgroup helping

Only in the last decades research has been directed more to affective processes in almost all aspects of psychology. Exploring the affective side of intergroup processes and also the implementation of positive emotions is a rather new development (e.g., Castano & Giner-Sorolla (2006; Mackie, Devos & Smith, 2000). Therefore the present research will focus on the importance of positive emotions in determining prosocial behaviour towards a disadvantaged group.

The literature mentions that the emotions that a helper feels for a person in need are likely to have a crucial role in helping (Smith & Mackie, 2000; Schroeder, Penner, Dovidio, & Piliavin, 1995). The intergroup literature also argues that memberships of a salient ingroup or outgroup are very important towards relationships at an emotional level (e.g., Hornstein, 1972, Tajfel, 1981; Turner, Hogg, Oakes,

Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987).

Graziano, Habashi, Sheese, and Tobin (2007) investigated relations among prosocial motives, empathy, and helping behaviour in a person-situation perspective. The authors examined the generality of prosocial behaviour across situations and group memberships of victims in experiment one. In their second experiment they experimentally manipulated the empathic focus and the victim's outgroup status. In the third experiment the authors replicated and extended the second study by collecting measures of prosocial emotions before helping. Lastly, in the fourth experiment, empathic focus and cost of helping as predictors of helping behaviour were manipulated experimentally. The authors found that overall, prosocial motivation is related to agreeableness as an element of personality, secondly, to proximal prosocial cognition and motivations, and thirdly to helping behaviour across different types of victims and situations. More specifically, they found that attempts to induce empathy within a situation could weaken prosocial behaviour when people are low in prosocial motivation, and costs of helping are high.

In my research, the emotions that could aid helping are, besides empathy, not manipulated in an experimental setting but rather measured as possible correlative factors towards prosocial behaviour. My main interest will be investigating the influence of social identity, identity content and ingroup norms on outgroup helping. I will measure emotions for the outgroup felt by the ingroup to get more insight into the influence emotions have on the mechanism of helping behaviour. In the case of empathy towards a disadvantaged outgroup, empathy is also manipulated in an

experimental setting to explore its influence towards outgroup helping since it is found that a stigmatized outgroup is judged with more positive attitudes when people are induced to feel empathy for them (Batson et al., 1997).

2.5 Conclusions

The following scenario could exist: an ingroup perceives an outgroup in a negative and prejudiced way. However, a different picture might be presented as well, one feels empathy for an outgroup and is proud of the way the outgroup handles their situation. One can induce or provoke positive or negative attitudes towards an outgroup. These intergroup attitudes are shaped by social identities and the context in which they exist. As I have already mentioned in the first introductory chapter, context and norms are important for social identity. As we know now context and group norms matter as well in prosocial behaviour since Nadler et al.'s (2006) research shows that specific contexts construct specific helping and the norm of the group adds to that. Batson et al.'s (1997) research shows that empathy is an aid to prosocial attitudes based on the empathy-altruism model, and, according to Stürmer (2005) who relies on the empathy-altruism model in relation to SIT, social identities that shape intergroup relations will influence the different motivations for helping behaviour to in- and outgroup members. Therefore, in my thesis, I will study group identities, group norms, empathy and context that surround these concepts regarding helping behaviour towards outgroup to fill in some of the existing gaps in the literature on helping behaviour. Gaps in the literature I focus on are how social identity content and norms of the ingroup influence outgroup helping and how induced empathy towards the outgroup

directs outgroup helping.

As mentioned before social identity is a very important concept regarding ingroup and intergroup processes. Yet, I will particularly focus on the importance of ingroup norms and the broader context in accounting for outgroup helping decisions. Therefore, two experiments in this thesis will consider the roles of salient religious and political identities on intergroup helping. Both identities are based on a set of norms that reflect a preoccupation with doing good to others (certain religious identities) or taking care of others (political identities).

The issue of context regarding prosocial behaviour is looked at, giving us in the end a more comprehensive view of the role of different situations in outgroup helping decisions. Since there is the danger of interpreting unexpected results as a consequence of different contextual effects the issue of context will be mainly studied in the experiments where ingroup members encounter fellow ingroup members with different intragroup power. Intragroup processes will be studied to understand the motivational processes behind prosocial behaviour of group members. Will the relational context between ingroup members of low power, same power or high power aid prosocial behaviour towards the outgroup and which context aids the most?

The position of emotions towards helping will be considered in a general form in the first experiment to observe possible moderation or mediation effects. A special focus however will be given to empathy, on account of found effects towards helping behaviour. Therefore, manipulation of empathy is the focus of one experiment.

Hence, the project intends (1) to outline the roles of social identity, ingroup norms, intragroup relations and empathy towards disadvantaged outgroups and (2) to demonstrate what motivates prosocial behaviour towards a disadvantaged outgroup, beyond the motivations suggested by Nadler et al. (2006). Batson (e.g. 1997) would say empathy would motivate prosocial behaviour which I agree with but I will add the importance of the normative aspect and I will investigate the more exact influence empathy can have on prosocial behaviour.

2.6 General predictions

Helping a disadvantaged outgroup could be perceived in terms of people's (salient) social identity which I discussed in Chapter one. As I mentioned in Chapter one religious and political identity and the content of these identities will influence outgroup helping. Furthermore, ingroup norms can have a considerable influence on helping behaviour. The issue of awareness of someone's feelings, i.e., feeling empathy in an intergroup context aids outgroup helping.

Therefore, the predictions of my research besides the two hypotheses in Chapter one are:

Hypothesis 3: High *empathy* for a disadvantaged outgroup will make people behave more prosocially towards that outgroup, than people induced with low empathy for that outgroup.

Chapter 3 What do diverse social identities of the ingroup tell us about outgroup helping?

Introduction

The purpose of experiments 1 and 2 is to explore the role of a salient social identity in regulating prosocial behaviour towards a disadvantaged outgroup. I will elaborate on the points I have made regarding outgroup helping in the view of social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and self-categorization theory (Turner, 1985; Turner et al., 1987) that are relevant to the experiments that were undertaken in this chapter.

In the case of prosocial behaviour towards the outgroup, the social identity approach would for example state that the outgroup is seen by the ingroup as strange and a threat towards their ingroup boundaries, which deflates outgroup helping. However, an intergroup context in which for example the ingroup is rich and the outgroup does need help, aids prosocial behaviour towards the outgroup. In the present experiment the ingroup will be students at an UK university with a specific religious (experiment 1) or political identity (experiment 2) who will come in contact with UK beggars. Although I mention both students and beggars are from the UK, the UK identity is not what this experiment is about. I mention the UK since all the participants in the experiment will be from the UK and the beggars are from the UK, so the participants will have had interaction at least once in their lifetime with an UK beggar which makes the experiment more realistic. The intergroup context will be a privileged group that has the opportunity to attend university, the UK students, opposed to a disadvantaged group of people who

live in the streets and does not have any money, the beggars. This context is not one in which the outgroup is a threat to the ingroup identity and therefore outgroup helping is feasible. It could be assumed that beggars do not threaten the privileged student identity.

In the upcoming two experiments group identity will be in the form of religious identity (experiment 1) and political identity (experiment 2). Since religious identity entails the norm to do good to others, the outgroup is a target for this norm of religious identity to express itself. Concerning political identity, it could be stated that the salience of this identity content leads people to engage in prosocial behaviour when their political views are more left wing than right wing.

Furthermore, the distinctiveness of ingroup identity makes outgroup helping possible when the outgroup is far from the positive state the ingroup is, as is the case of a beggar as an outgroup and students in a relatively financially secure position although they do not have a lot of money students are better off than beggars. In that case the ingroup (students) will be more willing to behave prosocially towards an outgroup since their own group distinctiveness as students is not at stake.

As stated above ingroup norms could have a profound influence on intergroup helping. A norm in the case of religious identity is 'doing good to others' which makes ingroup members stay true to their religious group identity *and* help the outgroup. Right-wing political identity has a norm that people should take care of themselves, which will not aid outgroup helping, whereas people with a more left wing political preference will focus on people taking care of each other when the need arises, which makes outgroup helping a possibility. I realise that this is a simple suggestion. Right-wing people would

oppose more state assistance to the poor but not necessarily oppose private and or individual charity – they might support this, while left-wing people see charity as the responsibility of the state. Some of the research on helping shows that it can be a way of preserving unequal status relations (e.g. Nadler & Halibi, 2000), so right-wing people might have a norm of giving for that reason. However, for my experiments I will stick with the proposition that left-wing people have a larger intention to give to others in need, while right-wing people will do less so.

Thus the question that I tried to answer in this chapter is this: could the social identity of an ingroup in the form of either a religious or political identity affect intergroup processes, specifically helping a disadvantaged outgroup? In two experiments, the salience of religious and political identities was manipulated to investigate possible differences in salience towards outgroup helping. Salience of social identities is considered to be context specific and therefore grants behavioural effects that could aid outgroup helping when the context triggers people with a religious or political identity to be prosocial. I will now give an overview of existing experimental work that focuses on the social identity approach and helping behaviour.

In this section social identity of a particular group towards an outgroup that needs help, a group that is evidently not part of that particular social identity is illustrated. Whenever the need for help is distinct, how has social identity been investigated to accomplish outgroup assistance?

Platow et al. (1999) investigated the contribution of sport fan social identity to the

production of prosocial behaviour. The number of sport-team-identified fans who contributed money to charity workers, before and after six football games, were observed. The charity workers were identified as supporters of one of the two teams competing, or of neither team. Results showed that a larger amount of fans contributed to the charity workers supporting the ingroup than the outgroup. Also, charity workers identified with either team obtained a higher rate of contributions from fans of both teams together after the game compared to before. The reversed pattern was found amid charity workers not identified with a team. An increased salience of a general sport-fan identification after the game relative to before is suggested by this finding. Lastly, fans of winning teams in particular contributed more to any charity worker after the game than before the game. And this pattern was inverted amongst fans of losing teams. This study shows that a social identity could indeed make a difference to helping behaviour, but this addresses only ingroup helping. Ingroup identity and people from outside favouring this identity are preferred. Furthermore, when this identity is made salient as in the case of the charity worker, who shows to be part of the ingroup, influences the likeableness of that person and the urge to help that person.

From this experiment the conclusion could be made that again, salience of the identity of the ingroup has a considerable influence on how outgroups are perceived. When the ingroup identity is made salient with negative emotions about the outgroup this leads the ingroup to behave anti-social towards that outgroup. The approach of how to perceive ingroups and outgroups seems to be of great importance with reference to subsequent prosocial behaviour regarding the outgroup.

Since in the studies described above a positive effect of salience regarding group identity was found towards either emotions, action tendencies, or prosocial behaviour, it is worth making use of the concept of salience of social identity and adding the specific norms of religious and political identity to the present studies concerning outgroup helping. It should be noted that the term 'positive' stands for the salience of social identity as having an effect. It does not have to indicate that this effect will indeed aid prosocial behaviour towards an outgroup which does not share this social identity. Furthermore, the concept of social identity seemed to be an useful instrument in obtaining an ingroup and an outgroup, two different identities which makes two group identities, which is of utmost important considering the focus of this project: helping an outgroup.

The next experiments will explore salience of social identity further. The intention is to investigate the influence of social identity salience on outgroup helping. Two social identities of the ingroup will be investigated, religious identity (experiment 1) and political identity (experiment 2). The disadvantaged outgroup will be a real group, beggars. Additionally, the experiments explore the effect of identity salience on empathy as well as prosocial behaviour.

Introduction

The key question of study 1 is: Does an emotional evaluation and its subsequent behaviour towards a disadvantaged outgroup, i.e. beggars, originate from a person's (salient) social identity in terms of a religious category (Christian or Buddhist) or would the religious identity simply be an operationalization of a social identity? Would it make a difference towards empathy and outgroup helping when religious identity is salient? Whilst including a control condition of non-religious people it will be investigated whether religion in itself has an impact as well.

In the present experiment religious identity is chosen for since the caring and giving behaviour that is generally believed to be related to religious people is of interest to examine regarding outgroup helping.

Beggars were chosen as the disadvantaged outgroup since are considered by most people as a disadvantaged group of people. People are likely to categorize beggars as a group since all beggars are on the streets, or wandering about in public places to beg for money, apparently homeless. These common characteristics will make people perceive them as a group. Furthermore, beggars would very likely not considered to be ingroup members by the participants in this experiment, whom are university students, since they do live on the streets and do not have a paid job or attend school or university like the participants. Beggars are also supposed to be judged as an outgroup since the participants

are students who have a home to go to unlike beggars. Hence for this reasons beggars would be considered a disadvantaged outgroup. However, participants will be asked if they perceive beggars as an outgroup, when they do not for whatever reason they will be excluded from the data.

It needs to be considered that helping a beggar by giving money is for some people probably not something they would consider as actual help towards the beggar. Some people could see money as giving material goods without actually helping the person getting him or her back on their feet since a beggar needs a pound and some pence but more likely therapy and a job and a house to live in as well. Thus, participants could therefore choose not to give money. Still, I believed that giving money to a beggar is the best way to measure prosocial behaviour since the beggars themselves ask for money and most people who help the beggar do give money.

Predictions

It is predicted that participants will be more prosocial towards a disadvantaged outgroup when their religious identity is made salient than when this identity is not made salient, and when they are non-religious. Given that most, if not all, religions encourage their adherents to help other people, it is expected that when the religious identity of religious people is made salient, they will be more aware of the norm of being helpful to others compared to people who are not religious or whose religious identity is not salient.

Not all religious identities are the same, and in the present experiment the religious identities of Christians and Buddhists differ in how their religion teaches them to be a religious person. For example, on a very general note, a lot of Christians will go to

church to practice their religion together with other Christians. Buddhist will meditate more in isolation. Buddhists are devoting their life to Buddha, to become like Buddha, to be a good person and do good to other people. Devoting your life to a god, a god like person or more gods whether that be for example God, Allah or Buddha, and be a good person and help others is the purpose of most religions. In that sense both Christians and Buddhists are considered to have the same behavioural outcome towards other people. Their religion urges them to help others although the exact teachings of different religions can be different. Concluding, there are many differences between Christianity and Buddhism but generosity and helping are seen as virtues in both. This religious norm is proposed to affect outgroup helping in the present experiment.

Furthermore, it is expected that religious salient participants will be more prosocial towards a disadvantaged outgroup when they are together with significant others, such as family members, friends or their partner than when they are on their own. In the view of the fact that their significant others could be priming their religious identities, and will make the participants think that they particularly need to behave according their religious norms, i.e. be a good person and help others, since they are 'judged' by significant others.

Method

Design A single factor between groups design with two conditions and a separate control condition was employed. The first condition was religious salient, wherein

religious participants were explicitly instructed to consider their religious background when reporting how they behave towards a beggar. In the religious non-salient condition participants were instructed to answer the questions regarding themselves as individuals, being their own person. Religious background was not mentioned. A third, non-religious, control condition was also included, in which non-religious participants were given the same instructions as the religious participants in the religious non-salient condition.

Participants Participants ($N = 39$), ranging in age from 18 to 68 years ($M = 28$, $SD = 10.25$) participated in the experiment. Participants in the religious conditions were recruited from the undergraduate Psychology student subject pool at the University of Sussex for course credit ($N = 2$) and members of the Christian Union at the university of Sussex ($N = 15$), who were randomly assigned to the religious salient or religious non-salient condition and participated in a university building (sweets reward) and members of a Buddhist society in Brighton, UK ($N = 6$) who were also randomly assigned to the religious salient or religious non-salient condition. They filled in the questionnaire online (£3 reward). Participants out of the undergraduate Psychology student subject pool were randomly designated to the salient religious condition (1) or non-salient religious condition (2) when they answered the question if they were practising religion (Christian) with 'very much' or 'quite a lot'.

Participants in the control condition (condition 3) were recruited from the undergraduate Psychology student subject pool at the University of Sussex for course credit who answered the question about if they were practising religion with 'not at all' ($N = 16$).

Materials and procedure Participants completed a questionnaire in which they were asked how they would feel and behave towards a beggar.

Religious identity Religious social identity was made salient by ways of three different conditions. 1) The first condition was religious salient. In every question asked the participant would be requested to think about his or her religious background. It was chosen for to ask religious background in general for both Christian and Buddhist participants so there would be no influence of differing religious manipulations towards the results. 2) In condition 2 the religious identity of the participant was not salient. The questions were asked without any reference towards the participants' religious identity, 'how would you feel regarding yourself as an individual, being your own person'. 3) In the third condition, which was the control condition, participants were non religious. The questionnaire was presented to these non-religious people in exactly the same way as to the non-salient religious participants, 'how would you feel regarding yourself as an individual, being your own person'.

Situations and contexts with the beggar The reason for investigating different situations and contexts was to specify in more detail in which combination of social identity and situation or context a person would help an outgroup.

1) The first question asked how participants would feel and behave when they see a beggar. 2) Then they were asked the same question specifically about a beggar asking for money. 3) The third question asked participants to state their emotions and behaviour when the beggar wanted to have a conversation with the participant.

Next the participants were situated in ten specific contexts presented in the form

of short stories. In all these situations they were again asked how they would feel and behave towards the beggar. Contexts were the following: while in a socialized context, with family (1), with friends (2), or with partner (3), which is expected to have a positive effect on prosocial behaviour, since people close to you will evoke your religious 'be a good person' identity. It is proposed that the presence of a significant other, like your partner or family member will make you feel that you should behave the best you can. Although people close to you could also make a person feel that he doesn't have to put a face up of doing good to a person who needs help, I believe that when a person is truly religious he or she will make an extra effort to show this to someone that is significant to him or her in helping a person in need. In an employed situation, on your way to work/university and (4) after work on your way home (5): when going to or coming from work, people might think about their workday, hence are aware of having a job. When seeing a beggar, who obviously has no job and therefore not much money, feelings of empathy and helping behaviour could be evoked. In a shopping situation (6): when shopping, people could realize that they have money which they can spend on things they like to owe, and spotting a beggar, who has little or no money to spend could again evoke feelings of empathy and helping behaviour. On holiday in a foreign country (7): on holiday most people enjoy themselves and are spending their money on fun things. When noticing a beggar in this happy situation, feelings of empathy and prosocial behaviour towards the beggar could be stirred up. In an unwinding context, see a beggar in an advertisement on the television (8), and on a night out (9): when relaxing in front of the television or on a night out, people are more likely to feel happy and have no feelings of

stress, thus one might be more willing when one is happy to care for someone else than themselves. And lastly, on your own (10): it is expected that one feels and behaves less prosocial since one is occupied with one's own thoughts.

Questions are for example;

- Can you think of when you see a beggar in the street? What do you feel regarding yourself as an individual, being your own person? (Religious non-salient and control condition)
- Imagine a beggar in the street asks you for some money. How would you behave regarding your religious background? (Religious salient condition).
- You are waiting for the bus that will bring you to university. You notice a beggar sitting next to the bus stop and he asks you for some money. What do you feel regarding yourself as an individual, being your own person? (Religious non-salient and control condition).

Emotional measures

Participants had to state how much they would feel the emotions 'guilt', 'sympathy', 'pity', 'empathy', 'sadness', 'embarrassment', 'shame' and 'distress' towards a beggar when they see a beggar and in all ten contexts. These particular emotions emerged from a pilot interview study that was carried out to examine which emotions and behaviours towards beggars were mentioned by participants. Emotions that were mentioned the most were then applied in the present questionnaire. A number of additional options were also included because of the possibility that participants could

experience emotions other than those elicited in the interviews. These included 'friendliness', 'anxiety', 'interest', 'fear', 'anger', and the option 'anything else?'. All emotions were measured on a 7 point Likert scale (1= not at all to 7= very much).

Behavioural measures

Behaviour towards the beggar was also measured on a 7-point Likert scale (1= not at all to 7= very much). Subjects could choose to 'give money to the beggar', 'ignore the beggar', 'say sorry to the beggar and walk on', 'make a conversation with the beggar', 'say something negative to the beggar', 'smile to the beggar', 'mumble something to the beggar', 'don't make eye contact with the beggar', and 'something else; please specify' to state their behaviours when they see a beggar and in the ten contexts with a beggar. Participants had to answer to all different behavioural options, even if they did not perform this behaviour, in which case they indicated '1' to the behaviour. Participant's behaviours towards the beggar were asked after their emotions towards the beggar in each situation. In the concluding part of the questionnaire participants were asked what kind of religion they were practising and how much they were practising it (very much, quite a lot, somewhat, not at all). Finally, the participant's occupation and their political choice when voting were asked.

Results

After having conducted extensive preliminary analysis to establish the most promising lines of enquiry, I now present the results of the most significant emotion and behaviour I

was interested in, empathy and giving money to the beggar when the participant sees the beggar, and also in the ten contexts the participant encountered a beggar. In addition, the ten contexts with the beggar were taken together to see the effect of empathy and prosocial behaviour towards the beggar over different contexts with the beggar together.

Empathy towards the beggar

All analyses were computed using one-way ANOVAs measuring empathy with condition as predictor and Tukey post-hoc tests in a full factorial design. In the case of seeing a beggar there was no difference in felt empathy towards the beggar between religious non-salient participants, religious salient and non-religious participants. When the participant was together with family members, with friends or with their partner no difference in felt empathy towards the beggar between conditions was found. Also no difference in felt empathy towards the beggar between conditions was found when the participants were on their way to work, after work on their way home, when shopping, when they saw a beggar in add on the television and when they were on a night out or on holiday in a foreign country or was on their own. Since there was no effect of empathy in different contexts it was not useful to analyse the ten conditions together to see an overall effect of empathy over different contexts.

Prosocial behaviour

All analyses were computed using one-way ANOVAs and Tukey post-hoc tests measuring prosocial behaviour with condition as predictor.

When participants imagined that they saw a beggar there was no difference in giving

money to the beggar between conditions. In the case of the different contexts the participants were situated in, non salient religious participants gave more money to the beggar when in company of friends than participants in other conditions, $F(2,35) = 4.308$, $p < .05$. A trend was found when the participant was together with family members, religious non-salient participant gave more money in this context than religious salient and non-religious participants, $F(2,35) = 1.971$, $p = .66$. When with their partner participants in the religious non-salient condition gave more money to the beggar than participants in the other conditions, $F(2,35) = 3.990$, $p < .05$. On a night out again participant in the religious non-salient condition gave more money to the beggar than in the other conditions, $F(2,36) = 3.061$, $p < .05$. When on their way to university or work religious non-salient participants gave more money to the beggar than participant in the other conditions, $F(2,34) = 3.658$, $p < .05$. After work or university and on their way home religious non-salient participant gave more money to the beggar than religious salient and non-religious participants, $F(2,34) = 5.455$, $p < .01$. When religious non-salient participants were shopping they gave more money to the beggar than the participants in the other conditions, $F(2,35) = 2.488$, $p < .05$. The remaining contexts of watching an add with a beggar on TV, when on a holiday in a foreign country and when participants were on their own showed no significant difference in giving money to the beggar between conditions. See Table 1 for means and standard deviations of prosocial behaviour in three conditions.

Table 1

Means (SD) of prosocial behaviour towards beggar in different contexts for three conditions

| | Religious salient | Religious non-salient | Non-religious |
|--------------|-------------------|-----------------------|---------------|
| Give money | | | |
| Contexts | | | |
| See a beggar | 2.69 (1.32) | 3.8 (1.93) | 3.13 (1.63) |
| With friends | 2.69 (1.8) | 4.67 (1.73) * | 2.71 (1.68) |
| With family | 2.77 (1.79) | 3.89 (1.69) | 2.57 (1.4) |
| With partner | 2.92 (1.93) | 4.89 (1.9) * | 2.8 (1.82) |
| On night out | 2.75 (1.66) | 4.44 (1.67) * | 2.87 (1.78) |
| To uni/work | 2.31 (1.32) | 4.5 (1.93) * | 2.79 (1.76) |
| Going home | 2.08 (1.08) | 4.38 (1.69) * | 2.73 (1.75) |
| Shopping | 3.17 (2.17) | 4.88 (1.96) * | 3.06 (1.84) |
| Alone | 2.55 (1.51) | 3.78 (1.48) | 3.14 (1.79) |
| On holiday | 2.75 (1.66) | 3.89 (2.57) | 4.07 (2.22) |
| On TV | 2.42 (1.73) | 2.0 (1.22) | 2.14 (1.96) |

*Note. Higher means indicate higher amount of behaviour. * is significant at the $p < .05$ level*

The option of giving money to the beggar over the ten contexts taken together had a reliability of $\alpha=.936$. An one-way ANOVA and Tukey post-hoc test showed that religious non-salient participants gave more money to the beggar over all ten contexts than did participants in the other conditions, $F(2,37) = 3.132, p < .05$. See Table 2 for means and standard deviations for giving money to the beggar in three different conditions.

Table 2

Means (SD) of prosocial behaviour towards beggar over ten contexts in three conditions

| | Religious salient | Religious non-salient | Non-religious |
|------------|-------------------|-----------------------|---------------|
| Give money | 2.62 (1.32) | 4.05 (1.56) | 2.96 (1.26) |

Note. Higher means indicate higher amount of behaviour.

Discussion

The key finding was that, even though a religious identity can have an enduring impact on responses to disadvantaged groups (beggars), behavioural responses are affected by the salience of such an identity.

Furthermore, the results provided support for the prediction that religious people regulate their behaviour by their religious identity when they are together with others. The presence of others such as friends and family, who are aware of the participant's religious identity could possibly evoke accountability concerns, which are then reflected in behaviour towards a disadvantaged group, which is consistent with the religious identity.

Although it was predicted that participants would be more prosocial towards a disadvantaged outgroup when their religious identity was salient than when this identity was not salient the results actually showed that religious non-salient people would give more money to the beggar. In terms of social identity theory it can be said that a salient religious identity of the ingroup triggered religious people to not give money to the beggar since they were more aware of their religious group membership and could have been felt threatened by the beggar becoming part of their ingroup when they would help the beggar. Helping someone else could make the person that receives help like the person that is helping them. Likeability of one ingroup member can lead to he or she wanting to become a member of the group which the helper is a member of. Since the religious identity was not salient when participants gave the beggar money it could be that ingroup norms made religious people be more prosocial towards the beggar since they gave more money to the beggar than non-religious people. Ingroup norms are expected to become more salient when the ingroup identity is salient, hence in the case of salient religious participants, but the results showed that it was the other way around.

The explanation I can find for the results is that ingroup norms are embedded in

the life of religious people and they follow these norms regardless of their group identity is salient. On the contrary, it seemed that when this religious group identity was salient, religious people were less prosocial and seemed to 'forgot' their ingroup norms since the safekeeping of their ingroup of religious people was more important to them. They seemed to have responded to the threat against their group identity by not helping the beggar as much as religious non-salient participants did. Therefore it seems that ingroup identity and the safekeeping of the group you belong to is more important when people are reminded of this identity. Norms that are part of the religious identity seem to be more important when the religious identity is not salient and people would feel less threatened by other people invading their ingroup boundaries.

Furthermore, there was no difference between conditions in felt empathy towards the beggar in any of the contexts. All participants felt in some degree empathy towards the beggar regardless of a salient religious identity or religiosity. Regarding social identity theory it can be said that people feel empathy because their ingroup identity is not threatened by feeling empathy. Only when empathy will progress into prosocial behaviour then ingroup boundaries can become endangered.

Another prediction was that religious salient participants would be more prosocial towards a disadvantaged outgroup when they are together with significant others, such as family members, friends or their partner. Although it was not assumed that the significant others were ingroup members, which means that friends, family members and partner are religious as well, the results showed that when religious non-salient participants who

were in the company of their friends or partner gave the beggar more money than when they were alone. In the view of the fact that their significant others are priming their religious identities, will make the participants think that they particularly need to behave according their religious norms, i.e. be a good person and help others, since they are 'judged' by significant others. Their religious identity and religious teachings are activated even more by the presence of these significant others who are aware of their religious identity. However religious salient people did give less money to the beggar. Again it could be the case that for religious salient participants their ingroup identity was more important to them so they defended their religious ingroup by not giving money to the beggar than they were to stick to their religious norms and help others when in need.

Since no significant differences were found in feeling empathy for the beggar between the non-religious control condition and the religious conditions it could be therefore said that religion in itself in the function of religious people, is not affecting someone's empathy concerning beggars.

It was further found that people for whom religious identity is non-salient to be more prosocial towards a disadvantaged outgroup when they were together with significant others. The presence of significant others affecting prosocial behaviour to outgroup members will be explored further in the next chapter with a well used measure for accountability by Sedikides and Herbst (2002).

In the next experiment though, social identity is examined by means of a different identity compared to the religious identity: a political identity, and this identity is again

salient or not salient for the participant. The purpose for this other identity is the aim of replicating results manipulating salience of social identity. Salience of an identity could be a very promising tool to ensure people to behave in a certain way, people with a non-salient religious identity were found to be more prosocial.

Experiment 2 also involves a larger number of participants to guarantee extra statistical power. Replication allows a stronger claim to be made about the influence of salience of social identity towards outgroup helping, having gained data from two specific, but influential, social identities.

Experiment 2

Introduction

In experiment 1 religious identities were examined. In the present experiment political identity was investigated to understand the influence of a (salient) social identity on helping behaviour towards outgroups. It will be examined if different social identities have the same influence on helping behaviour. It is also a topic of consideration to see if norms that are part of political identity influence empathy and behaviour towards an outgroup. Therefore, the purpose of the second experiment is to re-examine this phenomenon with another social identity, political identity, to ensure that different ideologically defined identities will provide the same effects.

Thus when it is found that religious and political identity do have the same effect regarding empathy and outgroup helping then it is more clear that group processes work, like defending ingroup boundaries when they are threatened and behave according to ingroup norms because of the (salient) social identity. The next paragraph will describe political identity in more detail.

A specific social identity, i.e. religious identity, gender identity, or political identity, considers special circumstances. Someone with a certain political identity would acknowledge political views of someone at the level of his or her political identity in comparison to political identities of others and in the larger context of political views concerning a specific issue; in my thesis helping a disadvantaged outgroup. Very likely, people with a left wing political preference will form a group of people with a left wing political preference only. The same goes for people with for example a nationalist political identity or people with a right wing political identity. These different groups of political identity then strive for power in the society at large. Therefore, in the present experiment it is also investigated if political preference will influence prosocial behaviour and empathy towards beggars. Political preference in the present experiment means that a person has a left or right wing political preference which is measured on a continuum of 1 (right wing) to 5 (left wing). Hence, not only salience of political identity, but also people's political preference will be investigated to consider effects regarding prosocial behaviour and empathy towards the outgroup. However, political preference is not manipulated but measured and therefore will be analysed in an interaction with political

identity. Post-hoc analyses of political preference will also be done but these need to be taken as informative. It is possible that people with a political left wing preference behave differently towards an outgroup than right wing people since the norms of people with a political left wing preference are more prosocial, so more prone to help others, and the norms belonging to people with a more right wing political preference are more inclined to the idea that people have the responsibility to take care of themselves.

In the present experiment, in contrast to the last experiment, the focus is on three instances with the beggar. These are: when the participant sees a beggar, when the beggar asks for money and when the beggar wants to have a conversation with the participant. Chosen is for these situations since the contexts in which the participants are in the company of significant others like family members, friends and their partner which were investigated in the first experiment will be specifically investigated in another experiment. Furthermore, an important reason to consider political identity was because political identity is relevant to all people, and religious identity is only relevant to religious people and therefore to a certain amount of the population.

Predictions

It was predicted that (salience of) political identity would make a difference in empathy and prosocial behaviour towards the beggar, not just the social identity in itself. Furthermore, it was predicted that people for whom political identity is made salient would feel more empathy towards and are more likely to give money to the beggar than

those for whom political identity is not salient, since the salience of their political preference will 'remind' them how to feel and behave according to the norms that belong to their political identity. When participants think about their political identity they then will behave towards the outgroup as their political identity describes them to. The norms of participants' political identity are intertwined with their political preference.

Therefore it is expected that political preference in interaction with the salience of political identity will have an effect on empathy and prosocial behaviour towards the outgroup. Left wing people will feel and behave more prosocial towards the outgroup than right wing people. This will be especially the case when political identity is salient.

Method

Design An independent 2 (salience of political identity) x 3 (context) measures design was adopted. In condition 1 the political identity of participants was salient, wherein the participants were asked what they would feel and how they would behave towards the beggar regarding their political preference. In Condition 2 the political identity of participants was non-salient. When the political identity was salient participants were primed by their personal political preference and political behaviour before answering the rest of the questionnaire. In the non-salient condition participants were only asked about their political preference and political behaviour at the end of the questionnaire. The dependent variables were emotions and behaviours towards a disadvantaged outgroup, beggars.

Participants First year psychology students at the University of Amsterdam ($N = 274$) participated as part of a course requirement. Mean age of the participants was 21 ($SD = 5.74$). The political salient condition consisted of $N = 143$ participants, political non-salient condition $N = 131$.

Materials and procedure To test the hypotheses participants had to fill in a questionnaire, in which participants were asked how they would feel and behave towards a beggar.

Political identity Political identity was salient by ways of two different conditions. The first condition was political salient. In every question asked the participant would be requested to think about his or her political background. In condition 2 the political identity of the participant was not salient. The questions were asked without any reference towards the participants' political identity.

Political identity can come in different forms depending on political preference of people. This aspect of political identity needs to be dealt with in the analyses. Political identity can come in the form of for example a Liberal or Conservative political identity, but in this thesis a left and right wing political identity, and all possibilities in between far left and far right were taken in consideration.

