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An independent academic psychologist, based in England, who has written extensively on different areas of psychology with an emphasis on the critical stance towards traditional ideas.

A complete listing of his writings at http://kmbpsychology.jottit.com.

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1. ISLAMOPHOBIA, PREJUDICE AND PREJUDICE REDUCTION

1.1. ISLAMOPHOBIA

"Islamophobia" was coined by the Runnymede Trust in 1997 to define "an outlook or world-view involving an unfounded dread and dislike of Muslims, which results in practices of exclusion and discrimination" (quoted in Oborne and Jones 2008).

Semati (2010) argued that fear of the "Muslim Other" is a situation where "the racist imagination does not appeal to 'race' to posit the inferiority of an Other based on biology but to 'cultural differences' and their insurmountability... [and] that the appeal to the category of culture to explain the Muslim Other takes two forms [1] [2]. In the first, the Muslim Other is seen as the embodiment of inferior civilizations and cultures. In the second, the attempt is made to embrace difference by trying to 'understand' the culture and religion of the Other. In either case, what is conveniently left out is the politics that has given rise to the category of the Muslim Other" (p257). Thus there is a "generic Arab-Middle Eastern-Muslim Other" which can be blamed for the

[1] "There is a shift in the dominant theoretical form of racism. Racist theory based on biology (modern racism) is replaced by one based on culture (imperial racism). Imperialist racist theory agrees with the thrust of modern anti-racism in that 'race' is a social construction, that individual behaviour or aptitude cannot be attributed to biological origins. Instead, they are the product of different cultures... The dominant theme for this racism 'is the insurmountablity of cultural differences, a racism which, at first sight, does not postulate the superiority of certain groups or peoples in relation to others but 'only' the harmfulness of abolishing frontiers, the incompatibility of life-styles and traditions'..." (Semati 2010 pp265-266).

[2] Islamophobia is not the classic racism based on skin colour. Though there is some of that; in the USA, for example, Arab-Americans are classified officially as "White" or "Caucasian", and only about a quarter of the diverse group of American Muslims come from traditional "Arab" countries (Semati 2010). What is common to racism against other groups is the fear of "swamping" as summarised in the idea that "they" are "trying to take us over, change us, convert us, and make us like them" (US lawyer on talk show), or that Europe will be Islamic by 2050 (Semati 2010).

ills of the world, and presented as incompatible with "Euro-Americaness" (Semati 2010).

The discourses today on Islam and Muslims in the West is closely linked to the issue of terrorism and security threats [3]. But this is a relatively recent phenomena with its origins in the Reagan era of the 1980s. This particular presidency projected US power by confronting the Soviet Union with aggressive interventionist policies (eg: Afghanistan) ("new Cold War"). During this time, the term "terrorism" became a short-hand for "Russia's secret weapon". In time, particularly with "9/11", "terrorist" became associated with "Muslim-Other" (Semati 2010).

After September 11th 2001, the US media, in particular, presented an explanation as the "clash of civilisations" (Islam vs West). The question was asked, "why do they hate us?", and the answer given by President Bush was because "we're the brightest beacon for freedom" (Semati 2010). There were some dissenting voices (eg: Susan Sontag in "New Yorker" magazine, 24th September 2001): "Where is the acknowledgement that this was not a 'cowardly' attack on 'civilization' or 'liberty' or 'humanity' or 'the free world' but an attack on the world's self-proclaimed superpower, undertaken as a consequence of specific American alliances and actions?" (quoted in Semati 2010). This was seen as the "blame America first crowd", and the debate about the reason settled as "there is no explanation for what happened on September 11, 2001 other than the pathologies of the Muslim Other" (Semati 2010 p262).

Oborne and Jones (2008) reported the example of a front-page story in the "Sun" newspaper (7/10/06) about vandalism by a "Muslim hate mob" of a soldier's house which proved to have no foundation [4]. The exaggeration and "creation" of stories focusing on a particular group (in this case Muslims) is not new. As far back as the 14th century stories were circulating that the Black Death was due to a particular group, Jews, poisoning the wells, while scare stories about AIDS being deliberately spread by gay men have existed since the 1980s (Oborne and Jopnes 2008).

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[3] Moore et al (2008) undertook an analysis of 974 British newspaper articles between 2000-8 about British Muslims. Overall, 36% of the stories were about terrorism, followed by 22% about religious and cultural differences between Islam and the West/British culture, and 11% on Islamic extremism. References to radical Muslims were seventeen times more common than to moderate Muslims. Thus the message conveyed was about Muslims as a threat or as a problem. "Decontextualisation, misinformation and a preferred discourse of threat, fear and danger, while not uniformly present, were strong forces in the reporting of British Muslims in the UK national press" (Moore et al 2008 p4).

[4] A form of apology was published on 15/1/07.

Guveli and Platt's (2011) analysis of religious behaviour by Muslims in the UK and the Netherlands found differences such that generalisations about integration and secularisation were not possible [5].

1.1.1. Identity

Much of the view that British Muslims do not identify with "Britishness" has been imposed by outside viewers (eg: majority ethnicity commentators). In terms of actual research, Thomas and Sanderson (2011) reported that 63% of young Muslims questioned in Greater Manchester agreed with the statement, "I am proud to say that I am British", and only 10% definitely disagreed. At the same time, a "faith identity" was seen as the most important form of identification for the respondents of Pakistani and Bangladeshi origin. Thomas and Sanderson (2011) felt that concern over the national loyalty of young British Muslims was a "moral panic".

Ryan (2011) emphasised how British Muslim women in North London distanced themselves from the "collective stigmatisation" of Muslims in the West in recent years. The assumption of the incompatibility of Islam and "Western values" is countered by the women presenting themselves as "normal" members of society. For example, a university graduate in her 20s, "Nazia" said: "Basically it's [the linking of Islam and terrorism together] made the Muslim community be the 'other' when generally we're not, we read the same newspapers, we go to the same schools, we're just normal people" (p1050).

The women also emphasised the diversity of Muslims in Britain. Ryan (2011) concluded: "All the women in this study described themselves as 'normal'. However, the normality to which they laid claim differed markedly between the women, illustrating their diversity of views and lifestyles. For these women 'normal' ranged from something 'fairly secular' to religiously 'conservative'. This suggests not only the ambiguity of normality but also its elusiveness" (p1058).

Mythen (2012) explored the themes of solidity, elasticity, and resilience in relation to identity among 32 young (18-26 years old) British Pakistanis in north-west England, who have "to negotiate and maintain their

[5] The official link between church and state in secular Western countries is "vicarious religion": "the notion of religion performed by an active minority but on behalf of a much larger number, who implicitly at least not only understand, but quite clearly approve of what the minority is doing" (Davie 2007 p127 quoted in Hemming 2011 p1071). It is a way of maintaining collective values and cultural memory for citizens. For example, the acceptance of a degree of religious practices in schools by secular parents who experienced it themselves at school (Hemming 2011).

identities in an environment in which they have been defined as a threat to national security whilst simultaneously being pressurised to align with 'core British values'" (p393).

