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Identity, Place and Bystander Intervention:
Social Categories and Helping after Disasters and Emergencies

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Abstract

This paper develops a self-categorization theory (SCT) approach to bystander behaviour. Undergraduates at an English university ($n=100$) had either a European or a British identity made salient. Respondents then rated likelihood of helping (financial and political) following natural disasters in Europe and South America. When European (but not British) identity was salient, respondents were more likely to help in disasters in Europe than South America. They were also more likely to offer financial help after disasters in Europe when European not British identity was salient. There were no differences in level of emotional response to disasters by identity salience. Results suggest that social category relations rather than geographical proximity or emotional reaction are most important in increasing helping following emergencies.

Identity, Place and Intervention:

Social Categories and Helping after Disasters and Emergencies

In work on the psychology of genocide and group violence, Ervin Staub (1992, 1993) has argued that bystanders play a central part in the establishment and maintenance of human rights abuses. When bystanders turn away or remain passive in the face of threats to human life, the conditions for genocide are maximised. Staub also argues that the concept of the bystander should not be limited to the individual who ignores a cry for help, but should also encompass groups and institutions who ignore the plight of others in their own or other countries. In making this argument, Staub utilises both the literature on the social psychology of bystander behaviour (cf. Latané & Darley 1970a, Latané & Nida 1981, Piliavin, Rodin & Piliavin 1969, Piliavin, Dovidio, Gaertner & Clark 1981) as well as more general work on group or community responses to organised persecution (Fein 1979, Hallie, 1979).

The evidence concerning bystander behaviour suggests two factors that are important in influencing the likelihood of intervention. The first and perhaps best known factor is the importance of the presence of other bystanders in a helping context. Latané and Darley (1968, 1970a) suggest that the more people who witness or are aware of an emergency situation, the less likely victims are to receive help. They attribute this phenomenon to three processes: audience inhibition, social influence and diffusion of responsibility. A second factor that has also emerged as a key determinant of intervention is emotionality. The Arousal: cost-reward model, first presented by Piliavin, Rodin and Piliavin (1969) and later revised (Piliavin, Dovidio, Gaertner & Clark 1981; Dovidio, Piliavin, Gaertner, Schroeder & Clark 1991), begins with an assessment of the individuals emotional arousal when confronted with an emergency

situation. In this model, the likelihood of intervention is a function not only of attempts to reduce aversive feelings, but also of an analysis of costs of helping against rewards for intervention. Similar concerns with the importance of emotion in intervention are identified by Batson (1987; Batson, Batson, Griffitt, Barrientos, Brandt, Sprengelmeyer & Bayly (1989). Batson's Empathy-Altruism model suggests that there may be evidence for an altruistic personality type. However, despite more than three decades of research on the bystander effect and on the role of emotion in helping, we seem no nearer to producing effective strategies for increasing intervention. As Latané and Nida (1981) note, in their meta-analysis of the bystander literature, while we have a large body of well established knowledge, we are no nearer being able to utilise this knowledge to ensure that future victims are more likely to receive help.

More recently however, advances in theoretical work on group processes have allowed researchers to re-examine the evidence on helping and intervention in new and potentially productive ways. For example, both Cialdini, Brown, Lewis, Luce & Neuberg (1997) and Dovidio, Gaertner, Validzic, Matka, Johnson & Frazer (1997) have suggested that, in order to understand helping, we need to move beyond just the analysis of intra-individual and interpersonal processes to explore group processes in intervention. Cialdini et al (1997) describe a concept they call 'oneness'; a sense of shared, merged or interconnected identities, which they suggest is central to helping. While Cialdini et al operationalise 'oneness' in terms of a personal identity, they go on to suggest that this kind of concept might extend to shared social as well as personal identities. In similar fashion, Dovidio et al (1997), drawing on Tajfel and Turner's (1979) work on social identity, argue for the importance of the concept of 'we-ness' (defined as 'a sense of connectedness or a categorization of another person as a

member of one's own group' (p102)) in their model of helping. They suggest that the categorization of a person as an ingroup rather than an outgroup member is central to the way interpersonal relationships are established. It is the group level categorization which then influences the likelihood of help being offered.