In the questionnaire political preference within political identity was measured on a 1-5 Likert scale which indicated a right- to left-wing political continuum. Political preference within political identity was investigated to see if there was an effect on empathy and prosocial behaviour towards the beggar. In addition it was also investigated if political preference had an interaction with the main condition of political identity.

Situations with the beggar The participants had to answer about three different situations with the beggar. In the first question it was asked how participants would feel and behave when they see a beggar. In the second question they were asked how they would feel and behave when the beggar would ask for money. In the third question participants had to state their emotions and behaviour when the beggar wanted to have a conversation with the participant. Questions were for example;

- Imagine a beggar in the street asks you for some money. How would you behave regarding your political background? (Political salient condition).
- Can you think of when you see a beggar in the street? What do you feel? (Political non-salient condition)

Emotional measures

Participants had to rate their empathy for a beggar on a 7-point Likert scale (1= totally disagree to 7= totally agree) towards all three instances with the beggar, see a beggar, when the beggar asks for money and when the beggar wants a conversation. Identical as in experiment 1 the emotion ‘empathy’ was investigated. As in experiment 1, I have only analysed empathy towards the beggar since I was mainly interested in empathy since it is found that empathy predicts helping behaviour.

Behavioural measures

Participants had to state their behaviour towards the beggar in all three different instances with the beggar, see a beggar, the beggar asks the participant for money, and the beggar wants to have a conversation with the participant. Behaviour towards the beggar was, like in the last experiment, measured on a 7-point Likert scale (1= totally disagree to

7= totally agree). The behaviour was the same as applied in experiment 1. Subjects had to answer in what amount they would 'give money' to specify their behaviour towards the beggar. The give money to the beggar option was only analysed, like in the first experiment, since I was mainly interested in this behaviour because it is helping behaviour.

Participants were debriefed a few months after administering the questionnaire with the rationale and general results from the study.

Results

Main analysis

All analyses were computed using one-way ANOVAs and Tukey post-hoc tests in a full-factorial design

Empathy

Reliability of empathy over the three instances with the beggar was $\alpha = .897$. One-way ANOVAs measuring empathy with condition as predictor showed that there was no difference in felt empathy towards the beggar between political salient and political non-salient participants when they saw a beggar ($M = 3.36, 3.62$ for salient and non-salient participants respectively), when the beggar asked for money ($M = 3.43, 3.53$) or when the beggar wanted to have a conversation with the beggar money ($M = 3.66, 3.81$).

Prosocial behaviour

Reliability of giving money over three different contact instances with the beggar

was $\alpha = .816$. One-way ANOVAs measuring prosocial behaviour with condition as predictor showed that political salient and political non-salient participants did not differ in the money they gave to the beggar in all the three instances with the beggar, when they saw a beggar ($M = 3.39, 3.12$) when the beggar asked for money ($M = 3.54, 3.41$), and when the beggar wanted a conversation ($M = 2.99, 2.71$). As well as with empathy, salient political identity and non-salient political identity conditions did not differ in prosocial behaviour.

Political preference

Political preference was measured on a continuum of left to right wing political preference in 5 steps. I have indicated the numbers 1 to 5 with far right wing (1) to far left wing (5) political preferences for clarity of understanding the results. Participants just had the option to answer with 1 (right) to 5 (left). Amount of participants that responded to one of the scale points on the continuum for political preference were: far right (Likert scale 1) participants $N = 10$, Likert scale 2 $N = 49$, Likert scale 3 $N = 69$, Likert scale 4 $N = 114$, and far left political preference (Likert scale 5) $N = 33$.

a) Empathy

A one-way ANOVA and Tukey post-hoc tests measuring empathy with political preference as predictor showed that far left wing (5) and participants that gave a Likert scale 3 or 4 answer, regardless of political identity salience, felt significantly more empathy when they saw a beggar than participants with other political preferences,

$F(4,273) = 5.455, p < .001$. When the beggar asked for money participants with a far left political preference (5) and those who indicated (3) or (4) on the Likert scale felt significantly more empathy than participants with other political preferences, $F(4,274) = 8.637, p < .001$. Far left, and participants who indicated their political preference with Likert scale 3 or 4 also felt significantly more empathy when the beggar wanted to have a conversation with them than participants with other political preferences, $F(4,273) = 7.795, p < .001$.

*Political identity * political preferences.* There was no significant interaction between the main condition (political identity salience) and political preference. The main effects of political preference, which was not manipulated but measured, therefore results need to be interpreted cautiously regarding political preference and empathy towards a beggar. See Table 3 for means and standard deviations in felt empathy for different political preferences.

Table 3

Means (SD) of empathy towards beggar for different political preferences

| | Far left = 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 = Far right |
|------------------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|---------------|
| <hr/> | | | | | |
| Empathy | | | | | |
| <hr/> | | | | | |
| See a beggar | 3.91 (1.68) | 3.8 (1.58) | 3.4 (1.75) | 2.82 (1.25) | 2.2 (2.1) |
| Beggar wants money | 4.12 (1.71) | 3.89 (1.58) | 3.25 (1.6) | 2.73 (1.35) | 2.0 (2.0) |
| Beggar wants conversation | 4.56 (1.44) | 4.04 (1.66) | 3.57 (1.59) | 2.96 (1.44) | 2.5 (2.12) |

Note. Higher means indicate higher amount of felt empathy.

b) Prosocial behaviour

One-way ANOVAs and Tukey post-hoc tests measuring giving money to the outgroup with political preference as predictor indicated that participants answering with Likert scale 3, 4, and 5 regardless of political identity salience, gave significantly more money when they saw a beggar than participants with other political preferences, $F(4,274) = 12.288, p < .001$. When the beggar asked for money participants on Likert scale 3, 4 and 5 felt significantly more empathy than participants with other political preferences, $F(4,274) = 10.329, p < .001$.

Far left, and participants responding with Likert scale 3 and 4 also felt significantly more empathy when the beggar wanted to have a conversation with them than participants with other political preferences, $F(4,273) = 3.951, p < .001$. Again, the statistics done on political preference only, which was not manipulated but measured, should be taken as informative regarding political preference and prosocial behaviour towards a beggar. See Table 4 for means and standard deviations in prosocial behaviour for different political preferences.

Table 4

Means (SD) of prosocial behaviour towards beggar for different political preferences

| | Left = 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 = Right |
|------------------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|---------------|
| <hr/> | | | | | |
| Give money | | | | | |
| <hr/> | | | | | |
| See a beggar | 4.12 (2.04) | 3.74 (1.45) | 2.8 (1.58) | 2.55 (1.23) | 1.7 (1.34) |
| Beggar wants money | 4.24 (2.05) | 3.97 (1.5) | 3.04 (1.67) | 2.67 (1.51) | 2.2 (1.62) |
| Beggar wants conversation | 3.31 (2.25) | 3.09 (1.59) | 2.78 (1.63) | 2.39 (1.38) | 1.5 (.85) |

Note. Higher means indicate higher amount of giving money to the outgroup.

*Political identity * political preferences*

No significant differences between conditions for giving money were found in the interaction of the main condition (political identity) and political preference when the participant saw the beggar or when the beggar asked for money. In the instance that the beggar wanted to have a conversation an one-way ANOVA and Tukey post-hoc tests measuring giving money to the outgroup with political identity and political preference as indicators indicated a significant interaction effect of political identity and political

preference. Political salient participants were less likely to give money to the beggar if they answered with Likert scale 1(right-wing), 2 and 3 as political preference than political salient participants answering with Likert scale 4 and 5 (left-wing) for political preference. See Table 5 for means and standard deviations of prosocial behaviour towards the beggar regarding political preferences in two conditions.

Table 5

Means (SD) of prosocial behaviour towards beggar regarding political preferences in two conditions

| | Political salient | Political non-salient |
|---|-------------------|-----------------------|
| Give money when beggar wants conversation | | |
| Right wing (1) | 1.33 (.82) | 1.75 (.96) |
| 2 | 2.11 (1.03) | 2.76 (1.7) |
| 3 | 2.73 (1.66) | 2.82 (1.62) |
| 4 | 3.41 (1.63) | 2.75 (1.48) |
| Left wing (5) | 3.81 (2.25) | 2.36 (2.01) |

Note. Higher means indicate higher level of giving money.

The results provide support for the prediction that the content of a political identity serves to regulate prosocial behaviours towards a disadvantaged outgroup, but that the salience of a political identity can play a moderating role in certain contexts.

It was found that people with left-wing political preferences agree more that they would act prosocially towards a beggar than right-wing people do. This was moderated by the salience of political identity. People with a more left wing political preference felt more empathy when they saw a beggar than people with a more right wing orientation. It seems that the common view that left wing people feel more prosocial towards others because they believe that people should help each other when they are in need is supported by the present results, as opposed to people with a more right wing preference who believe that people should take care of themselves. As in the other experiments which will measure political preference, the analysis for interaction of political preference with condition is to be taken with precaution because of the small amount of participants per cell. Analyzing political identity on a continuous scale was however the preferred way of analysis since it would give information how participants of different levels of left and right wing preference feel and behave towards the outgroup, instead of putting participants together in groups of left wing, right wing and an ambiguous center wing political preference.

In experiment 1 the salience or non salience of a person's religious identity had a

different impact on empathy and prosocial behaviour towards beggars. Again in this experiment, the salience of political identity as well as the content of a political identity served to regulate prosocial behaviour towards a disadvantaged outgroup.

In the situation that the beggar wanted to have a conversation it was found that political salient people with a more right wing political preference would give less money to the beggar than people with a more left wing preference. This was in line with the predictions made. It seems that when the political identity of people is made salient in interaction with political preference, people will behave more prosocially towards a disadvantaged outgroup, since that salience makes them remember their political identity and norms that are part of that identity. The interaction with a more right wing political preference was expected since right wing people will rate self-sufficiency higher than helping others. However only in the instance that the beggar wanted a conversation this effect was found. Why this interaction effect was not found in the case of seeing a beggar and when the beggar asks for money I will try to explain.

Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) states that identity threat is felt when people who are not part of the ingroup want to enter the ingroup. When a beggar asks for money it could be so that people with a more right wing salient political preference actually help the beggar since the beggar 'just' wants money. When the beggar wants to talk to people with a more right wing salient political preference then the beggar can become too close for comfort since talking to someone is very communicative while giving money to the beggar is a more distant and less time consuming behaviour. Hence, group identity threat in the case of people with a salient more right wing political

preference can appear when the beggar wants to have a conversation with them. When people with a salient more right wing political preference see a beggar the group identity threat is low since the choice can be made just to walk on and ignore the beggar. Since no group identity threat should appear when people with a salient more right wing preference do see a beggar no differences with other salient political preferences should be found.

Furthermore, it was found that empathy served as predictor for people to behave prosocial towards a disadvantaged outgroup. Empathy was a predictor for people to give money when they saw a beggar, when the beggar asked for money, and when the beggar wanted to have a conversation. Thus, while the emotion empathy has previously been found to be a good predictor for prosocial behaviour (e.g. Batson et al., 2002; Sturmer et al., 2005), the present study suggests that this is also the case.

Concerning the present results, my subsequent interest was to see if the processes that were found could also be moderated by social identity effects caused by the presence of significant others. As I have already mentioned in the discussion of experiment 1 an identity accountability interpretation is something worth investigating since a significant ingroup member influencing another ingroup member's emotions and or behaviour towards an outgroup could affect how intragroup relations will be regulated towards outgroup interactions in the future.

In this research I drew on social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and self-categorization theory (Turner, 1985; Turner et al., 1987) to enhance our understanding of the intergroup effects of empathy and prosocial behaviour. It was predicted that people will be more prosocial towards a disadvantaged outgroup when their religious identity is salient than when this identity is not salient. However it was found that a non-salient religious identity aided outgroup helping more since it was believed that the threat towards their religious group identity was felt less when not made aware of their religious identity as opposed to salient religious people who were aware of their group identity and felt more threatened by the beggars.

Furthermore, it was expected that religious salient participants will be more prosocial towards a disadvantaged outgroup when they were together with significant others. It was found that significant others, among other contexts with the beggar, made non-salient religious people more prosocial to beggars.

It was further found that norms of participants' political identity are intertwined with their political preference. Results showed that more prosocial behaviour towards a disadvantaged outgroup occurred when salient political preferences were more left wing. These findings fit with the theories of social identity and self-categorization, given that behaving according to ingroup norms is the objective. It was found that people mostly feel and behave in line with the ingroup norms and it could be judged that the ingroup identity construct provided people a significant change in behaviour towards the

disadvantaged outgroup. Depending on salience or non salience of their religious identity, people experienced a different amount of empathy towards the disadvantaged outgroup. Social identity and social self-categorization theory explain these differences by suggesting that people each have a variety of different identities, which become activated in different social contexts.

Further, empathy has previously been found to be a good predictor for prosocial behaviour towards the outgroup (e.g. Batson et al., 2002) and towards the ingroup (Sturmer et al., 2005) and also my results suggested that this was the case.

To conclude, the first experiment found an apparent effect of significant others on empathy and prosocial behaviour, a so called accountability effect. Therefore, in the next chapter additional experiments will be carried out to further explore this effect. When significant others influence ingroup members in their empathy and behaviour towards outgroup members, would this effect also be found in a follow up study about accountability which entailed the well exercised accountability measure created by Sedikides et al. (2002). In addition would a different disadvantaged outgroup evoke empathy and prosocial behaviour as in experiment 1 and 2?

Lastly, in experiment 2 political identity was investigated since political identity is relevant to almost all people in contrast to a religious identity. Almost everyone will have at least once in his or her life thought about politics and has thought about their political preference. In experiment 2 a possible interesting difference in prosocial behaviour between left- and right-wing people was found, which is explored further in the experiments in the next chapter.

Chapter 4 Are intragroup relations predictors for helping a disadvantaged outgroup?

Introduction

This chapter will shift the focus from intergroup processes to intragroup process, that is relations between ingroup members, and their influence on feelings of empathy and prosocial behaviour towards an outgroup.

Can an ingroup member who identifies strongly with his or her group and, therefore, is party to or receives confidence of another ingroup member, also have an influence on an ingroup member (Turner, 1991)? What if differences between members of the ingroup such as status differences affect the relationships within a group? Would an ingroup member who holds a high status in the ingroup influence other lower status ingroup members? Given that the salience of social identity can have an influence on the ingroup and, subsequently, on behaviour towards outgroup members, the implication is that the salience itself makes the ingroup members become aware of the fact that the ingroup behaves in a certain way, as suggested by SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). The salience of the ingroup's social identity implies the activation of presumed relations between members as well as between groups. What types of intragroup relations could exist? As found in experiment 1, significant others, such as friends and partner, can have a positive influence on people's prosocial behaviour towards a beggar but only when their religious identity is not made salient. The awareness of one's group identity and the need to stick to it can be driven by the presence of a significant other ingroup member. Given

the status of this ingroup member, he or she can stimulate feelings of accountability among other ingroup members by making others feel obliged to show what their group stands for. The influence of a significant other towards other ingroup members is called an accountability effect. According to the accountability effect, a significant other in our own ingroup makes us behave according to the ingroup norms. Feelings of accountability of a significant ingroup member towards another ingroup member regarding empathy and prosocial behaviour towards an outgroup will be examined further.

Accountability literature

Adelberg and Batson (1978) looked at the role of a helping agent made accountable to either the provider or recipient of resources, when clients' needs surpass available resources. They expected that accountability weakens the intention of helping. A fake service agency was created in which male university students allocated monetary funds among six financial aid candidates. The researchers then told a number of subjects that immediately after allocating the funding they would state their decisions to a representative of the agency (accountability towards the provider); others were told that they would state their decisions to all six applicants (accountability towards the recipient); and others were told that their decisions would remain completely confidential (no accountability). Adequacy of resources was varied by setting the subjects' financial aid fund at a level that was more or less than sufficient to meet all applicants' needs. Results showed that when applicants' needs surpassed resources, accountability lead to less effective use of resources than did no accountability. The authors found an effect of

accountability, that is, being accountable towards others actually did not help to bring the task to a good end. It seemed that accountability towards people they had to work for was influencing their effectiveness. I am interested in accountability towards an ingroup member and, more specifically, in the effects of ingroup norms towards accountability that could have a positive influence on people's decision to help a disadvantaged group. In the experiment I have just described participants were directly responsible towards people, yet my interest lies in investigating the effects of accountability by a significant ingroup member to whom participants are accountable because of ingroup norms. However, behaviour of the participants will be towards helping an outgroup. The next study investigates the effects of ingroup norms which forms the basis for the studies I will do on accountability.

Using the frameworks of self-categorization theory and social identity theory, Marques, Abrams, Paez and Martinez-Taboada (1998) investigated group judgments depending on a degree of accountability towards group norms. In four minimal group experiments, the authors tested the prediction that judgments of groups and their members mirror evaluations made at the same time, but independently, within the group and at the intergroup level. They predicted that group members would seek both intergroup uniqueness and legitimization of ingroup norms. In experiments 1-3, membership (ingroup, outgroup), status of group members, and either accountability (to ingroup, outgroup) or salience of group norms were varied. It was found that accountability and norm salience lead to increased derogation of outgroup normative and improvement of ingroup normative members. In experiment 4, within-group

differentiation strengthened ingroup identification. The findings suggested that subjective group dynamics work to boost social identity when people judge ingroup and outgroup members. This study focuses on the positive effect on the ingroup, but the outgroup will be judged less positively. The authors focussed on intergroup uniqueness and legitimization of ingroup norms. It seemed that ingroup norms did not entail helping others outside the own group since outgroup members were judged less positively. In my studies I will focus on ingroup norms and accountability to these norms that entail helping others also outside the own group. When ingroup norms are made salient accountable ingroup members would possibly be more positive towards outgroup members than in the study by Abrams et al. (1998). Furthermore, the number of people you are surrounded with seems to influence helping behaviour at a later stage as the next study investigated.

Garcia, Weaver, Moskowitz and Darley (2002) demonstrated in five studies how simply priming a social context at time 1 lead to less helping behaviour on a successive, entirely unrelated task at time 2. Participants in study 1 who were asked to imagine being with a group at time 1 promised significantly less money when completing a charity-giving measure at time 2 than participants who were asked to imagine being with only one other person at time 1. In studies 2–5, the authors used both hypothetical and real helping behaviour measures. Using a lexical decision task, their findings indicated that participants who imagined the presence of others were facilitated in recognizing words related to *unaccountable*. The outcome of these studies is not positive in light of the chapter's purpose, namely, that an accountable person is more willing to help. But Garcia

et al.'s studies did not specify an ingroup member who was important to the participant, an issue which the next studies I will be presenting aim to address.

Levine, Cassidy, and Jentzsch (2003) took issue with Garcia et al. (2002) in exploring the limits of the implicit bystander effect. They argued that helping behaviour is not shaped by the number of imagined others, but by who those others are imagined to be. The authors relied on insights from the SIDE (Social Identity model of Deindividuation effects) model by Reicher, Spears, and Postmes (1995) for their reasoning. In two experiments, Levine et al. made use of diverse deindividuation settings. These studies show that, although group size can inhibit helping behaviour, when priming group membership, a large group size can also have a positive effect on helping in accordance with the group norms and values.

The descriptions of studies by Levine et al. (2003), and Garcia et al.'s (2002) experiments show a different picture. The studies in this thesis were developed based on the reasoning of Levine et al (2003). To get more data on the subject of accountability and its effect on helping an outgroup the following two studies were conducted.

Introduction

Accountability towards ingroup member

Probably the most effective condition in which a group member would feel empathy and engage in prosocial behaviour towards an outgroup is when he or she is judged by a higher power fellow ingroup member but only if this is in the direction of ingroup norms. It seems simple, but what happens in reality? Will this ingroup member function as someone's moral conscience or will he or she inflict fear in the lower power ingroup member?

In Experiment 1, a religious identity and its influence on empathy and prosocial behaviour towards a disadvantaged outgroup was examined. In this study a supposed accountability effect was found. Religious participants gave significantly more money towards a disadvantaged group, in this case beggars, in the presence of friends or partners whose religious identity was non-salient compared to religious participants whose religious identity was salient. The purpose of the experiments in this chapter is to re-examine this phenomenon with another social identity, political identity, in order to ensure that a different ideologically defined group identity will provide the same accountability effect. An accountability effect would bring strong evidence for the roles of social identity and self-categorization in the ongoing processes between prosocial emotions and behaviour. The replication of the accountability effect in these experiments

would reinforce the explanation that a powerful significant other in our own group makes us behave according to the ingroup norms. SIT and SCT both contain theoretical foundations for this process.

Predictions

It was expected that people expecting to be judged by a significant ingroup member would feel more empathy and be more likely to engage in helping behaviour towards a disadvantage outgroup than people who are not held accountable by others. Furthermore, an interaction effect between accountability and political identity is predicted. That is, people whose left-wing political preference is made salient and also made to feel accountable to a powerful ingroup member, would feel more empathy and show a higher likelihood of engaging in helping behaviour towards the outgroup than people with a salient right-wing political preference and made feel accountable to a significant ingroup member.

Method

Design. An independent 2 (accountability) X 2 (salience of political identity) measures design was adopted. In the first condition, accountability to a significant other ingroup member and the salience of a political identity were manipulated. In the second condition, participants were not made to feel accountable to a significant other, but their political identity was made salient. In the third condition, participants were made

accountable, but their political identity was not made salient. Finally, in the fourth condition, participants were not made to feel accountable and their political identity was not salient.

Participants. Participants were recruited from the Department of Psychology at University of Sussex (undergraduate level), and from a paid subject pool at the University of Sussex ($N = 64$). Mean age for all participants was 23 years old ($SD = 5.51$). The political salient and accountable condition consisted of $N = 14$ participants, the political salient and not accountable condition of $N = 13$ participants, the accountable and non-salient political condition had $N = 16$ participants, and finally the political non-salient and not accountable condition consisted of $N = 17$ participants.

Materials and Procedure

Political identity manipulation Participants were asked to indicate their political preferences on a continuum of left- to right-wing political orientation (1= right wing, to 7= left wing). They also had to answer a set of questions regarding the meaning of politics for them, if they were politically active, very clear about their political opinion or preference, their knowledge about political issues, their willingness to know as much as possible about political issues and their interest in politics, which will be treated as individual items in the analysis. Participants indicated their answers using a 7-point likert scale (1=totally agree, 7=totally disagree). These questions were asked to manipulate a salient political identity when these questions were asked at the beginning of the questionnaire in the salient conditions (condition 1 and 2) and to make people not aware of their political identity these questions were asked at the end of the questionnaire, in the

non-salient conditions (condition 3 and 4).

Accountability manipulation Next, participants had to write a short essay in response to the question “*Should the UK allocate tax money to people with a low income due to low or no education because their parents were absent, so they never had good role models and therefore left school too early or even never attended.*”. I chose this description to construct the disadvantaged outgroup because it is much more specific than the broader and more general low-income category. In the latter case, participants might not perceive this category as a disadvantaged group since they could attribute the low-income condition to members’ laziness or unwillingness to put more effort in searching for a better job. It is for this reason that I have focused on an external factor such as the absence of parents to explain their low-income condition and, therefore, induce a perception of undeserved disadvantage.

Participants were asked to grade their essay on five dimensions: ‘clearly written’, ‘logical’, ‘rich in arguments’, ‘thought over’, and ‘has a conclusion’ on a five point Likert scale (1= not at all, 5= very much).

Accountable ingroup member Participants were then given a statement saying: ‘Later on, you will be asked to fully explain, justify, and defend the grades you assigned yourself, on each of the five dimensions, to a political advisor, John Fleming of an UK left-wing political party, located in an adjoining office, during a 10-minute conversation. John Fleming has a Master’s degree in political science and is widely asked to give talks about political topics.’ They had to write their first name on each page of their booklet, so that the researchers could keep their responses together. All was done in accordance with

the accountability manipulation by Seddikides et al. (2002). Participants were further asked to describe their feelings and behaviour towards people with a low income, due to low or no education.

Emotional measure

As in experiments 1 and 2, participants were asked to rate the intensity of their felt empathy towards the disadvantaged group on a 7-point Likert scale (1= not at all, 7= very much) which was stated: 'empathy' ("I feel for and can imagine what it must be like to be someone with a low income, due to low or no education").

Behavioural measure

Participants' prosocial behaviour, like in experiments 1 and 2, had to be ticked on a Likert scale (1= not all, to 7= very much). Participants were asked if they would 'Donate money to a society, which helps low income people, due to low or no education'.

Lastly, participants were asked whether they had the political advisor in mind while they were answering the questions (yes/no), which was the manipulation check for accountability, and if they treated people with low income as an outgroup (yes/no) which checked for the successful formation of an ingroup (participants) and a disadvantaged outgroup. Further, it was asked if participants had been sincere when they wrote the essay and answered the questions (Likert scale 1= not at all to 5= very much). Finally, participants were debriefed, thanked and paid, or received their course credits.

Manipulation check

To check if the accountability manipulation was successful, it was examined whether participants had thought of the political advisor during the experiment. The results showed that 91 percent of participants in the accountability conditions indicated that they thought of the political advisor, suggesting that most participants felt accountable and that the manipulation worked well.

To check the effectiveness of the group membership formation, it was examined whether all participants had considered people with a low income, due to low or no education as the outgroup. Only 57 percent of the participants indicated that they perceived people with a low income due to little or no education as an outgroup, which indicated that the ingroup-outgroup formation did not work very well.

Main analyses

All analyses were computed using ANOVAs and Tukey post-hoc tests in a full-factorial design concerning empathy and prosocial behaviour towards the outgroup.

Empathy

An one-way ANOVA and Tukey post-hoc tests measuring empathy for the outgroup with condition as predictor found no differences in felt empathy between the four conditions. Looking at just the political preferences of participants, results from an one-way ANOVA and Tukey post-hoc tests measuring felt empathy towards the outgroup

with political preference as predictor indicated that the analysis was not acceptable since the amount of participants in some of the cells was too small. A scale midpoint split of the data was not acceptable as well. When leaving the ambiguous participants who answered in the centre of the Likert scale (4) out of the analysis, the group of participants with a left wing political identity (Likert scale 5,6,7, N= 35) was much larger than the group of participants with a right wing political identity (Likert scale 1,2,3, N= 8) which made them not comparable.

Prosocial behaviour

An one-way ANOVA measuring prosocial behaviour towards the outgroup with condition as predictor found no differences between conditions in the likelihood of donating money to a society that helps the disadvantaged group.

Again, doing an analysis to look for an interaction between condition and political preference was not acceptable since the amount of participants in some of the cells would be too small. A scale midpoint split of the data was not acceptable as well since the amount of participants with a left wing political identity (N= 35) was much larger than the group of participants with a right wing political identity (N= 8).

Discussion

The expectation that people who are judged by a significant ingroup member would experience more empathy and be more likely to engage in helping behaviour towards a

disadvantaged outgroup than people who were not accountable by others was not found, which was probably caused by the construction of the experiment.

A setback in the method of this experiment was the choice of the significant ingroup member, the advisor of a left wing political party. This person observing participants responses was not for all participants an ingroup member, he was an advisor from a left-wing political party. Therefore, participants with a left-wing preference would have seen this person as an ingroup member, but participants with a right-wing preference would have seen him as an outgroup member. In addition to that, the choice of a political advisor with a Masters degree in political science made participants less likely to see him as an ingroup member since for one thing he was not a student like they were and had besides political identity no other noticeable social identity in common with the participants.

Another flaw in this experiment was the very small amount of participants or no participants in some cells. I had to analyze the data regarding political preference on a continuous scale or do a scale midpoint split to ensure that participants with ambiguous center scores (Likert scale 4) would not mess up the analysis but this left me with cells with none or a small amount of participants which were not comparable to cells with a larger amount of participants.

Concluding, the predictions were not confirmed. Very likely only left wing people took the political advisor of a left wing party as a member of their ingroup into account, and fitted helping behaviour according to the ingroup norm. This led to the consideration as to whether the agent of accountability, a political advisor of a left wing political party

had been the right choice. Some participants noted in the debriefing that they did not believe that there really was such an important and busy man as the political advisor of a left wing party, present at the experiment. These participants were taken out of the analysis, and it was believed that a more 'plain' accountable person was needed: someone the participants could relate to more easily. As said before, even more importantly, a left wing political advisor would make political more right wing participants perceive the advisor as an outgroup member, and not as an accountable ingroup member who was anticipated to be manipulated. Therefore, it was decided that a political science graduate student from the participants' university, with no given political preference, would be the significant ingroup member in the next experiment.

Furthermore, the formation of an ingroup of participants and an outgroup they had to respond to did not work well which has to be improved in the next experiment.

Experiment 3a

Introduction

Experiment 3a was run to improve the method. According to the accountability effect, a significant other in one's own group makes the ingroup members behave according to the ingroup norms. Social identity theory and self categorization theory both contain theoretical foundations for this process. In the present experiment, the manipulation of

accountability was considered very carefully, given that, in experiment 3, it was found to be inadequate. The participants should consider the accountable person as a powerful ingroup member to whom they could relate. Hence, in the current experiment, the accountable ingroup member was a graduate student in political science at the university which the participants were also attending. Given that, both the significant other and the participants were students at the same university made them members of the same group. Although the participants and the significant other were not from the same department, it was necessary to have a political science student because he or she would be considered to have expertise in political issues which would render the manipulation more effective.

Predictions

The predictions were similar to those in the previous experiment. Thus, it was predicted that people expecting to be judged by a significant ingroup member would feel more empathy and be more likely to engage in prosocial behaviour towards a disadvantage outgroup than people who were not made to feel accountable by a significant ingroup member. Specifically, people would feel accountable and, hence, experience more prosocial emotions and behaviour towards people with a low income, due to low or no education, as a result of knowing that John Fleming, a PhD student in Political Science at Sussex University, located in an adjoining office was present. Political identity and preference will be measured as in experiments 2 and 3. It was predicted that there would be an interaction effect between political identity and accountability, whereby people with a more left-wing political preference that was made

salient and who feel accountable to a significant ingroup member would show higher levels of empathy and more helping behaviour towards the outgroup than people with a salient right-wing political preference and who were made to feel accountable to a significant ingroup member.

Method

Design A 2 (accountability) X 2 (salience of political identity) independent measures design was adopted. In condition 1, accountability was manipulated and the political identity of the participant was made salient ($N = 23$). In condition 2, there was no manipulation of accountability, but only their political identity was made salient ($N = 21$). In condition 3, accountability was again manipulated but the political identity of the participant was not made salient ($N = 33$). Finally, in condition 4, the control condition, neither accountability nor political identity salience were manipulated ($N = 20$).

Participants Participants came from the University of Sussex psychology undergraduates and from a paid subject pool at the same university ($N = 97$). The mean age of participants was 21.62 years old ($SD = 3.43$). Participants were given course credits or £4 for taking part in the study.

Materials and Procedure

Political identity manipulation As in experiment 3, participants were asked to give their political preference on a continuum of left- to right-wing political orientation (1= right wing, 7= left wing), and had to answer what politics meant to them, if they were

politically active, very clear about their political opinion, had a lot of knowledge about political issues, would like to know as much as possible regarding political issues, if politics were not in their interest, if they were very sure about their political opinion, and if politics occupied their mind to make political identity salient. These questions were all measured on a 7-point Likert scale (1=totally disagree, 7=totally agree) and were administered to measure the participants' political identity and made them aware of their political identity when in the salient condition. The questions about political identity were asked at the beginning of the questionnaire, in the salient condition, or at the end of the questionnaire in the non-salient condition.

Accountability manipulation Next, participants had to state in a short essay their opinions regarding the question ‘Should the UK allocate tax money to people with a low income, due to low or no education?’ That is, people whose parents were absent, meaning that they never had good role models and therefore left school too early, or even never attended. Next they were asked to grade their essay on five dimensions: ‘clearly written’, ‘logical’, ‘rich in arguments’, ‘thought over’, and ‘has a conclusion’.

Accountable ingroup member Participants were then given a statement saying: ‘Later on, you will be asked to fully explain, justify, and defend the grades you assigned yourself, on each and every dimension, to John Fleming, a PhD student in Political sciences at your university located in an adjoining office, during a 10-minute conversation.’ Participants had to write their first name on each page of their booklet, so that the researcher could keep their responses together. All was done in accordance with the accountability manipulation by Sedikides et al. (2002). Participants were further

asked to rate their feelings and behaviour towards people with a low income, due to low or no education. Participants in the non-accountable conditions (conditions 2 and 4), used a 5-digit number to identify their booklet with their answers, in order to ensure anonymity.

Measurement of empathy

As in Experiment 3, participants had to rate the intensity of their empathy on a 7-point Likert scale (1= not at all, 7= very much): ‘empathy’ (I feel for and can imagine what it must be like to be someone with a low income, due to low or no education.).

Behavioural measure

Participants' likelihood of engaging in prosocial behaviour was rated on a 7-point Likert scale (1= not at all, 7= very much). ‘Donate money to a society, which helps low income people, due to low or no education’.

Lastly, participants were asked whether they had the political advisor in mind while they were answering the questions (yes/no), which was the manipulation check for accountability, and if they treated people with low income as an outgroup (yes/no) which checked for the successful formation of an ingroup (participants) and a disadvantaged outgroup. Further, it was asked if participants had been sincere when they wrote the essay and answered the questions (Likert scale 1= not at all to 5= very much). Finally, participants were debriefed, thanked and paid, or received their course credits.

Manipulation checks

To check if the accountability manipulation was successful it was examined if participants had the political science student in mind during the questionnaire. Ninety-six percent of the participants expressed that they had the political science student in mind, which indicates that the manipulation was successful.