"Solidity" referred to the "anchor identity" of Muslim in the midst of the "polygonal nature of their identities". For example, "Taj" said: "You can be Muslim and British, Muslim and Pakistani, Muslim and whatever nationality or culture you want, as long as it doesn't compromise your Islamic principles" (p397). "Qasim" said something similar, but more questioning in the context of media discourses: "Personally, I've always identified myself as a British Muslim, but in light of recent events, especially in the media, and just generally, I feel as though I'm starting to question... that I'm being made to question the Britishness in me because I thought ... I mean the UK was always a fundamental part of me and who I am. I felt I belonged. But because I'm a Muslim at the same time, it's almost as though I've been put into a position where I'm questioned, where I'm told to question the Britishness as though I can't be British and a Muslim at the same time. So more so, because of that, I feel more Muslim than anything else" (p398).

Mythen (2012) observed: "Thus, Islamic/Muslim identities were responsively being deployed to counter personal experiences of suspicion, victimisation and hostility and to develop solid identities" (p399).

"Elasticity" was used to describe the associations with Muslims globally. "The young people we spoke to remained in touch with their communities of familial destination in Pakistan and articulated profound unity with Muslim communities in other countries. These ties were facilitated by media engagement, with various fusions occurring between local, national and global. Belonging was expressed through ummatic attachments which reinforced both faith and politically based affiliations. Opposition to the military occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan and anger at Israeli State violence were discursive sites at which faith allegiances were confirmed and political views advocated..." (Mythen 2012 p400).

"Resilience" described the processes "through which negative identity attachments are deflected and/or contested". Mythen (2012) described three processes:

a) Circumnavigation - ways to avoid encountering prejudice; eg: "At the airport I feel paranoid, as though everybody is watching you. Also say if you're on public transport I feel as though I have to behave ultra-normal just to compensate for the fact I'm a Muslim. It's almost as though you're always trying to prove to people that

you're a Muslim and you're not a terrorist, by small things like not speaking in my own language" ("Rehana").

b) Mask wearing - aligning identities to cultural expectations; eg: "I'll be a hundred per cent honest with you, like hmm, for example, for a long time I've had a desire to grow my beard a bit longer and one of the things holding me back is how I'll be perceived by society" ("Qasim").

c) Contestation - challenging the media images; eg: "It's pretty funny that the – well, not funny – that the media is saying that Muslims don't integrate. You'd be hard pressed to go anywhere in this country and not find a Muslim. Well, that's true of cities in the north-west. There's Muslim corner shops, Muslim chemists, Muslim doctors, teachers, everywhere. It's impossible – unless you go to where Tony Blair lives, those places that are white and middle-class – not to come into contact with Muslims. You can't walk down the street without tripping over a Muslim..." ("Aqeel").

Mythen (2012) concluded that there was a "widespread exasperation conveyed about having to self-identify as either British or Muslim... What is transpiring instead for participants is the fabrication and consolidation of 'and' identities" (p406).

1.1.2. Miscellaneous Research

At the same time as the growth of Islamophobia, and maybe directly related to it, is the increased electoral support for far-right political parties as in the British National Party (BNP) in England. The traditional view is that it is the "white working-class" (formerly supporters of the Labour Party) who are the core voters. Linehan (2005) described the typical BNP voter thus: "...young, male, poorly educated, secular rather than religious, possesses few skills or obsolete skills, works in industries that struggle to compete in the new global market, and lives in a large metropolitan area experiencing de-industrialisation rather than in a small town. This sociological type would also be disillusioned with mainstream politics and parties, have no political or cultural ties to traditional labour organisations, be ethnocentric and xenophobic, culturally parochial and lives in an area where he perceives that he is in competition with immigrants or other ethnic groups over access to scarce resources" (quoted in Rhodes 2011 p104).

But analysis of electoral data in the mid-2000s found that BNP support came from skilled manual workers - 32% of support compared to 20% from unskilled or semi-

skilled manual workers (Rhodes 2011). Rhodes (2011) saw the BNP support as more heterogeneous than the traditional view, and based this point on interviews with BNP voters in Burnley, north-west England in 2002: "...BNP supporters make distinctions on the basis of class as well as 'race', therefore challenging dominant political, media and academic representations. Notions of entitlement rest on particular, differentiated claims to whiteness – claims mediated by class and articulated through assertions of 'respectability' and 'responsibility'" (p107).

The BNP voters did distinguish themselves from the "other" of the Asian population of the town (ie: "race"), but they also distanced themselves from "scruffy" or "poor" Whites (ie: class) - "These individuals, which included single mothers, drug addicts, welfare-dependent 'dossers' and 'alkies', were seen as lazy, prone to criminal behaviour, and unwilling or incapable of upholding the expected social and moral norms that would grant them membership within the 'local' community and therefore entitlement to resources" (Rhodes 2011 p109).

The BNP voters constructed "hierarchies of entitlement" based on "race" and class, and being in paid employment was very important for these individuals. A semi-skilled manual worker commented on "benefit cheats": "That one that were in Burnley... where they had all that money stuffed under the mattress, they were laundering money doing drugs, and drawing all sorts of social and that you know. I mean I'm appalled, they're white people. None of them worked, four young men, husband and wife, she said she's got a bad back. I had a bad back, I worked with my bad back, I brought me own family of kids up" (Rhodes 2011 p113).

Rhodes (2011) concluded: "...individuals did not make claims on behalf of all other whites, rather they do so on the basis of more particular, circumscribed notions of 'people like us'. BNP voters appeared to often adopt a sense of 'us' that referred simply to their ward, their neighbourhood, and even just their street..., the majority of the interviewees, who represented the more affluent strata of BNP support, invoked their status as 'respectable' white taxpayers. Others lacking the resources to make such claims relied more heavily on racialised constructions of nation and locality as a way of asserting their entitlement to resources" (p115). Whether the BNP supporters were employed or unemployed, the common theme was an entitlement [6] which they were not receiving because somebody else was taking it

[6] The sense of entitlement is in part a product of society being "individualism-centred". This is the extreme individualism where individuals believe that their views/demands are the only thing that matters rather than understanding the give and take of compromise that is required in a liberal democratic society.

inappropriately. In different ways, this is articulated across the whole of society (as advertising points out that "you deserve it"), but certain individuals express it through electoral support for far-right political parties.

1.2. SOCIAL IDENTITY RESEARCH

van Rijswijk et al (2006) observed that the "perception of a group is probably influenced by the context in which this group is perceived and whether we ourselves are (committed) members of this group" (p161). The perception of groups occurs on multiple social categories (eg: young, Black, woman or middle-aged, White, man), and some of the categories will be more salient than others in a particular social context. For example, if the ingroup and outgroup are very similar on a particular category, then that category is salient to the perception and comparison of the group.

This can be seen in an experiment by van Rijswijk et al (2006), which showed 151 psychology students at the Australian National University (ANU) a promotional video about their department. Then they were told they would see a similar video from another department at the same university (ANU physics department) or from another university (psychology department at Australian Catholic University; ACU). However, the researchers claimed that there was not enough time to see the second video. But a questionnaire was completed about the characteristics of the ingroup. The relevant item was that ANU psychology students are more open-minded than ANU physics students, or more open-minded than ACU psychology students with a seven-point Likert scale. The participants had been made aware earlier of the importance of open-mindedness in their department. There were four independent conditions (table 1.1).

Rated ingroup (ANU psychology department) in comparison to:	Expected to see video about ACU psychology department	Expected to see video about ANU physics department
ACU psychology department	1	3
ANU physics department	2	4

Table 1.1 - Four conditions in the van Rijswijk et al (2006) experiment.