This emphasis on the collective and on the importance of social categorization has been taken up by Levine and colleagues (Levine 1999, Levine, Cassidy, Brazier & Reicher 2002) using an approach to bystander intervention influenced by self-categorization theory (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher & Wetherell (1987). Turner, Oakes, Haslam & McGarty 1994). In a pair of experiments examining social category relations and intention to intervene, Levine et al demonstrated that bystanders were more likely influenced (to intervene or not to intervene) by the actions of others when they were ingroup rather than outgroup members. They also showed that bystanders were more likely to express an intention to intervene to help ingroup victims rather than outgroup victims. Levine et al argue that this evidence suggests that, while Latané and Darley (1970a) were right to point to the importance of other people in the helping context, they did not go far enough. It is not simply the presence or absence of others that effects intervention, but who those others are perceived to be. In focussing on the meaning of social category relations in a helping context, this self-categorization approach attempts to enrich the way context is conceptualised in traditional bystander research

Re-placing the context of bystander behaviour

Despite this emphasis on the importance of context in explaining bystander behaviour, the way context itself is theorised in an SCT account of bystander behaviour remains underdeveloped. This may be because, as Condor (1996) points out, SCT's

view of social context is limited to the idea that context is that which is created by other people. Thus, SCT work on intervention has yet to consider the social context of intervention in terms of the *places* in which intervention does or does not occur. Given the existing evidence which shows that where an emergency event occurs can be as important as whether others are present, this absence of a spatial dimension to an SCT account of intervention needs to be addressed.

The importance of place in intervention was recognised from the outset. For example, in one of Latané and Darley's (1970b) early papers, the authors cite a study by Granet that demonstrates the importance of different helping norms in subways and at airports. In similar fashion, Gillis and Hagan (1983), show that people are more likely to intervene in neighbourhoods close to home than they are in more distant city centres. Finally, in a study of 38 American cities, Levine, Martinez, Brase and Sorenson (1994) also show that helping and place are related. However, while these different places contribute in different ways to the likelihood of intervention, place itself has rarely been the focus of study in the bystander tradition. In fact, the neglect of place is not confined to work on bystander behaviour but is something which characterises social psychology as a whole. As Dixon and Durrheim (2000) point out, while the concept of context is inherently spatial, the topic of place has rarely been studied by social psychologists (but see Canter 1986). However, the absence of a spatial dimension in an SCT account of intervention has particular theoretical relevance. As we have seen, SCT argues that intervention turns on the question of identification with the group. At the same time, Dixon and Durrheim (2000) argue that the question of identification (i.e. 'who we are') is often intimately related to questions of where we are. Thus, in order to be able to fully

develop the contribution of SCT to the bystander intervention paradigm, we need to know more about the interrelationships of identity and place in bystander behaviour.

SCT, place and bystander intervention

While the relationships are clearly complex, a self-categorization perspective contains a number of key insights which will be important for an account of the role of place in intervention. Firstly, SCT argues that the salience of identity is central in explaining behaviour. As a particular identity becomes salient the values and attributes associated with that identity are used to evaluate information and shape the contents of action. Secondly, SCT argues that identities are not fixed. We can identify with different social category memberships at different times as a function of changes in the social context. Thirdly, SCT argues that we can identify at different levels of abstraction, from the subordinate (inter-individual), to the intermediate (inter-group), to the superordinate (global) level. This account of the role of identity processes in behaviour finds echoes in the environmental psychological work on place identity. For example, Cuba and Hummon (1993) identify a sociospatial scale (community, regional, national, supranational) along which people can have allegiances and perceived commonalties. Moreover, Goldberg (1993) argues that where the boundaries are drawn on this sociospatial scale may define our perceived responsibility for others. Using an analysis of the racialised spaces of apartheid South Africa, Goldberg argues for a geographically based ranking of the priority of duty to others: strongest at the core and weakening as we move to more peripheral space.

If we bring these two bodies of work together, then a number of possibilities emerge. Firstly, it can be argued that, as different identities come to be salient, there are shifts in the concomitant sociospatial scale. Support for this proposition can be found in

the work of Bonaiuto, Breakwell and Cano (1996) who examined the relationship between place identification and evaluations of the natural environment. Bonaiuto et al studied the responses of English schoolchildren to decisions by the European Union (EU) to designate beaches as polluted or unpolluted according to EU criteria. They discovered that respondents who had strong local or national attachments were more likely to defend the reputations of local or national beaches that had been deemed polluted. If this kind of defensive or protective response can be shown to apply to identity relevant places, then such sentiment might also apply to the likelihood of intervention in those places. In other words, as different identities come to be salient, the places for which we feel a sense of responsibility may also shift. For example, take a natural disaster or emergency in mainland Europe as viewed from the perspective of those living in Britain. If a British national identity is salient, then feelings of responsibility and obligation may be limited to events located within national boundaries. People may feel less responsibility for the welfare of the victims as the events occur outside category and geographical boundaries. However, if a European identity is salient then it may be that a sense of responsibility extends across national boundaries to encompass a pan-European psychological and spatial plain.