Again as in experiment 3, the effectiveness of the group membership formation was tested. Only 56 percent of the participants considered people with a low income, due to low or no education, as an outgroup, which indicated that this manipulation did not work very well. Of course this unsuccessful group formation should have been taken care of but improving the accountability strength of the significant ingroup member I found to be more important.

Main analyses

All analyses were computed using ANOVAs and Tukey post-hoc tests in a full-factorial design.

Empathy towards the outgroup

One-way ANOVAs measuring empathy for the outgroup with condition or political preference as predictors found no significant differences between conditions or political preferences for felt empathy towards the disadvantaged outgroup. Also no interaction effect in felt empathy was found for condition and political preference when

administering a two-way ANOVA measuring empathy towards the outgroup with condition and political preference as predictors.

Prosocial behaviour

Regarding helping the outgroup through donating money to a charity, a significant difference was found between conditions. An one-way ANOVA and Tukey post-hoc tests found that participants in the no accountability and political salient condition had the intention to donate more to the charity for disadvantaged people than participants in other conditions, $F(3,74) = 3.139, p < .05$. See Table 6 for means and standard deviations for prosocial behaviour towards the outgroup in different conditions.

Table 6

Means (SD) of prosocial behaviour between conditions.

| | Salient Accountability + Political salient | Salient Accountability + Political non- salient | No Accountability + Political salient | No Accountability + Political non- salient |
|--------------|--|--|--|--|
| <i>N</i> | 23 | 20 | 33 | 19 |
| Donate money | 3.17 (1.4) | 3.4 (1.88) | 3.6 (1.56) | 2.79 (1.47) |

Note. Higher means indicate higher amount of prosocial behaviour.

Participants in the no accountability and politically salient condition donated more to the charity for disadvantaged people than people in other conditions. Given that people in this condition were not made accountable to an ingroup member, their salient political identity guided their behaviour. Outgroup helping from participants with a salient left-wing political orientation was expected whereas no helping was expected from right-wing participants whose political identity was made salient. However, I did not test for the interaction of condition with political preference since the amount of participants per cell would be too small to run a proper analysis.

Discussion

The prediction that people who expected to be judged by a significant ingroup member would feel more empathy and be more likely to engage in prosocial behaviour towards a disadvantage outgroup than those who were not expected to be judged by others was not supported.

Participants in the no accountability and politically salient condition donated more to the charity for disadvantaged people than people in other conditions. Given that people in this condition were not made accountable to an ingroup member, their salient political identity guided their behaviour. Outgroup helping from participants with a salient left-wing political orientation was expected whereas no helping was expected from right-wing participants whose political identity was made salient.

The prediction that political identity will interact with accountability was not tested because of the small amount of participants in some cells or when doing a scale midpoint split two incomparable group sizes which would make the analysis not reliable. Therefore, no implication is made regarding the influence of the interaction of political identity content (left wing or right wing) and accountability on outgroup helping.

In experiments 3 and 3a, I consistently obtained an opposite or no effect to the expected one regarding the presence of a significant other on levels of felt empathy and likelihood of engaging in prosocial behaviour regarding an outgroup. It seemed as I predicted that political preference influenced this. Hence, my design was too complex and had a too small amount of participants to get clear overall results. Yet, I will not abandon the idea that making a group member feel accountable will facilitate helping behaviour towards an outgroup. I believe that assumed intragroup power of the significant other could have influenced the results. Accountability is found to have a positive effect on helping behaviour in some studies, as described in the literature review in the introduction of this chapter. However, in my experiments, interpersonal processes in the ingroup could have influenced the effect of accountability on helping which was not investigated in studies yet.

A few participants in the debriefing told me that they explicitly did not desire to be influenced by the political science student since they had written down their own beliefs and answers. Hence, the ingroup member with significant knowledge and power can make people in that ingroup feel less powerful not just because they have less power

due to less knowledge but also because they find that the powerful ingroup member lessens their feeling of individuality within that group. When this occurs, the power of the significant ingroup member who should evoke accountability concerns could induce the opposite effect. People may well feel that the significant other should not interfere with their personal ideas, which could make them behave in a non-conformist way. This process may provide a different explanation of the results. The effect of intragroup power on outgroup helping by ingroup members will be explored further in the next chapter.

Limitations and Concerns

More could have been done within the design of the experiments to test the extent to which theories other than SIT and SCT could accommodate the obtained results. For example, a mere association process could have taken place in Experiment 3, in the sense that it was a social cognitive process rather than a social identity accountability effect. Being aware of this contrasting possibility, it was therefore asked at the end of the questionnaire whether participants had the significant other in mind. Most participants answered 'yes'. This suggested that indeed an accountability effect was occurring in this situation. If an association process had been taking place, one would expect to find participants not to conform with and to have felt the prosocial emotions when a relevant political advisor or political science graduate student would judge their answers. The political advisor/student could be a significant ingroup member, but not someone they know, hence an association would not be formed to help them regarding their emotional responses to the situation. However, the target could have not been salient enough to

evoke social identity concerns. A measure of social identity would be needed before and after the manipulation to test this. As reported above, the participants were asked at the end of the experiment if they had the political science student or political advisor in mind. It would have been quite difficult to check if the manipulation of the accountable person was working before the participants completed the questionnaire, as people could get the impression that the situation was fake and they would take this into consideration when providing their answers. However, it left me with more complicated results. Nevertheless, it would be a good idea to further explore the accountability phenomenon in intergroup situations, in which power is involved as said before.

Chapter 5 Why not help a disadvantaged group?: intragroup power relations

Introduction

As set out in the last chapter, intragroup power processes will be investigated in the present section. The main purpose is to examine the effect of accountability by an ingroup member from a perspective that considers intragroup power having a main effect towards outgroup helping. Accountability by a significant other was thought to influence empathy and prosocial behaviour towards a disadvantaged outgroup because of ingroup norms. Instead, experiments 3 and 3a found more complex results. That is, participants were less likely to help the outgroup when they were made accountable by an ingroup member because of ingroup preference and not because of ingroup norms that would have served outgroup helping in the case of left-wing participants. This occurred also when participants had a more left wing preference. Difficulties in interpreting the results were due to the improper manipulation of the significant ingroup member and likely due to the fact that the outgroup was not considered as an outgroup by a large amount of participants.

A group where actually everyone is considered to be an ingroup member will likely be created when people depend on each other because of a work situation. A setting in which the company where people work creates the ingroup and the differences in power between company employees (e.g. a manager has higher power than the plumber) is thought to provide a more reliable design in which the power of fellow ingroup

members will affect other group members' behaviour. Firstly, to understand the choice of design for the forthcoming studies the relevant literature on intragroup power is described, and a conclusion is provided.

According to the social comparison theory (Festinger, 1954; Rijsman, 1974, 1983), people try hard to be positively distinct in power from resembling others. But, if equal-power others are classified as ingroup members and different-power others as outgroup members, people might aim to make their group more powerful than the outgroup, as SIT would propose. Every single person in a group wants to feel positively distinct from their fellow ingroup members. Distinctiveness which is another aspect of ingroup membership and intragroup power is investigated in the next study.

Jetten, Spears, and Postmes (2004) executed a meta-analysis on the relation between perceptions of intergroup differentiation and intergroup distinctiveness. The authors examined the social identity theory prediction that low intergroup distinctiveness underlies differentiation (the "reactive distinctiveness" hypothesis) for effects on behavioural and judgemental differentiation. Jetten et al. (2004) also investigated the moderating power of group identification, relevance of the dimension of comparison, relevance of the outgroup, and nature of intergroup relations: factors that Tajfel and Turner (1979) had predicted would influence group differentiation. Sixty tests were analysed and found to reveal that the general effect of distinctiveness on differentiation did not differ significantly from zero. However, reflective distinctiveness was found on judgmental differentiation measures, while reactive distinctiveness was found on differentiation measures at a behavioural level. Group identification was found to be the

only consistent moderator, such that high identifiers demonstrated reactive distinctiveness, whereas low identifiers demonstrated reflective distinctiveness.

Although the study by Jetten et al. (2004) deals with intergroup differentiation and there is no literature on intragroup power regarding outgroup helping which could aid the design of my intragroup power experiments I would like to make a leap to intragroup differentiation from the Jetten et al.(2004) article to hypothesize an intragroup power situation that helps to understand outgroup helping. It could be stated that differences in power in members of the ingroup will cause differentiation within the ingroup. When ingroup members have high intragroup power they will be more able to use their power towards other ingroup members and towards outgroups. Whereas, ingroup members with low intragroup power do not have the ability to use power towards other ingroup members and differentiate themselves from the other ingroup members, and can therefore feel more empathy towards the outgroup since they will favour the outgroup more because of their ingroup position. Thus, power is a salient dimension of comparison.

In conclusion, intragroup differentiation is an important factor in group behaviour. Following on from the amount of intragroup power people have, whilst not dependent on it, they will try to obtain differentiation from the other ingroup members. Therefore, in the experiments of the current chapter, all group manipulations will involve power differences at three different levels: lower, equal, and higher power levels than the other group members. This allows an investigation into variance between different power conditions. The main research question attempted to be answered in this chapter is: Will

intragroup differentiation, due to a present intragroup power situation, facilitate prosocial behaviour towards an outgroup?

Predictions

Ingroup members with low intragroup power, who will be influenced by their fellow ingroup members with high intragroup power will treat the outgroup members as how they perceive their own position in the ingroup. This means that low power ingroup members treat outgroup members with more compassion than ingroup members with high intragroup power since they can relate to the disadvantaged outgroup and will favour the outgroup more because of their ingroup position. Therefore, ingroup members with low intragroup power will feel empathy and will behave prosocial towards a disadvantaged outgroup.

Moreover, high power ingroup members will treat the disadvantaged outgroup as dependent on them. High intragroup power ingroup members will not feel much empathy towards the outgroup since they do not relate much to disadvantaged and therefore low power people. In addition, all ingroup members will feel the need to differentiate themselves from other ingroup members as stated by the social comparison theory (e.g. Festinger, 1954). Ingroup members who hold the same amount of intragroup power as their fellow ingroup members will behave in the most prosocial way towards the outgroup compared to ingroup members with high or low intragroup power, since they have the largest urge to differentiate themselves from the other ingroup members. This differentiation is expected to embrace a positive, hence a prosocial act since the outgroup

is disadvantaged and prosocial behaviour is the only means of positive differentiation.

In the first study of this chapter, experiment 4, intragroup power relations will be examined that concern changing a person's intentions towards helping a disadvantaged outgroup by intragroup power relations.

Experiment 4

Introduction

In the present experiment, ingroup members will be challenged in their helping behaviour towards a disadvantaged outgroup by fellow ingroup members. The characteristic of ingroup members that is expected to affect outgroup helping is the certainty of their political preference, which could be at a high, medium, or low level. Thus, identity salience is taken into account.

Persuasion of ingroup members towards their fellow members regarding outgroup helping will be investigated with respect to donating money to a charity organization for people with low income, due to lower than average intelligence. According to the intragroup differentiation explanation, it is expected that people highly certain of their political preference will be more likely to persist with their ideas about donating money to a disadvantaged outgroup regardless of persuasion of other ingroup members compared to those people who are less certain about their political preference. Intragroup differentiation makes group members who are highly certain of their political preference

stick to their ideas despite efforts of persuasion from ingroup members so that they maintain the existing difference between themselves and other group members in the certainty of political preference.

Therefore, I predict that those ingroup members who are less certain of their political preference will be influenced more easily by powerful ingroup members in their decision to help the outgroup compared to those ingroup members who are highly certain of their political preference.

Method

Design Intragroup power is manipulated in a 3 (power: high, same or low) x 2 (political certainty: high or low) factor design. Participants of a certain political certainty are given an impression of an ingroup member who has power.

Participants Participants were University of Sussex psychology undergraduates who took part in the study as a course requirement as well as participants from a paid subject pool at the same university ($N = 49$).

Materials and Procedure

Political certainty Participant's level of political certainty was measured by participants' answer to the following question: 'How certain are you of your political opinion?' They were asked to give their answer towards political certainty on a 7-point Likert scale (1= not certain at all, 7= very certain).

Manipulation of a powerful other (within subjects design) Participants were then asked to think for a moment about their opinion about giving money to a charity organization for people with low income, due to low or no education. They did not have to write it down but just take the time they personally needed. Next, they were asked to imagine that someone with power (such as their boss, or their professor) asked them to change their mind about giving money to a charity organization for people with low income, due to low or no education. Participants had to make one of the following decisions: (1) change their minds immediately, (2) think about changing their minds, (3) get more information about the subject (i.e., people with low income) before changing their minds, and (4) not change their minds at all.

Next, participants had to imagine that someone with less power than them such as a child asked them to change their mind about giving money to a charity organization for people with low income, due to low or no education. The possibilities for responding to the question listed above were given again. Finally, participants had to imagine that someone with the same amount of power as themselves (a student) asked them to change their minds about donating money. The same possibilities to answer the question as before were given.

Lastly participants were debriefed, thanked and paid.

All analyses were computed using one-way ANOVAs in a full-factorial design. Firstly, participants were split into two groups according to the certainty of their political opinion, low certainty ($N=18$) and high certainty groups ($N=26$) in order to have enough participants per group instead of analysing political certainty as a continuous measure in which the amount of participants per cell would be too small. Answers of Likert scale 5-7 were considered as politically high certain and answers of Likert scale 1-3 as political low certainty. Participants who responded with Likert scale 4 were taken out to prevent having ambiguous scores in the analysis.

Main analyses

A one-way ANOVA was carried out measuring donating money to the outgroup and including the amount of power of the person the (high or low certain) participants meet as predictor. In the case of political view certainty, participants who indicated to be highly certain about their political view were significantly less likely to change their mind about donating money to an outgroup when confronted with someone more powerful (professor) than those participants who were less certain, $F(1, 48) = 11.58, p = .001$.

A trend was found when participants who viewed themselves as highly certain of their political view. These participants were less likely to change their mind about

donating money to a disadvantaged outgroup than people with a low level of certainty when confronted with an ingroup member holding the same power, $F(1,48) = 2.98$, $p = .09$.

No significant results were found when participants with low or high political certainty were confronted with an individual with less power (child) than them. See Table 7 for means and standard deviations regarding certainty of political view.

Table 7

Means (SD) of prosocial behaviour regarding participants' political certainty and agent of change.

| | High certainty group | Low certainty group |
|-----------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| <hr/> | | |
| Agent of change | | |
| <hr/> | | |
| Higher power | 3.38 (.50) | 2.83 (.65) |
| Same power | 3.15 (.73) | 2.83 (.58) |
| Lower power | 3.31 (.62) | 3.39 (.78) |

Note. Higher means indicate elevated level of prosocial behaviour.

It was predicted that powerful ingroup members would more easily change other group members' decisions about helping an outgroup when the latter is less certain about their political preference. In contrast, ingroup members with a high level of political certainty would be less affected by persuasion by an ingroup member in general.

Results showed that highly certain group members confronted with someone with high ingroup power did not change their mind about giving money to a charity organization for people with low income. Yet, group members who scored low on political certainty showed a significant change in their decision to donate money to the charity when confronted with a powerful ingroup member. There was no effect found between the high and low certainty participants when the agent of persuasion was someone with less or equal power as the other ingroup members. Thus, pro-social behaviour change is a function of the level of certainty in one's political preferences and the high power status of the ingroup member who wants to promote the change. These findings bring evidence for the importance of intragroup differentiation in determining intergroup helping, and the ideas of the social comparison theory (e.g. Festinger, 1954). When the identity of an ingroup member is threatened by another high power ingroup member this person will restore his or her identity by behaving in a counteractive way towards this threat. As a result the ingroup identity he or she has endorsed will restore intragroup differentiation. In the next experiment this idea will be retested since it seems this could be an important intragroup process that influences behaviour towards an

outgroup.

A problem in the design of the experiment was that I did not measure if participants considered the ingroup member they were confronted with as an ingroup member. Therefore, strict conclusions regarding intragroup differentiation cannot be made. Still, the results are pointing in the direction of the explanations that intragroup differentiation and social comparison theory (e.g. Festinger, 1954) provide.

As I pointed out I did not include an ingroup manipulation check. Therefore, it is hard to interpret results. The ingroup members participants had to relate to were not chosen well and probably participants did not perceive them as ingroup members which makes explanations of results by ingroup differentiation implausible. In the higher and lower power situation the supposed ingroup member is actually not an ingroup member since the participants are students and will likely only regard the situation when they were confronted with someone with the same power as themselves (a student) as an ingroup situation. Furthermore, the choice of a child as a low power ingroup member and professor as a high power ingroup member would not have been clear to participants and likely were not considered as ingroup members to the participants. Participants could have perceived that they had a personal encounter with another person as opposed to both being part of the same group.

In the following experiment the process of intragroup power will be investigated further. Since, in experiment 4, the ingroup membership was not evident, membership of the ingroup will be made more explicit in experiment 5, so that intragroup and intergroup

explanations are more easily discernable. Political identity will be also taken in account. In experiment 2, the salience of political identity and identity content offered additional strength in the interpretation of the results. Based on these results, right-wing participants feel less empathy and behave in a less prosocial manner compared to left-wing participants.

Experiment 5

Introduction

Within an intergroup context, social power can be defined as the amount of control that a group has over the outgroup's fate and its own fate (Jones, 1972). This project looks at an advantaged group's willingness to help a disadvantaged outgroup, which makes the issue of intergroup power of paramount importance. The present experiment has been designed to address the issue of how intragroup power differences influence ingroup members' prosocial behaviour towards a disadvantaged outgroup.

Given the effects of social identity in relation to outgroup helping in preceding studies, political identity will be implemented in the following experiment. Since there is no specific literature to date concerning intragroup power with a social identity focus, the following general literature relating to power in the ingroup is described regarding the predictions for the next experiment.

Sachdev and Bourhis (1985) found in their study regarding intragroup power that high and equal power group members stated they felt more satisfied, happy and comfortable about their group membership than group members with lower or no power. The authors admit that they could not know whether these measures observed self-esteem although they are most probably linked to it. It was also not clear whether the measures they took reflected power, or if the discrimination that the researchers found was positively correlated to power. Nevertheless, Sachdev and Bourhis found that the larger the power was and when this power was stable, the greater the discrimination was. It seems that ingroup members with high power are more happy with the group they belong to and are therefore likely to defend their ingroup boundaries and keep their ingroup intact. In the next study the intragroup effect of power and possible intergroup effects of power were investigated.

Tajfel and Turner (1986) employed a variant of the minimal group paradigm to test the effects of power, status and group numbers on intergroup perceptions and behaviours. They categorized their participants into groups based on power (dominant or subordinate), status (high or low), and group numbers (majority or minority). Participants allotted credit points to ingroup and outgroup others, based on their judgement of the other's creative products. It was found that dominant group members were much more prejudiced, and not as parity oriented in relation to outgroup others, than subordinate group members. High status group members were also found to be more prejudiced and less parity oriented than low status group members. Furthermore, minority group members who possessed dominant power and high status were highly prejudiced and

were exceptional in demonstrating no parity at all towards outgroup others. Minorities with subordinate power and low status did not discriminate, and were unique in demonstrating outgroup favouritism. In relation to group numbers and group status, group power appeared to be more predictive of actual prejudicial behaviour. On the whole, the experiment showed that power, status and group numbers in combination, and separately, have a powerful influence on intergroup behaviours and perceptions. More specifically, powerful ingroup members looked upon outgroup members with prejudice whereas lower power ingroup members actually favoured the outgroup. Again, it is likely that powerful ingroup members would like to maintain the ingroup as it presently is and therefore are more inclined to be negative about the outgroup to avoid that ingroup boundaries are threatened as SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) explains. Also in line with predictions of SIT is the phenomenon of outgroup favouritism by ingroup members with low power. They are not that happy with their group membership and will therefore not see the outgroup as an enemy. In the next study social identities and power will be investigated like I will do in the forthcoming experiment.

Reynolds and Platow (2003) state that categories and social identities could play a part in organizational power. The authors mention that powerlessness can be a direct outcome of particular organizational processes and practices. They reason that power use and consequently powerlessness are symptoms of intergroup categorization within an organization, and a sign of the organization's failure to work as a unified collective. The authors argue that to fully understand social power in organizations, the nature of social categorizations and employees' social identities within them, must be understood.

Reynolds and Platow discuss that among other things social identities should be investigated to understand social power. In the context of my research, I believe that a more complex picture of intragroup processes and power can be achieved by investigating specifically *political* identity along intragroup power in understanding intergroup helping behaviour.

Turner (2005) as well believes that social identities should be part of a framework to understand power. He proposed a three-process theory of power that emphasizes group identity, social organization and ideology rather than dependence as the basis of power. In regard to his proposed theory, people in power will be manipulated either by ways of the capacity to influence, or exerting one's will through others sharing the same social identity (three-process theory). This difference is crucial and must be investigated, as the three-process theory is still a theory, which does not yet have empirical investigation.

This thesis focuses on helping behaviour at an intergroup level, yet Turner's power theory is formulated at an intragroup level. I believe studies are needed to determine how intragroup power concerning intergroup behaviour operates.

It is likely that low power people will feel more empathy towards the disadvantaged outgroup, since they are more able to consider the feelings of members of the disadvantaged outgroup, due to their experience of feeling less powerful than others. Since it was found in other experiments that empathy has a positive effect on helping behaviour (e.g. Batson, 1991), it is predicted that low power people will also behave in a more prosocial way than higher power individuals. In the case of people with the same

power as their ingroup members, it is believed that these people will be more prosocial to the outgroup than high power people since they feel a need to differentiate themselves from their fellow ingroup members who hold the same amount of power and helping an outgroup is a way to differentiate themselves. People with the same amount of power as their ingroup members which could mean that ingroup members are too similar to them might develop the urge to restore intragroup differentiation. People will feel threatened by their ingroup members and very likely take a positive stand towards the situation, and feel and behave prosocial towards an outgroup accordingly.

It is predicted that people with high intragroup power are less willing to donate money to the disadvantaged outgroup than people with low power or same amount of power as fellow ingroup members. According to the intragroup differentiation phenomenon, people with high power in their ingroup feel distinct from the other ingroup members with less power, and possessing power is in general a likeable position and therefore they would like to maintain the ingroup the way it is by defending ingroup boundaries. It is expected that this situation will have a negative effect on helping behaviour towards a disadvantaged outgroup. I believe this threat is more important to high power people than their motivation (generated by power) to achieve, which in this situation would be prosocial achievement.

In addition, it is expected that salient political identity and political preference in interaction with intragroup power would influence outgroup helping. More specifically, members whose salient left-wing political identity has been made salient and who have low intragroup power would help the outgroup the most, whereas those group members

whose right-wing political identity has been made salient and have high intragroup power will help the outgroup the least.

Method

Design A 3 (Intragroup Power: high, same, low) X 2 (Political identity: salient or not salient) independent measures design was adopted. The six cells contain the following conditions: in two conditions participants have high intragroup power and an either salient political identity (condition 1) or non-salient political identity (condition 4). Participants have the same intragroup power compared to fellow ingroup members and either a salient political identity in condition 2 or a non-salient political identity in condition 5. In the two remaining conditions participants hold low intragroup power and either have a salient political identity (condition 3) or non-salient political identity (condition 6).

Participants Participants were University of Sussex psychology undergraduates, who took part in the study in return for course credits, along with students from a paid subject pool at the same university ($N = 124$; 97 females and 27 males). The mean age for all participants was 21 years ($SD = 3.42$).

Materials and Procedure

Political identity manipulation Political identity was measured to manipulate political identity salience. Participants in the salient identity conditions were first asked to give their political preference on a 7-point Likert scale (1= right wing, 7= left wing), and

furthermore had to answer to the following questions: what politics meant to them; if they were politically active, how clear they were about their political opinion, whether they had a lot of knowledge about political issues, would like to know as much as possible regarding political issues, if politics was not in their interest, if they were very sure about their political opinion and if politics occupied their mind. The above questions were all measured on a 7-point Likert scale (1= totally agree, 7= totally disagree). The political identity questions were asked at the beginning of the questionnaire when in the politically salient condition, or at the end of the questionnaire in the politically non-salient condition.

Power manipulation (between subjects design) Participants were asked what they would do with the money in one of the three following scenarios. One set-up was for the high power ingroup participant: ‘You are a manager in a company, and you are in charge of three people. Your company made £2000 pounds profit which they would like to spend on a charity cause within (e.g. the companies’ health benefits system) and/or outside (to people who mostly rely on help from a charity organization to survive in life) the company. You are in charge of this money. You have the power/ influence to do what you would like with the money, but you have to tell the other three people in your group why and what you did with the money. The others do not have to agree with you, since you have not had the chance to talk to them, but you have to notify them. Again, you are in charge of the other three people and the money. Two people are clerks, and the other is new to your company (as chief assistant to you).

For the participant who had the same amount of power as his or her fellow

ingroup members, the scenario was as follows: ‘You are working in a team of four people who all have the same responsibilities. Your company made £2000 pounds profit which they would like to spend on a charity cause, within (e.g. the companies’ health benefits system) and/or outside (to people who mostly rely on help from a charity organization to survive in life) the company. Your group of 4 people is in charge of this money. You have the power/ influence to do what you would like with the money, and you and your group members should all agree. The others cannot currently agree with you since you have not had the chance to talk to them, but you have to explain what you would do. Again, your group of 4 people is in charge of the money.’

The third scenario was for the participant with low intragroup power: ‘You work in a company, and three managers are in charge of you on a daily basis. Your company made £2000 pounds profit which they would like to spend on a charity cause, within (e.g. the companies’ health benefits system) and/or outside (to people who mostly rely on help from a charity organization to survive in life) the company. Your three managers are in charge of this money. The managers have the power to do what they would like with the money, but they have to tell all the other people in the company what they did with the money and why. The others do not have to agree with them. Again, three managers are in charge of you and the money. Now please tell us what you would like them to do with the money.’ How would you like them to allocate the money?

Prosocial behaviour measure For all three groups of participants (all six conditions) answer possibilities were as follows: donate £2000 to the companies’ health benefits system, donate £500 to the charity organization and £1500 to the companies’

health benefits system, donate £1000 to the charity organization and £1000 to the companies' health benefits system, donate £1500 to the charity organization and £500 to the companies' health benefits system, or donate £2000 to the charity organization.'

Participants were then asked to explain why they had chosen their particular answer. This was done in order to ensure that participants would keep the other members of their group in mind for the remainder of the questionnaire. Participants then had to imagine that they would have to notify their colleagues (depending on condition) about how they had spent the money. Keeping this in mind, participants had to indicate how they would feel towards their colleagues in terms of felt empathy which was measured on a 7-point Likert scale (1= not at all, 7= very much).

Empathy towards outgroup Next, participants were asked to describe their feelings and behaviour towards people who mostly rely on help from a charity organization to survive in life. It was pointed out that these people were not like them, and could be thought of as an outgroup. They had to indicate how they would feel towards the people in the disadvantaged outgroup in terms of felt empathy measured on a 7-point Likert scale (1= not at all, 7= very much).

Prosocial behaviour towards outgroup Participants also had to indicate their behaviour towards people who mostly rely on help from a charity organization to survive in life on a 7-point Likert scale (1= not at all, 7= very much). The question they had to answer was if they 'would donate money to a society for these people?'

Finally, participants had to state if the three people in their group influenced them

in their emotions towards people who mostly rely on help from a charity organization to survive in life, or whether their colleagues had affected their behaviour towards the outgroup. These questions were both measured on a 5-point Likert scale (1= not at all, 5= very much). Participants were also asked whether they had considered people who mostly rely on help from a charity organization to survive in life as an outgroup, i.e. someone who is different from them (answer possibility was either yes or no), which was a manipulation check for the intergroup level of the experiment. Finally, participants were asked if they had been sincere in the questionnaire on a 5-point Likert scale (1= not at all, 5= very much). Participants who indicated that they had been not sincere (Likert scale answers “1” and “2”) were taken out of the analysis. Participants were then debriefed, thanked and paid.

Results

Manipulation checks

To check if the ingroup-outgroup manipulation was successful, the answer toward the question whether participants had considered people who mostly rely on help from a charity organization to survive in life as an outgroup was measured. Seventy-eight percent of participants noted that they had seen these people as an outgroup, which was fairly reasonable. The participants who had answered 'no' to this question were deleted from the data set and the main analyses were done with a total of 97 participants.

Main analyses

All analyses were computed using one-way ANOVAs and Tukey post-hoc tests in a full-factorial design. The number of participants for the political salient conditions was as follows: salient high power $N = 18$, salient same power $N = 14$, and salient low power $N = 15$. For the politically non-salient conditions the amount of participants was: non salient high power $N = 15$, non salient same power $N = 16$, and non salient low power $N = 19$.

*Empathy**1) Empathy towards the ingroup*

One-way ANOVA's were conducted to measure empathy towards the ingroup with condition and also condition and political preference as predictors. No significant differences were found between conditions in felt empathy towards the ingroup. The analysis to find an interaction effect between condition and political preference in felt empathy towards ingroup members was not acceptable. Like in experiment 3, analyzing the data on a continuous scale for political preference made the amount of participants for some of the cells for political preference too small. Furthermore, when doing a scale midpoint split and excluding participants who answered with the ambiguous Likert scale 4 which means that participants either have a centre wing political preference, or it could be that participants did not know how to answer the question about political preference and did chose the middle option to be safe or did not want to reveal their real political preference and chose the middle option, yielded no significant results.

2) *Empathy towards the outgroup*

An one-way ANOVA and Tukey post-hoc tests predicting empathy towards the outgroup including condition as a predictor did not find a significant difference between conditions. Regarding political preference the amount of participants per cell would make an analysis not eligible because some of the cells would consist of none or very few participants. A scale midpoint split on the political preference data would make the group of right wing participants (Likert scale 1, 2, and 3) consist of 16 participants and the group of left wing participants (Likert scale 5, 6, and 7) consist of 56 participants. No significant differences were found between left and right wing participants regarding empathy towards the outgroup.

No other predictors or combinations of predictors showed significant results towards empathy for the ingroup or the outgroup.

Prosocial behaviour

1) *Do with the money*

A 2 (political salience) x 3 (power) factorial ANOVA and Tukey post-hoc tests were performed to measure prosocial behaviour with the six different conditions of the questionnaire as predictors. The ANOVA revealed a main effect for power. That is, politically salient high power people in the ingroup allocated more money to their ingroup than to the disadvantaged outgroup than politically salient people with less power. Tukey post-hoc tests showed that the main effect for power only applied to the politically salient conditions. In the politically non salient conditions there was no

significant difference between people with high power or lower power. Thus, politically salient high power participants will significantly donate less money to the charity organization (the outgroup) in comparison to the companies' health benefits system (the ingroup) than participants in the other conditions, $t(5) = -2.25, p < .05$. See Table 8 for means and standard deviations of donating money to the outgroup in the six different conditions of the questionnaire.

Table 8

Means (SD) of allocating money to the outgroup in six conditions.

| Donating money | | |
|-------------------------|------------|------------|
| Politically salient | High power | 2.7 (.75) |
| | Same power | 3.29 (1.1) |
| | Low power | 3.4 (.83) |
| Politically Non salient | High power | 2.9 (.70) |
| | Same power | 3.0 (1.2) |
| | Low power | 3.7 (1.1) |

*Note. *Higher means imply allocating more money to the outgroup.*

No significant differences were found when investigating the interaction of condition and political preference regarding allocating money to the ingroup/outgroup.

2) *Donating money to the outgroup*

No significant differences were found in donating money to the outgroup between the six conditions. In addition, the interaction between condition and political preference did not give any significant differences in donating money to the outgroup.

Discussion

As predicted, it was found that people with high intragroup power were less willing to donate money to the disadvantaged outgroup than people with low power or same amount of power as fellow ingroup members in the ingroup. According to intragroup differentiation, people with high power in their ingroup feel distinct from the other ingroup members with less power, and possessing power is in general a likeable position and therefore they would like to maintain the ingroup the way it is by defending ingroup boundaries. It seems that people with power are more concerned with themselves or their own group. It could be that they do not desire to lose their ingroup power, and therefore behave accordingly to whatever is most supportive to the ingroup. Additionally, high power people might have felt responsible for their ingroup, which they lead. Thus, possibly they feel obliged to allocate most of the available money to the companies' health benefit system instead of donating money to the outgroup. In either case the outcome remains that high power people will behave less prosocially towards a disadvantaged outgroup than ingroup members at different power levels. Furthermore, lower power people donated more money to the outgroup possibly because they were not

content with their ingroup membership and therefore could relate to the disadvantaged outgroup better.

Furthermore, it was predicted and found that low power people would dislike their own group more and favour the outgroup. The prediction that salient political identity and political preference in interaction with intragroup power will influence outgroup helping was not found.

The main flaw of this experiment was the ingroup perception. People who had not perceived the outgroup as an outgroup were taken out of the analysis which guaranteed that participants perceived an intergroup context. Although results showed that my predictions at an intergroup level were found in the expected direction I can still not be completely sure that participants saw the group they 'worked' in as their ingroup although I specifically told them they were in a group of 4 people in the allocation task and for the remainder of the questionnaire. I did not test for the ingroup manipulation as I had done for the outgroup manipulation.

Furthermore, analysing political preference on a continuous scale to control for the participants that answered with an ambiguous centre political preference (Likert scale 4) left some cells in the condition and political preference interaction with none or a very few participants. A scale midpoint split on the data gave no significant results though.