The mean rating of positive characteristics for

their department was 5.49 when expecting to see a video about ACU psychology department (condition 1 in table 1.1), but only 5.06 when expecting to see a video about the ANU physics department (condition 2 in table 1.1). When the participants expected to see a video about ANU physics department, their ratings of the ingroup were significantly higher than in relation to the ANU physics department (condition 4 in table 1.1) than ACU psychology department (condition 3 in table 1.1) (mean: 5.47 vs 5.06). There was no difference in ratings for irrelevant characteristics (eg: serious).

The results showed that participants increased their rating of the ingroup on a salient characteristic (openmindedness) when comparing it to a similar group as opposed to a different group. The level of identification with the group would also influence the ingroup favouritism. The explanation is that individuals are seeking to emphasise the ingroup's distinctiveness (which is threatened by similar groups.

1.3. TERROR MANAGEMENT THEORY

The Terror Management Theory (TMT) (Greenberg et al 1986) "posits that human behaviour in part is driven by the need to manage the potential for anxiety that arises from the juxtaposition of death awareness and an inherent desire to live. To subdue this potential, we human beings have faith in a cultural worldview and pursue self-esteem according to the standards of our particular worldview" (Weise et al 2012 pp63-64). The shared values of the cultural worldview give meaning and a feeling of permanence ("symbolic immortality"; Weise et al 2012), which helps individuals to cope with the existential anxiety of death. So reminders of death (mortality salience; MS) encourage individuals to embrace their cultural worldview (ingroup) more and reject alternatives (outgroup). Individuals come to emphasise the superiority of the ingroup at the expense of the outgroup.

A number of experiments have shown this process when reminders of death are presented, including Christians' negative view of Jews, or German students sitting further away from Turkish individuals in a waiting room (Weise et al 2012). But TMT does not automatically mean prejudice against outgroups, rather the MS leads to individuals "clinging to salient beliefs and values that are central to their internalised worldview" (Weise et al 2012).

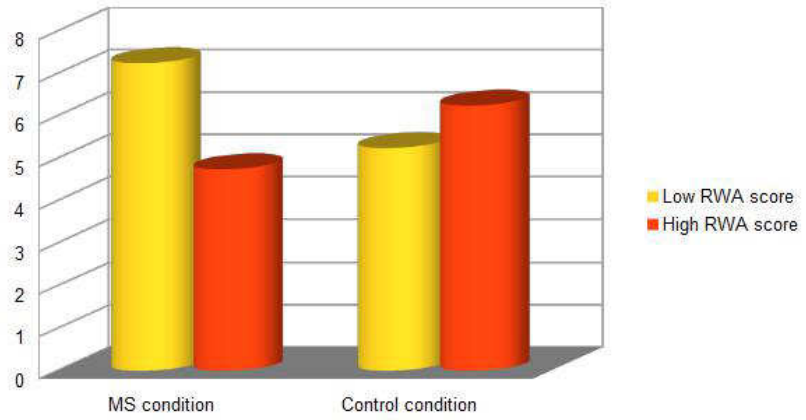
Weise et al (2012) showed that MS led to both positive and negative attitudes towards immigrants depending on the right-wing authoritarianism (RWA) of the individual. Altmeyer (1981) described RWA as having three components - submission to legitimate authority, aggression towards "illegitimate" groups, and

conventionalism with social values. High scorers are consequently negative towards outsiders (immigrants).

In their first study, Weise et al (2012) recruited 110 psychology students at a university in Paris, France. Fifty-seven of them were allocated to the MS condition and asked the following questions - "Please briefly describe the thoughts and emotions that the thought of your own death arouses in you", and "Jot down as specifically as you can, what you think will happen to you as you physically die and once you are physically dead" (Weise et al 2012 p66). The other participants in the control condition answered the same questions in relation to dental pain. The independent variable here was MS or not.

The RWA scale (Altmeyer 1988) was completed, and it included items like "What our country really needs, instead of more 'civil rights', is a good stiff dose of law and order", and "What our country really needs is a strong, determined leader who will crush evil, and take us back to our true path" (Weise et al 2012 p65). The second independent variable is low or high RWA score.

The participants then read about the experiences of an immigrant living in France, and were asked to evaluate the individual with questions like "How much do you like this person?" and "How intelligent do you think this person is?" (Weise et al 2012 p66). This is the dependent variable. It was found that individuals with high RWA scores gave more negative scores towards the immigrant in the MS condition, whereas low scorers were more positive in this condition (figure 1.1).

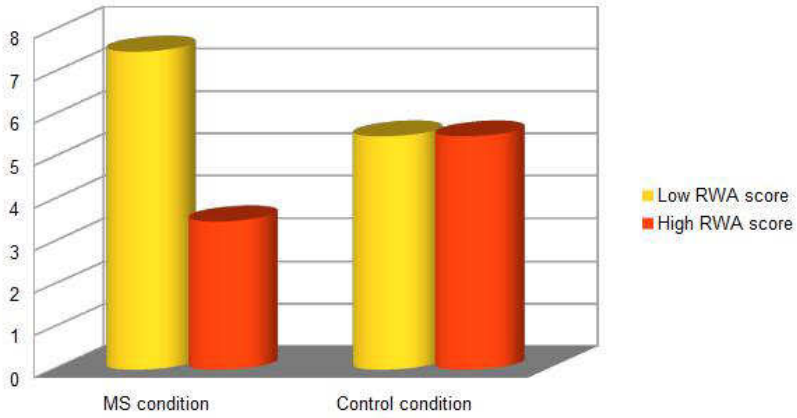


(Higher score = more positive evaluation)

(Based on Weise et al 2012 figure 1 p67)

Figure 1.1 - Mean rating of the immigrant in the story (out of 9).

The second study of Weise et al (2012) was a replication in the USA with 84 psychology undergraduates at the University of Arizona. The only differences to the first study were that the control group were asked to think about uncertainty rather than dental pain, and the immigrant information. Participants were asked to evaluate the facebook profile of a Mexican immigrant to the USA. The findings replicated those of the first study (figure 1.2).



(Higher score = more positive evaluation)

(Based on Weise et al 2012 figure 3 p70)

Figure 1.2 - Mean rating of the facebook profile (out of 9).

1.4. STEREOTYPE CONTENT MODEL

The stereotype content model (Fiske et al 2002) proposed that group stereotypes are organised based on two fundamental dimensions - warmth (social and moral qualities of the group; eg: friendly/unfriendly) and competence (intellectual and motivational qualities; eg: capable/incapable). Stereotype content can be ambivalent - ie: positive ratings on one dimension and negative on the other (eg: friendly, but incompetent). "These ambivalent stereotype contents could be due to a conflict between prejudice and societal pressures against prejudice and discrimination" (Rohmer and Louvet 2012).

Explicit measures of attitudes are prone to such societal pressure - ie: directly asking individuals about their stereotypes, whereas implicit measures are less so. Implicit measures record the reaction time to associate evaluative words with particular groups as in slower to connect a positive characteristic to the outgroup than to the ingroup, for example.

Rohmer and Louvet (2012) found differences between

explicit and implicit measures of attitudes towards individuals with disability. Using the former method, such individuals were viewed as positive on the warmth dimension but negative on the competence dimension. With implicit measures the findings were negative on both dimensions.

The explicit measure of attitudes asked participants to rate individuals with and without disability on a five-point scale for different traits. The mean for "warmth" traits was 4.13 for individuals with disability and 3.47 for without disability (ie: more positive towards individuals with disability), but 2.81 and 3.45 respectively for "competence" traits.