The aim of this paper is to test this hypothesis. Following SCT the paper argues that the salience of different identities will lead to differences in professed likelihood of intervention in different places. More particularly, the paper will seek to show that it is not simply geographical distance that is important in explaining intervention (cf. Gillis & Hagen 1983). Rather the paper will propose that the same place, geographically defined, can be an ingroup or an outgroup place depending on the salience of identity. When the place is rendered ingroup by identity salience, then intervention levels are

likely to be high. When the place appears to fall outside the boundaries relevant to the salient identity, then intervention levels will be lower.

The paper reports an experiment which explores the salience of two identities, each with a different register on the sociospatial scale. Respondents at an English university have either a British or a European identity made salient and are then asked to say how likely they would be to offer help following a natural disaster in a fictitious place in Europe and in South America. The disasters describe the effects of an earthquake and the effects of a flood. Respondents are asked to say how likely they would be to offer financial help and to intervene politically on behalf of the victims. We make four specific predictions. Firstly, we predict that respondents will be significantly more likely to help financially and to intervene politically when a European identity is salient and the disaster occurs in Europe rather than South America. It is in this condition that place and identity salience are consonant, and thus feelings of responsibility amongst respondents will be highest. Secondly, we predict that when British national identity is rendered salient, then both Europe and South America fall outside the place boundaries of the nation (see Cinnirella 1997 for evidence that British identity does not incorporate the idea of being European) and thus intervention levels should not differ from each other. Thirdly, we predict that when the disaster occurs in Europe, respondents intervention levels should be significantly higher when European identity is salient than when British identity is salient. Finally, when the disaster occurs in South America, intervention levels should not differ across identity salience conditions.

Method

Participants

100 undergraduate students at Lancaster University participated in the study. The sample consisted of 44 males and 56 females aged between nineteen and thirty-one, all of whom were British citizens.

Dependent Measures

The dependent measures comprised of a questionnaire which contained two 'crisis' scenarios. The first scenario described the aftermath of a flood; the second described the aftermath of an earthquake. These scenarios were loosely based on independent accounts of natural disasters, particularly the floods of El Niño in 1998, and the Turkish earthquakes of 1999 (see appendix for full text of scenarios). The scenarios were carefully matched for severity and content (number of deaths, number of statements concerning political inadequacies and unrest, descriptions of natural disaster elements and disease). Pilot work with a sample of Lancaster University students ($N=20$) revealed that (in the absence of geographical markers) the scenarios were seen as equivalent in terms of severity and were no more likely to attract particular forms of intervention. In the pilot study, respondents were asked 6 questions about each scenario (how serious do you perceive this situation to be; how likely are you to donate something to help the people in this situation; how likely are you to intervene in any way to help the people mentioned in this situation; how likely would you be to seek further information concerning this situation; how sympathetic do you feel towards the people in this situation; how strongly do you identify with the people in this situation?). Participants responded on a Likert-type 7-point scale (1 = not at all, 4 = moderately, 7 = extremely). A mean score for each scenario was then computed (Cronbach alpha for the

6 earthquake scenario items = .71; Cronbach alpha for the 6 flood scenario items = .70). These means were then explored by dependent samples t test, ($t(19)=0.17$, $p=.87$) revealing no significant difference (mean score earthquake scenario, 3.89 (SD=0.80); mean score flood scenario, 3.88 (SD=0.78)).