The main results from the experiments of the current chapter point towards an effect of intragroup differentiation and processes in the ingroup. People with high power do not affect outgroup helping by others much, and will themselves allocate less money to the outgroup. People with intragroup power seem to be more concerned with the ingroup than processes outside their own group. The possibility of losing their intragroup power or felt responsibility towards their ingroup might very well be in accordance with the social comparison theory (Festinger, 1954), and intragroup differentiation. The identity of an ingroup member could be threatened, either through the possibility of losing intragroup power or experiencing a negative influence of high intragroup power individuals, and therefore requests intragroup differentiation restoration. Acquiring a positive distinction in relation to other ingroup members makes outgroup helping feasible.

In relation to adding new ideas to the intragroup power literature, the present studies showed that social identity processes may be highly involved in power processes in a group. Thus, people might not help an outgroup because of issues relating to power in their ingroup.

The last experimental chapter will be dedicated to awareness and empathy towards the outgroup. The experiments until now have obtained important aspects of group behaviour that influence outgroup helping; social identity and ingroup norms,

accountability issues and ingroup power. It would be interesting to investigate whether making people really notice the outgroup would assist prosocial behaviour. Outgroup awareness could help to enlarge the effect that social identity, ingroup norms and power have on outgroup helping. When one is aware of others the important feeling of empathy towards others could be present. Empathy is found to have a profound influence on interpersonal and ingroup helping. More recently, empathy towards intergroup helping has been studied (e.g. Stürmer et al., 2005) for which I would like to provide some evidence for outgroup helping in the last experiment of my thesis.

Chapter 6 Stepping out of our ingroup; implications for intergroup relations

Introduction

The focus of this chapter will be on the awareness of the outgroup by the ingroup. Awareness of the outgroup means that the ingroup is consciously aware that there is another group and is considered as another group by the ingroup. As such, the aim is to direct the ingroup members to be conscious of the outgroup in a positive manner. When this attentive state is reached, a helpful reaction regarding the outgroup will hopefully be achieved. In the helping literature, the emotion empathy is often employed to attain a positive view of the outgroup. Firstly, literature on helping behaviour and awareness of the outgroup and the emotion empathy will be given. Subsequently, the remaining two experiments will be outlined. Recent studies have been chosen, as investigations into prosocial behaviour at an intergroup level have been on the increase (e.g. Stürmer et al., 2005, 2006). Previously, the focus had been on general aspects of helping and helping at an interpersonal level.

Literature by Batson et al. (e.g. 1989, 1997) has highlighted the feeling of empathy for someone else, previously described in Chapter 2, as an important antecedent of prosocial behaviour. Since Batson focuses mainly on interpersonal behaviour, the aim in the current chapter is to examine the influence of empathy at the level of intergroup behaviour.

Nadler and Livian (2006) investigated in an intergroup context the effects of empathy but they connected empathy with trust for the outgroup. The authors investigated the effects of demonstrations of empathy by the outgroup regarding ingroup conflict-related suffering. In two studies, Israeli-Jewish participants read a speech by a Palestinian leader, who either did or did not demonstrate empathy, and/or expressed the responsibility of Palestinians for the suffering of Israelis. Both studies revealed that demonstration of empathy led to more positive attitudes when trust towards the outgroup was high. When trust was low, the effects of empathy were inverted. In this study it was found that empathy was a mediator in a specific situation, whereas it would be appealing to find a direct effect of empathy regarding outgroup helping. A direct effect of empathy would hopefully rule out the necessity of a particular, and very likely a more complex situation to occur for empathy to be able to aid helping behaviour

Stürmer, Snyder, Kropp, and Siem (2006) further examined the role of empathy in helping at a group level. They found support for their prediction that empathy would interact with group membership: empathy had a stronger effect on helping intentions when the helper and the subject of helping were members of the same cultural group, than when they were of different groups. A second experiment replicated these findings employing a modified minimal group paradigm, and also demonstrated that the strength of the empathy- (ingroup) helping relationship systematically differed by means of perceived similarities among ingroup members. A direct effect of empathy on helping behaviour in an intergroup context was found in

this study. Nevertheless, similarity between ingroup and outgroup is exactly what is not anticipated in the present thesis. In my experiments the outgroup is disadvantaged and the ingroup is more advantaged, so the groups are not alike. It is expected that in reality the outgroup would be far from similar to the ingroup. As I have explained in Chapter 2, Stürmer et al.'s (2005) study found that at an intergroup level empathy mediates outgroup helping, empathy aids helping the ingroup and attraction aids helping the outgroup. This chapter will test for an effect of empathy on outgroup helping.

The results of the described studies do not reveal a clear-cut picture of the role of empathy towards helping an outgroup. Therefore, my aim is to employ a method in which empathy for the outgroup is clearly manipulated, and which will test for a direct effect on helping behaviour.

The closing studies of this project will look into awareness of the outgroup (experiment 6), and empathy towards the outgroup (experiment 7). As the literature overview showed, no definite results were derived from manipulating empathy at an intergroup level. Therefore, the aim is to explore this emotion further by means of a manipulation applied previously at an interpersonal level (Batson, Batson, Todd, et al., 1995).

Introduction

As was highlighted in the introduction of the present chapter, empathy could facilitate helping behaviour towards the ingroup or towards the outgroup (e.g. Stürmer et al., 2005). Empathy at the intergroup level is the focus of this chapter, specifically empathy for the outgroup. In experiment 6, awareness of an outgroup will be investigated. More specifically, the awareness of the ingroup that the outgroup might feel threatened by the ingroup. When awareness of an outgroup is present, will empathy for this outgroup also be larger, and is prosocial behaviour aided by this awareness as well? Awareness of the outgroup will be manipulated by presenting the participants information about the outgroup, information that will not be given to participants that are not manipulated to be aware of the outgroup. Furthermore, participants will be asked if they are aware of the other group.

Predictions It is predicted that people aware of the disadvantaged outgroup will feel more empathy and behave more prosocial towards that outgroup than people who are not aware of the outgroup. Furthermore, it is expected that people with a political left identity and who are aware of the outgroup will feel more empathy and behave in a more prosocial way towards the outgroup than right wing people who are aware of the outgroup since left-wing identity has a norm of helping others when needed.

Design A one factor (awareness of the outgroup; yes or no) independent measures design was adopted. In the first condition participants were made aware of the disadvantaged outgroup. Within the other condition, participants were not manipulated to be aware of the disadvantaged outgroup (condition 2).

Participants Participants were University of Sussex psychology undergraduates, participating to obtain course credit, and subjects from a paid subject pool at the University of Sussex ($N = 107$). Females (76) and males (22) with a mean age of 21.3 years ($SD = 3.54$) participated. Participants were randomly assigned to conditions.

Materials and Procedure

All participants were asked to read the following carefully:
‘You are a student at the University of Sussex, and the Psychology department in which you are pursuing your degree is graded 5 in the last (RAE).
The RAE relies on peer review and used the following scale in 2001.
A 5* Rating is: International excellence in most sub areas of activity, and national excellence in all others. A 5 Rating is: International excellence in some sub areas of activity, and national excellence in virtually all others. A 4 Rating: National excellence in virtually all sub areas of activity, possibly showing some evidence of international excellence, or to international level in some and at least national level in most. Further, a 3a Rating is: National excellence in a substantial majority of sub

areas of activity, or to international level in some and to national level in others together comprising a majority. A 3b Rating: National excellence in the majority of sub areas of activity. A 2 Rating: National excellence in up to half the sub areas of activity. Finally, a 1 Rating: National excellence in none, or virtually none, of the sub areas of activity. You got accepted, and are studying psychology at one of the top psychology schools in the country!’

Awareness of the outgroup manipulation Then participants in the awareness, but not in the non-awareness, condition read: ‘Researchers here at Sussex studied if, and when, people in society feel threatened by university students (e.g. university students are in general more intelligent than the general population, they will get well-paid jobs after their graduation). The researchers found that people do feel threatened by university students by, for instance the example given. Also experiments in Israel, wherein Israeli and Arabic people participated, indicated a threatening influence of university students on lower educated people in society.’ Next participants had to give at least two other examples why people without university education could feel threatened by them. They were told that their answers would be used for further studies on this topic, and they were asked to give the task their full attention and to be sincere. All this was done to make participants aware of another group, people without an university education, that would feel threatened by the participants and therefore would be considered as a disadvantaged group.

Measurement of prosocial behaviour towards outgroup Next it was stated:

‘Now that you are more aware of how people without a university degree feel and might feel about you, please tell us how you would explain to them what Psychology is all about. Would you read them a definition out of an introductory Psychology text book, explain to them by an illustrative example, let them tell you what they think and then correct them if necessary, tell them a nice story that illustrates the topic, and something else (please specify)?’ All possibilities to answer the question were measured on a 7 point Likert scale (1= not at all, 7= very much).

To see if the manipulation of outgroup awareness had worked participants in the awareness condition had to answer, with all of the given information in mind, ‘yes’ or ‘no’ to the following questions: University students can make people without a university degree feel threatened, people without a university degree can feel threatened by me, and being a student at Sussex University I’m part of the group of people pursuing a university degree.

Next, participants in the awareness condition were asked to describe how much empathy they thought people without university degrees would feel towards the participants which was measured on a 7 point Likert scale (1= not at all, 7= very much). They were asked to use the knowledge that had previously been given to them, and implement that within their answers.

Empathy towards the outgroup Participants in *both* awareness and non awareness conditions were then asked to keep all previously mentioned information in mind, and it was pointed out that the people without a university degree were not like

them and could be thought of as an outgroup. Now participants had to indicate how they would feel in terms of empathy towards the outgroup, people without an university degree, measured on a 7 point Likert scale (1= not at all, 7= very much).

Prosocial behaviour measure Next all participants had to indicate their behaviour towards people without a university degree. It was asked if participants would help those people, measured on a 7 point Likert scale (1= totally agree, 7= totally disagree).

Political identity manipulation To measure political identity of all participants, they were then asked to give their political preferences on a Likert Scale (1= right wing, 7= left wing), and they had to describe what politics meant to them; if they were politically active, if they were very clear about their political opinion, had a lot of knowledge about political issues, would like to know as much as possible regarding political issues, if politics was not in their interest, if they were very sure about their political opinion and if politics occupied their mind. Again, the above was measured on a Likert scale from 1 (totally disagree) to 7 (totally agree). All these measures together were given to make participants aware of their political identity.

Finally, all participants had to state how proud they were of being a student in the highly rated Psychology department of the University of Sussex on a 7 point Likert scale (1= highly disagree, 7= highly agree).

Participants in the awareness condition were asked if they had been aware of the information given, and hence the feelings of people without an university degree towards them, whilst answering the questions, which was a manipulation check for

awareness of the outgroup. They were also asked whether the information given about people without an university degree had influenced them in their feelings and behaviour towards these people. Both questions were measured on a 5 point Likert scale (1= not at all, 5= very much).

Sincerity whilst answering the questionnaire for all participants was measured on a 5 point Likert scale (1= not at all, 5= very much). Participants who indicated they had not been sincere (Likert scale 1 and 2) have been taken out of the analysis. Finally, participants were debriefed and given their course credits or were paid for their participation.

Results

Manipulation checks

To check if the outgroup awareness manipulation was successful; the amount of awareness by the participants in the aware condition was measured. Of all participants in the aware condition, 10.5% indicated they were not aware of the outgroup (Likert scale 1), 14.5% were somewhat aware of the outgroup (Likert scale 2), 48.7% were moderately aware of the outgroup (Likert scale 3), 22.4% a lot aware (Likert scale 4), and 3.9% highly aware (Likert scale 5) of the outgroup which was overall not a high percentage of participants that had been aware of the outgroup. I decided to only include participants in the aware condition that had a moderate or high awareness of the outgroup (Likert score of 3, 4 or 5). This resulted in a total of $N = 57$ participants

in the aware condition. Together with $N = 28$ participants in the non aware condition, $N = 85$ participants in total were included in the main analyses.

Main analyses

All analyses were computed using one way ANOVAs in a full-factorial design.

Empathy towards the outgroup

Regarding the two different conditions of the questionnaire, one way ANOVAs measuring empathy with awareness of the outgroup as predictor revealed a significant main effect, people in the aware condition felt more empathy towards the disadvantaged outgroup than in the non aware condition, $F(1,82) = 9.29, p < .01$. See Table 9 for means and standard deviations for felt empathy towards the outgroup for both conditions.

Table 9

Means (SD) for felt empathy towards the outgroup in two conditions.

| Condition | Aware of outgroup | Not aware of outgroup |
|-----------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| | 3.66 (1.46) | 2.57 (1.71) |

Note. Higher means imply more felt empathy towards the outgroup

Prosocial behaviour

An one-way ANOVA measuring prosocial behaviour towards the outgroup with awareness of the outgroup as a predictor found a trend for giving an illustrative example to the outgroup, participants who were aware of the outgroup gave more an illustrative example about psychology to the outgroup than participants who were not aware of the outgroup, $F(1,83) = 3.501, p = .065$. An one-way ANOVA measuring prosocial behaviour towards the outgroup with awareness of the outgroup as a predictor found another trend for telling a nice story about psychology to the outgroup, participants who were aware of the outgroup told more frequently a nice story about psychology to the outgroup than participants who were not aware of the outgroup, $F(1,83) = 3.549, p = .063$.

No significant difference between the aware and non-aware conditions was found when participants were asked if they would help the outgroup.

Awareness x political preference

No significant differences between conditions were found for empathy towards the outgroup and any of the prosocial behaviours when investigating the interaction of awareness and political preference of the participants.

Discussion

The main findings of experiment 6 demonstrated that the outgroup will be perceived with more empathy towards the outgroup when people are aware of the outgroup.

Furthermore, people more aware of the outgroup have a tendency to behave in a more prosocial way towards the outgroup. Since telling a nice story or providing an illustrative example about the subject of psychology to the outgroup can be considered as a more humane way to communicate with others, compared with offering a definition of psychology to others.

Furthermore, it was expected that people aware of the outgroup and with a political left wing preference would feel more empathy and behave in a more prosocial way towards the outgroup than right wing people aware of the outgroup, which was not found. It could be that in this experiment political identity was only measured after the awareness manipulation and empathy and behavioural measures, and was not manipulated before the main objective of the experiment. Therefore, participants were not salient of their political identity. Salience of political identity and political preference was likely needed to moderate the main effect of this experiment, awareness of the outgroup.

Awareness in this experiment could be seen as knowledge of reputation of threat of the ingroup towards the outgroup. However, although I manipulated the ingroup with an outgroup who could feel threatened by them, the participants were also aware of the outgroup as was found in the manipulation check for awareness of the outgroup. Therefore, there could be a combination of awareness of the outgroup and knowledge of threat that the outgroup could perceive from the participants which did not change the fact that participants were aware of the outgroup.

The topic of awareness, in the sense of being aware of how another group of people might feel and the ability to feel these emotions themselves, as is the case when one feels empathy, will be explored in the next experiment. As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, an experiment will be conducted in which empathy of the ingroup towards the outgroup is manipulated. This is the focus of experiment 7.

Experiment 7

Introduction

The concluding experiment will involve the manipulation of empathy. Since empathy literature has mainly focused on interpersonal processes (e.g. Batson et al., 1989) or the measurement rather than the manipulation of empathy (Stürmer et al, 2005), experiment 9 will implement the manipulation of empathy at an intergroup level. It is predicted that felt empathy for an outgroup will enhance prosocial behaviour towards that group.

Method

Design A one factor (empathy communication) independent measures design was adopted. In condition 1 participants were manipulated to feel highly empathetic towards the disadvantaged outgroup, whereas in condition 2 feeling low empathy for

a disadvantaged outgroup was manipulated. In condition 3 no information about the outgroup was presented to the participants (no communication), hence no empathy for the outgroup was expected to be found.

Participants Participants were American citizens, and University of California Los Angeles (under)graduates ($N = 45$), with a mean age of 24.8 years ($SD = 5.4$).

Materials and Procedure

Ingroup formation Participants were put into a group of four people by presenting them four constructed names of students of their university to form a group of five people which would serve as the ingroup for participants. Participants had to state whether they knew any of the four invented students described at the beginning of the questionnaire. If they did they would have to tell the experimenter and would then be provided with a different questionnaire. In none of the cases did this happen.

The participants were then told that this study concerned resource allocation. Resource allocation served for measuring prosocial behaviour towards the outgroup by providing the participants to allocate money to their own ingroup and the outgroup. Each one of the participants' ingroup of five persons had to decide how to allocate a scarce resource; money. Each participant of their group had received 10 coins of 25 cents = \$2.50. They could keep the 10 coins of 25c for themselves, give them to their group or give them to the other group, about whom information would be given later on. When making their choice, they would not know how other participants in their group had decided to allocate their money, nor would the others know how they had chosen. They would never meet the other 4 people of their group.

If they gave the 10 coins of 25c to the other group, or their group as a whole, they would be enhanced in value. It would become $16 \times 25c = \$4.00$.

Empathy for outgroup manipulation Next participants were given the following information: 'To assess the effects of communication, some groups who participate in this research will have a chance to communicate by means of one-way written notes before making their allocation decisions; other groups will not. You will be informed shortly whether you have a chance to communicate. Two participants in your group will be in a Communication condition, and two will be in a No Communication condition. The participants in the Communication condition will be designated to receive information. They will read brief personal notes. The people in the No Communication condition will not receive any information. In determining our reactions to a communication, it has been found that the perspective from which we read the communication is especially important. Therefore, the Receiver will be asked to take a particular perspective when he or she reads the note. We are interested in learning if, and how, communication affects allocation decisions without having a clear hypothesis.'

Participants then received some possible allocations of the 10 coins of 25c so they could get a feeling how to allocate the money themselves, and it was pointed out to them that there were of course many more other possible allocations. At this point, for all conditions, it was made clear that the other group was UNICEF, and any money they allocated to the other group would be donated to UNICEF. This information was the only information the No communication condition received about

the other group. At that point all participants obtained the information as to which condition they were participating: ‘communication condition’ for the low and high empathy condition (condition 1 and 2), or ‘no communication condition’ for condition 3.

Empathy felt by the ingroup, which includes the participant, for the outgroup UNICEF was manipulated by three different stories for the high empathy condition, low empathy condition and no communication condition. 1) The participants in the high empathy condition would read the following: ‘While you are reading this communication, try to imagine how this group of people feels about what is described. Try to imagine how it has affected their life and how they feel as a result. Be sure you have the perspective clearly in mind before reading the communication! All participants receiving communication get the same perspective instructions.

2) Participants in the low empathy condition read the following: ‘While you are reading this communication, try to take an objective perspective toward what is described. Try not to get caught up in how he or she feels; just remain objective and detached. Be sure you have the perspective clearly in mind before reading the communication. All participants receiving communication get the same perspective instructions.’ The participants in the no communication condition only received the message that they were in the no communication condition.

3) The stories for the no communication condition were as follows: ‘The other group: Schoolchildren in Uganda. We obtained their stories via contacts “UNICEF Voices of Youth” had made at the Junior 8 Summit of UNICEF. The J8 Summit is the

parallel youth event to the G8 Summit¹.

Real life stories used to manipulate empathy in Condition 1 and 2

Bisaso is a sixteen-year-old boy from Uganda:

"I am a child who comes from a poor family of seven people. I have the parents, but have a lot of problems. That's why when I got a chance of the Junior Summit I saw it as a blessing for me to express my problem worldwide. Poverty in the family that affects me leads has a shortage of school fees. I am using the school facilities for communication. I attend to be on computers at 4.15 p.m. to 5.00 and sometimes from 5.00 to 6.15 not on Internet. I am not allowed to go to the internet. I do not have access to internet. In my country, the children face problems that lead to malnutrition and starvation, internal strives and wars. Here the families are forced out of their homes with their children. So I have no solution yet, if you have may you help."

Jubilee is a girl, also from Uganda:

"Why people with brain, but no money cannot go to school, while those with money, but no brain can. On Wednesday, I was sent back home to collect school fees. I pleaded to the teacher and she let me study for that day. At home, I told my mum that I would not be allowed in class without clearing. She said that she doesn't have the money until Monday. We do Saturday test and I could not afford missing it. I cried, but mummy said that she couldn't do anything. I do not remember feeling such pain in my life. Well, what I am getting at is that day and night people are dropping out of school due to poverty. Why irresponsible parents give birth to more children than they

¹ Please see http://www.unicef.org/voy/takeaction/takeaction_2404.html for more information on the J-8 summit

can feed? You can say I am just trying to survive."

After reading the stories, participants in condition 1 and 2 had to think about what they had just read for a minute or two and then indicate how they were currently feeling toward the writers of the notes. They indicated their sympathy, warmth, compassion, soft heartedness, and tenderness on a 7 point Likert scale, which was a manipulation check for the empathy manipulation.

Allocation of money to ingroup and outgroup All participants (condition 1, 2 and 3) then had to fill out the allocation form. The no communication condition filled out the allocation form straight after being told that they were part of the no communication condition, so they did not read the real life stories. On the allocation form participants had to divide the 10 coins of ten cents to themselves, and/or their group, and/or the other group. After allocating the money they had to indicate on 7 point Likert scales (1= not at all, 7= very much) how much they, regardless of how they decided to allocate the money, want to maximize the money they received, the other group received, and the group as a whole received. They also had to indicate whether they received communication (Yes or No), and if they had, to what extent they remained objective about the person who wrote the note, and/or tried to imagine the feelings of the person who wrote the note (indicated on 7 point Likert scales (1= not at all, 7= very much), which were both manipulation checks for the empathy manipulation as well. Participants were further asked if they could indicate with whom, if anyone, they felt they were in a subgroup with.

Finally, participants had to indicate their sincerity in answering the

questionnaire. Participants who indicated they had not been sincere (Likert scale 1 and 2) have been taken out of the analysis. Participants were then debriefed, thanked and given their reward (a popsicle).

Results

Manipulation checks

To check if the empathy manipulation was successful, a two-way ANOVA was performed with the emotions sympathy, warmth, compassion, soft heartedness, and tenderness as manipulation check items as the dependent variables. The results were as follows: for sympathy, $F(18,1) = .090$, $p = .77$, warmth, $F(18,1) = .055$, $p = .82$, compassion, $F(18,1) = .006$, $p = .94$, soft heartedness, $F(18,1) = .305$, $p = .59$, and tenderness, $F(18,1) = .204$, $p = .66$, such that participants in the high empathy condition were likely not to be different in the amount of felt emotions from those participants in the low empathy condition, suggesting that the manipulation did not have an impact in the desired direction.

To further check the empathy manipulation, it was examined whether participants had remained objective, and had tried to imagine the feelings of the persons who wrote the notes, $F(12,2) = .625$, $p = .55$, and, $F(12,2) = .895$, $p = .44$, signifying that participants in the high and low empathy conditions had remained objective and considered the feelings of the outgroup person almost the same amount. The empathy manipulation unfortunately did not work.

Main analyses

All analyses were computed using ANOVAs in a full-factorial design. An one way ANOVA and Tukey post-hoc tests measuring prosocial behaviour with condition as predictor showed a significant main effect; participants in the high empathy condition designated more money to the outgroup than people in the no-communication and low empathy condition, $F(2,42) = 5.054, p < .05$.

Additionally, a one-way ANOVA and Tukey post-hoc tests measuring assigning money to the ingroup and outgroup with condition as predictor found that participants in the high and low empathy conditions designated less money to themselves than people in the no-communication condition, $F(2,42) = 5.213, p < .05$. Furthermore, high and low empathy participants stated that they wanted to maximize the money the outgroup received significantly more than people in the no communication condition, $F(2,42) = 4.769, p < .05$. See Table 10 for means and standard deviations of money allocations in the three conditions.

Table 10

Means (SD) of money allocations in the three conditions.

| | High Empathy | Low Empathy | No communication |
|-------------|--------------|-------------|------------------|
| You | 1.27 (1.79) | 1.75 (2.25) | 5.06 (4.31) |
| Your group | 1.18 (1.72) | 2.38 (2.56) | 1.88 (2.53) |
| Other group | 7.55 (3.45) | 6.0 (4.38) | 2.94 (3.77) |

Note. Higher means indicate more money allocated to a specific group.

Discussion

As predicted, it was found that people high in feeling empathy towards a disadvantaged outgroup are more willing to allocate money to the outgroup than people feeling low in empathy when money has to be divided between themselves, their group and the disadvantaged outgroup. In an intergroup context, feeling empathy towards the outgroup aids prosocial behaviour towards that outgroup in certain circumstances, as was also found by Stürmer et al. (2005) for example. Furthermore, the present experiment manipulated empathy at an intergroup level with no known interaction of empathy with another factor, meaning that the effect on helping an

outgroup is direct.

The failure of the manipulation check in contrast to the results could possibly be explained in terms of the limits of introspective self-report.

General Discussion of experiments 6 and 7

Experiments 6 and 7 showed that prosocial behaviour can be aided by an intergroup level awareness of how an outgroup feels, and the ability to feel these emotions themselves, i.e. empathy.

The effects of awareness and empathy towards helping behaviour were examined at an intergroup level. The findings are consistent with the empathy literature (e.g. Batson, 1989, 1997), who investigated empathy at an interpersonal level and found that empathy assisted prosocial behaviour.

Empathy was found to have a positive effect on outgroup helping when manipulated directly, as opposed to the effect found by Stürmer et al (2005) when intergroup attraction was predicting outgroup helping and empathy predicted ingroup helping.

Given that awareness of an outgroup is occurring at an intergroup level, social identity of the ingroup (which becomes evident when the ingroup acts together towards an outgroup) could be considered to be in line with theory on (inter)group identity. Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) explains that our group

memberships play a major role in our understanding of who we are, of what we are like and how we are similar to, and different from, others. Specifically, defining and evaluating ourselves in terms of the groups to which we belong causes us to experience another group as an outgroup. Under certain conditions the outgroup could be treated as an enemy, since people have a strong desire to establish or maintain the evaluative superiority of their own group over relevant other groups (Hogg & Abrams, 2001).

However, the outgroup could also be regarded as different and remain different from the ingroup since the help is only directed in one way, the ingroup only helps the disadvantaged outgroup, and not vice versa. The ingroup could therefore take control over the situation if necessary, and see to it that the outgroup continues to be different from the ingroup. Consequently, an identity threat does not necessarily have to be experienced, and the evaluative superiority of the own group over the outgroup could be maintained. Considering the results from experiment six this holding on to intergroup differentiation by the ingroup could be the case.

Furthermore, awareness of the outgroup does not always require that the outgroup is perceived in comparison to the ingroup, and therefore as a threat to ingroup identity. Awareness of the outgroup could be considered just that, awareness that there is an outgroup opposed to our ingroup. The ingroup-outgroup differences are therefore highlighted, and cause us to react according to our ingroup identity. This behaviour does not have to entail any threat since it is us being aware, and we, the ingroup are aware what is safe for our ingroup identity to be aware of.

In conclusion, helping an outgroup does not always imply that ingroup boundaries are threatened. As long as the outgroup remains the outgroup, awareness of and empathy towards the outgroup are useful tools to induce helping behaviour towards an outgroup.

Furthermore, depending on higher or lower awareness of the outgroup, people experienced empathy or prosocial behaviour towards the disadvantaged outgroup. The emotion empathy has been found to be a good predictor for prosocial behaviour (e.g. Batson et al., 2002; Sturmer et al., 2005), and the present studies also suggest this.

Moreover, the interrelation between context and our particular (social) ingroup identity will impose upon the effects of empathy on our prosocial behaviour. When the context around the ingroup is ‘composed’ in favour of ingroup identity, this identity will therefore not be threatened. Thus, social identities of different groups, ingroup and outgroup, can mutually exist. This ingroup favoured context could positively influence prosocial behaviour towards an outgroup as in the results of this chapter possible indicators of this intergroup differentiation were found. To conclude, arranging the context to favour our ingroup could actually also assist our helping behaviour towards an outgroup.

The research presented in this thesis has been directed to instances that make helping behaviour towards an outgroup possible. The motivation for this research originated from a personal interest, and gaps in the literature on helping behaviour that made this research necessary.

Chapter 1 emphasized the social identity approach at an intragroup and intergroup level, to set a theoretical ground for the perspective of the thesis. This thesis investigated intergroup helping and thereby looked at processes at an intragroup level.

In Chapter 2 models with regard to helping behaviour were analysed. The articles by Batson et al. (1997) and Stürmer et al. (2005) investigated helping with regard to the empathy-altruism model (Batson, 1987, 1991; Batson et al., 1989; Batson & Shaw, 1991). Stürmer et al. (2005) and Nadler et al. (2006) provided a discussion to work from and guided my research in adding social identity, identity content and empathy as processes that influence helping behaviour. From chapters 1 and 2 it became clear that a full understanding of how social identity processes, ingroup norms and the role of empathy could facilitate helping behaviour towards a disadvantaged outgroup is not present yet. Batson et al. (1997) has shown empathy in intergroup contexts but did not investigate empathy as a normative process (i.e. to do with identity content). It was expected that outgroup helping is influenced by ingroup bias but that certain kinds of ingroup identity content could lead to outgroup helping.

In Chapter 3 social identity processes towards outgroup helping were examined.

The social identity of the ingroup also has an impact on processes at an intergroup level. Intergroup empathy and prosocial behaviour will be influenced by ingroup norms. Given that the focus of this thesis is helping behaviour towards an outgroup, the social identity of the ingroup was studied. Social identity, identity content and in some cases the salience of this social identity, in the form of a political and religious identity, was found to affect empathy and help to beggars.

Chapter 4 focused on the accountability of an ingroup member towards another ingroup member's will to help an outgroup. The findings from this study yielded no significant results. The experiments in this chapter were hard to interpret since the significant ingroup member was not chosen well and therefore was likely not to be seen as an ingroup member they felt accountable to.

The focus of Chapter 5 was on the role of intragroup power. It was expected that people with intragroup power would help the outgroup less since they would be afraid to lose their ingroup power and therefore are more willing to help ingroup members to keep ingroup members satisfied and thereby safekeeping their own intragroup power. It was stated that people with intragroup power would help the disadvantaged outgroup less than people with low intragroup power. Results showed that participants with low intragroup power helped the disadvantaged outgroup more. It was concluded that intragroup power was not supportive of outgroup helping, and that intragroup differentiation processes could have influenced outgroup helping for people with less intragroup power.

Finally in Chapter 6, research was directed towards the influence of empathy towards the outgroup and the state of awareness that the ingroup needs to feel empathy

towards the outgroup, on helping behaviour. The amount of awareness for the disadvantaged outgroup and the degree of empathy towards the disadvantaged outgroup were manipulated. Both awareness of the outgroup and a high level of empathy for the outgroup were found to positively influence outgroup helping.

Overall, the results of the experiments in the subsequent chapters showed that ingroup identity, ingroup norms, intragroup power and empathy influence the help given to a certain disadvantaged outgroup.

The intent of my thesis was (1) to outline the role of social identity, ingroup norms, intragroup power and empathy regarding outgroup helping and (2) to demonstrate what motivates prosocial behaviour towards a disadvantaged outgroup. Prosocial behaviour and empathy towards a disadvantaged outgroup were studied in terms of social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and self categorization theory (Turner, 1985; Turner et al., 1987) and the empathy-altruism model (Batson, 1987, 1991; Batson et al., 1989; Batson & Shaw, 1991). Furthermore, I agreed with what Livingstone and Haslam (2008) argued that social identity processes cannot be isolated from the content of identity.

It was proposed in Hypothesis 1 that a *salient* social identity cause people to behave more prosocially towards a disadvantaged outgroup than when their social identity is not salient, but only if the identity has a prosocial norm. It was presumed that religious identity involves altruism. The results showed that, against my predictions, non-

salience of religious identity resulted in more outgroup helping compared to salient religious identity. Furthermore, in certain contexts non-salient religious people were more prone to behave prosocially than non-salient religious people when around significant others who evoked in them a need to engage in more prosocial behaviour.

It was also hypothesised that a salient political identity would make people more prone to outgroup helping, which depends on the kind of outgroup since people with a left wing preference would not help an outgroup that consists of for example fascists, when their political views are congruent with helping behaviour (i.e. political left) compared to people whose political identity is not made salient and those whose political views are not congruent with helping behaviour (i.e. political right). It seems that people with a political right view believe in helping the rich since they prefer taxes, which benefit everyone in the country, to be low. It seemed that people with a salient political identity were more likely to help a disadvantaged outgroup, beggars, however only when in interaction with political preference. Hence, left wing political people behaved more prosocially to beggars who are disadvantaged and normally would elicit empathic feelings.

Hypothesis 2 stated that ingroup members expecting to be judged by a significant ingroup member who will make *ingroup norms* of outgroup helping salient would be more likely to engage in outgroup helping than people who are not made accountable by others. This hypothesis was not found to be supported, mainly since the significant ingroup member would not be seen as an ingroup member for a lot of the participants. The experiment was not designed well enough to find results in accordance with the

hypothesis.

Lastly, hypothesis 3 stated that high *empathy* for a disadvantaged outgroup would make people behave more prosocially towards that outgroup than people induced with low empathy for that outgroup. The results showed that indeed high empathy in comparison to low empathy for an outgroup was causing people behave more prosocially towards the disadvantaged outgroup.

Contributions of the present thesis

Considering the points I made about outgroup helping in Chapter 1 the following can be said:

The social identity approach states that ingroup members are more likely to be liked and helped because of ingroup bias. Furthermore, the outgroup is more likely to be perceived by the ingroup as unknown and, therefore as posing a threat to their ingroup boundaries. In line with this argument, one could argue that intergroup helping is less likely to occur.