The implicit measure used the concept priming paradigm. Individuals were presented with a target stimulus on a computer screen for 250 ms and asked to say if it was a word or a non-word. Prior to this, a prime was presented for 20 ms (ie: below conscious awareness). The reaction time to respond to the target stimulus was taken as the implicit measure of attitude. For example, an individual who detects the word "unfriendly" quicker after a picture of a disabled person is primed than the word "friendly" with the same prime is viewed as having a negative attitude towards disabled people.

The participants were undergraduates at the University of Strasbourg in France. There was a pattern of them reacting slower to positive words after a disabled prime than a non-disabled prime (figure 1.3). The authors concluded that "freed from social desirability responding: Our results show that persons with disability are implicitly associated with less positivity than persons without disability on both dimensions" (Rohmer and Louvet 2012 p736).

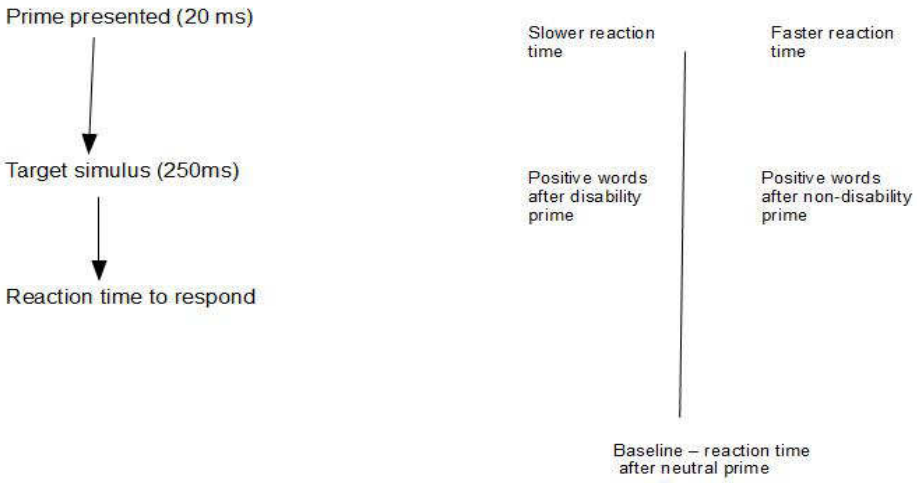


Figure 1.3 - Principles of the procedure and findings of Rohmer and Louvet (2012).

1.5. PREJUDICE REDUCTION

Paluck and Green (2009) observed:

> By many standards, the psychological literature on prejudice ranks among the most impressive in all of social science. The sheer volume of scholarship is remarkable, reflecting decades of active scholarly investigation of the meaning, measurement, aetiology, and consequences of prejudice. Few topics have attracted a greater range of theoretical perspectives. Theorising has been accompanied by lively debates about the appropriate way to conceptualise and measure prejudice. The result is a rich array of measurement strategies and assessment tools.
> The theoretical nuance and methodological sophistication of the prejudice literature are undeniable. Less clear is the stature of this literature when assessed in terms of the practical knowledge that it has generated (p340).

Paluck and Green (2009) presented an overview of interventions to reduce negative attitudes and emotions, stereotyping, and discrimination against a particular group (altogether called "prejudice"). The targets of the interventions included racism, homophobia (appendix 1A), ageism, and prejudice based on religion, nationality, being overweight (appendix 1B), poor, and disabled (but sexism was excluded from the review). The studies were divided into non-experimental and experimental.

1. Non-experimental research

a) Field studies with control group - A prejudice-reduction intervention is applied to one group, which is compared to a group not receiving the intervention. It is not an experimental study because the groups are not randomly created (ie: randomisation of participants), and there is no pre-intervention measures (baseline).

b) Field studies with no control group - For example, a group exposed to the intervention is given a post-intervention feedback questionnaire.

c) Qualitative studies - Information is collected about the intervention without the manipulation of variables.

d) Cross-sectional studies - For example, volunteers after a diversity training programme are compared to those who chose not to attend. Paluck and Green (2009) pointed out: "Even the defenders of diversity training would concede that people with positive attitudes toward

diversity are more likely to voluntarily attend a diversity seminar" (p344).

e) Panel studies - A group receiving the intervention is observed over time and compared to a "control" group. Often the control group is different to the intervention group - eg: students at different schools (Paluck and Green 2009).

2. Experimental research

a) Laboratory experiments - Though the situation is artificial, the researchers can control the variables, which allows them to establish a causal relationship between the intervention and the reduction of prejudice. Some experiments use fictional groups as the target of prejudice.

b) Field experiments - A common technique used in such studies is the "jigsaw classroom technique" (co-operative learning) (Aronson et al 1978). Students are given one piece of the lesson, and must work together to complete the whole thing. Paluck and Green (2009) felt that this technique is "an important tool for breaking down boundaries between students".

A number of different approaches have been used in experiments, which include (Paluck and Green 2009):

- Contact between members of the different groups.
- Changing the categories of social identity - eg: from "English" to "European".
- Education about prejudice, reading about other groups, and consciousness-raising.
- Creating group norms of tolerance, and peer influence.
- Encouraging empathy with the other group.
- Media presentations - eg: a soap opera in Rwanda where different communities lived together (Paluck 2009; table 1.2).

Paluck and Green (2009) admitted: "Those interested in creating effective prejudice-reduction programmes must remain sceptical of the recommendations of laboratory experiments until they are supported by research of the same degree or rigour outside of the laboratory" (p351). This is because there are a number of problems with

Mass media can play a role in encouraging prejudice and conflict, but can it also help in reducing it? Paluck (2009) reported the case of a year-long educational radio soap opera to promote reconciliation in Rwanda. In 1994 in Rwanda, 75% of the Tutsi ethnic minority population were killed and radio had played a part in encouraging anti-Tutsi prejudice and discrimination (Paluck 2009).

In 2004, the soap opera "New Dawn" was produced, and it told the story of two fictional Rwanda communities working together. Rwandan interviewers questioned a sample of forty participants prior to the soap opera beginning, and then one year later. A control group who heard only a health soap opera was used for comparison.

Listeners to "New Dawn" showed a positive change towards inter-marriage between different ethnic groups, trusting other people and co-operation. The greatest change was on the perception of social norms about such behaviours, but personal beliefs about the causes of inter-group violence did not change. The listeners also reported emotional empathy for the characters in the soap opera.

Table 1.2 - Details of Paluck (2009).

generalising to the real world from laboratory experiments, including (Paluck and Green 2009):

- Experiments are brief.
- Use of fictional groups as target of prejudice.
- Ignore wider social contexts.
- Samples tend to be mostly North American students.
- Because of ethical concerns, "mild" (or socially acceptable) prejudice is studied.
- Prejudice is measured by self-reports or indirect measures.

Paluck and Green (2009) drew the following conclusions about what works for prejudice-reduction:

i) Experimental (field and laboratory) evidence supports techniques like co-operative learning, peer influence, contact, and cross-cultural training.

ii) Laboratory experiments supports recategorisation of social identity.

iii) Little experimental evidence for techniques like diversity training, and conflict resolution.

1.5.1. Contact Between Groups

Contact between groups depends on a number of variables including (Dixon 2007) [7]:

[7] After "race riots" in the summer of 2001 in three multi-racial towns in north-west England, a report commissioned by the UK Government found that White English and Asian English residents lived entirely separate lives with little or no physical contact between them (Dixon 2007).