Having established that the scenarios were equivalent both in terms of their severity and the kinds of helping they elicited, the scenarios were then allocated a geographical area. The flooding scenario was designated to South America and the earthquake scenario to Europe. Scenarios were then counterbalanced for order in the questionnaires. Each scenario was followed by three sets of questions. The first set of questions asked about the likelihood of financial help/intervention in the form of donations, sponsoring, or consumer purchasing decisions. The second set of questions asked about the likelihood of political action or intervention in response to the crisis. The final set of questions asked about emotional reaction to the crises. All responses were made along a Likert-type 7-point scale (1 = not at all, 4 = moderately, 7 = extremely). Details of the intervention scales were as follows:

Financial action/intervention. This was assessed by asking participants to consider the following question; ‘How likely is it that you would donate in any of the following ways, in order to help those described?’ Five items requiring a response were listed; Give nothing, Give old clothes or household articles in order to help, Select a product where a percentage of the price goes to help, Give a donation when asked or presented with a collection box, Send regular donations or sponsor an individual.

Political action/intervention: This was assessed by asking participants, ‘How likely is it that you would do any of the following in order to act directly to help those described? Do nothing (stay uninvolved), Sign a petition that would facilitate help

being given, Write a letter to your local Member of Parliament, Join an action group or volunteer your time to help, Help organise a public forum or demonstration to push for greater government help.

Emotional arousal: This was assessed by asking participants, 'How strongly do you feel each of the following emotions, given the situation just described?' Ten emotions were listed; Moved, Sympathetic, Upset, Worried, Alarmed, Grieved, Disturbed, Distressed, Sad, Piteous (as used by Batson et al (1989)).

Identity manipulation check:

Additionally, participants in each identity condition were asked to rate their strength of feeling for that identity. This was assessed using a scale based on the social identity scale of Brown, Condor, Matthews, Wade & Williams (1986). This identity scale was modified for the purposes of this study and consisted of four items; 'I am a person who feels strong ties with other British / European people', 'I am a person who identifies with being British / European', 'I am a person who is proud to say that I am British / European', 'I am a person who considers British / European people to be important.

Questionnaires differed only in terms of their front cover sheets which both introduced the study and employed a number of measures to raise participants identity salience for a particular condition; British or European. In the British identity salient condition, a colour reproduction of a large British Union Jack flag was displayed against the background of two smaller national flags: one American and one Japanese. In the European identity salient condition a large, colour European Union flag was displayed against the background of the smaller Japanese and American flags. In

addition, each front sheet contained the following text (with identity relevant information for the appropriate condition):

‘The research being carried out in this experiment is the British/European element of a wider study that will be conducted under the guidance of the United Nations Department of International Communications. It aims to look at patterns of helping behaviour displayed by persons from different cultures around the world. We believe that it is important to use a British/European sample as they have been shown to possess a high level of both social and political awareness that would, as a result, be beneficial for the purposes laid out here. As a member of the British/European sample group your data will make up the first phase of this research, to be compared in the following months with similar data from a North American sample and a Japanese sample. Analysis will then be carried out to discern similarities and differences in the way in which the sampled cultures examined here behave when faced with situations where others are in need. Your help and time spent in comprising the British/European sample group in this research is greatly appreciated.’

In addition, respondents were also asked to write down British or European (as appropriate) in a space marked ‘Sample Group’ on each page of the questionnaire.

Design

A 2 x 2 mixed factorial design was employed with one between and one within subjects factor. The between-participants factor being the manipulation of identity salience, with two levels (British and European). The within-participants factor being the scenario location, with two levels (European and South American). The dependent variables included a measure of financial intervention, a measure of political intervention and a measure of emotional response to the crisis scenario. A strength of identification with social identity measure was also included.

Procedure

Questionnaires were distributed individually to volunteers who agreed to participate in the study. Participants were randomly assigned to one of two identity conditions; British or European. Participants were informed that the study concerned the kinds of

helping behaviour displayed by different cultures around the world toward situations of humanitarian crises. Each participant was provided with a questionnaire and asked to read carefully the first of two crisis scenarios and then indicate their responses before going on to do the same with the second scenario. Participants were told to work through the questionnaire at their own pace and were assured of the confidentiality of their answers. After the questionnaire had been completed, respondents were fully debriefed.

Results

Data to be analysed consisted of scores for individual items across four scales: financial intervention, political intervention, emotional arousal and strength of identification. To prepare the data for analysis, items were recoded such that a high score indicated greater willingness to intervene financially, greater willingness to intervene politically, greater emotional response and a greater strength of identification with relevant identity. All four scales were then subjected to a reliability analysis. The Cronbach alpha for the financial intervention scale = .82; for the political intervention scale = .85; emotional arousal = .95; strength of identification = .83. Thus, a single score per scale was calculated for each respondent.