A positive intergroup context, for example the ingroup is rich and the outgroup does need help could aid prosocial behaviour towards the outgroup but this is most likely only in the case for minimal groups. No automatic ingroup bias would occur once group content is added. I sought to explain real world examples of intergroup helping and therefore ingroup content and norms would be important. My research found identity content and the norm of the group to be important for helping a disadvantaged outgroup. When, for example, ingroup identity is liberal (left wing), ingroup members are more prone to help others, also outside their own group. Political identity content was found to

have an influence on outgroup helping, left wing people were in general more likely to help the outgroup than people with a right wing preference.

The salience of an ingroup identity which has as its norm doing good to others, as is the case for certain religious identities contributes to the perception of an outgroup in need as a means for the expression of the norm. This was found to be true but only for non-salient religious people.

In the case of a political identity, it was stated that the salience of this identity content would lead people to engage in intergroup prosocial behaviour when their political views are more left-wing than right-wing. This was true in experiment 2, but in some context interactions, as accountability by a significant other, analyses could not be done due to a too small sample size.

Distinctiveness of ingroup identity makes outgroup helping possible when the outgroup is far from the positive state the ingroup is (for example, less powerful or less resourceful), as is the case with a financially secure ingroup and a poor outgroup. In that case, the ingroup will be more willing to behave prosocially towards an outgroup since their own group distinctiveness is not at stake. I did not find this prediction supported. However intragroup differentiation effects played a role concerning outgroup helping.

Ingroup norms could have a profound influence on intergroup helping. As such, an ingroup norm that, for example, states to 'help others if you can' will make ingroup members stay true to their group identity *and* help the outgroup. The positive influence of ingroup norms towards outgroup helping was found for people with a non-salient religious identity and people with a more left wing than right wing political identity.

In the next section I will discuss the contributions of my research, applied relevance and future studies for the experiments per chapter.

Contributions in more depth

For hypothesis 1 the key finding was that, even though a religious identity can have an enduring impact on responses to disadvantaged groups (beggars), behavioural responses are affected by the norm of that identity. Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) marks the importance of salience of social identity but does not elaborate on group norms that are part of that social identity. My results showed that indeed ingroup norms are very important in regulating prosocial behaviour towards a disadvantaged outgroup as studies by Nadler et al. (2006) and recently Levine and Crowther (2008) who studied bystander helping behaviour showed.

Regarding the salience of group identity, it was found that religious non-salient people gave more money to the beggar. In terms of social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) it was explained that a salient religious identity of the ingroup influenced religious people to not give money to the beggar since they were more aware of their religious group membership and could have therefore preferred their own group more because of ingroup bias. Salience of identity as was mentioned in the first theoretical chapter has an influence on outgroup helping.

It seemed that ingroup identity and preference of the own group you belong to is more important when people are reminded of this identity. Norms that are part of the

religious identity seem to be more important when the religious identity is not salient, hence they helped the disadvantaged group more than when their religious identity was not salient. Salience of political identity as well as the content of a political identity served to regulate prosocial behaviour towards beggars.

It was further found that norms of participants' political identity are intertwined with their political preference. Results showed that more prosocial behaviour towards a disadvantaged outgroup occurred when salient political preferences were more left wing. These findings fit with the theories of social identity and self-categorization, given that behaving according to ingroup norms is the objective. It was found that people mostly feel and behave in line with the ingroup norms and it could be judged that the ingroup identity construct provided people a significant change in behaviour towards the disadvantaged outgroup, which recently also Nadler, Harpaz-Gorodeisky and Ben-David (2009) found in their studies regarding status related helping behaviour.

Future studies A subsequent experiment could look at political preference as a main condition. Beforehand participants would have been selected (unaware) on account of their political preference. The content of both left and right political wing preference would be needed to be explored in an earlier study in which participants indicate what the content and norms of their political preference would entail. These descriptions of identity content and group norms would be used in later studies to provide a clear explanation for the role of ingroup identity norms.

Applied relevance The results concerning empathy when one's political identity is salient in intergroup interactions has applied relevance. When political programs or advertisements impose a political identity by addressing the viewer in particular ways, this could possibly evoke empathy in people who feel like members of the ingroup, in terms of that particular political identity and could also promote prosocial behaviour. For example, when important politicians (e.g. politicians who appear a lot in the media because of their political status) from a specific political party address themselves as caring for e.g. asylum seekers, then supposedly people who are members of this political party, or normally vote for that party, will also feel and behave accordingly to that political party's ingroup norm, and thus will feel and behave prosocially towards asylum seekers.

Also the presence of significant others which was found regarding religious identity would be relevant to certain situations, for example when there is some controversy or conflict between one's personal interest and religious principles. For instance, you are not prone to donate money to a society for Aids victims given that being a student you are short on money yourself, but according to your religious principles you empathise with Aids victims anyway. Your close friends, who are students as well, do give money to this cause which will make you more likely to donate money to the society for Aids victims too. Thus helping others in real life situations can be facilitated by the presence of significant others that make religious norms that you share with them salient.

The expectation that people who are judged by a significant ingroup member

would be directed to more empathy and helping behaviour towards a disadvantage outgroup than people who were not accountable by others was not found (hypothesis 2).

It was expected that people with more right wing preference would feel less empathy towards the outgroup. Ingroup norms of right wing people are about taking care of yourself instead of taking care of others. According to SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), people with a more right wing preference would not have seen the significant ingroup member, the advisor for the left wing political party as an ingroup member and therefore would not have to follow the norms of the ingroup of the left wing political advisor. Ingroup norms should have been followed when left wing participants took the left wing political advisor in account, since they were sharing the same ingroup identity and norms. However, due to small sample sizes analyses concerning left and right wing political preference regarding the accountable left wing political advisor and outgroup empathy and helping were not possible.

Future studies Further investigations could include the accountability of a significant ingroup member regarding a decision about an important issue. Besides the accountability of this ingroup member, this person is also the friend of the participant. This condition would be compared with the accountability of a significant ingroup member who is not a friend of the participant. It is then expected that the ingroup member dealing with the ingroup friend will be more influenced by the accountability of that significant ingroup friend, since the participant will be made accountable by the presence of the friend besides the accountability of the important issue compared to the participant who is not a friend of the significant ingroup member.

The main results from the experiments of Chapter 5 pointed towards effect of intragroup differentiation and processes in the ingroup. People with high power do not affect outgroup helping by others much, and will themselves allocate less money to the outgroup. People with intragroup power seem to be more concerned with the ingroup than processes outside their own group. The possibility of losing their intragroup power or felt responsibility towards their ingroup might very well be in accordance with the social comparison theory (Festinger, 1954), and intragroup differentiation. The identity of an ingroup member could be threatened, either through the possibility of losing intragroup power or experiencing a negative influence of high intragroup power individuals, and therefore asks for intragroup differentiation restoration. Acquiring a positive distinction in relation to other ingroup members makes outgroup helping feasible.

In relation to adding new ideas to the intragroup power literature experiment 5 showed that social identity processes may be highly involved in power processes in a group. Thus, people might not help an outgroup because of issues relating to power in their group.

Future studies A study looking at the influences of the possibility of losing or gaining intragroup power in relation to outgroup helping would contribute significantly to our knowledge of intergroup helping. When the reality of one's intragroup power is not that steadfast, is the possibility of gaining intragroup power facilitating prosocial behaviour as a result of intragroup differentiation? Or is the possibility of gaining intragroup power causing people already to feel more responsible for their ingroup, or

egocentric about their to be acquired power? It would be good to address these issues since shifts in intragroup power could also change the ingroup members view on outgroup helping. An ingroup member with low intragroup power who is willing to help an outgroup gains intragroup power and therefore could not help the outgroup as much as before.

Applied relevance The aspect of intragroup power towards outgroup helping is feasible in many everyday situations. Besides the influence of police and hospital personnel, who are in demand of patients, also the impact of military commanders in UN peace affairs, and the impact of heads of state and organizations are important to investigate. Those people will care for the (international) people they work for but also their own colleagues. The circumstances in which the influence of intragroup power will have an impact could be looked into more closely. Are the people in charge of, for example, UN peace affairs aware of their own power and how do they use this power towards their UN colleagues and towards the people they help?

Chapter 6 was dedicated to awareness and empathy towards the outgroup. The role of empathy in intergroup helping has been studied (e.g. Stürmer et al., 2005) for which I wanted to provide some evidence for outgroup helping. Furthermore the influence of ingroup norms that would affect empathy and outgroup helping is investigated in my thesis

The main findings of experiment 6 demonstrated that the outgroup would be

perceived with more empathy when awareness of the outgroup was high. Also, people more aware of the outgroup had the tendency to behave in a more prosocial way towards it. When one is more aware of the outgroup one may perceive the outgroup more as human beings also. When the outgroup is perceived as humans helping a disadvantaged group would subsequently be considered as humane.

In experiment 7 empathy of the ingroup towards the outgroup was manipulated and thereby hypothesis 3 was tested. Hypothesis 3 stated that induced high empathy for a disadvantaged outgroup will make people behave more prosocially towards that outgroup, than people induced with low empathy for that outgroup. It was found that people high in empathy towards a disadvantaged outgroup were more willing to allocate money to the outgroup in the circumstances that money had to be divided between themselves, their group, and the outgroup than people lower in empathy. Feeling empathy towards an outgroup is in certain occasions facilitating prosocial behaviour towards that outgroup, as Stürmer et al. (2005) found as well. Experiment 7 added the fact that empathy was manipulated at an intergroup level, and that the effect on helping was direct.

Experiments 6 and 7 showed that prosocial behaviour can be facilitated by an intergroup level awareness of how an outgroup feels, and the ability to feel these emotions themselves, i.e. empathy.

The findings concur with those of Batson (e.g. 1989, 1997, 2002), who investigated empathy at an interpersonal and intergroup level and found that empathy assisted prosocial attitudes and behaviour. Moreover, given that awareness of an outgroup is

occurring at an intergroup level, the effect of the social identity of the ingroup (which becomes evident when the ingroup acts together towards an outgroup) could be considered to be in line with the theory on (inter)group identity. Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) explains that our group memberships play a major role in our understanding of who we are, of what we are like and how we are similar to, and different from, others. Defining and evaluating ourselves in terms of the groups to which we belong causes us to experience another group as an outgroup. Under certain conditions the outgroup could be treated as an enemy, since people have a strong desire to establish or maintain the evaluative superiority of their own group over relevant other groups on identity relevant dimensions (Hogg & Abrams, 2001).

However, the outgroup could also be regarded as different and remain different from the ingroup since the help is only directed in one way, the ingroup only helps the disadvantaged outgroup, and not vice versa. The ingroup could therefore take control over the situation if necessary, and see to it that the outgroup continues to be different from the ingroup. Consequently, an identity threat does not necessarily have to be experienced, and the evaluative superiority of the own group over the outgroup could be maintained.

Considering the results from experiments 6 and 7, this holding on to differences between groups could be the case. Empathy was found to have a positive effect on helping when manipulated directly, as opposed to the moderation effect found by Stürmer et al (2005) when intergroup similarity came into play, which could be a threat to the ingroup identity. Helping an outgroup does not imply that ingroup boundaries are threatened. As long as the outgroup remains the outgroup, awareness of, and empathy towards the outgroup are

useful tools to induce helping behaviour towards an outgroup.

Furthermore, depending on higher or lower awareness of the outgroup, people experienced empathy or prosocial behaviour towards the disadvantaged outgroup. The emotion empathy has been found to be a good predictor for prosocial behaviour (e.g. Batson et al., 2002; Stürmer et al., 2005), and the present studies also suggested this.

Moreover, the interrelation between context and our particular (social) ingroup identity will impose upon the effects of empathy on our prosocial behaviour. When the context around the ingroup is 'composed' in favour of ingroup identity, such as a right wing political identity in a country with a conservative government, this identity will therefore not be threatened. Thus, social identities of different groups, ingroup and outgroup, can mutually exist. This ingroup-favoured context could positively influence prosocial behaviour towards an outgroup as in the results of this chapter possible indicators of this intergroup differentiation were found. To conclude, arranging the context to favour our ingroup could actually also assist our helping behaviour towards an outgroup.

Future studies Since interesting effects of awareness and empathy towards an outgroup were found, it would be useful to give more attention to awareness at an intergroup level. The ingroup could be made aware of the outgroup and at the same time intragroup power relations will be taken in account; hence four conditions could give a better understanding how ingroup and outgroup relate to each other when both outgroup and ingroup issues compose a situation that require a solution. One condition would

include a high power ingroup member who is made aware of an outgroup. In the second condition the outgroup member is made aware of the outgroup but has low ingroup power. The third and fourth conditions would consist of people not made aware of the outgroup and with either high or low intragroup power. It would be expected that people with high intragroup power and not aware of the outgroup will not help the outgroup, as people with low intragroup power and made aware of the outgroup will help the most due to intragroup differentiation effects.

Political preference towards prosocial behaviour

The intention of taking political preference of people in consideration originated from results in Experiment 2. In this study social identity in the function of a political identity was measured towards prosocial behaviour to an outgroup. Political identity was rated by means of some specific questions regarding political behaviour, including political preference. As an interesting side effect, political preference gave significant differences between studied groups when in interaction with the main manipulation. From then on political preference was taken in consideration whenever possible in experimental manipulations.

Examining the experiments in which political preference was employed, besides experiment 2, no results in experiments 3, 3a and 5 concerning political preference were found. Because of too small samples in experiments 3 and 3a, analyzing political preference on a continuous scale was not possible, neither was a scale midpoint split in

experiment 3. In experiment 5 a scale midpoint split did not find significant results regarding outgroup helping between left and right wing participants. Still the finding of influence of political preference in experiment 2 is, I find, of importance to mention and to be worth examining further.

Concluding

The results of the experiments made me believe that ingroup identity, identity content and ingroup norms as well as the context in which this identity is embedded are feasible predictors with regard to helping certain disadvantaged outgroup. These findings fit with the theories of social identity (Tajfel and Turner, 1986) and self categorization (Turner, 1985; Turner et al., 1987), given that feeling and behaving according to ingroup norms is the objective, and suggesting that people each have a variety of different identities, which become activated in different social contexts. Furthermore empathy for another group generates in to more prosocial behaviour towards that other group.

Implications and Directions for Future Research

It is in the framework of a general discussion to consider some more general possibilities for further research. Since these have largely been covered for each of the experimental chapters, I aim now for the broader agenda. A key issue is, besides the actual implication of found results to real world situations, the content of prosocial behaviour not to be entirely originating from a personal characteristic (altruism) as might be thought, but that group identity is a considerable contributor. Social processes seem to be of large

importance as this thesis tried to illustrate.

Furthermore, replications of the results that a field study could provide about the influence of social identity of an ingroup would provide us a more valid idea of what is taking place during social identity processes at an intergroup level. Help is cheap when it is cost-free. Perhaps a paradigm in which there is more cost attached to the prosocial behaviours, as in many real-world situations, would be a more rigorous and realistic test of present ideas about helping behaviour (e.g. Batson, 1997). As said in the introduction, studying prosocial behaviour at an intergroup level only started recently. I would like, for the near future, to attempt to replicate my results by administering questionnaires and run experiments with members of political parties, profit and non-profit companies and organizations and schools.

In this thesis the focus was on intragroup and intergroup processes regarding helping behaviour. Processes taking place between groups, towards an outgroup in an unidirectional way, the main findings were more complex than initially hoped for. When taking in account all results it could be concluded that in helping a disadvantaged outgroup underlies a more multifaceted behavioural and affective pattern. Social identity, identity content, ingroup norms, intragroup power and empathy towards the outgroup all have their influences on prosocial behaviour. Fortunately, some steps towards a better understanding how these concepts influence helping behaviour have been made.

My aim was to start from a point at which some relevant results are already at hand and work from there. The reality is much beyond that scale, interesting, or unexpected results can redirect research and this has also happened in the present thesis. Although not all predicted results were obtained, a promising impression of possible ongoing processes in helping behaviour towards an outgroup were found. It is hopeful to be able to get further in a field that deserves a lot of attention since social psychology in my opinion not only has a scientific responsibility but even more so a practical real life responsibility. Therefore, the focus on pre-existing outgroups has been no accident. The content of disadvantage outgroups in a relative authentic setting was employed, to provide a more vivid and significant account of helping behaviour than would have been possible had the studies just been restricted to laboratory experiments by means of invented groups.

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Experiment 1

Non salient religious + Control condition

Could you please rate the emotions you experience in the situations cited below on a scale from 1 to 7. Where **1** stands for you do **not** experience the emotion, and **7** you do **very much**.

Please tick the box that is closest to your feelings.

1)

Imagine yourself walking on the street and you **see** a beggar. Could you tell me what you, as an **individual**, being your own person, would **feel** towards that beggar?

I would **feel**.....

Sadness

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Distress

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Embarrassment

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Sympathy

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Friendliness

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anxiety

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Pity

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Interest

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Guilt

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Shame

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Empathy

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Fear

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anger

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anything else?

Please specify.....

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

Very much

Not at all

Please specify.....

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Please specify.....

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

1b)

Imagine yourself walking on the street and you **see** a beggar. Could you tell me what you, as an **individual**, being your own person, how you would **behave** towards the beggar?

Please rate the answers that are applicable for you

You are allowed to give as many answers as you need

For Example:

| | Very much | | | | | | Not at all |
|--|------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| Give money | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Ignore | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Say sorry and walk on | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Make a conversation | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Say something negative | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Smile to him/her | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Mumble something | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Don't make eye contact | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Something else, please specify; | <i>Cross the street.....</i> | | | | | | |
| | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

Imagine yourself walking on the street and you **see** a beggar. Could you tell me what you, as an **individual**, being your own person, how you would **behave** towards the beggar?

| | Very much | | | | | | Not at all |
|-------------------------------|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| Give money | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Ignore | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Say sorry and walk on | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Make a conversation | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Say something negative | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

| | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Smile to him/her | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Mumble something | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Don't make eye contact | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Something else, please specify..... | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

2a)

Imagine yourself walking on the street and a beggar **asks you for some money**. Could you tell me what you, as an **individual**, being your own person, would **feel** towards that beggar?

Please tick the box that is closest to your feelings.

*Where **1** stands for you do **not** experience the emotion, and **7** you do **very much**, as before.*

Would you **feel**.....?

Sadness

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Distress

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Embarrassment

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Sympathy

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Friendliness

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anxiety

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Pity

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Interest

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Guilt

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Shame

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Empathy

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Fear

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anger

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anything else?

Please specify.....

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Please specify.....

∇ ∇ ∇ ∇ ∇ ∇ ∇
 7 6 5 4 3 2 1
 Very much Not at all

Please specify.....

∇ ∇ ∇ ∇ ∇ ∇ ∇
 7 6 5 4 3 2 1
 Very much Not at all

2b)

Imagine yourself walking on the street and a beggar **asks you for some money**. Could you tell me how you, as an **individual**, being your own person, would **behave** towards the beggar?

Please rate (more than one answer is allowed):

| | Very much | | | | | | | Not at all | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|---|------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Give money | : 7 | ∇ | 6 | ∇ | 5 | ∇ | 4 | ∇ | 3 | ∇ | 2 | ∇ | 1 | ∇ |
| Ignore | : 7 | ∇ | 6 | ∇ | 5 | ∇ | 4 | ∇ | 3 | ∇ | 2 | ∇ | 1 | ∇ |
| Say sorry and walk on | : 7 | ∇ | 6 | ∇ | 5 | ∇ | 4 | ∇ | 3 | ∇ | 2 | ∇ | 1 | ∇ |
| Make a conversation | : 7 | ∇ | 6 | ∇ | 5 | ∇ | 4 | ∇ | 3 | ∇ | 2 | ∇ | 1 | ∇ |
| Say something negative | : 7 | ∇ | 6 | ∇ | 5 | ∇ | 4 | ∇ | 3 | ∇ | 2 | ∇ | 1 | ∇ |
| Smile to him/her | : 7 | ∇ | 6 | ∇ | 5 | ∇ | 4 | ∇ | 3 | ∇ | 2 | ∇ | 1 | ∇ |
| Mumble something | : 7 | ∇ | 6 | ∇ | 5 | ∇ | 4 | ∇ | 3 | ∇ | 2 | ∇ | 1 | ∇ |
| Don't make eye contact | : 7 | ∇ | 6 | ∇ | 5 | ∇ | 4 | ∇ | 3 | ∇ | 2 | ∇ | 1 | ∇ |
| Something else, please specify..... | : 7 | ∇ | 6 | ∇ | 5 | ∇ | 4 | ∇ | 3 | ∇ | 2 | ∇ | 1 | ∇ |

3a)

Imagine yourself walking on the street and a beggar **tries to have a conversation with you** (not to get money from you). Could you tell me what you, as an **individual**, being your own person, would **feel** towards that beggar?

Would you **feel**.....?

Sadness

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Distress

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Embarrassment

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Sympathy

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Friendliness

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anxiety

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Pity

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Interest

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Guilt

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Shame

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
Very much Not at all

Empathy

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
Very much Not at all

Fear

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
Very much Not at all

Anger

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
Very much Not at all

Anything else?

Please specify.....

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
Very much Not at all

Please specify.....

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
Very much Not at all

Please specify.....

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
Very much Not at all

3b)

Imagine yourself walking on the street and a beggar **tries to have a conversation with you** (not to get money from you). Could you tell me how you as an **individual**, being your own person, would **behave** towards that beggar?

Please rate (more than one answer is allowed):

Very much Not at all
Give money : 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

| | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ignore | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Say sorry and walk on | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Make a conversation | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Say something negative | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Smile to him/her | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Mumble something | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Don't make eye contact | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Something else, please specify..... | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

The following questions are concerned with different situations you could be involved in. Imagine yourself in these instances as much as possible: how you would feel and behave **in general**.

1) Alone

You walk down the street **on your own**, and when you round the corner you notice a beggar sitting on the ground. He sees you and asks you for some money. How would you as an **individual**, being your own person, **feel**?

a) I would feel.....?

| <i>Sadness</i> | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |
| <i>Distress</i> | | | | | | |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |
| <i>Embarrassment</i> | | | | | | |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Sympathy

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Friendliness

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anxiety

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Pity

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Interest

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Guilt

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Shame

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Empathy

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Fear

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anger

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|

Anything else?

Please specify.....

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
 Very much Not at all

Please specify.....

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
 Very much Not at all

Please specify.....

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
 Very much Not at all

b) I would in that situation, as an individual, being my own person, behave like...

Please rate (more than one answer is allowed):

| | Very much | | | | | | | Not at all |
|-------------------------------------|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| Give money | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| Ignore | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| Say sorry and walk on | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| Make a conversation | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| Say something negative | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| Smile to him/her | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| Mumble something | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| Don't make eye contact | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| Something else, please specify..... | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |

2) With family

a) Your walking on the street **with some relatives** of yours and you are in an animated conversation with each other. When you cross the street there is a beggar sitting in the street asking you and your family members for some money.

I would as an **individual**, being my own person, **feel**....

Sadness

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Distress

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Embarrassment

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Sympathy

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Friendliness

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anxiety

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Pity

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Interest

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

Very much

Not at all

Guilt

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Shame

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Empathy

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Fear

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anger

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anything else?

Please specify.....

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Please specify.....

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Please specify.....

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

b) I would **in that situation**, as an **individual**, being my own person, **behave** like....

Please rate (more than one answer is allowed):

| | Very much | | | | | | Not at all |
|-------------------------------------|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| Give money | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Ignore | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Say sorry and walk on | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Make a conversation | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Say something negative | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Smile to him/her | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Mumble something | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Don't make eye contact | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Something else, please specify..... | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

3) With friends

You and **your friends** are strolling down the city streets and are joking around with each other. On the corner of a street a beggar sits on the ground. He asks you, and your friends, for some money.

a) I would as an **individual**, being my own person, **feel**....

| <i>Sadness</i> | | | | | | |
|----------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

| <i>Distress</i> | | | | | | |
|-----------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

| <i>Embarrassment</i> | | | | | | |
|----------------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

| <i>Sympathy</i> | | | | | | |
|-----------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

Very much

Not at all

Friendliness

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anxiety

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Pity

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Interest

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Guilt

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Shame

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Empathy

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Fear

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anger

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anything else?

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Please specify.....

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Please specify.....

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

b) I would in that situation, as an **individual**, being my own person, **behave** like....

Please rate (more than one answer is allowed):

| | Very much | | | | | | | Not at all |
|-------------------------------------|-----------|----|----|----|----|----|----|------------|
| Give money | : 7∇ | 6∇ | 5∇ | 4∇ | 3∇ | 2∇ | 1∇ | |
| Ignore | : 7∇ | 6∇ | 5∇ | 4∇ | 3∇ | 2∇ | 1∇ | |
| Say sorry and walk on | : 7∇ | 6∇ | 5∇ | 4∇ | 3∇ | 2∇ | 1∇ | |
| Make a conversation | : 7∇ | 6∇ | 5∇ | 4∇ | 3∇ | 2∇ | 1∇ | |
| Say something negative | : 7∇ | 6∇ | 5∇ | 4∇ | 3∇ | 2∇ | 1∇ | |
| Smile to him/her | : 7∇ | 6∇ | 5∇ | 4∇ | 3∇ | 2∇ | 1∇ | |
| Mumble something | : 7∇ | 6∇ | 5∇ | 4∇ | 3∇ | 2∇ | 1∇ | |
| Don't make eye contact | : 7∇ | 6∇ | 5∇ | 4∇ | 3∇ | 2∇ | 1∇ | |
| Something else, please specify..... | : 7∇ | 6∇ | 5∇ | 4∇ | 3∇ | 2∇ | 1∇ | |

4) Being with your girl/boyfriend/partner

You are walking closely with your **girl/boyfriend/partner**. You are in a romantic mood and feel very happy. A beggar sitting on the steps of a building gets your attention when he asks you for some money.

a) I would as an individual, being my own person, feel....

Sadness

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Distress

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Embarrassment

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Sympathy

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Friendliness

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anxiety

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Pity

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Interest

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Guilt

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
Very much Not at all

Shame

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
Very much Not at all

Empathy

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
Very much Not at all

Fear

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
Very much Not at all

Anger

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
Very much Not at all

Anything else?

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
Very much Not at all

Please specify.....

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
Very much Not at all

Please specify.....

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
Very much Not at all

b) I would in that situation, as an **individual**, being my own person, **behave** like....

| | | | |
|------------|-----------|---|------------|
| | Very much | | Not at all |
| Give money | : 7 | 6 | 5 4 3 2 1 |
| Ignore | : 7 | 6 | 5 4 3 2 1 |

| | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Say sorry and walk on | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Make a conversation | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Say something negative | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Smile to him/her | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Mumble something | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Don't make eye contact | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Something else, please specify..... | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

5) On the television

Imagine yourself on a relaxed night, **watching** some **television** sitting on the couch in your pyjama's or some other comfortable clothes. In between one of your favourite programs there is an advertisement about beggars. The ad shows a beggar who asks someone in the street for some money.

a) I would as an **individual**, being my own person, **feel**....

| | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| <i>Sadness</i> | | | | | | |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

| | | | | | | |
|------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| <i>Distress</i> | | | | | | |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

| | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| <i>Embarrassment</i> | | | | | | |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

| | | | | | | |
|------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| <i>Sympathy</i> | | | | | | |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

| | | | | | | |
|----------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| <i>Friendliness</i> | | | | | | |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anxiety

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Pity

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Interest

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Guilt

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Shame

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Empathy

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Fear

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anger

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anything else?

Please specify.....

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Please specify.....

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

Very much

Not at all

Please specify.....

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

b) I would in that situation, as an **individual**, being my own person, **behave** like....

Please rate (more than one answer is allowed):

| | | | |
|---|------------------------|--|------------|
| | Very much | | Not at all |
| Donate money | : 7∇ 6∇ 5∇ 4∇ 3∇ 2∇ 1∇ | | |
| Ignore the add | : 7∇ 6∇ 5∇ 4∇ 3∇ 2∇ 1∇ | | |
| Switch channels | : 7∇ 6∇ 5∇ 4∇ 3∇ 2∇ 1∇ | | |
| Thinking about donating money, but in the end won't do it | : 7∇ 6∇ 5∇ 4∇ 3∇ 2∇ 1∇ | | |
| Feel sorry | : 7∇ 6∇ 5∇ 4∇ 3∇ 2∇ 1∇ | | |
| Feel blessed with own situation | : 7∇ 6∇ 5∇ 4∇ 3∇ 2∇ 1∇ | | |
| Something else, please specify..... | : 7∇ 6∇ 5∇ 4∇ 3∇ 2∇ 1∇ | | |

6) On a night out

While on your way to the cinema/club for a fun **night out**, you pass a beggar sitting in the street. He asks you for some money.

a) I would as an **individual**, being my own person, **feel**....

Sadness

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Distress

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Embarrassment

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Sympathy

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Friendliness

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anxiety

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Pity

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Interest

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Guilt

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Shame

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Empathy

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Fear

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
 Very much Not at all

Anger

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
 Very much Not at all

Anything else?

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
 Very much Not at all

Please specify.....

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
 Very much Not at all

Please specify.....

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
 Very much Not at all

b) I would in that situation, as an **individual**, being my own person, **behave** like....

| | Very much | | | | | | | Not at all |
|-------------------------------------|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| Give money | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| Ignore | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| Say sorry and walk on | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| Make a conversation | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| Say something negative | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| Smile to him/her | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| Mumble something | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| Don't make eye contact | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| Something else, please specify..... | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |

7) On your way to work/university

You are waiting for the bus that will bring you to **work/university**. You notice a beggar sitting next to the bus stop, and he asks you for some money.

a) I would as an **individual**, being my own person, **feel**...

Sadness

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Distress

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Embarrassment

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Sympathy

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Friendliness

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anxiety

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Pity

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Interest

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Guilt

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Shame

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Empathy

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Fear

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anger

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anything else?

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Please specify.....

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Please specify.....

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

b) I would in that situation, as an **individual**, being my own person, **behave** like....

| | | | | | | | |
|------------|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| | Very much | | | | | | Not at all |
| Give money | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

| | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ignore | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Say sorry and walk on | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Make a conversation | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Say something negative | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Smile to him/her | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Mumble something | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Don't make eye contact | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Something else, please specify..... | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

8) After work, on your way home

After a day at work/university, you are **on your way home**. You are thinking what to eat and to do tonight, and while wandering about that you pass a beggar in the street. He asks you for some money.

a) I would as an **individual**, being my own person, **feel**....

Sadness

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Distress

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Embarrassment

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Sympathy

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Friendliness

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anxiety

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Pity

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Interest

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Guilt

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Shame

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Empathy

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Fear

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anger

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anything else?

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Please specify.....

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|

Please specify.....

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
 Very much Not at all

b) I would in that situation, as an individual, being my own person, behave like....

| | Very much | | | | | | | Not at all |
|-------------------------------------|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| Give money | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| Ignore | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| Say sorry and walk on | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| Make a conversation | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| Say something negative | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| Smile to him/her | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| Mumble something | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| Don't make eye contact | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| Something else, please specify..... | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |

9) Shopping

You step out the busy **shop** where you just **bought** bags full of new clothes, cd's, magazines and other nice stuff. While making your way to the nearest taxi stand you hear someone ask you for some money. You turn around and see a beggar sitting.

a) I would as an individual, being my own person, feel....

Sadness

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
Very much Not at all

Distress

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
Very much Not at all

Embarrassment

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Sympathy

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Friendliness

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anxiety

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Pity

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Interest

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Guilt

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Shame

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Empathy

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Fear

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

Very much

Not at all

Anger

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anything else?

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Please specify.....

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Please specify.....

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

b) I would in that situation, as an **individual**, being my own person, **behave** like....

Very much

Not at all

| | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|------|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| Give money | : 7∇ | 6∇ | 5∇ | 4∇ | 3∇ | 2∇ | 1∇ |
| Ignore | : 7∇ | 6∇ | 5∇ | 4∇ | 3∇ | 2∇ | 1∇ |
| Say sorry and walk on | : 7∇ | 6∇ | 5∇ | 4∇ | 3∇ | 2∇ | 1∇ |
| Make a conversation | : 7∇ | 6∇ | 5∇ | 4∇ | 3∇ | 2∇ | 1∇ |
| Say something negative | : 7∇ | 6∇ | 5∇ | 4∇ | 3∇ | 2∇ | 1∇ |
| Smile to him/her | : 7∇ | 6∇ | 5∇ | 4∇ | 3∇ | 2∇ | 1∇ |
| Mumble something | : 7∇ | 6∇ | 5∇ | 4∇ | 3∇ | 2∇ | 1∇ |
| Don't make eye contact | : 7∇ | 6∇ | 5∇ | 4∇ | 3∇ | 2∇ | 1∇ |
| Something else, please specify..... | : 7∇ | 6∇ | 5∇ | 4∇ | 3∇ | 2∇ | 1∇ |

10) While being on holiday

You leisure around a little town eating an ice cream and do some window-shopping. Your **holiday** is perfect, nice whether, good company and still a week to go. Suddenly you hear a voice asking you something, but you are in a foreign country so you don't understand is being said. You notice someone sitting in the street; it must be a beggar trying to get some money from you.

a) I would as an **individual**, being my own person, **feel**...

Sadness

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Distress

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Embarrassment

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Sympathy

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Friendliness

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anxiety

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Pity

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Interest

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Guilt

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|

Shame

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
 Very much Not at all

Empathy

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
 Very much Not at all

Fear

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
 Very much Not at all

Anger

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
 Very much Not at all

Anything else?