- Being regular.
- Individuals are of equal status.
- A balanced number of ingroup and outgroup members.
- Free from competition, and involves co-operation on joint goals.
- Interactions with non-stereotypical members of the outgroup.
- Contact supported by norms that encourage it.

In a study of attitudes towards ethnic minorities by White Britains, Bowyer (2009) found support for the contact hypothesis if the respondents lived in areas with many Black neighbours, but the opposite if the neighbours were Pakistani or Bangladeshi. Data from the British Social Attitudes survey between 1996 and 2001 were analysed. The attitudes towards ethnic minorities (or "racial hostility") was based on four questions, including "how would you describe yourself... as very prejudiced against people of other races, a little prejudiced or not prejudiced at all?" [8].

For example, the probability of agreeing with the statement that immigrants take jobs from British-born workers drops if 10% of the local area is Black neighbours compared to no Black neighbours. But the probability of agreeing with this statement increases from no Pakistani/Bangladeshi neighbours to making up 10% of neighbours.

The idea of physical contact in reducing prejudice has been developed by the "extended inter-group contact hypothesis" (Wright et al 1997), which says that being aware of friendships between ingroup and outgroup members can reduce prejudice against the outgroup.

Cameron et al (2011) explored this theory in their study of the attitude towards ethnic minority children of 153 White British 6-11 year-olds in a city in south-east England. The children were shown photographs of "Indian English" children, and were told: "These are children who live in England, and were born here, but whose parents or grandparents or even great-grandparents came to England from India many years ago. These children might still have family in India and they might visit them sometimes" (p197). Then the children read stories about friendships between White and Indian English children. The researchers varied the stories slightly to create different conditions:

i) Common Ingroup Identity - The common category (school attended) of the two friends was emphasised.

[8] Approximately one-third of respondents chose "very" or "a little".

ii) Dual Identity - This emphasised the difference in identity between White English and Indian English children.

iii) Control - There was no story.

The children were also divided up based on actual cross-ethnic friendships or acquaintances, and two groups based on age. These variables were not manipulated, and thus the study has a quasi-experimental design overall. In total, there were twelve conditions (3 story variation conditions x 2 age groups x cross-ethnic friendship or acquaintance). The dependent measure was the attitude pf the White children (ingroup) to future friendships with outgroup (Indian English) children ("outgroup intended friendship behaviour"). A five-point scale using smiley faces (from 1 "big frown" to 5 "big smile") was offered to statements like, "would you like to play with them?" or "would you like to have them stay overnight at your house?".

It was found that the response to the stories in terms of "outgroup intended friendship behaviour" was mediated by actual relationships with ethnic minority children. Children who had only acquaintances showed a more positive response to the Common Ingroup Identity story than the children with actual friendships. Children with acquaintances showed less prejudice which supports the "extended inter-group contact hypothesis". The children with friendships "already hold favourable intended friendship behaviours towards the out-group" (Cameron et al 2011), and that is why their "intended" behaviour did not change between the baseline and reading the Common Intergroup Identity story. The researchers warned that positive stories about ingroup-outgroup mixing "must not be viewed as a substitute for direct contact, especially contact of high quality, but rather it is a useful technique which can be used to promote positive outgroup attitudes in situations where direct contact is not possible" (p203).

Contact may improve the attitudes of the majority group, but not necessarily the minority group because the latter could anticipate prejudice and may not experience "objective" equal status contact as such. "At first sight, the fact that contact may facilitate the liking of the minority may be taken as evidence of success. However, from the vantage point of the minority much will depend upon the weight attached to such an achievement, and there is evidence that for some, being liked may not be enough" (Hopkins and Kahani-Hopkins 2006 p246).

Thus it is important to understand the "participants' own frameworks of meaning" (Dixon et al 2005). For example, Buttny and Williams (2000) found that receiving respect from White Americans was very important

in contact for African-Americans, irrelevant of being liked or not. It is possible that "whilst many interventions relating to discrimination make considerable sense if we focus on majority group members' stereotyping of powerless minorities, from the vantage point of the minority they may be experienced as subverting group members' abilities to organize collectively to realise change" (Hopkins and Kahani-Hopkins 2006 p247).

Hopkins and Kahani-Hopkins (2006) showed the importance of listening to the minority and understanding their "frameworks of meaning" by comparing the response to Islamophobia in a report by the Runnymede Trust (RT) [9] (based on a 20-person commission including imams of several mosques) in 1997, and speeches in the Muslim Parliament of Great Britain (MPGB) in October 1997.

The former emphasised ways to reduce discrimination against Muslims in the UK including contact between Muslims and non-Muslims. The report had a "vision of future (harmonious) social relations and the means to realise this future (contact and dialogue) were construed as expressive of Muslim identity. Indeed, it was through such contact (in which Muslims acted as representatives of their group) that Muslims' religious identity was realised" (Hopkins and Kahani-Hopkins 2006).

The MPGB view was different. Islamophobia was seen as part of an "assault" on the "truth" by non-Muslims. One speaker said: "this hatred that we are faced with today is the same hatred that faced all the Prophets; they all followed one faith" (Hopkins and Kahani-Hopkins 2006). In this context, contact and integration between Muslims and non-Muslims was viewed as threatening: "the intergroup contact celebrated by the RT report was condemned as worse than meaningless: it could only contribute to the subversion of Muslims' identity as Muslims" (Hopkins and Kahani-Hopkins 2006 p259).

Overall, Hopkins and Kahani-Hopkins (2006) argued that intergroup contact between groups to reduce prejudice needs to fully understand how the participants make sense of their social identity. So, "for the MPGB, Islamophobia involved an age-old struggle between falsity and truth, unbelief and belief, injustice and justice, and was prosecuted through attempts to subvert Muslims' Islamic consciousness so as to maintain a morally bankrupt ideological hegemony. Indeed, what the RT report construed as part of the solution, the MPGB characterised as part of the problem, and it urged Muslims to undertake a project of autonomous community development that would allow Muslims to enter into negotiations with the non-Muslim other with a single voice, and from a position of

[9] The Runnymede Trust is a non-governmental organisation that addresses cultural issues.

self-confidence and power" (Hopkins and Kahani-Hopkins 2006 p261).

Hopkins and Kahani-Hopkins (2006) ended with the point that "it is appropriate to observe that a more politically sophisticated conception of intergroup attitudes would impel us towards studying both minorities' and majorities' theories of social organisation, and so force us to attend to their strategic concerns and projects (and how these shape their approach to contact-related interventions)" (p262).

1.6. APPENDIX 1A - HOMOPHOBIA

Herek (2007) felt that prejudice towards "sexual minorities" was different to that based on race/ethnicity and religion because "under most circumstances, an individual's sexual orientation is not readily apparent to casual observers, and many sexual minorities attempt to regulate the extent to which others are aware of their minority status". Furthermore, he argued, "sexual prejudice is not generally regarded as undesirable or inappropriate throughout U.S. society. Although the legitimacy of sexual stigma is increasingly contested, condemnation and intolerance of sexual minorities remain strong in many sectors of society" (p906).

Herek (2007) also talked about "sexual stigma", defined as "the negative regard, inferior status, and relative powerlessness that society collectively accords to any non-heterosexual behaviour, identity, relationship, or community. Sexual stigma is socially shared knowledge about homosexuality's devalued status in society. Regardless of their own sexual orientation or personal attitudes, people in the United States and many other societies know that homosexual desires and behaviours are widely regarded in negative terms relative to heterosexuality. They are aware of the malevolent stereotypes routinely attached to individuals whose personal identities are based on same-sex attractions, behaviours, relationships, or membership in a sexual minority community" (pp906-907).

Sexual stigma at a structural level, where it is legitimated by institutions in society is "heterosexism" (including the assumption that all individuals are heterosexual). This "thereby renders gay, lesbian, and bisexual people invisible in most social situations... [and] when people with a non-heterosexual orientation become visible, heterosexism problematises them. Non-heterosexuals, homosexual behaviour, and same-sex relationships are presumed to be abnormal and unnatural and, therefore, are regarded as inferior, as requiring explanation, and as appropriate targets for hostility, differential treatment and discrimination, and even

aggression. By contrast, heterosexuals are regarded as prototypical members of the category people, and heterosexual behaviour and different-sex relationships are presumed to be normal and natural..." (Herek 2007 pp907-908).

At the individual level, Herek (2007) outlined three types of sexual stigma:

a) Enacted sexual stigma - overt anti-gay behaviour. For example, over one-third of gay men reported experiencing violence or property crime in the USA related to their sexual orientation in a 2005 survey (Herek 2009) [10].

b) Felt stigma - "an individual's expectations about the probability that sexual stigma will be enacted in different situations and under varying circumstances" (Herek 2007 p909). This motivates individuals to use strategies to avoid the stigma, including hiding their sexual orientation (eg: "passing" as "straight"). In the 2005 survey, over half of respondents were concerned about their employment, ability to care for children, or their standing in society if they were open about their sexual orientation (Herek 2009).

c) Internalised stigma (or self-stigma) - this is "an individual's personal acceptance of sexual stigma as part of her or his own value system and self-concept" (Herek 2007 p910).

The extreme manifestation of prejudice is "hate-motivated violence" (defined as "any sort of violence motivated by bias or prejudice"; Meyer 2010) or "hate crimes".

Victims of such crimes report more negative psychological effects than victims of the equivalent non-hate crime or non-victims [11]. This had led to the idea of a hierarchy of "hurt" with hate-motivated violence above verbal violence and non-hate crimes (Meyer 2010).

The idea of hierarchy is reinforced by studies that ask victims to think of their "most serious" experience or the crime where they felt "in the greatest physical danger" (Meyer 2010).

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[10] Herek (2002) found the interesting anomaly that question order can influence the degree of prejudice expressed. In a national telephone survey in the USA, the statement that "sex between two women is just plain wrong" was agreed by different numbers of male respondents depending on whether it was asked after a similar question about two men. In this case, 59% agreed, but if asked before the "two men" question, only 42% of respondents agreed with the statement.

[11] Herek et al (1999) found that individuals who experienced violence related to their sexual orientation were significantly more depressed, anxious, and traumatised than victims of non-sexual orientation violence. This study was based on over 2200 sexual minority adults in the USA.

Meyer (2010), concentrating on LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender) hate crimes, felt that this approach along with the focus on White gay men has led to a homogenised picture of such victims. But there is great diversity in the victims in terms of "race", social class, gender, and sexuality.

Meyer (2010) interviewed 44 LGBT hate crime victims in New York city, and compared the perceptions of White middle-class and non-White (Black, Latino, Asian) working-class victims using intersectionality theory. This theory sees the interaction of social variables, like "race" and social class, as crucial in the experience of individuals in society. It is a move away from comparing on one variable like "race" at a time. So, for example, the experience of a White middle-class male will be different to that of a Black working-class female because of the interaction of the three variables of "race", gender, and social class.

Meyer (2010) found that the White middle-class victims were more likely to perceive the violence experienced as more severe than the non-White working-class interviewees. Meyer (2010) explained this finding thus:

> ...LGBT people most often emphasised the severity of their violent experiences when comparing themselves with someone whom they perceived to have experienced relatively little violence. Since poor and working-class LGBT people of colour were typically friends with individuals who had encountered a lot of violence, and white, middle-class LGBT people were not, the latter were more likely than the former to perceive their violent experiences as severe....
> For instance, Jayvyn, a 33-year-old black gay man who worked as a secretary, felt that he was consistently compared with people who had experienced more violence than himself: "For the longest time, I didn't see it as a big deal. Everyone kept telling me, 'Well, you weren't hurt, you weren't killed, like so and so'. But I was hurt. I mean, I had the scars to prove it". When Jayvyn expressed the severity of his violent experience – he was called a "punk faggot" and had several glass bottles thrown at him on the street – others diminished its importance by classifying it as commonplace. By suggesting that Jayvyn could have been murdered, others constructed his violent experience as comparatively insignificant (p985).
>
> [In contrast]: Frank, a 51-year-old white gay man who was called a "homo" and had a glass bottle thrown at him on the street, explained the effects of not knowing others who had experienced homophobic violence: 'It seems like it doesn't happen to most people because I don't know anyone who it's happened to. So, yeah, it was surprising". Frank perceived homophobic violence as relatively rare because he did not know anyone who had experienced it. This understanding of homophobic violence then structured his expectations – he expected that it would not happen to him (Meyer 2010 p988).

The non-White working class individuals were also aware that they could experience violence in the future for many reasons, as summarised by "Diamond" (a Black lesbian woman): "[Being attacked because of my sexuality] might happen again, I have no way of knowing... It's a tough world out there. Someone could beat me because I'm black or gay or a woman or some other thing that I have no control over. I mean, I look at my friends and see that most of them have been harassed for at least one of these things" (Meyer 2010 p987). But this does not mean that such victims were entirely accepting of it. For example, "Jetta" (a Black lesbian woman) said: "If everyone could just come together to put a stop to it, then the world would be a lot better off" (p990).

Meyer (2010) noted the idea that middle-class individuals had a sense of entitlement: "...white, middle-class LGBT people often expressed entitlement concerning rights to their personal space, highlighting violations of these rights as reasons for viewing their violent experiences as severe. Low-income people of colour, in contrast, less frequently described their rights as being violated" (pp989-990).

Altogether, White middle-class individuals experienced less violence but perceived it as more severe than the non-White working-class interviewees.

1.7. APPENDIX 1B - ANTI-FAT PREJUDICE REDUCTION

"Prejudice against those who are perceived as 'fat' or obese (anti-fat prejudice) is rife, increasing, and associated with negative outcomes for those targeted for such treatment" (Danielsdottir et al 2010 p47) [12]. This type of prejudice has increased by 66% in the last ten years (Danielsdottir et al 2010). Latner et al (2008) reported that the strength of feeling towards perceived overweight and obese individuals is as strong as towards traditional target groups, for example, as in racism [13].

Danielsdottir et al (2010) found sixteen studies of anti-fat prejudice reduction programmes in their literature search [14]. The programmes were based on four techniques:

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[12] For example, children associate overweight will unhappiness, loneliness, and being picked on (Girl Guiding UK 2007).

[13] Among psychology undergraduates at a New Zealand university, "weight bias" was significantly greater than homosexuality or Muslim bias. The former was measured with the Attitudes Towards Obese Person scale (ATOP) with items like "I really don't like fat people much". The Homophobia Scale (HS) included items like "I fear homosexual persons will make sexual advances towards me", and the Attitudes Toward Muslims Scale (ATMS) included "I would not mind if a suitably qualified Muslim person was appointed as my boss" (Latner et al 2008).