Please specify.....

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
 Very much Not at all

Please specify.....

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
 Very much Not at all

Please specify.....

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
 Very much Not at all

b) **I would** in that situation, **as an** individual, **being my own person**, behave like....

Very much

Not at all

| | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|------|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| Give money | : 7▽ | 6▽ | 5▽ | 4▽ | 3▽ | 2▽ | 1▽ |
| Ignore | : 7▽ | 6▽ | 5▽ | 4▽ | 3▽ | 2▽ | 1▽ |
| Say sorry and walk on | : 7▽ | 6▽ | 5▽ | 4▽ | 3▽ | 2▽ | 1▽ |
| Make a conversation | : 7▽ | 6▽ | 5▽ | 4▽ | 3▽ | 2▽ | 1▽ |
| Say something negative | : 7▽ | 6▽ | 5▽ | 4▽ | 3▽ | 2▽ | 1▽ |
| Smile to him/her | : 7▽ | 6▽ | 5▽ | 4▽ | 3▽ | 2▽ | 1▽ |
| Mumble something | : 7▽ | 6▽ | 5▽ | 4▽ | 3▽ | 2▽ | 1▽ |
| Don't make eye contact | : 7▽ | 6▽ | 5▽ | 4▽ | 3▽ | 2▽ | 1▽ |
| Something else, please specify..... | : 7▽ | 6▽ | 5▽ | 4▽ | 3▽ | 2▽ | 1▽ |

11) Could you give a *summary* about your **most prominent feelings towards the beggar in general?**

Positive

emotions:.....

.....

.....**Negative**

emotions:.....

.....

.....

12) Did the emotions you experienced differ, working through the questionnaire?

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

please explain;

.....

.....

.....

Could you please fill in the following questions:

1. ☐ Male ☐ Female
2. Age: _____
3. Ethnic background/ country where you were brought up:

4. Parents ethnic background/ country where they were brought up
 Father: _____
 Mother: _____
5. Religion: ☐ Christian
 ☐ Muslim
 ☐ Jewish
 ☐ Other
 ☐ N/A
6. Practicing religion ***Please tick***
 ☐ Practising: *Not at all*__ *Somewhat*__ *Quite a lot*__ *Very much*__
 ☐ Brought up religious, but not practising
 ☐ N/A
7. Occupation: ☐ Student: *Psychology*__ *Other*__ ***Please tick***
 ☐ Employed
 ☐ Unemployed
 ☐ Other, please specify: _____
8. Voting (generally): ☐ Labour
 ☐ Conservative
 ☐ Other, please specify;

We would like to thank you very much for your participation!

Experiment 1

Salient religious condition

You are about to fill in a questionnaire about **emotions** you could experience in certain situations. We would like to ask you to concentrate on the questions and read them carefully.

It's important that you give your first felt, and honest emotion(s). Be aware that there are no good or wrong answers.

Please answer all questions. Your answers will be coded in order to protect your identity.

Could you please rate the emotions you experience in the situations cited below on a scale from 1 to 7. Where **1** stands for you do **not** experience the emotion **at all**, and **7** you do **very much**.

Enjoy!

Imagine yourself the following: There are two groups of people who differ from each other. You are part of one group of people and there is another group, which you are definitely not part of. The other group behaves differently than your group does. You see yourself as a member of your own group, and see the other group as **different, the others.**

In this questionnaire you are asked to describe your feelings and behaviour towards **beggars; the other group.**

1)

Imagine yourself walking on the street and you **see** a beggar. Considering your **religious background**, how would you **feel** towards that beggar?

I would **feel**...

Sadness

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Distress

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Embarrassment

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Sympathy

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Friendliness

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anxiety

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Pity

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Interest

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Guilt

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Shame

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Empathy

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Fear

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anger

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anything else?

Please specify.....

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

1b)

Imagine yourself walking on the street and you **see** a beggar. Considering your religious background, what would your **behaviour** towards the beggar be?

| | Very much | | | | | | Not at all |
|---|-----------|-----|---|---|---|---|------------|
| Give money | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Ignore | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Say sorry and walk on | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Make a conversation | | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 |
| Say something negative | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Smile to him/her | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Mumble something | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Don't make eye contact | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Something else, please specify;..... | | | | | | | |
| | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

2a)

Imagine yourself walking on the street and a beggar **asks you for some money**. Considering your **religious background**, how would you **feel** towards that beggar?

I would **feel**....

| <i>Sadness</i> | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

| <i>Distress</i> | | | | | | |
|------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

| <i>Embarrassment</i> | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

| <i>Sympathy</i> | | | | | | |
|------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Friendliness

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anxiety

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Pity

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Interest

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Guilt

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Shame

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Empathy

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Fear

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anger

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anything else?

Please specify.....

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

2b)

Imagine yourself walking on the street and a beggar **asks you for some money**. Considering your **religious background**, what would your **behaviour** towards the beggar be?

| | | | | | | | | |
|--|-----------|-----|---|---|---|---|------------|---|
| | Very much | | | | | | Not at all | |
| Give money | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| Ignore | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| Say sorry and walk on | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| Make a conversation | | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Say something negative | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| Smile to him/her | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| Mumble something | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| Don't make eye contact | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| Something else, please specify..... | | | | | | | | |
| | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |

3a)

Imagine yourself walking on the street and a beggar **tries to have a conversation with you** (not to get money from you). Considering your **religious background** how would you **feel** towards that beggar?

I would **feel**....

| | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| <i>Sadness</i> | | | | | | |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

| | | | | | | |
|------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| <i>Distress</i> | | | | | | |
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

| | | | | | | |
|----------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| <i>Embarrassment</i> | | | | | | |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

Very much

Not at all

Sympathy

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Friendliness

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anxiety

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Pity

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Interest

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Guilt

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Shame

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Empathy

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Fear

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anger

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
 Very much Not at all

Considering your **religious background** how would your **behaviour** towards that beggar be?

Distress

▽ ▽ ▿ ▹ ▸ ► ▻

7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Very much

Not at all

Embarrassment

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Sympathy

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Friendliness

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anxiety

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Pity

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Interest

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Guilt

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Shame

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Empathy

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Fear

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anger

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anything else?

Please specify.....

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

b) I would **in that situation**, considering my **religious** background, behave like....

| | | | | | | | |
|--|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| | Very much | | | | | | Not at all |
| Give money | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Ignore | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Say sorry and walk on | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Make a conversation | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Say something negative | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Smile to him/her | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Mumble something | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Don't make eye contact | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Something else, please specify..... | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

2) With family

You are walking on the street **with some relatives** of yours and you are in an animated conversation with each other. When you cross the street there is a beggar sitting in the street asking you, **and your family members** for some money.

I would considering my **religious** background, **feel**....

Sadness

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Distress

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Embarrassment

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Sympathy

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Friendliness

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anxiety

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Pity

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Interest

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Guilt

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Shame

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Empathy

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

Very much

Not at all

Fear

∇ ∇ ∇ ∇ ∇ ∇ ∇
 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Anger

∇ ∇ ∇ ∇ ∇ ∇ ∇
 7 6 5 4 3 2 1
 Very much Not at all

Anything else?

Please specify.....

∇ ∇ ∇ ∇ ∇ ∇ ∇
 7 6 5 4 3 2 1
 Very much Not at all

b) I would in that situation, considering my religious background, behave like....

Very much

Not at all

Give money : 7∇ 6∇ 5∇ 4∇ 3∇ 2∇ 1∇
Ignore : 7∇ 6∇ 5∇ 4∇ 3∇ 2∇ 1∇
Say sorry and walk on : 7∇ 6∇ 5∇ 4∇ 3∇ 2∇ 1∇
Make a conversation : 7∇ 6∇ 5∇ 4∇ 3∇ 2∇ 1∇
Say something negative : 7∇ 6∇ 5∇ 4∇ 3∇ 2∇ 1∇
Smile to him/her : 7∇ 6∇ 5∇ 4∇ 3∇ 2∇ 1∇
Mumble something : 7∇ 6∇ 5∇ 4∇ 3∇ 2∇ 1∇
Don't make eye contact : 7∇ 6∇ 5∇ 4∇ 3∇ 2∇ 1∇
Something else, please specify.....
 : 7∇ 6∇ 5∇ 4∇ 3∇ 2∇ 1∇

3) With friends

You and **your friends** are strolling down the city streets and are joking around with each other. On the corner of a street a beggar sits on the ground. He asks you, and your friends, for some money.

I would considering my **religious** background, **feel**....

Sadness

∇ ∇ ∇ ∇ ∇ ∇ ∇

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Distress

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Embarrassment

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Sympathy

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Friendliness

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anxiety

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Pity

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Interest

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Guilt

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Shame

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Empathy

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
 Very much Not at all

Fear

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
 Very much Not at all

Anger

7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Anything else?

Please specify.....

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
 Very much Not at all

b) I would **in that situation**, considering my **religious** background, behave like....

| | Very much | | | | | | | Not at all |
|--|-----------|-----|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| Give money | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| Ignore | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| Say sorry and walk on | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| Make a conversation | | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Say something negative | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| Smile to him/her | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| Mumble something | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| Don't make eye contact | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| Something else, please specify..... | | | | | | | | |
| | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |

4) Being with your girl/boyfriend/partner

You are walking closely with your **girl/boyfriend/partner**. You are in a romantic mood and feel very happy. A beggar sitting on the steps of a building gets your attention when he asks you for some money.

I would considering my **religious** background **feel**....

Sadness

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Distress

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Embarrassment

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Sympathy

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Friendliness

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anxiety

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Pity

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Interest

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Guilt

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Shame

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Empathy

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
 Very much Not at all

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
 Very much Not at all

Please specify.....

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
Very much Not at all

| | Very much | | | | | | | Not at all |
|--|-----------|-----|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| Give money | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| Ignore | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| Say sorry and walk on | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| Make a conversation | | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Say something negative | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| Smile to him/her | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| Mumble something | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| Don't make eye contact | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| Something else, please specify..... | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |

I would considering my **religious** background, feel....

Sadness

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Distress

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Embarrassment

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Sympathy

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Friendliness

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anxiety

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Pity

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Interest

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Guilt

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Shame

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
Very much Not at all

Empathy

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
Very much Not at all

Fear

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
Very much Not at all

Anger

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
Very much Not at all

Anything else?

Please specify.....

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
Very much Not at all

b) I would in that situation, considering my religious background, behave like....

| | Very much | | | | | | Not at all |
|---|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| Donate money | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Ignore the add | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Switch channels | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Thinking about donating money, but in the end won't do it | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Feel sorry | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Feel blessed with own situation | | | | | | | |
| | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Something else, please specify..... | | | | | | | |
| | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

6) On a night out

While on your way to the cinema/club for a fun **night out**, you pass a beggar sitting in the street. He asks you for some money.

I would considering my **religious** background, **feel**....

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

| | | | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| | | | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|

Shame

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
 Very much Not at all

Empathy

[illegible]

Fear



 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

 Very much Not at all

Anger

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
 Very much Not at all

Anything else?

Please specify.....

7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Very much Not at all

b) I would in that situation, considering my religious background, behave like....

| | Very much | | | | | | | Not at all |
|--|-----------|-----|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| Give money | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| Ignore | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| Say sorry and walk on | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| Make a conversation | | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Say something negative | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| Smile to him/her | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| Mumble something | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| Don't make eye contact | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| Something else, please specify..... | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |

7) On your way to work/university

You are waiting for the bus that will bring you to **work/university**. You notice a beggar sitting next to the bus stop, and he asks you for some money.

I would considering my **religious** background, **feel**....

Sadness

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Distress

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Embarrassment

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Sympathy

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Friendliness

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anxiety

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Pity

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Interest

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Guilt

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Shame

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Empathy

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Fear

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anger

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anything else?

Please specify.....

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

b) I would **in that situation**, considering my **religious** background,
behave like....

| | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------|-----------|------|----|----|----|------------|
| | Very much | | | | | Not at all |
| Give money | : 7▽ | 6▽ | 5▽ | 4▽ | 3▽ | 2▽ 1▽ |
| Ignore | : 7▽ | 6▽ | 5▽ | 4▽ | 3▽ | 2▽ 1▽ |
| Say sorry and walk on | : 7▽ | 6▽ | 5▽ | 4▽ | 3▽ | 2▽ 1▽ |
| Make a conversation | | : 7▽ | 6▽ | 5▽ | 4▽ | 3▽ 2▽ 1▽ |
| Say something negative | : 7▽ | 6▽ | 5▽ | 4▽ | 3▽ | 2▽ 1▽ |
| Smile to him/her | : 7▽ | 6▽ | 5▽ | 4▽ | 3▽ | 2▽ 1▽ |

Mumble something : 7▽ 6▽ 5▽ 4▽ 3▽ 2▽ 1▽
Don't make eye contact : 7▽ 6▽ 5▽ 4▽ 3▽ 2▽ 1▽
Something else, please specify.....
: 7▽ 6▽ 5▽ 4▽ 3▽ 2▽ 1▽

8) After work, on your way home

After a day at work/university, you are **on your way home**. You are thinking what to eat and to do tonight, and while wondering about that you pass a beggar in the street. He asks you for some money.

I would considering my **religious** background **feel**....

Sadness

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Distress

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Embarrassment

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Sympathy

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Friendliness

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anxiety

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Pity

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Interest

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Guilt

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Shame

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Empathy

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Fear

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anger

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anything else?

Please specify.....

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

b) I would in that situation, considering my religious background, behave like....

| | | | | | | | |
|------------------------------|-----------|----|----|----|----|----|------------|
| | Very much | | | | | | Not at all |
| Give money | : 7▽ | 6▽ | 5▽ | 4▽ | 3▽ | 2▽ | 1▽ |
| Ignore | : 7▽ | 6▽ | 5▽ | 4▽ | 3▽ | 2▽ | 1▽ |
| Say sorry and walk on | : 7▽ | 6▽ | 5▽ | 4▽ | 3▽ | 2▽ | 1▽ |
| Make a conversation | : 7▽ | 6▽ | 5▽ | 4▽ | 3▽ | 2▽ | 1▽ |

Say something negative : 7▽ 6▽ 5▽ 4▽ 3▽ 2▽ 1▽
Smile to him/her : 7▽ 6▽ 5▽ 4▽ 3▽ 2▽ 1▽
Mumble something : 7▽ 6▽ 5▽ 4▽ 3▽ 2▽ 1▽
Don't make eye contact : 7▽ 6▽ 5▽ 4▽ 3▽ 2▽ 1▽
Something else, please specify.....
: 7▽ 6▽ 5▽ 4▽ 3▽ 2▽ 1▽

9) Shopping

You step out the busy **shop** where you just **bought** bags full of new clothes, cd's, magazines and other nice stuff. While making your way to the nearest taxi stand you hear someone ask you for some money. You turn around and see a beggar sitting.

I would considering my **religious** background, **feel**....

Sadness

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Distress

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Embarrassment

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Sympathy

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Friendliness

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anxiety

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Pity

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Interest

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Guilt

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Shame

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Empathy

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Fear

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anger

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anything else?

Please specify.....

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

b) I would in that situation, considering my religious background, behave like....

| | | | | | | | |
|-------------------|-----------|----|----|----|----|----|------------|
| | Very much | | | | | | Not at all |
| Give money | : 7▽ | 6▽ | 5▽ | 4▽ | 3▽ | 2▽ | 1▽ |
| Ignore | : 7▽ | 6▽ | 5▽ | 4▽ | 3▽ | 2▽ | 1▽ |

Say sorry and walk on : 7▽ 6▽ 5▽ 4▽ 3▽ 2▽ 1▽
 Make a conversation : 7▽ 6▽ 5▽ 4▽ 3▽ 2▽ 1▽
 Say something negative : 7▽ 6▽ 5▽ 4▽ 3▽ 2▽ 1▽
 Smile to him/her : 7▽ 6▽ 5▽ 4▽ 3▽ 2▽ 1▽
 Mumble something : 7▽ 6▽ 5▽ 4▽ 3▽ 2▽ 1▽
 Don't make eye contact : 7▽ 6▽ 5▽ 4▽ 3▽ 2▽ 1▽
 Something else, please specify.....
 : 7▽ 6▽ 5▽ 4▽ 3▽ 2▽ 1▽

10) While being on holiday

You leisure around a little town eating an ice cream and do some window-shopping. Your **holiday** is perfect, nice weather, good company and still a week to go. Suddenly you hear a voice asking you something, but you are **in a foreign country** so you don't understand what is being said. You notice someone sitting in the street; it must be a beggar trying to get some money from you.

I would considering my **religious** background, **feel**....

Sadness

7▽ 6▽ 5▽ 4▽ 3▽ 2▽ 1▽
 Very much Not at all

Distress

7▽ 6▽ 5▽ 4▽ 3▽ 2▽ 1▽
 Very much Not at all

Embarrassment

7▽ 6▽ 5▽ 4▽ 3▽ 2▽ 1▽
 Very much Not at all

Sympathy

7▽ 6▽ 5▽ 4▽ 3▽ 2▽ 1▽
 Very much Not at all

Friendliness

7▽ 6▽ 5▽ 4▽ 3▽ 2▽ 1▽
 Very much Not at all

Anxiety

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Pity

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Interest

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Guilt

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Shame

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Empathy

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Fear

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anger

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anything else?

Please specify.....

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

b) **I would** in that situation, **considering my religious background**,
behave like....

| | Very much | Not at all | | | | | | |
|---|-----------|------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Give money | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| Ignore | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| Say sorry and walk on | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| Make a conversation | | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Say something negative | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| Smile to him/her | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| Mumble something | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| Don't make eye contact | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| Something else, please specify | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |

11) Could you give a *summary* about your **most prominent feelings towards the beggar in general?**

Positive

emotions:.....

.....

.....**Negative**

emotions:.....

.....

12) Did the emotions you experienced **differ, working through the questionnaire?**

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

please explain;

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

Could you please fill in the following questions:

1. ☐ Male ☐ Female
2. Age: _____
3. Religion: ☐ Christian
 ☐ Muslim
 ☐ Jewish
 ☐ Other
 ☐ N/A
4. Practicing religion ***Please tick***
 ☐ Practising: *Not at all*__ *Somewhat*__ *Quite a lot*__ *Very much*__
 ☐ Brought up religious, but not practising
 ☐ N/A
5. Occupation: ☐ Student: *Psychology*__ *Other*__
 ☐ Employed
 ☐ Unemployed
 ☐ Other, please specify: _____
6. Voting (generally): ☐ Labour
 ☐ Conservative
 ☐ Other, please specify;

We would like to thank you very much for your participation !

Experiment 2

Non salient political identity condition

Stel je het volgende voor: Er zijn twee groepen mensen die van elkaar verschillen. Jij bent deel van één groep mensen en er is een **andere** groep, waar je zeker geen onderdeel van bent. Deze andere groep zie je als een totaal andere groep mensen dan waar jij toebehoort. Die andere groep heeft andere gebruiken en gedraagt zich anders dan jij doet. In dit geval hebben we het over de groep bedelaars.

Er wordt je nu gevraagd je gevoelens en gedrag tegenover **bedelaars** te beschrijven, de andere groep.

Zou je de **intensiteit** van de **emoties**, die je ervaart in de situaties die hieronder worden beschreven, kunnen aangeven op een schaal van 1 tot 7.

1 staat voor ‘**ik ervaar de emotie helemaal niet**’ en **7** ‘**heel erg**’.

Plaats een kruisje in het hokje dat het beste je gevoelens weergeeft.

Het is belangrijk dat je je eerst opkomende en eerlijke emotie(s) geeft. Er zijn geen goede of foute antwoorden!

1) Je loopt op straat en **ziet** een bedelaar. Wat voel je dan?

Ik voel.....

Droefheid/ treurigheid (als ik een bedelaar zie dan voel ik me treurig)

| | | | | | | |
|-----------------|---|---|---|---|---|----------------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| <i>Heel erg</i> | | | | | | <i>Helemaal niet</i> |

Bezorgdheid (wanneer ik een bedelaar zie voel ik me bezorgd om de bedelaar)

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

*Heel erg**Helemaal niet***Verlegenheid/ gene** (ik voel me ongemakkelijk wanneer ik een bedelaar zie)

| | | | | | | |
|-----------------|---|---|----------------------|---|---|---|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| <i>Heel erg</i> | | | <i>Helemaal niet</i> | | | |

Sympathie/ medeleven (ik voel mee met de bedelaar)

| | | | | | | |
|-----------------|---|---|----------------------|---|---|---|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| <i>Heel erg</i> | | | <i>Helemaal niet</i> | | | |

Vriendelijkheid (ik voel vriendelijkheid voor de bedelaar)

| | | | | | | |
|-----------------|---|---|----------------------|---|---|---|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| <i>Heel erg</i> | | | <i>Helemaal niet</i> | | | |

Angstig/benauwd (ik krijg een angstig en benauwend gevoel wanneer ik een bedelaar zie)

| | | | | | | |
|-----------------|---|---|----------------------|---|---|---|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| <i>Heel erg</i> | | | <i>Helemaal niet</i> | | | |

Medelijden (ik vind de bedelaar zielig en voel met hem mee)

| | | | | | | |
|-----------------|---|---|----------------------|---|---|---|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| <i>Heel erg</i> | | | <i>Helemaal niet</i> | | | |

Interesse (ik zou graag meer van de bedelaar willen weten)

| | | | | | | |
|-----------------|---|---|----------------------|---|---|---|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| <i>Heel erg</i> | | | <i>Helemaal niet</i> | | | |

Schuldig (wanneer ik mezelf vergelijk met de bedelaar dan voel ik me schuldig)

| | | | | | | |
|-----------------|---|---|----------------------|---|---|---|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| <i>Heel erg</i> | | | <i>Helemaal niet</i> | | | |

Empathie (ik kan me voorstellen hoe het moet zijn om een bedelaar te zijn én voel met de bedelaar mee)

| | | | | | | |
|-----------------|---|---|----------------------|---|---|---|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| <i>Heel erg</i> | | | <i>Helemaal niet</i> | | | |

Iets anders?

Specificeer alsjeblieft.....

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

1b) Stel je voor dat je op straat loopt en je **ziet** een bedelaar. Hoe zou je **gedrag** naar de bedelaar toe zijn?

Zou je voor **elke** gedrags-keuze een vierkantje kunnen **aanvinken**?

Met een **1** vertoon je het gedrag '**helemaal niet**' en met een **7** '**heel erg**' zoals je hiervoor ook hebt gedaan.

Bijvoorbeeld:

| | Heel erg | Helemaal niet |
|--|------------------------|---------------|
| Geef geld | : 7✓ 6✓ 5✓ 4✓ 3✓ 2✓ 1✓ | |
| Negeren | : 7✓ 6✓ 5✓ 4✓ 3✓ 2✓ 1✓ | |
| Zeg 'sorry' en loop door | : 7✓ 6✓ 5✓ 4✓ 3✓ 2✓ 1✓ | |
| Maak een praatje | : 7✓ 6✓ 5✓ 4✓ 3✓ 2✓ 1✓ | |
| Zeg iets negatiefs | : 7✓ 6✓ 5✓ 4✓ 3✓ 2✓ 1✓ | |
| Glimlach naar hem/haar | : 7✓ 6✓ 5✓ 4✓ 3✓ 2✓ 1✓ | |
| Mompel iets | : 7✓ 6✓ 5✓ 4✓ 3✓ 2✓ 1✓ | |
| Maak geen oogcontact | : 7✓ 6✓ 5✓ 4✓ 3✓ 2✓ 1✓ | |
| Iets anders, specificeer alsjeblieft; Steek de straat over..... | : 7✓ 6✓ 5✓ 4✓ 3✓ 2✓ 1✓ | |

| | Heel erg | Helemaal niet |
|--|------------------------|---------------|
| Geef geld | : 7✓ 6✓ 5✓ 4✓ 3✓ 2✓ 1✓ | |
| Negeren | : 7✓ 6✓ 5✓ 4✓ 3✓ 2✓ 1✓ | |
| Zeg 'sorry' en loop door | : 7✓ 6✓ 5✓ 4✓ 3✓ 2✓ 1✓ | |
| Maak een praatje | : 7✓ 6✓ 5✓ 4✓ 3✓ 2✓ 1✓ | |
| Zeg iets negatiefs | : 7✓ 6✓ 5✓ 4✓ 3✓ 2✓ 1✓ | |
| Glimlach naar hem/haar | : 7✓ 6✓ 5✓ 4✓ 3✓ 2✓ 1✓ | |
| Mompel iets | : 7✓ 6✓ 5✓ 4✓ 3✓ 2✓ 1✓ | |
| Maak geen oogcontact | : 7✓ 6✓ 5✓ 4✓ 3✓ 2✓ 1✓ | |
| Iets anders, specificeer alsjeblieft; | : 7✓ 6✓ 5✓ 4✓ 3✓ 2✓ 1✓ | |

Nu willen we je een tweede scenario voorleggen.

2) Stel je voor dat een bedelaar je op straat om wat **geld vraagt. Hoe zou je je in die situatie **voelen**?**

Ik voel.....

Droefheid/ treurigheid (als ik een bedelaar zie dan voel ik me treurig)

| | | | | | | |
|----------|---|---|---|---|---|---------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Heel erg | | | | | | Helemaal niet |

Bezorgdheid (wanneer ik een bedelaar zie voel ik me bezorgd om de bedelaar)

| | | | | | | |
|----------|---|---|---|---|---|---------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Heel erg | | | | | | Helemaal niet |

Verlegenheid/ gene (ik voel me ongemakkelijk wanneer ik een bedelaar zie)

| | | | | | | |
|----------|---|---|---|---|---|---------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Heel erg | | | | | | Helemaal niet |

Sympathie/ medeleven (ik voel mee met de bedelaar)

| | | | | | | |
|----------|---|---|---|---|---|---------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Heel erg | | | | | | Helemaal niet |

Vriendelijkheid (ik voel vriendelijkheid voor de bedelaar)

| | | | | | | |
|----------|---|---|---|---|---|---------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Heel erg | | | | | | Helemaal niet |

Angstig/benauwd (ik krijg een angstig en benauwend gevoel wanneer ik een bedelaar zie)

| | | | | | | |
|----------|---|---|---|---|---|---------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Heel erg | | | | | | Helemaal niet |

Medelijden (ik vind de bedelaar zielig en voel met hem mee)

| | | | | | | |
|----------|---|---|---|---|---|---------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Heel erg | | | | | | Helemaal niet |

Interesse (ik zou graag meer van de bedelaar willen weten)

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

*Heel erg**Helemaal niet***Schuldig** (wanneer ik mezelf vergelijk met de bedelaar dan voel ik me schuldig)

| | | | | | | |
|-----------------|---|---|----------------------|---|---|---|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| <i>Heel erg</i> | | | <i>Helemaal niet</i> | | | |

Empathie (ik kan me voorstellen hoe het moet zijn om een bedelaar te zijn én voel met de bedelaar mee)

| | | | | | | |
|-----------------|---|---|----------------------|---|---|---|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| <i>Heel erg</i> | | | <i>Helemaal niet</i> | | | |

Iets anders?

Specificeer alsjeblieft.....

| | | | | | | |
|-----------------|---|---|----------------------|---|---|---|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| <i>Heel erg</i> | | | <i>Helemaal niet</i> | | | |

2b) Stel je voor dat een bedelaar op straat je om wat geld vraagt.**Hoe zou in deze situatie je gedrag naar de bedelaar toe zijn?**

| | Heel erg | | Helemaal niet |
|--|------------------------|--|---------------|
| Geef geld | : 7∇ 6∇ 5∇ 4∇ 3∇ 2∇ 1∇ | | |
| Negeren | : 7∇ 6∇ 5∇ 4∇ 3∇ 2∇ 1∇ | | |
| Zeg 'sorry' en loop door | : 7∇ 6∇ 5∇ 4∇ 3∇ 2∇ 1∇ | | |
| Maak een praatje | : 7∇ 6∇ 5∇ 4∇ 3∇ 2∇ 1∇ | | |
| Zeg iets negatiefs | : 7∇ 6∇ 5∇ 4∇ 3∇ 2∇ 1∇ | | |
| Glimlach naar hem/haar | : 7∇ 6∇ 5∇ 4∇ 3∇ 2∇ 1∇ | | |
| Mompel iets | : 7∇ 6∇ 5∇ 4∇ 3∇ 2∇ 1∇ | | |
| Maak geen oogcontact | : 7∇ 6∇ 5∇ 4∇ 3∇ 2∇ 1∇ | | |
| Iets anders, specificeer alsjeblieft; | : 7∇ 6∇ 5∇ 4∇ 3∇ 2∇ 1∇ | | |

Tenslotte willen we dat je je nog een situatie voorstelt.

- 3)** Stel je voor dat een bedelaar **een praatje met je wilt maken** (niet om geld van je te krijgen). Hoe zou je je **voelen** wanneer dit je overkomt?

Ik voel.....

Droefheid/ treurigheid (als ik een bedelaar zie dan voel ik me treurig)

| | | | | | | |
|----------|---|---|---|---|---|---------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Heel erg | | | | | | Helemaal niet |

Bezorgdheid (wanneer ik een bedelaar zie voel ik me bezorgd om de bedelaar)

| | | | | | | |
|----------|---|---|---|---|---|---------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Heel erg | | | | | | Helemaal niet |

Verlegenheid/ gene (ik voel me ongemakkelijk wanneer ik een bedelaar zie)

| | | | | | | |
|----------|---|---|---|---|---|---------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Heel erg | | | | | | Helemaal niet |

Sympathie/ medeleven (ik voel mee met de bedelaar)

| | | | | | | |
|----------|---|---|---|---|---|---------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Heel erg | | | | | | Helemaal niet |

Vriendelijkheid (ik voel vriendelijkheid voor de bedelaar)

| | | | | | | |
|----------|---|---|---|---|---|---------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Heel erg | | | | | | Helemaal niet |

Angstig/benauwd (ik krijg een angstig en benauwend gevoel wanneer ik een bedelaar zie)

| | | | | | | |
|----------|---|---|---|---|---|---------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Heel erg | | | | | | Helemaal niet |

Medelijden (ik vind de bedelaar zielig en voel met hem mee)

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

Zou je tenslotte de volgende informatie kunnen geven?

1. ☐ Man ☐ Vrouw

2. Leeftijd: _____

3. Politieke voorkeur:

| | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Links | | | | Rechts |

Experiment 2

Politically salient condition

Hartelijk welkom bij dit experiment!

Wij willen je vragen de volgende korte vragenlijst in te vullen.

1. Mijn politieke voorkeur is:

| | | | | |
|-------|---|---|---|--------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Links | | | | Rechts |

2. Wat betekent **politiek** voor jou?
 Geef een antwoord dat kan variëren van 1 (sterk mee oneens) tot 5 (sterk mee eens).
 Plaats een kruisje in het hokje dat het beste je gevoelens weergeeft.

Ik ben politiek actief.

| | | | | | | |
|----------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Sterk mee eens | | | | | | Sterk mee oneens |

Ik ben heel duidelijk over mijn politieke overtuiging.

| | | | | | | |
|----------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|------------------|
| ∇ 7 | ∇ 6 | ∇ 5 | ∇ 4 | ∇ 3 | ∇ 2 | ∇ 1 |
| Sterk mee eens | | | | | | Sterk mee oneens |

Ik heb veel kennis over politieke onderwerpen.

| | | | | | | |
|----------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|------------------|
| ∇ 7 | ∇ 6 | ∇ 5 | ∇ 4 | ∇ 3 | ∇ 2 | ∇ 1 |
| Sterk mee eens | | | | | | Sterk mee oneens |

Ik wil graag zoveel mogelijk weten over politieke onderwerpen.

| | | | | | | |
|----------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|------------------|
| ∇ 7 | ∇ 6 | ∇ 5 | ∇ 4 | ∇ 3 | ∇ 2 | ∇ 1 |
| Sterk mee eens | | | | | | Sterk mee oneens |

Politiek interesseert me niet.

| | | | | | | |
|----------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|------------------|
| ∇ 7 | ∇ 6 | ∇ 5 | ∇ 4 | ∇ 3 | ∇ 2 | ∇ 1 |
| Sterk mee eens | | | | | | Sterk mee oneens |

Ik ben heel zeker over mijn politieke overtuiging

| | | | | | | |
|----------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|------------------|
| ∇ 7 | ∇ 6 | ∇ 5 | ∇ 4 | ∇ 3 | ∇ 2 | ∇ 1 |
| Sterk mee eens | | | | | | Sterk mee oneens |

Politiek houdt me bezig.

| | | | | | | |
|----------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|------------------|
| ∇ 7 | ∇ 6 | ∇ 5 | ∇ 4 | ∇ 3 | ∇ 2 | ∇ 1 |
| Sterk mee eens | | | | | | Sterk mee oneens |

Nu volgt het tweede deel van de vragenlijst

Stel je het volgende voor: Er zijn twee groepen mensen die van elkaar verschillen. Jij bent deel van één groep mensen en er is een andere groep, waar je zeker geen onderdeel van bent. Deze andere groep zie je als een totaal andere groep mensen dan waar jij toebehoort. Die andere groep heeft andere gebruiken en gedraagt zich anders dan jij doet. In dit geval hebben we het over de groep bedelaars. Er wordt je nu gevraagd je gevoelens en gedrag tegenover **bedelaars** te beschrijven, de andere groep.

Zou je de **intensiteit** van de **emoties**, die je ervaart in de situaties die hieronder worden beschreven, kunnen aangeven op een schaal van 1 tot 7.