[14] The ways of measuring anti-fat prejudice varied between studies from agreement with stereotypes about obesity to implicit measures based on reaction time (Danielsdottir et al 2010).

a) Manipulating beliefs about causes and controllability of obesity - eg: DeJong (1980) gave teenage females a photograph of an obese woman with attached details about her. Half the participants were told that the woman had a thyroid condition, and this photograph was rated more positively than the control group with no medical explanation for the obesity.

b) Evoking empathy, acceptance and liking - With this technique participants either read information, listen to an audiotape or watch a video that evokes empathy and positive feelings towards a victim of anti-fat prejudice before measuring the attitudes towards obesity. Danielsdottir et al (2010) felt that the evidence did not support this technique as effective - though participants reported empathy towards the victim, it did not lead to a more positive attitude towards obesity.

c) Social consensus and social norms - eg: Puhl et al (2005) found that giving university students false information about their peers' views on obesity influenced the attitudes towards it (both positively and negatively).

d) Combined or multiple strategies - Danielsdottir et al (2010) noted "encouraging but modest" successes with this technique.

Overall, "What is clear is that a majority of the interventions were able to produce changes in the beliefs, attitudes and attributions that are thought to underpin and support anti-fat prejudice", but not necessarily changes in anti-fat prejudice (Danielsdottir et al 2010).

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2. DEINDIVIDUATION AND ANTI-SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

Deindividuation is the process by which individuals become disinhibited through anonymity in a crowd, in uniform, or in darkness, for example. It was first explored by Festinger et al (1952), who focused on deindividuation as "a process of immersion within a group such that members cease to view themselves as separate and distinct individuals" (Dixon and Mahendran 2012).

Initially it was felt that deindividuation led to anti-social behaviour. Zimbardo (1970), in one of the best known experiments on the subject, offered participants the opportunity to give electric shocks to another person who was "nice" or "obnoxious". Participants in the deindividuation condition (wearing hoods to obscure their identity) gave longer shocks to both targets than the individuated participants wearing identifying name tags.

However, a small number of studies showed that deindividuation led to a loss of inhibitions which was not always anti-social. For example, Gergen et al (1973) placed participants who did not know each other in a completely dark room, and the deindividuation led to affectionate and touching behaviours.

Johnson and Downing (1979) argued that Zimbardo's findings were as much due to environmental cues of behaviour as deindividuation. The hood worn in the deindividuation condition was similar to Ku Klux Klan outfits. Johnson and Downing (1979) further showed the role of such cues in their experiment.

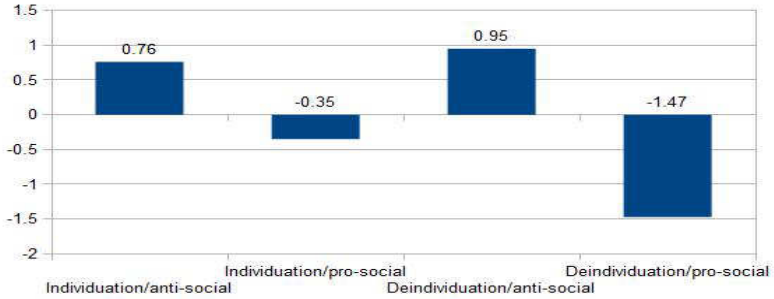
Sixty female undergraduates at a mid-west US university were randomly assigned to one of four conditions (table 2.1). One independent variable related to the costume worn to produce deindividuation - either a Ku Klux Klan outfit or a nurse's uniform. The second independent variable was the degree of deindividuation. Participants were alone in a booth, but told that they were part of a group of four shown by pictures on the wall of other group members (either with name or not attached).

The task was to give an electric shock to a confederate performing a memory test. The participant could choose the level of electric shock after each mistake (either to increase it: +1 to +3 or decrease it: -1 to -3). There was no real electric shock, but the level chosen was used as the measure of behaviour (dependent variable). The confederate followed a script that involved making fifteen mistakes.

Cue for behaviour/Degree of individuation	Other group members wearing name tags in photos	Other group members not wearing name tags - deindividuation
Ku Klux Klan outfit - anti-social behaviour	1	2
Nurse's uniform - pro-social behaviour	3	4

Table 2.1 - Four conditions in the Johnson and Downing (1979) experiment.

The clothes worn (ie: cue for behaviour) had a significant influence on the level of electric shock given. The pro-social deindividuation condition gave less (condition 4 in table 2.1) and the anti-social deindividuation condition gave more (condition 2 in table 2.1); ie: "In the presence of Ku Klux Klan costume cues, subjects were likely to increase shock levels, whereas in the presence of pro-social cues, subjects were likely to descrease shock levels" (Johnson and Downing 1979 p1536). (figure 2.1).



(Data from Johnson and Downing 1979 table 1 p1535)

Figure 2.1 - Mean change in electric shock given.

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3. THREE ASPECTS OF PRO-SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

3.1. HELPING AND MOOD

Individuals in a positive mood are more helpful than those in a negative mood. But this is limited if the helping task is costly or unpleasant, or may challenge the positive mood state. On the other hand, research has found that individuals in negative moods can help others to improve their mood (Forgas et al 2008).

In a study of customer service staff, Forgas et al (2008) found that being in a positive mood elicited more help than a negative mood for less experienced staff, but not for long-term employees. The latter have a well-rehearsed set of responses to customers (eg: habits) which they directly access from memory leaving less room for the influence of mood. Less experienced staff used open, constructive processing strategies for recalling information on how to behave, and this is influenced by mood. As individuals search their memories for appropriate responses, different priming mechanisms are involved (ie: triggers) and mood is key in non-habitual behaviour, according to the Affect Infusion Model (AIM) (Forgas 1995).

Forgas et al (2008) performed a field experiment at four major department stores in Sydney, Australia. Permission was granted by the store managements, but individual employees were not aware of their participation until afterwards. Confederates approached, in total 48 female and 13 male sales staff, with a randomly allocated mood-induction statement:

- Positive - "I just wanted to let someone know that I am so impressed with the service at this store. The store looks great and the staff are so nice. I was able to get what I wanted and I'll be coming back to this store again".

- Negative - "I just wanted to let someone know that I am so disappointed with the service at this store. The store looks terrible and the staff are rude. I couldn't get anything I wanted and I won't be coming here again".

- Neutral - "Interestingly. I have been coming here quite regularly, and this store seems always the same, nothing much changes".

Then the member of staff was approached by another confederate (who was blind to the mood-induction statement) asking for help in finding a book that did not really exist [15]. Four men and seven women acted as confederates at different times. There were two independent variables - the mood-inducing statement, and the length of time working at the store (divided by a median split of less or more than 14.7 months). The dependent variable was the employee's helpfulness, which was measured in three ways - number of helpful customer service behaviours (eg: offering to check the storeroom), number of attempts to find book (eg: different shelves looked), and amount of time spent helping. These measures were combined into a score of 1-10, with a higher score being more helpful.

Less experienced staff were significantly more helpful in the positive mood condition (mean: 6.51) than in the negative mood condition (mean: 4.08; $p<0.001$) and the neutral mood condition (mean: 4.63; $p<0.05$). There was no significant difference for experienced staff (means: 5.24, 4.93, and 4.77 respectively).

Evaluation

1. Real-life setting rather than artificial laboratory experiment.

2. Many experimental controls - randomisation of participants to conditions, standardisation of procedures, blinding of confederates, and pilot study. But less control of extraneous or confounding variables than in laboratory experiment.