1 staat voor '**ik ervaar de emotie helemaal niet**' en **7** '**heel erg**'.

Plaats een kruisje in het hokje dat het beste je gevoelens weergeeft.

Het is belangrijk dat je je eerst opkomende en eerlijke emotie(s) geeft. Er zijn geen goede of foute antwoorden!

1) Je loopt op straat en ziet een bedelaar. Wat voel je dan gezien jouw politieke voorkeur?

Ik voel.....

***Treurigheid** (als ik een bedelaar zie dan voel ik me treurig)*

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

*Heel erg**Helemaal niet***Bezorgdheid** (wanneer ik een bedelaar zie voel ik me bezorgd om de bedelaar)

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

Heel erg *Helemaal niet*

Verlegenheid/ gene (ik voel me ongemakkelijk wanneer ik een bedelaar zie)

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

Heel erg *Helemaal niet*

Sympathie/ medeleven (ik voel mee met de bedelaar)

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

Heel erg *Helemaal niet*

Vriendelijkheid (ik voel vriendelijkheid voor de bedelaar)

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

Heel erg *Helemaal niet*

Angstig/benauwd (ik krijg een angstig en benauwend gevoel wanneer ik een bedelaar zie)

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

Heel erg *Helemaal niet*

Medelijden (ik vind de bedelaar zielig en voel met hem mee)

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

Heel erg *Helemaal niet*

Interesse (ik zou graag meer van de bedelaar willen weten)

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

Heel erg *Helemaal niet*

Schuldig (wanneer ik mezelf vergelijk met de bedelaar dan voel ik me schuldig)

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

Heel erg *Helemaal niet*

Empathie (ik kan me voorstellen hoe het is om een bedelaar te zijn én voel met de bedelaar mee)

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

Heel erg *Helemaal niet*

[illegible]

Met een 1 vertoon je het gedrag **'helemaal niet'** en met een 7 **'heel erg'** zoals je hiervoor ook hebt gedaan.

| | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------------|----------|---|---|---|---|---|---------------|
| | Heel erg | | | | | | Helemaal niet |
| Geef geld | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Negeren | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Zeg ‘sorry’ en loop door | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Maak een praatje | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Zeg iets negatiefs | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Glimlach naar hem/haar | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Mompel iets | : 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

Maak geen oogcontact : 7▽ 6▽ 5▽ 4▽ 3▽ 2▽ 1▽
Iets anders, specificeer alsjeblieft;
: 7▽ 6▽ 5▽ 4▽ 3▽ 2▽ 1▽

Nu willen we je een tweede scenario voorleggen.

2) Stel je voor dat een bedelaar je op straat om wat **geld vraagt**. Hoe zou je je **voelen**.
Nu willen we eveneens dat je in je antwoord je politieke voorkeur betreft.

Ik voel.....

Droefheid/ treurigheid (als ik een bedelaar zie dan voel ik me treurig)

| | | | | | | |
|----------|---|---|---|---|---|---------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Heel erg | | | | | | Helemaal niet |

Bezorgdheid (wanneer ik een bedelaar zie voel ik me bezorgd om de bedelaar)

| | | | | | | |
|----------|---|---|---|---|---|---------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Heel erg | | | | | | Helemaal niet |

Verlegenheid/ gene (ik voel me ongemakkelijk wanneer ik een bedelaar zie)

| | | | | | | |
|----------|---|---|---|---|---|---------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Heel erg | | | | | | Helemaal niet |

Sympathie/ medeleven (ik voel mee met de bedelaar)

| | | | | | | |
|----------|---|---|---|---|---|---------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Heel erg | | | | | | Helemaal niet |

Vriendelijkheid (ik voel vriendelijkheid voor de bedelaar)

| | | | | | | |
|----------|---|---|---|---|---|---------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Heel erg | | | | | | Helemaal niet |

Angstig/benauwd (ik krijg een angstig en benauwend gevoel wanneer ik een bedelaar

zie)

∇
 7 6 5 4 3 2 1
Heel erg *Helemaal niet*

Medelijden (ik vind de bedelaar zielig en voel met hem mee)

∇
 7 6 5 4 3 2 1
Heel erg *Helemaal niet*

Interesse (ik zou graag meer van de bedelaar willen weten)

∇
 7 6 5 4 3 2 1
Heel erg *Helemaal niet*

Schuldig (wanneer ik mezelf vergelijk met de bedelaar dan voel ik me schuldig)

∇
 7 6 5 4 3 2 1
Heel erg *Helemaal niet*

Empathie (ik kan me voorstellen hoe het moet zijn om een bedelaar te zijn én voel met de bedelaar mee)

∇
 7 6 5 4 3 2 1
Heel erg *Helemaal niet*

Iets anders?

Specificeer alsjeblieft.....

∇
 7 6 5 4 3 2 1
Heel erg *Helemaal niet*

2b) Stel je voor dat een bedelaar op straat je om wat geld vraagt.**Hoe zou je gedrag naar de bedelaar toe zijn, wederom gezien jouw politieke voorkeur?**

| | Heel erg | Helemaal niet |
|---------------------------------|------------------------|---------------|
| Geef geld | : 7∇ 6∇ 5∇ 4∇ 3∇ 2∇ 1∇ | |
| Negeren | : 7∇ 6∇ 5∇ 4∇ 3∇ 2∇ 1∇ | |
| Zeg 'sorry' en loop door | : 7∇ 6∇ 5∇ 4∇ 3∇ 2∇ 1∇ | |
| Maak een praatje | : 7∇ 6∇ 5∇ 4∇ 3∇ 2∇ 1∇ | |
| Zeg iets negatiefs | : 7∇ 6∇ 5∇ 4∇ 3∇ 2∇ 1∇ | |
| Glimlach naar hem/haar | : 7∇ 6∇ 5∇ 4∇ 3∇ 2∇ 1∇ | |

Mompel iets : 7▽ 6▽ 5▽ 4▽ 3▽ 2▽ 1▽
Maak geen oogcontact : 7▽ 6▽ 5▽ 4▽ 3▽ 2▽ 1▽
Iets anders, specificeer alsjeblieft;
: 7▽ 6▽ 5▽ 4▽ 3▽ 2▽ 1▽

Tenslotte willen we dat je je nog een situatie voorstelt.

3) Stel je voor dat een bedelaar **een praatje met je wilt maken** (niet om geld van je te krijgen). Hoe zou je je dan **voelen** gezien jouw **politieke voorkeur**?

Ik voel.....

Droefheid/ treurigheid (als ik een bedelaar zie dan voel ik me treurig)

| | | | | | | |
|----------|---|---|---|---|---|---------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Heel erg | | | | | | Helemaal niet |

Bezorgdheid (wanneer ik een bedelaar zie voel ik me bezorgd om de bedelaar)

| | | | | | | |
|----------|---|---|---|---|---|---------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Heel erg | | | | | | Helemaal niet |

Verlegenheid/ gene (ik voel me ongemakkelijk wanneer ik een bedelaar zie)

| | | | | | | |
|----------|---|---|---|---|---|---------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Heel erg | | | | | | Helemaal niet |

Sympathie/ medeleven (ik voel mee met de bedelaar)

| | | | | | | |
|----------|---|---|---|---|---|---------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Heel erg | | | | | | Helemaal niet |

Vriendelijkheid (ik voel vriendelijkheid voor de bedelaar)

| | | | | | | |
|----------|---|---|---|---|---|---------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Heel erg | | | | | | Helemaal niet |

Angstig/benauwd (ik krijg een angstig en benauwend gevoel wanneer ik een bedelaar zie)

| | | | | | | |
|----------|---|---|---|---|---|---------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Heel erg | | | | | | Helemaal niet |

Medelijden (ik vind de bedelaar zielig en voel met hem mee)

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

Interesse (ik zou graag meer van de bedelaar willen weten)

| | | | | | | |
|----------|---|---|---|---|---|---------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Heel erg | | | | | | Helemaal niet |

Schuldig (wanneer ik mezelf vergelijk met de bedelaar dan voel ik me schuldig)

| | | | | | | |
|----------|---|---|---|---|---|---------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Heel erg | | | | | | Helemaal niet |

Empathie (ik kan me voorstellen hoe het moet zijn om een bedelaar te zijn én voel met de bedelaar mee)

| | | | | | | |
|----------|---|---|---|---|---|---------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Heel erg | | | | | | Helemaal niet |

Iets anders?

Specificeer alsjeblieft.....

| | | | | | | |
|----------|---|---|---|---|---|---------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Heel erg | | | | | | Helemaal niet |

3b) Stel je voor dat een bedelaar **een praatje met je wilt maken** (niet om geld van je te krijgen). Hoe zou in deze specifieke situatie je **gedrag** zijn, gezien jouw **politieke voorkeur**?

| | | | |
|---------------------------------|----------|-------------------|---------------|
| | Heel erg | | Helemaal niet |
| Geef geld | : 7▽ | 6▽ 5▽ 4▽ 3▽ 2▽ 1▽ | |
| Negeren | : 7▽ | 6▽ 5▽ 4▽ 3▽ 2▽ 1▽ | |
| Zeg 'sorry' en loop door | : 7▽ | 6▽ 5▽ 4▽ 3▽ 2▽ 1▽ | |
| Maak een praatje | : 7▽ | 6▽ 5▽ 4▽ 3▽ 2▽ 1▽ | |
| Zeg iets negatiefs | : 7▽ | 6▽ 5▽ 4▽ 3▽ 2▽ 1▽ | |
| Glimlach naar hem/haar | : 7▽ | 6▽ 5▽ 4▽ 3▽ 2▽ 1▽ | |

Mompel iets : 7✓ 6✓ 5✓ 4✓ 3✓ 2✓ 1✓
Maak geen oogcontact : 7✓ 6✓ 5✓ 4✓ 3✓ 2✓ 1✓
Iets anders, specificeer alsjeblieft;
: 7✓ 6✓ 5✓ 4✓ 3✓ 2✓ 1✓

Zou je tenslotte de volgende informatie kunnen geven?

1. ✓ Man ✓ Vrouw
2. Leeftijd: _____

Experiment 3

Accountability + Politically Non salient Condition

This study is part of a larger, international research program that investigates emotions and behaviour towards people with a low income, due to low or no education in society.

Whenever it is asked to state your emotions about this issue, it's important that you give your first felt, and honest emotion(s). Be aware that there are no good or wrong answers; it's just your opinion.

We would like to ask you to state in a short essay what your opinion is about “**Should the UK allocate tax money to people with a low income, due to low or no education?**” That is; people whose parents were absent, so they never had good role models, and therefore left school too early, or even never attended.

There is no right or wrong answer—this is an opinion question.

Below you have space to write your opinion:

| |
|---|
| Next, we will ask you to grade your essay on five dimensions: |
|---|

My essay is:

Clearly written

| | | | | |
|---------------|--------|--------|--------|------------------|
| ∇ 5 | ∇ 4 | ∇ 3 | ∇ 2 | ∇ 1 |
| Totally agree | | | | Totally Disagree |

Logical

| | | | | |
|---------------|--------|--------|--------|------------------|
| ∇ 5 | ∇ 4 | ∇ 3 | ∇ 2 | ∇ 1 |
| Totally agree | | | | Totally Disagree |

Rich in arguments

| | | | | |
|---------------|--------|--------|--------|------------------|
| ∇ 5 | ∇ 4 | ∇ 3 | ∇ 2 | ∇ 1 |
| Totally agree | | | | Totally Disagree |

Thought over

| | | | | |
|---------------|---|---|---|------------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Totally agree | | | | Totally Disagree |

Has a conclusion

| | | | | |
|---------------|---|---|---|------------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Totally agree | | | | Totally Disagree |

Later on, you will be asked to fully explain, justify, and defend the grades you assigned yourself, on each and every dimension, to a political advisor 'John Fleming' of an UK left-wing political party, located in an adjoining office, during a 10-minute conversation. John Fleming has a Master's degree in Political science and is widely asked to give talks about political topics.

Could you please **write your first name** on each page of your booklet, so that we can keep your responses together.

To look a little bit deeper into your feelings about the issue, we would like to ask you to answer the following questions:

In the following questions you are asked to describe your feelings and behaviour towards **people with a low income**, due to **low or no education** as **the other group; the outgroup**

Please answer all questions.

How do you feel towards **people with a low income**, due to **low or no education**?
I feel:

Sadness (*I feel unhappy when I think of people with low income, due to low or no education*)

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Sympathy (*I feel for people with a low income, due to low or no education*)

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Pity (*I feel sorry for people with a low income, due to low or no education*)

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Interest (*I would like to know more about people with a low income, due to low or no education*)

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Empathy (*I feel for and can imagine what it must be like to be someone with a low income, due to low or no education*)

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anger (*I feel fury thinking about someone with a low income, due to low or no education*)

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

How would you **behave** towards **people with a low income**, due to **low or no education**?

1) Donate money to a society, which helps low income people, due to low or no

education

7∇ 6∇ 5∇ 4∇ 3∇ 2∇ 1∇
Totally Agree Totally Disagree

2) Ignore the problems of people with a low income, due to low or no education

7∇ 6∇ 5∇ 4∇ 3∇ 2∇ 1∇
Totally Agree Totally Disagree

3) I have my own problems

7∇ 6∇ 5∇ 4∇ 3∇ 2∇ 1∇
Totally Agree Totally Disagree

4) Thinking about donating money to a society, but in the end won't do it

7∇ 6∇ 5∇ 4∇ 3∇ 2∇ 1∇
Totally Agree Totally Disagree

5) Feel sorry for people with a low income, due to low or no education

7∇ 6∇ 5∇ 4∇ 3∇ 2∇ 1∇
Totally Agree Totally Disagree

6) Feel blessed with own situation

7∇ 6∇ 5∇ 4∇ 3∇ 2∇ 1∇
Totally Agree Totally Disagree

Next we would like you to fill in the following questions.

Please answer all questions.

1. My political preference is:

∇
 7
 Left

∇
 6

∇
 5

∇
 4

∇
 3

∇
 2

∇
 1
 Right

2. What does **politics** mean to you?
 Please give an answer that may vary between 1 (totally agree) and 7 (totally disagree).
 Mark the square which states your opinion the best.

I am politically active.

∇
 7
 Totally agree

∇
 6

∇
 5

∇
 4

∇
 3

∇
 2

∇
 1
 Totally Disagree

I am very clear about my political opinion.

∇
 7
 Totally agree

∇
 6

∇
 5

∇
 4

∇
 3

∇
 2

∇
 1
 Totally Disagree

I have a lot of knowledge about political issues.

∇
 7
 Totally agree

∇
 6

∇
 5

∇
 4

∇
 3

∇
 2

∇
 1
 Totally Disagree

I would like to know as much as possible regarding political issues.

∇
 7
 Totally agree

∇
 6

∇
 5

∇
 4

∇
 3

∇
 2

∇
 1
 Totally Disagree

Politics are not in my interest.

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Totally agree | | | | | | Totally Disagree |

I am very sure about my political opinion.

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Totally agree | | | | | | Totally Disagree |

Politics occupies my mind.

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Totally agree | | | | | | Totally Disagree |

| |
|---|
| Could you answer the following questions: |
|---|

1) Do you believe that you have to talk to the political advisor, next door, after you finished the questionnaires?

Please circle: Yes No

2) I have treated people with low income, due to low or no education as an **outgroup** in this questionnaire

Please circle: Yes No

3) I was sincere when I wrote the essay and answered the questions.

| | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | Not at all |

4) I am ☐ Male ☐ Female

5) My age is: _____

Experiment 3

Non Accountability + Politically salient condition

This study is part of a larger, international research program that investigates emotions and behaviour towards people with a low income, due to low or no education in society.

Whenever it is asked to state your emotions about this issue, it's important that you give your first felt, and honest emotion(s). Be aware that there are no good or wrong answers; it's just your opinion.

We would like you to fill in the following questions.

Please answer all questions.

1. My political preference is:

| | | | | | | |
|------|---|---|---|---|---|-------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Left | | | | | | Right |

2. What does **politics** mean to you?

Please give an answer that may vary between 1 (totally agree) and 7 (totally disagree).

Mark the square which states your opinion the best.

I am politically active.

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Totally agree | | | | | | Totally Disagree |

I am very clear about my political opinion.

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Totally agree | | | | | | Totally Disagree |

I have a lot of knowledge about political issues.

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Totally agree | | | | | | Totally Disagree |

I would like to know as much as possible regarding political issues.

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Totally agree | | | | | | Totally Disagree |

Politics are not in my interest.

| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------------|
| Totally agree | | | | | | Totally Disagree |

∇ 7 ∇ 6 ∇ 5 ∇ 4 ∇ 3 ∇ 2 ∇ 1
 Totally agree Totally Disagree

Next we would like to ask you to state in a short essay what your opinion is about **“Should the UK allocate tax money to people with a low income, due to low or no education?”** That is; people whose parents were absent, so they never had good role models, and therefore left school too early, or even never attended.

There is no right or wrong answer—this is an opinion question.

Below you have space to write your opinion:

[illegible]

Next, we will ask you to grade your essay on five dimensions.

Could you grade your essay on these five dimensions:

My essay is:

Clearly written

| | | | | |
|---------------|--------|--------|--------|------------------|
| ∇ 5 | ∇ 4 | ∇ 3 | ∇ 2 | ∇ 1 |
| Totally agree | | | | Totally Disagree |

Logical

| | | | | |
|---------------|--------|--------|--------|------------------|
| ∇ 5 | ∇ 4 | ∇ 3 | ∇ 2 | ∇ 1 |
| Totally agree | | | | Totally Disagree |

Rich in arguments

| | | | | |
|---------------|--------|--------|--------|------------------|
| ∇ 5 | ∇ 4 | ∇ 3 | ∇ 2 | ∇ 1 |
| Totally agree | | | | Totally Disagree |

Thought over

| | | | | |
|---------------|--------|--------|--------|------------------|
| ∇ 5 | ∇ 4 | ∇ 3 | ∇ 2 | ∇ 1 |
| Totally agree | | | | Totally Disagree |

Has a conclusion

| | | | | |
|---------------|--------|--------|--------|------------------|
| ∇ 5 | ∇ 4 | ∇ 3 | ∇ 2 | ∇ 1 |
| Totally agree | | | | Totally Disagree |

You should understand that all of your grades will be completely confidential and not traceable to you personally. In fact, your grades will not even be available to researchers

at this university. Your grades (along with your essay) will be mailed to researchers at another university, and to John Fleming, a political advisor of an UK left-wing political party. John Fleming has a Master's degree in Political science and is widely asked to give talks about political topics.

So do not write your name on the booklet, but rather **use a 5-digit number of your own choosing** on top of each page of your booklet, so that we can keep your responses together.

To look a little bit deeper into your feelings about this issue, we would like to ask you to answer the following questions:

Imagine yourself the following:

In the following questions you are asked to describe your feelings and behaviour towards **people with a low income**, due to **low or no education** as **the other group; the Outgroup**

How do you feel towards **people with a low income**, due to **low or no education**?
I feel:

Sadness (*I feel unhappy when I think of people with low income, due to low or no education*)

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Sympathy (*I feel for people with a low income, due to low or no education*)

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Pity (*I feel sorry for people with a low income, due to low or no education*)

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Interest (I would like to know more about people with a low income, due to low or no education)

∇ 7 ∇ 6 ∇ 5 ∇ 4 ∇ 3 ∇ 2 ∇ 1
 Very much Not at all

Empathy (I feel for, and can imagine what it must be like to be someone with a low income, due to low or no education)

∇ 7 ∇ 6 ∇ 5 ∇ 4 ∇ 3 ∇ 2 ∇ 1
 Very much Not at all

Anger (I feel fury thinking about someone with a low income, due to low or no education)

∇ 7 ∇ 6 ∇ 5 ∇ 4 ∇ 3 ∇ 2 ∇ 1
 Very much Not at all

Proceed to the next page please

How would you **behave** towards **people with a low income**, due to **low or no education**?

1) Donate money to a society, which helps low income people, due to low or no education

7 ∇ 6 ∇ 5 ∇ 4 ∇ 3 ∇ 2 ∇ 1 ∇
 Totally Agree Totally Disagree

2) Ignore the problems of people with a low income, due to low or no education

7 ∇ 6 ∇ 5 ∇ 4 ∇ 3 ∇ 2 ∇ 1 ∇
 Totally Agree Totally Disagree

3) I have my own problems

7∇ 6∇ 5∇ 4∇ 3∇ 2∇ 1∇
Totally Agree Totally Disagree

4) Thinking about donating money to a society, but in the end won't do it

7∇ 6∇ 5∇ 4∇ 3∇ 2∇ 1∇
Totally Agree Totally Disagree

5) Feel sorry for people with a low income, due to low or no education

7∇ 6∇ 5∇ 4∇ 3∇ 2∇ 1∇
Totally Agree Totally Disagree

6) Feel blessed with own situation

7∇ 6∇ 5∇ 4∇ 3∇ 2∇ 1∇
Totally Agree Totally Disagree

| |
|--|
| Could you fill in the following questions: |
|--|

1) Do you believe that your responses will be treated anonymous and confidential?

Please circle: Yes No

2) Did you treat people with a low income, due to low or no education as an outgroup in this questionnaire?

Please circle: Yes No

3) I was sincere when I wrote the essay and answered the questions.

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| | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | Not at all |

4) I am: ∇ Male ∇ Female

5) My age is: _____

Experiment 4

Please answer the following questions:

1) I am very certain about my political opinion

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Totally agree | | | | | | Totally disagree |

Now **think for a moment** about **yóur** opinion about giving giving money to a charity organization for people with low income, due to lower than average intelligence.

Next, imagine that someone **with power** (like your boss, or professor) asks you **to change your mind about** giving money to a charity organization for people with low income, due to lower than average intelligence.

Would you?

Please tick just one option

- ☐ Change your mind immediately
- ☐ Thinking about changing your mind
- ☐ Get more information about the subject (people with low income) before you would maybe change your mind
- ☐ Not at all change your mind

Next, imagine that someone with **less power** than you have (like a child) asks you **to change your mind about** giving money to a charity organization for people with low income, due to lower than average intelligence.

Would you?

Please tick just one option

- ☐ Change your mind immediately
- ☐ Thinking about changing your mind
- ☐ Get more information about the subject (people with low income) before you would maybe change your mind
- ☐ Not at all change your mind

Next, imagine that someone **with the same power** as you have (a student, for instance) asks you **to change your mind about** giving money to a charity organization for people with low income, due to lower than average intelligence.

Would you?

Please tick just one option

- ∇ Change your mind immediately
- ∇ Thinking about changing your mind
- ∇ Get more information about the subject (people with low income) before you would maybe change your mind
- ∇ Not at all change your mind

Experiment 5

Politically non salient + High power condition

Whenever it is asked to state your emotions, it's important that you give your first felt, and honest emotion(s). Be aware that there are no good or wrong answers; it's just your opinion.

We would like you to fill in the following questions.

Please answer all questions.

We would like you to tell us what you would do in the following scenario:

You are a manager in a company, and you are in charge of three people. Your company made £2000 pounds profit which they would like to spend on a charity cause within (e.g. companies' health benefits system) and/or outside (to people who mostly rely on help from a charity organization to survive in life) the company, and you are in charge of this money.

You have the power/ influence to do what you would like with the money but you have to tell the other 3 people in your group why and what you did with the money. The others do not have to agree with you, since you have not the chance to talk to them, but you have to notify them.

Again, you're in charge of the other 3 people and the money. Two persons are clerks, and the other is new to your company (as manager assistant for you).

Now please tell us what you would do with the money;

Please circle one option

- 1) Donate £2000 to the companies' health benefits system
- 2) Donate £500 to the charity organization and £1500 to the companies' health benefits system
- 3) Donate £1000 to the charity organization and £1000 to the companies' health benefits system
- 4) Donate £1500 to the charity organization and £500 to the companies' health benefits system
- 5) Donate £2000 to the charity organization.

Keeping the three people you are in charge of in mind; please explain now why you have chosen this option:

Imagine that you now had to notify your colleagues (2 clerks + assistant) about how you had spent the money. Keeping this in mind, please indicate how you now **feel** towards the three people.

I feel:

Sadness towards them:

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Sympathy towards them:

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Pity towards them:

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Interest towards them:

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Empathy towards them:

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anger towards them:

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Envy towards them:

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Fear towards them:

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

In the following questions you are asked to describe your feelings and behaviour towards **these people who mostly rely on help from a charity organization to survive in life; in this sense; these people are not like you, and can be thought of as an OUTgroup.**

Please answer all questions.

How do you now **feel** towards **people who mostly rely on help from a charity organization to survive in life?**

I feel:

Sadness (*I feel unhappy when I think of people who mostly rely on help from a charity organization to survive in life*)

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Sympathy (*I feel for people who mostly rely on help from a charity organization to survive in life*)

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Pity (*I feel sorry for people who mostly rely on help from a charity organization to survive in life*)

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
Very much Not at all

Interest (I would like to know more about people who mostly rely on help from a charity organization to survive in life)

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
Very much Not at all

Empathy (I feel for and can imagine what it must be like to be someone who mostly has to rely on help from a charity organization to survive in life)

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
Very much Not at all

Anger (I feel fury thinking about someone people who mostly rely on help from a charity organization to survive in life)

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
Very much Not at all

How would you now **behave** towards **these people**, after taken a decision about the money in the scenario?

1) Donate money to a society for those people

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
Totally Agree Totally Disagree

2) Ignore the problems of those people

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
Totally Agree Totally Disagree

3) I have my own problems

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
Totally Agree Totally Disagree

4) Thinking about donating money to that society, but in the end won't do it

7 ∇ 6 ∇ 5 ∇ 4 ∇ 3 ∇ 2 ∇ 1 ∇
Totally Agree Totally Disagree

5) Feel sorry for those people

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
Totally Agree Totally Disagree

6) Feel blessed with own situation

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
Totally Agree Totally Disagree

We would like you to complete the following questions listed below.

Please answer all questions.

1. My political preference is:

$$\begin{array}{ccccccc} \nabla & \nabla & \nabla & \nabla & \nabla & \nabla & \nabla \\ 7 & 6 & 5 & 4 & 3 & 2 & 1 \\ \text{Left} & & & & & & \text{Right} \end{array}$$

2. What does **politics** mean to you?

Below are a number of statements that may or may -not apply to you. Please mark the square to indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with that statement (7=totally agree, 1=totally disagree).

I am politically active.

∇ 7 ∇ 6 ∇ 5 ∇ 4 ∇ 3 ∇ 2 ∇ 1
 Totally agree Totally Disagree

I am very clear about my political opinion.

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Totally agree | | | | | | Totally Disagree |

I have a lot of knowledge about political issues.

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Totally agree | | | | | | Totally Disagree |

I would like to know as much as possible regarding political issues.

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Totally agree | | | | | | Totally Disagree |

Politics are not in my interest.

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Totally agree | | | | | | Totally Disagree |

I am very sure about my political opinion.

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Totally agree | | | | | | Totally Disagree |

Politics occupies my mind.

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Totally agree | | | | | | Totally Disagree |

Finally, please read the following statements and mark the box that best represents your opinion:

1) The three people I'm in charge of, influenced me in the emotions I felt towards people who mostly rely on help from a charity organization to survive in life

| | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | Not at all |

2) The three people I'm in charge of, influenced me in my behaviour towards people who mostly rely on help from a charity organization to survive in life

| | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | Not at all |

3) For me, during this questionnaire I have considered people who mostly rely on help from a charity organization to survive in life as an OUTgroup, i.e. someone who is different from me.

Please circle: Yes No

4) I was sincere in this questionnaire

| | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | Not at all |

5) I am ∇ Male ∇ Female

6) My age is: _____

Experiment 5

Salient + Low power condition

Whenever it is asked to state your emotions, it's important that you give your first felt,

and honest emotion(s). Be aware that there are no good or wrong answers; it's just your opinion.

We would like you to complete the following questions listed below.
Please answer all questions.

1. My political preference is:

| | | | | | | |
|------|---|---|---|---|---|-------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Left | | | | | | Right |

2. What does **politics** mean to you?

Below are a number of statements that may or may -not apply to you. Please mark the square to indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with that statement (7=totally agree, 1=totally disagree).

I am politically active.

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Totally agree | | | | | | Totally Disagree |

I am very clear about my political opinion.

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Totally agree | | | | | | Totally Disagree |

I have a lot of knowledge about political issues.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

Totally agree

Totally Disagree

I would like to know as much as possible regarding political issues.

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|------------------|
| ∇ 7 | ∇ 6 | ∇ 5 | ∇ 4 | ∇ 3 | ∇ 2 | ∇ 1 |
| Totally agree | | | | | | Totally Disagree |

Politics are not in my interest.

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|------------------|
| ∇ 7 | ∇ 6 | ∇ 5 | ∇ 4 | ∇ 3 | ∇ 2 | ∇ 1 |
| Totally agree | | | | | | Totally Disagree |

I am very sure about my political opinion.

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|------------------|
| ∇ 7 | ∇ 6 | ∇ 5 | ∇ 4 | ∇ 3 | ∇ 2 | ∇ 1 |
| Totally agree | | | | | | Totally Disagree |

Politics occupies my mind.

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|------------------|
| ∇ 7 | ∇ 6 | ∇ 5 | ∇ 4 | ∇ 3 | ∇ 2 | ∇ 1 |
| Totally agree | | | | | | Totally Disagree |

Now we would like you to tell us what you would do in the following scenario:

You work in a company, and three managers are in charge of you on a daily basis.

Your company made £2000 pounds profit which they would like to spend on a charity cause, within (e.g. companies' health benefits system) and/or outside (to

people who mostly rely on help from a charity organization to survive in life) the company; and your three managers are in charge of this money.

The managers have the power/ influence to do what they would like with the money but have to tell all the other people in the company why and what they did with the money. The others do not have to agree with them.

Again, three managers are in charge of you and the money.

Now please tell us what you would like them to do with the money;
Please circle one option

- 1) Donate £2000 to the companies' health benefits system
- 2) Donate £500 to the charity organization and £1500 to the companies' health benefits system
- 3) Donate £1000 to the charity organization and £1000 to the companies' health benefits system
- 4) Donate £1500 to the charity organization and £500 to the companies' health benefits system
- 5) Donate £2000 to the charity organization.

Keeping the three people who are in charge of you in mind; please explain now why you have chosen this option:

Imagine that you now had to notify your three managers about how you would like them to spend the money. Keeping this in mind, please indicate how you now **feel** towards your three managers.

I feel:

Sadness towards them:

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Sympathy towards them:

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Pity towards them:

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Interest towards them:

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Empathy towards them:

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anger towards them:

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Envy towards them:

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Fear towards them:

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

In the following questions you are asked to describe your feelings and behaviour towards **these people who mostly rely on help from a charity organization to survive in life; in this sense; these people are not like you, and can be thought of as an OUTgroup.**

Please answer all questions.

How do you now **feel** towards **people who mostly rely on help from a charity organization to survive in life?**

I feel:

Sadness (*I feel unhappy when I think of people who mostly rely on help from a charity organization to survive in life*)

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Sympathy (*I feel for people who mostly rely on help from a charity organization to survive in life*)

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Pity (*I feel sorry for people who mostly rely on help from a charity organization to survive in life*)

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Interest (*I would like to know more about people who mostly rely on help from a charity organization to survive in life*)

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Empathy (*I feel for and can imagine what it must be like to be someone who mostly has to rely on help from a charity organization to survive in life*)

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anger (*I feel fury thinking about someone people who mostly rely on help from a charity organization to survive in life*)



How would you now **behave** towards **these people**, after taken a decision about the money in the scenario?

1) Donate money to a society for those people

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|----|----|------------------|----|----|----|
| 7▽ | 6▽ | 5▽ | 4▽ | 3▽ | 2▽ | 1▽ |
| Totally Agree | | | Totally Disagree | | | |

2) Ignore the problems of those people

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|----|----|------------------|----|----|----|
| 7▽ | 6▽ | 5▽ | 4▽ | 3▽ | 2▽ | 1▽ |
| Totally Agree | | | Totally Disagree | | | |

3) I have my own problems

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|----|----|------------------|----|----|----|
| 7▽ | 6▽ | 5▽ | 4▽ | 3▽ | 2▽ | 1▽ |
| Totally Agree | | | Totally Disagree | | | |

4) Thinking about donating money to that society, but in the end won't do it

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|----|----|------------------|----|----|----|
| 7▽ | 6▽ | 5▽ | 4▽ | 3▽ | 2▽ | 1▽ |
| Totally Agree | | | Totally Disagree | | | |

5) Feel sorry for those people

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|----|----|------------------|----|----|----|
| 7▽ | 6▽ | 5▽ | 4▽ | 3▽ | 2▽ | 1▽ |
| Totally Agree | | | Totally Disagree | | | |

6) Feel blessed with own situation

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|----|----|------------------|----|----|----|
| 7▽ | 6▽ | 5▽ | 4▽ | 3▽ | 2▽ | 1▽ |
| Totally Agree | | | Totally Disagree | | | |

Finally, please read the following statements and mark the box that best represents your opinion:

1) The three people who are in charge of me, influenced me in the emotions I felt towards people who mostly rely on help from a charity organization to survive in life

| | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | Not at all |

2) The three people who are in charge of me, influenced me in my behaviour towards people who mostly rely on help from a charity organization to survive in life

| | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | Not at all |

3) For me, during this questionnaire I have considered people who mostly rely on help from a charity organization to survive in life as an OUTgroup, i.e. someone who is different from me.

Please circle: Yes No

4) I was sincere in this questionnaire

| | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | Not at all |

5) I am ∇ Male ∇ Female

6) My age is: _____

Experiment 5

Non Salient + Same power condition

Whenever it is asked to state your emotions, it's important that you give your first felt, and honest emotion(s). Be aware that there are no good or wrong answers; it's just your opinion.

We would like you to complete the following questions listed below.
Please answer all questions.

We would like you to tell us what you would do in the following scenario:

You are working in a team of four people, who all have the same responsibilities.

Your company made £2000 pounds profit which they would like to spend on a charity cause, within (e.g. companies' health benefits system) and/or outside (to people who mostly rely on help from a charity organization to survive in life) the company; and your group of 4 people is in charge of this money.

You have the power/ influence to do what you would like with the money and you and the other 3 people in your group should all agree. The others can not agree with you at the moment, since you have not the chance to talk to them, but you have to explain what you would do.

Again, your group of 4 people are in charge of the money.

Now please tell us what you would do with the money;
Please circle one option

- 1) Donate £2000 to the companies' health benefits system
- 2) Donate £500 to the charity organization and £1500 to the companies' health benefits system
- 3) Donate £1000 to the charity organization and £1000 to the companies' health benefits system
- 4) Donate £1500 to the charity organization and £500 to the companies' health benefits system
- 5) Donate £2000 to the charity organization.

Keeping the other three people in mind; please explain now why you have chosen this option:

Imagine that you now had to notify the other three people of your group about how you had spent the money. Keeping this in mind, please indicate how you now **feel** towards the three people.

I feel:

Sadness towards them:

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Sympathy towards them:

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Pity towards them:

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Interest towards them:

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| | | | | | | Not at all |

Very much

Empathy towards them:

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| | | | | | | Not at all |

Very much

Anger towards them:

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| | | | | | | Not at all |

Very much

Envy towards them:

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| | | | | | | Not at all |

Very much

Fear towards them:

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| | | | | | | Not at all |

Very much

In the following questions you are asked to describe your feelings and behaviour towards these people who mostly rely on help from a charity organization to survive in life; **in this sense; these people are not like you, and can be thought of as an OUTgroup.**

Please answer all questions.

How do you now **feel** towards **people who mostly rely on help from a charity organization to survive in life?**

I feel:

Sadness (*I feel unhappy when I think of people who mostly rely on help from a charity organization to survive in life*)

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| | | | | | | Not at all |

Very much

Sympathy (*I feel for people who mostly rely on help from a charity organization to survive in life*)

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|------------|---|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | Not at all | |

Pity (*I feel sorry for people who mostly rely on help from a charity organization to survive in life*)

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|------------|---|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | Not at all | |

Interest (*I would like to know more about people who mostly rely on help from a charity organization to survive in life*)

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|------------|---|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | Not at all | |

Empathy (*I feel for and can imagine what it must be like to be someone who mostly has to rely on help from a charity organization to survive in life*)

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|------------|---|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | Not at all | |

Anger (*I feel fury thinking about someone people who mostly rely on help from a charity organization to survive in life*)

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|------------|---|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | Not at all | |

How would you now **behave** towards **these people**, after taken a decision about the money in the scenario?

1) Donate money to a society for those people

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|----|----|------------------|----|----|----|
| 7▽ | 6▽ | 5▽ | 4▽ | 3▽ | 2▽ | 1▽ |
| Totally Agree | | | Totally Disagree | | | |

2) Ignore the problems of those people

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|----|----|------------------|----|----|----|
| 7▽ | 6▽ | 5▽ | 4▽ | 3▽ | 2▽ | 1▽ |
| Totally Agree | | | Totally Disagree | | | |

3) I have my own problems

7∇ 6∇ 5∇ 4∇ 3∇ 2∇ 1∇
Totally Agree Totally Disagree

4) Thinking about donating money to that society, but in the end won't do it

7∇ 6∇ 5∇ 4∇ 3∇ 2∇ 1∇
Totally Agree Totally Disagree

5) Feel sorry for those people

7∇ 6∇ 5∇ 4∇ 3∇ 2∇ 1∇
Totally Agree Totally Disagree

6) Feel blessed with own situation

7∇ 6∇ 5∇ 4∇ 3∇ 2∇ 1∇
Totally Agree Totally Disagree

We would like you to complete the following questions listed below.

Please answer all questions.

1. My political preference is:

∇ ∇ ∇ ∇ ∇ ∇ ∇
7 6 5 4 3 2 1
Left Right

2. What does **politics** mean to you?

Below are a number of statements that may or may -not apply to you. Please mark the square to indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with that statement (7=totally agree, 1=totally disagree).

I am politically active.

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Totally agree | | | | | | Totally Disagree |

I am very clear about my political opinion.

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Totally agree | | | | | | Totally Disagree |

I have a lot of knowledge about political issues.

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Totally agree | | | | | | Totally Disagree |

I would like to know as much as possible regarding political issues.

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Totally agree | | | | | | Totally Disagree |

Politics are not in my interest.

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Totally agree | | | | | | Totally Disagree |

I am very sure about my political opinion.

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Totally agree | | | | | | Totally Disagree |

Politics occupies my mind.

∇
7
Totally agree
 ∇
6
 ∇
5
 ∇
4
 ∇
3
 ∇
2
 ∇
1
Totally Disagree

Finally, please read the following statements and mark the box that best represents your opinion:

1) The other three people of my group, influenced me in the emotions I felt towards people who mostly rely on help from a charity organization to survive in life

∇
5
Very much
 ∇
4
 ∇
3
 ∇
2
 ∇
1
Not at all

2) The other three people of my group, influenced me in my behaviour towards people who mostly rely on help from a charity organization to survive in life

∇
5
Very much
 ∇
4
 ∇
3
 ∇
2
 ∇
1
Not at all

3) For me, during this questionnaire I have considered people who mostly rely on help from a charity organization to survive in life as an OUTgroup, i.e. someone who is different from me.

Please circle: Yes No

4) I was sincere in this questionnaire

∇
5
 ∇
4
 ∇
3
 ∇
2
 ∇
1

Very much

349
Not at all

5) I am ∇ Male ∇ Female

6) My age is: _____

Experiment 6

Aware condition

Whenever it is asked to state your emotions, it's important that you give your first felt, and honest emotion(s). Be aware that there are no good or wrong answers; it's just your opinion.

Please read the following carefully:

You are a student at the University of Sussex, and the Psychology department in which you're pursuing your degree is graded 5 in the last [Research Assessment Exercise](#).

The RAE relies on peer review and used the following scale in 2001:

| | |
|----------------------------|--|
| 5* Rating: | International excellence in most subareas of activity, and national excellence in all others |
| 5 Rating: | International excellence in some subareas of activity, and national excellence in virtually all others |
| 4 Rating: | National excellence in virtually all subareas of activity, possibly showing some evidence of international excellence, or to international level in some and at least national level in most |
| 3a Rating: | National excellence in a substantial majority of subareas of activity, or to international level in some and to national level in others together comprising a majority |
| 3b Rating: | National excellence in the majority of subareas of activity |
| 2 Rating: | National excellence in up to half the subareas of activity |
| 1 Rating: | National excellence in none, or virtually none, of the subareas of activity |

You got accepted, and are studying psychology at one of the top psychology schools in the country!

Researchers here at Sussex studied if, and when, people in society feel threatened by university students (e.g. university students are in general more intelligent than the general population, they will get well-paid jobs after their graduation).

The researchers found that people do feel threatened by university students, by for instance the example given. Also experiments in Israel, wherein Israeli and Arabic people participated, indicated a threatening influence of university students on lower educated people in society.

We would like you to give us at least two other examples why people without university education could feel threatened by you?

We will use your answers for further studies on this topic, so please give it your full attention and be sincere

1)

2)

Now that you are more aware about how people without university degree feel and might feel about you, please tell us how you would explain them what Psychology is all about?

1) Read them a definition out of an introductory Psychology text book

▽ ▽ ▽ ▽ ▽ ▽ ▽

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
Very much Not at all

2) Explain them by an illustrative example

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
Very much Not at all

3) Let them tell you what they think, and then correct them if necessary

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
Very much Not at all

4) Tell them a nice story that illustrates the topic

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
Very much Not at all

5) Something else, please specify....

7 6 5 4 3 2 1 NA
Very much Not at all

Keeping all mentioned information before in mind, indicate how you now **feel** towards people **without** an university degree.

I feel:

Sadness towards them:

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
Very much Not at all

Sympathy towards them:

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
Very much Not at all

Pity towards them:

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
Very much Not at all

Interest towards them:

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Empathy towards them:

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anger towards them:

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Envy towards them:

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Fear towards them:

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anger towards them:

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

In the following questions you are asked to describe your feelings and behaviour **if you were in the shoes** of people without a university degree, or pursuing an university degree.

Be sure that you use the knowledge that has been given to you before and implement this in your answers. Tell us how YOU think THEY feel about you!

| |
|----------------------|
| I believe they feel: |
|----------------------|

Sadness towards me (they feel unhappy towards people with a university degree)

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Sympathy (They feel for people with an university degree)

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Pity (They feel sorry for people with an university degree)

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Envy (They feel jealous towards people with an university degree):

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Fear (They feel anxious towards people with an university degree)

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Interest (They would like to know more about people with an university degree)

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Empathy (They feel for and can imagine what it must be like to be someone with an university degree)

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anger (They feel fury towards people with an university degree)

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

How would you now **behave** towards people without an university degree, with all the information given to you *in mind*?

1) Help people without an university degree as much as I can, when they need help

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
Totally Agree Totally Disagree

2) Ignore the problems of those people

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
Totally Agree Totally Disagree

3) I have my own problems

7 ∇ 6 ∇ 5 ∇ 4 ∇ 3 ∇ 2 ∇ 1 ∇
Totally Agree Totally Disagree

4) Thinking about helping people without an university degree when help is asked for, but in the end won't give it

7 ∇ 6 ∇ 5 ∇ 4 ∇ 3 ∇ 2 ∇ 1 ∇
Totally Agree Totally Disagree

5) Feel sorry for those people

7 ∇ 6 ∇ 5 ∇ 4 ∇ 3 ∇ 2 ∇ 1 ∇
Totally Agree Totally Disagree

6) Feel blessed with own situation

7 ∇ 6 ∇ 5 ∇ 4 ∇ 3 ∇ 2 ∇ 1 ∇
Totally Agree Totally Disagree

Next we would like you to complete the following questions listed below.

Please answer all questions.

1. My political preference is:

$$\begin{array}{ccccccc} \nabla & \nabla & \nabla & \nabla & \nabla & \nabla & \nabla \\ 7 & 6 & 5 & 4 & 3 & 2 & 1 \\ \text{Left} & & & & & & \text{Right} \end{array}$$

2. What does **politics** mean to you?

Below are a number of statements that may or may not apply to you. Please mark the square to indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with that statement (7=totally agree, 1=totally disagree).

I am politically active.

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|------------------|
| ▽ 7 | ▽ 6 | ▽ 5 | ▽ 4 | ▽ 3 | ▽ 2 | ▽ 1 |
| Totally agree | | | | | | Totally Disagree |

I am very clear about my political opinion.

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|------------------|
| ▽ 7 | ▽ 6 | ▽ 5 | ▽ 4 | ▽ 3 | ▽ 2 | ▽ 1 |
| Totally agree | | | | | | Totally Disagree |

I have a lot of knowledge about political issues.

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|------------------|
| ▽ 7 | ▽ 6 | ▽ 5 | ▽ 4 | ▽ 3 | ▽ 2 | ▽ 1 |
| Totally agree | | | | | | Totally Disagree |

I would like to know as much as possible regarding political issues.

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|------------------|
| ▽ 7 | ▽ 6 | ▽ 5 | ▽ 4 | ▽ 3 | ▽ 2 | ▽ 1 |
| Totally agree | | | | | | Totally Disagree |

Politics are not in my interest.

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|------------------|
| ▽ 7 | ▽ 6 | ▽ 5 | ▽ 4 | ▽ 3 | ▽ 2 | ▽ 1 |
| Totally agree | | | | | | Totally Disagree |

I am very sure about my political opinion.

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Totally agree | | | | | | Totally Disagree |

Politics occupies my mind.

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Totally agree | | | | | | Totally Disagree |

Finally, please read the following statements and mark the box that best represents your opinion:

1) I feel proud of being a student in the highly rated Psychology department at the University of Sussex.

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Totally agree | | | | | | Totally Disagree |

2) I was aware of the information given, hence the feelings of people without an university degree towards me.

| | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | Not at all |

3) The information given about people without an university degree influenced me in my feelings towards these people.

| | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | Not at all |

4) The information given about people without an university degree influenced me in my behaviour towards these people.

| | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | Not at all |

5) I was sincere in this questionnaire

| | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | Not at all |

6) I am ∇ Male ∇ Female

7) My age is: _____

Experiment 6

Non aware condition

Whenever it is asked to state your emotions, it's important that you give your first felt, and honest emotion(s). Be aware that there are no good or wrong answers; it's just your opinion.

Please read the following carefully:

You are a student at Sussex University, and the Psychology department in which you're pursuing your degree is graded 5 in the last [Research Assessment Exercise](#).

The RAE relies on peer review and used the following scale in 2001:

| | |
|----------------------------|--|
| 5* Rating: | International excellence in most subareas of activity, and national excellence in all others |
| 5 Rating: | International excellence in some subareas of activity, and national excellence in virtually all others |
| 4 Rating: | National excellence in virtually all subareas of activity, possibly showing some evidence of international excellence, or to international level in some and at least national level in most |
| 3a Rating: | National excellence in a substantial majority of subareas of activity, or to international level in some and to national level in others together comprising a majority |
| 3b Rating: | National excellence in the majority of subareas of activity |
| 2 Rating: | National excellence in up to half the subareas of activity |
| 1 Rating: | National excellence in none, or virtually none, of the subareas of activity |

You got accepted, and are studying psychology at one of the top psychology schools in the country!

Researchers here at Sussex are studying how people with an university degree explain people without such a degree what kind of work they do.

Could you please tell us how you would explain psychology to a lay person? We will use your answers for further studies on this topic, so please give it your full attention and be sincere

Now please tell us how you would explain people without an university degree what Psychology is all about?

1) Read them a definition out of an introductory Psychology text book

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

2) Explain them by an illustrative example

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

3) Let them tell you what they think, and then correct them if necessary

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

4) Tell them a nice story that illustrates the topic

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

5) Something else, please specify....

| | | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|----|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all | NA |

Please indicate how you **feel** towards people without an university degree.
I feel:

Sadness towards them:

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Sympathy towards them:

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Pity towards them:

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Interest towards them:

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Empathy towards them:

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Anger towards them:

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

Very much

Not at all

Envy towards them:

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

Fear towards them:

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

How would you now **behave** towards people without an university degree

1) Help people without an university degree as much as I can, when they need help

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------------|
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Totally Agree | | | | | | Totally Disagree |

2) Ignore the problems of those people

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------------|
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Totally Agree | | | | | | Totally Disagree |

3) I have my own problems

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------------|
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Totally Agree | | | | | | Totally Disagree |

4) Thinking about helping people without an university degree when help is asked for, but in the end won't give it

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------------|
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Totally Agree | | | | | | Totally Disagree |

5) Feel sorry for those people

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------------|
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Totally Agree | | | | | | Totally Disagree |

I have a lot of knowledge about political issues.

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Totally agree | | | | | | Totally Disagree |

I would like to know as much as possible regarding political issues.

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Totally agree | | | | | | Totally Disagree |

Politics are not in my interest.

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Totally agree | | | | | | Totally Disagree |

I am very sure about my political opinion.

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Totally agree | | | | | | Totally Disagree |

Politics occupies my mind.

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|---|------------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Totally agree | | | | | | Totally Disagree |

| |
|--|
| <p>Finally, please read the following statements and mark the box that best represents your opinion:</p> |
|--|

1) I feel proud of being a student in the highly rated Psychology department at the University of Sussex.

| | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | Not at all |

2)

| | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | Not at all |

3)

| | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | Not at all |

4) I was sincere in this questionnaire

| | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | Not at all |

5) I am ∇ Male ∇ Female

6) My age is: _____

Experiment 7

High Empathy condition

Whenever it is asked to state your emotions, it's important that you give your first felt, and honest emotion(s). Be aware that there are no good or wrong answers; it's just your opinion.

Please read the following carefully:

The students stated below will be in your group for this study.

Do you know any of these students?

- | | | | |
|-------------------|----------------|-----|----|
| 1) Dave Taylor | -Please circle | Yes | No |
| 2) Jennie Patrick | | Yes | No |
| 3) Sam Cattily | | Yes | No |
| 4) Damian Guthrie | | Yes | No |

If you indicated *Yes* to one or more of the names please tell the experimenter!

Otherwise please read on.

This study concerns resource allocation.
Each of your group of 5 will decide how to allocate scarce resources: money.

Each participant of your group will receive 10 coins of 10 pence = £1.
You could keep the 10 coins of 10p for yourself, give them to your group, or give them to the other group, about who we will give you information later on.

When making your allocation, you will not know how other participants in your group have decided to allocate their money, nor would the others know how you have allocated. You will never meet the other 4 people of your group.

If you give the 10 coins of 10p to the *other group*, or *your group* **as a whole**, they will be enhanced in value. It will become $15 \times 10p = £1.50$.

To assess the effects of communication, some groups who participate in this research will have a chance to communicate by means of one-way written notes before making their allocation decisions; other groups will not. You will be informed shortly whether you have a chance to communicate.

Two participants in your group will be in a Communication condition, and two will be in a No Communication condition. The participants in the Communication condition will be designated to receive information. They will read brief personal notes.

The people in the No Communication condition will not receive any information.

In determining our reactions to a communication, it has been found that the perspective from which we read the communication is especially important. Therefore, the Receiver will be asked to take a particular perspective when he or she reads the note.

We are interested in learning if, and how, communication affects allocation decisions without having a clear hypothesis.

Here are some possible allocations of the 10 coins of 10p. There are of course many more other possible allocations!

Please make sure you understand the different allocations, otherwise please ask the experimenter.

- * 10 to yourself = £1 → You will get £1 at the end of the experiment
None to the rest

- * 10 to your group = £ 1.50 → You will get 1/5 at the end of the experiment
None to the rest

- * 10 to the other group = £1.50 → Will be donated to UNICEF
None to the rest

- * 8 to yourself = £ 0.80 → You will get 0.80 at the end of the experiment
 1 to your group = £0.10 → You will get 1/5 at the end of the experiment
 1 to the other group = £0.10 → Will be donated to UNICEF

- * 2 to yourself = £ 0.20
 5 to your group = £ 0.50
 3 to the other group = £ 0.30

- * 0 to yourself
 5 to your group = £0.50
 5 to the other group = £ 0.50

You are in the **Communication** condition

While you are reading this communication, try to imagine how this group of people feels about what is described.

Try to imagine how it has affected their life and how they feel as a result.

Be sure you have the perspective clearly in mind before reading the communication!

All participants receiving communication get the same perspective instructions.

The other group: Schoolchildren in Uganda

We got their stories via contacts “UNICEF Voices of Youth” had made at the Junior 8 Summit of UNICEF. The J8 Summit is the parallel youth event to the G8 Summit.

Bisaso is a sixteen-year-old boy from Uganda.

"I am a child who comes from a poor family of seven people. I have the parents, but have a lot of problems. That's why when I got a chance of the Junior Summit I saw it as a blessing for me to express my problem worldwide. Poverty in the family that affects me leads has a shortage of school fees. I am using the school facilities for communication. I attend to be on computers at 4.15 p.m. to 5.00 and sometimes from 5.00 to 6.15 not on Internet. I am not allowed to go to the internet. I do not have access to internet. In my country, the children face problems that lead to malnutrition and starvation, internal strives and wars. Here the families are forced out of their homes with their children. So I have no solution yet, if you have may you help."

Jubilee is a girl from Uganda, too.

"Why people with brain, but no money cannot go to school, while those with money, but no brain can. On Wednesday, I was sent back home to collect school fees. I pleaded to the teacher and she let me study for that day. At home, I told my mum that I would not be allowed in class without clearing. She said that she doesn't have the money until Monday. We do Saturday test and I could not afford missing it. I cried, but mummy said that she

couldn't do anything. I do not remember feeling such pain in my life. Well, what I am getting at is that day and night people are dropping out of school due to poverty. Why irresponsible parents give birth to more children than they can feed? You can say I am just trying to survive."

Please think about it what you just read for a minute or two.

Now please tick the box which most accurately indicates how you are currently feeling toward the writers of the notes.

Sympathetic

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|------------|
| ▽ 7 | ▽ 6 | ▽ 5 | ▽ 4 | ▽ 3 | ▽ 2 | ▽ 1 |
| extremely | | | | | | not at all |

Warm

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|------------|
| ▽ 7 | ▽ 6 | ▽ 5 | ▽ 4 | ▽ 3 | ▽ 2 | ▽ 1 |
| extremely | | | | | | not at all |

Compassionate

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|------------|
| ▽ 7 | ▽ 6 | ▽ 5 | ▽ 4 | ▽ 3 | ▽ 2 | ▽ 1 |
| extremely | | | | | | not at all |

Softhearted

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|------------|
| ▽ 7 | ▽ 6 | ▽ 5 | ▽ 4 | ▽ 3 | ▽ 2 | ▽ 1 |
| extremely | | | | | | not at all |

Tender

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|------------|
| ▽ 7 | ▽ 6 | ▽ 5 | ▽ 4 | ▽ 3 | ▽ 2 | ▽ 1 |
| extremely | | | | | | not at all |

| |
|---|
| Please fill out the <u>allocation form</u>. |
| How many coins of 10 pennies do you wish to allocate to <u>yourself</u> ? _____ |
| How many to <u>your</u> group? _____ |
| How many to the <u>other</u> group? _____ |

| |
|--|
| Please answer the following questions: |
|--|

1) Regardless of how you decided to allocate the money, how much did you want to maximize the money you received?

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ | ∇ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

2) How much did you want to maximize the money the other group received?

∇
7
Very much

 ∇
6

 ∇
5

 ∇
4

 ∇
3

 ∇
2

 ∇
1
Not at all

3) How much did you want to maximize the money the group as a whole received?

∇
7
Very much

 ∇
6

 ∇
5

 ∇
4

 ∇
3

 ∇
2

 ∇
1
Not at all

4) Did you receive communication?

Please circle your option

Yes no

If so, while reading the communication, to what extent did you remain objective about the person who wrote the note?

∇
7
Very much

 ∇
6

 ∇
5

 ∇
4

 ∇
3

 ∇
2

 ∇
1
Not at all

5) While reading the communication, to what extent did you try to imagine the feelings of the person who wrote the note?"

∇
7
Very much

 ∇
6

 ∇
5

 ∇
4

 ∇
3

 ∇
2

 ∇
1
Not at all

6) Could you indicate with whom, if anyone, you feel you were in a subgroup?

.....

| |
|--|
| Finally, please fill in the following questions: |
|--|

1) I was sincere in this questionnaire

∇
5
Very much

 ∇
4

 ∇
3

 ∇
2

 ∇
1
Not at all

2) I am ☐ Male ☐ Female

3) My age is: _____

Experiment 7

Low Empathy condition

Whenever it is asked to state your emotions, it's important that you give your first felt, and honest emotion(s). Be aware that there are no good or wrong answers; it's just your opinion.

Please read the following carefully:

The students stated below will be in your group for this study.

Do you know any of these students?

- | | | | |
|---------------------|----------------|-----|----|
| 1) Jonathon Gayle | -Please circle | Yes | No |
| 2) Gemma Dickson | | Yes | No |
| 3) Richard Atkinson | | Yes | No |
| 4) Joe Patchier | | Yes | No |

If you indicated *Yes* to one or more of the names please tell the experimenter!

Otherwise please read on.

This study concerns resource allocation.
Each of your group of 5 will decide how to allocate scarce resources: money.

Each participant of your group will receive 10 coins of 10 pence = £1.
You could keep the 10 coins of 10p for yourself, give them to your group, or give them to the other group, about who we will give you information later on.

When making your allocation, you will not know how other participants in your group have decided to allocate their money, nor would the others know how you have allocated. You will never meet the other 4 people of your group.

If you give the 10 coins of 10p to the *other group*, or *your group* **as a whole**, they will be enhanced in value. It will become 15 x 10p = £1.50.

To assess the effects of communication, some groups who participate in this research will have a chance to communicate by means of one-way written notes before making their allocation decisions; other groups will not. You will be informed shortly whether you have a chance to communicate.

Two participants in your group will be in a Communication condition, and two will be in a No Communication condition. The participants in the Communication condition will be designated to receive information. They will read brief personal notes.
The people in the No Communication condition will not receive any information.

In determining our reactions to a communication, it has been found that the perspective from which we read the communication is especially important.

Therefore, the Receiver will be asked to take a particular perspective when he or she reads the note.

We are interested in learning if, and how, communication affects allocation decisions without having a clear hypothesis.

Here are some possible allocations of the 10 coins of 10p. There are of course many more other possible allocations!

Please make sure you understand the different allocations, otherwise please ask the experimenter.

- * 10 to yourself = £1 → You will get £1 at the end of the experiment
None to the rest
- * 10 to your group = £ 1.50 → You will get 1/5 at the end of the experiment
None to the rest
- * 10 to the other group = £1.50 → Will be donated to UNICEF
None to the rest
- * 8 to yourself = £ 0.80 → You will get 0.80 at the end of the experiment
1 to your group = £0.10 → You will get 1/5 at the end of the experiment
1 to the other group = £0.10 → Will be donated to UNICEF
- * 2 to yourself = £ 0.20
5 to your group = £ 0.50
3 to the other group = £ 0.30
- * 0 to yourself
5 to your group = £0.50
5 to the other group = £ 0.50

You are in the **Communication** condition

While you are reading this communication, try to take an objective perspective toward what is described.

Try not to get caught up in how he or she feels; just remain objective and detached.

Be sure you have the perspective clearly in mind before reading the communication!

All participants receiving communication get the same perspective instructions.

The other group: Schoolchildren in Uganda

We got their stories via contacts “UNICEF Voices of Youth” had made at the Junior 8 Summit of UNICEF. The J8 Summit is the parallel youth event to the G8 Summit.

Bisaso is a sixteen-year-old boy from Uganda.

"I am a child who comes from a poor family of seven people. I have the parents, but have a lot of problems. That's why when I got a chance of the Junior Summit I saw it as a blessing for me to express my problem worldwide. Poverty in the family that affects me leads has a shortage of school fees. I am using the school facilities for communication. I attend to be on computers at 4.15 p.m. to 5.00 and sometimes from 5.00 to 6.15 not on Internet. I am not allowed to go to the internet. I do not have access to internet. In my country, the children face problems that lead to malnutrition and starvation, internal strives and wars. Here the families are forced out of their homes with their children. So I have no solution yet, if you have may you help."

Jubilee is a girl from Uganda, too.

"Why people with brain, but no money cannot go to school, while those with money, but no brain can. On Wednesday, I was sent back home to collect school fees. I pleaded to the teacher and she let me study for that day. At home, I told my mum that I would not be

allowed in class without clearing. She said that she doesn't have the money until Monday. We do Saturday test and I could not afford missing it. I cried, but mummy said that she couldn't do anything. I do not remember feeling such pain in my life. Well, what I am getting at is that day and night people are dropping out of school due to poverty. Why irresponsible parents give birth to more children than they can feed? You can say I am just trying to survive."

Please think about it what you just read for a minute or two.

Now please tick the box which most accurately indicates how you are currently feeling toward the writers of the notes.

Sympathetic

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|------------|
| ▽ 7 | ▽ 6 | ▽ 5 | ▽ 4 | ▽ 3 | ▽ 2 | ▽ 1 |
| extremely | | | | | | not at all |

Warm

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|------------|
| ▽ 7 | ▽ 6 | ▽ 5 | ▽ 4 | ▽ 3 | ▽ 2 | ▽ 1 |
| extremely | | | | | | not at all |

Compassionate

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|------------|
| ▽ 7 | ▽ 6 | ▽ 5 | ▽ 4 | ▽ 3 | ▽ 2 | ▽ 1 |
| extremely | | | | | | not at all |

Softhearted

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|------------|
| ▽ 7 | ▽ 6 | ▽ 5 | ▽ 4 | ▽ 3 | ▽ 2 | ▽ 1 |
| extremely | | | | | | not at all |

Tender

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|------------|
| ▽ 7 | ▽ 6 | ▽ 5 | ▽ 4 | ▽ 3 | ▽ 2 | ▽ 1 |
| extremely | | | | | | not at all |

| |
|---|
| Please fill out the <u>allocation form</u>. |
| How many coins of 10 pennies do you wish to allocate to <u>yourself</u> ? _____ |
| How many to <u>your</u> group? _____ |
| How many to the <u>other</u> group? _____ |

| |
|--|
| Please answer the following questions: |
|--|

1) Regardless of how you decided to allocate the money, how much did you want to maximize the money you received?

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|------------|
| ∇ 7 | ∇ 6 | ∇ 5 | ∇ 4 | ∇ 3 | ∇ 2 | ∇ 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

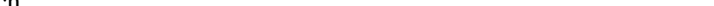
2) How much did you want to maximize the money the other group received?



 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

 Very much Not at all

3) How much did you want to maximize the money the group as a whole received?



 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

 Very much Not at all

4) Did you receive communication?

Please circle your option

Yes no

If so, while reading the communication, to what extent did you remain objective about the person who wrote the note?

7 6 5 4 3 2 1
 Very much Not at all

5) While reading the communication, to what extent did you try to imagine the feelings of the person who wrote the note?"

∇
7
Very much

 ∇
6

 ∇
5

 ∇
4

 ∇
3

 ∇
2

 ∇
1
Not at all

6) Could you indicate with whom, if anyone, you feel you were in a subgroup?

• • • • •

Finally, please fill in the following questions:

1) I was sincere in this questionnaire

$$\forall \quad \forall \quad \forall \quad \forall \quad \forall$$

$$5 \quad 4 \quad 3 \quad 2 \quad 1$$

Very much

380

Not at all

2) I am ∇ Male ∇ Female

3) My age is: _____

Experiment 7

No Communication condition

Whenever it is asked to state your emotions, it's important that you give your first felt, and honest emotion(s). Be aware that there are no good or wrong answers; it's just your opinion.

Please read the following carefully:

The students stated below will be in your group for this study.

Do you know any of these students?

1) Abigail Johnson -Please circle Yes No

2) David Bond Yes No

3) Jeannie Dodson

Yes No

4) Jon Clarks

Yes No

If you indicated *Yes* to one or more of the names please tell the experimenter!

Otherwise please read on.

This study concerns resource allocation.

Each of your group of 5 will decide how to allocate scarce resources: money.

Each participant of your group will receive 10 coins of 10 pence = £1.

You could keep the 10 coins of 10p for yourself, give them to your group, or give them to the other group, about who we will give you information later on.

When making your allocation, you will not know how other participants in your group have decided to allocate their money, nor would the others know how you have allocated. You will never meet the other 4 people of your group.

If you give the 10 coins of 10p to the *other group*, or *your group* **as a whole**, they will be enhanced in value. It will become $15 \times 10p = £1.50$.

To assess the effects of communication, some groups who participate in this research will have a chance to communicate by means of one-way written notes before making their allocation decisions; other groups will not. You will be informed shortly whether your group has a chance to communicate.

Here are some possible allocations of the 10 coins of 10p. There are of course many more other possible allocations!

Please make sure you understand the different allocations, otherwise please ask the experimenter.

- * 10 to yourself = £1 → You will get £1 at the end of the experiment
None to the rest
- * 10 to your group = £ 1.50 → You will get 1/5 at the end of the experiment
None to the rest
- * 10 to the other group = £1.50 → Will be donated to UNICEF
None to the rest
- * 8 to yourself = £ 0.80 → You will get 0.80 at the end of the experiment
1 to your group = £0.10 → You will get 1/5 at the end of the experiment
1 to the other group = £0.10 → Will be donated to UNICEF
- * 2 to yourself = £ 0.20
5 to your group = £ 0.50
3 to the other group = £ 0.30
- * 0 to yourself
5 to your group = £0.50
5 to the other group = £ 0.50

| |
|--|
| You are in the <u>No communication</u> condition. |
|--|

| |
|--|
| Now please fill out the <u>allocation form</u>. |
|--|

| |
|--|
| How many coins of 10 pennies do you wish to allocate to <u>yourself</u> ? |
|--|

| |
|---------------------------------------|
| How many to <u>your</u> group? |
|---------------------------------------|

How many to the **other** group?

Please answer the following questions:

1) Regardless of how you decided to allocate the money, how much did you want to maximize the money you received?

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

2) How much did you want to maximize the money the other group received?

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

3) How much did you want to maximize the money the group as a whole received?

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

4) Did you receive communication?

Please circle your option

Yes no

If so, while reading the communication, to what extent did you remain objective about the person who wrote the note?

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|------------|
| ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ | ▽ |
| 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Very much | | | | | | Not at all |

5) While reading the communication, to what extent did you try to imagine the feelings of the person who wrote the note?"

384

∇
7 ∇
6 ∇
5 ∇
4 ∇
3 ∇
2 ∇
1
Very much Not at all

6) Could you indicate with whom, if anyone, you feel you were in a subgroup?

.....

Finally, please fill in the following questions:

1) I was sincere in this questionnaire

∇
5 ∇
4 ∇
3 ∇
2 ∇
1
Very much Not at all

2) I am ∇ Male ∇ Female

3) My age is: _____