3. Different confederates used, and there may have been a difference in delivery of statements (despite training). There are no details of the results based on gender of confederates (nor gender of staff).

4. Deception used in non-consenting participation and the search for a non-existent book.

5. Did the mood-inducing statement change the employees mood? This is a question related to the internal validity of the experiment.

3.2. OLDER ADULTS

Pro-social behaviour including charitable giving,

[15] "Excuse me, could you please tell me where to find a book called 'The White Bear'?".

volunteering, donating blood, and helping others increases with age over the lifespan, but then declines after age 65-75 (Wiepking and James 2013). Why does this happen?

Wiepking and James (2013) tested two hypotheses for the decline in charitable giving, specifically, by older adults.

a) Health hypothesis - This hypothesis suggests that declining health in later life leads to less giving because of increased medical bills (where individuals have to pay as in the USA), and/or because of less opportunities to give. For example, charitable gifts may be made during a religious service, and ill individuals are less likely to attend such events.
Such older individuals may also have less individuals in their social networks who encourage giving, and/or bequests to specific people (eg family members via a will) may become more important.

b) Cognitive ability hypothesis - In this case, charitable giving declines because of declining cognitive abilities of older adults. At a practical level, this could involve less control over financial affairs. Also declining cognitive abilities could lead to less perspective-taking of others and thus giving.

Wiepking and James (2013) used data from the US Health and Retirement Study (HRS) between 1998 and 2006 to test the hypotheses. The HRS questioned over 85 000 individuals who were at least fifty years old. Charitable giving was defined as donating "money, property, or possessions totalling $500 or more to religious or charitable organisations" in the last twelve months. Approximately half the respondents had done this at least once. Health measures included self-ratings, and reports of serious conditions (eg: cancer), while cognitive abilities were tested by the delayed word recall task. This is the recall of ten nouns after five minutes.
The decline in giving was found to be most influenced by the decline in church attendance, which reduced the opportunities to physically give and the number of requests for donations. Individuals with declining health were more likely to attend church services, so the health hypothesis was not completely supported. Declining cognitive abilities produced a modest reduction in donations, and so the cognitive ability hypothesis was not entirely supported either.
But the study only used donations of $500 or more, and it did not measure loss of financial control (Wiepking and James 2013).

3.3. ORGANIC FOODS

Organic foods can be viewed (and marketed) as "morally better" than non-organic foods. Does this mean that eaters of organic foods are more pro-social?

Eskine (2012) investigated this question in an experiment with 62 undergraduates at a university in New Orleans, USA. Participants were presented with pictures of organic foods, comfort foods, or control foods to rate their desirability. Then, in an apparently separate task, the participants were asked to rate as morally wrong six scenarios (eg: a man eating his already-dead dog). Also they were asked how long they would volunteer for other research (measure of pro-social behaviour).

It was not clear before the research what prediction the researchers could make as there were two possibilities:

a) Individuals exposed to organic food experience a positive mood which leads to more pro-social behaviour and less harsh moral judgments (eg: Schnall et al 2010 [16]).

b) Individuals exposed to organic foods focus on their moral identity and this produces less pro-social behaviour and harsher moral judgments. This is through a process called "moral licensing", whereby "affirming a moral identity leads people to feel licensed to act immorally" (Sachdeva et al 2009).

Eskine (2012) found significantly less time to volunteer for research after exposure to organic foods than the other two conditions, and significantly harsher moral judgments (figure 3.1).

The findings support Sachdeva et al (2009) who argued that environmentally-friendly behaviour and morality share the "same conceptual space". Thus eating organic food takes up more of this space, and so reduces the motivation to be altruistic [17]. Rozin (1996) observed that "Food progresses from being a source of nutrition and sensory pleasure to being a social marker, an aesthetic experience, a source of meaning and metaphor, and, often, a moral entity" (quoted in Eskine 2012).

Furthermore, food is perceived with cognitive biases. For example, Schuldt et al (2012) found that

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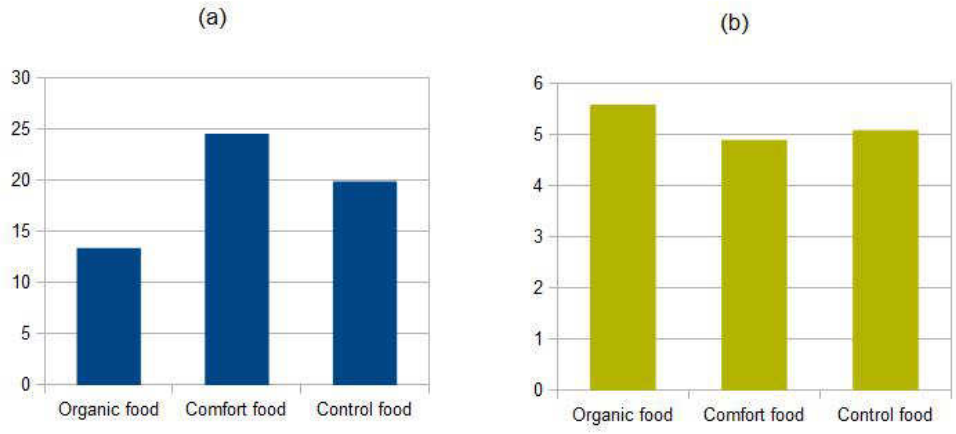
[16] Participants experiencing elevation in mood were more likely to volunteer for a subsequent unpaid study than were participants in a neutral state (18 of 26 individuals versus 12 of 30), and spent twice as long helping the experimenter with a tedious task as participants experiencing a neutral emotional state (mean: 40.64 versus 19.90 minutes).

[17] For example, Mazar and Zhong (2010) found that participants were more likely to cheat and steal after buying "green" products rather than conventional ones.



(Data from Eskine 2012 table 1 p253)

Figure 3.1 - Mean time to volunteer (out of 30 minutes) (a) and combined mean scores on moral judgments (where 7 = "very morally wrong") (b).

"fair trade" chocolate was viewed as having less calories than chocolate not described so.

Evaluation

1. Technically, Eskine (2012) was not testing the relationship between eating organic foods and pro-social behaviour, but between the brief exposure to images of organic food and pro-social behaviour.

Previous research had shown a relationship between a taste of food and increased pro-social behaviour (eg: sweet; Meier et al 2012), or harsher moral judgments (eg: disgusting tastes; Eskine et al 2011).

2. The participants were students from a particular US university (and not typical of the general population) who participated in the experiment for course credits. Could their "volunteering" for this research have influenced their decision in the pro-social task?

3. The experiment randomly divided the participants into three conditions, of which they participated in only one condition (thereby removing order effects).

4. Participants were told that they were doing a consumer survey on food and a separate moral judgment task. It is possible that they realised the connection between the tasks. No participants "indicated any awareness of the experiment's purpose" in the debrief (Eskine 2012).

5. In each condition, there were four pictures of food

which had been previously chosen by other students as typical of that category - eg: apple, spinach, tomato, and carrot = organic foods.

6. The six moral judgments stories were a mixed bunch - distant relatives engaging in consensual incest, a man eating his already-dead dog, a politician accepting bribes, a lawyer searching hospitals for victims, a person shoplifting, and a student stealing library books - but an average score was produced. The stories had been used in previous research.

7. The measure of pro-social behaviour was "that another professor from another department is also conducting research and really needs volunteers". This is a commonly used measure from other research.

3.4. REFERENCES

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