Identity manipulation check.

Before examining the specific experimental predictions, the strength of identification with both British and European identities was examined. A one way analysis of variance revealed a significant difference in identity strength between the British and European conditions, $F(1,98) = 12.16, p < .01$. An inspection of the means showed that respondents identified significantly more strongly with a British identity ($M=3.56, SD=0.67$) than with a European identity ($M=2.95, SD=1.04$). This is a similar

finding to that obtained by Cinnirella (1997) who argues that British respondents tend to view the potential for European integration as a threat to national identity and as a consequence are less happy to identify with a European identity. In order to ensure that subsequent analyses could not be explained in terms of the relative strength of identification, in the analyses reported below, strength of identification is always entered as a covariate.

Financial Intervention

An ANOVA performed on the measure of financial intervention revealed no significant effect for identity. It did however, reveal a significant main effect for scenario, $F(1,98) = 29.30, p < .01$. Mean scores indicated that participants were more likely to donate in the European scenario than in the South American scenario (see Table 1). As predicted, a significant interaction between identity and scenario was revealed, $F(1,98) = 17.01, p < .01$ (see Table 2). Post hoc inspection of the means by Tukey HSD test revealed that respondents were significantly more likely to offer financial intervention in the European disaster scenario from the perspective of a European as opposed to a British identity ($p < .05$). Respondents were significantly less likely to offer financial intervention in the South American disaster scenario from the perspective of a European as opposed to a British identity ($p < .01$). In general, European identity salience resulted in a greater willingness to offer financial help in the European disaster than the South American disaster ($p < .01$). However, British identity salience did not result in any significant difference in likelihood of financial intervention in either European or South American disasters. In other words, while the salience of a European identity affected levels of financial intervention in Europe and South America, the salience of a British identity did not.

Political intervention

A two-way ANOVA, conducted to examine differences in willingness to intervene politically, revealed no significant main effect for identity. It did however, reveal a significant main effect for scenario, $F(1,98) = 31.48, p < .01$. Mean scores indicated that participants were more likely to intervene politically in response to the European scenario than the South American scenario (see Table 1). Once again, a significant interaction between identity and scenario was revealed, $F(1,97) = 9.93, p < .01$ (see Table 3). A post hoc inspection of the means by Tukey HSD test revealed that respondents were no more likely to engage in political intervention in a European disaster from the perspective of a European identity than a British identity. However, respondents were significantly less likely to engage in political intervention in a South American disaster from the perspective of a European as opposed to a British identity ($p < .01$). As with financial intervention, respondents revealed significant differences across European identity in their willingness to intervene politically ($p < .01$), but there were no significant differences across British identity for likelihood of political intervention in Europe or South America.

Emotional reaction

A two-way ANOVA conducted to examine differences in strength of emotional reaction to the disaster scenarios revealed no significant effect for identity. It did however, reveal a significant main effect for scenario, $F(1,98) = 4.02, p < .05$. Mean scores indicated that participants felt a slightly stronger emotional response to the European scenario than to the South American scenario (see Table 1). No significant

interaction between identity and scenario was revealed (see Table 4). Moreover, post hoc analysis revealed no significant differences between any of the group means.

Discussion

The aim of this paper was to explore the relationship between salience of identity, location of disaster and likelihood of helping. We argued that intervention was related to salience of identity rather than to geographical proximity (cf. Gillis & Hagen 1983). We predicted that respondents would be most likely to intervene when identity salience and place were consonant. Results from the experiment give some support for this hypothesis. When European identity was salient, intervention levels (both financial and political) were significantly higher when the disaster was in Europe rather than South America. This provides some support for the importance of identity relevance of place for intervention. However, as the South American scenario is further away than the European scenario, these findings could still be explained in terms of geographical proximity (Gillis & Hagen 1983). It is only when the analysis of the ratings of the respondents in the British identity condition is taken into account that the evidence for psychological meaning of place rather than geographical distance becomes more persuasive. Respondents in the British identity condition were no more likely to intervene if the disaster was in Europe than if it occurred in South America. In other words, even though a European disaster was geographically 'closer to home', respondents were no more likely to intervene in Europe than South America. In contrast, respondents in the European identity condition were significantly more likely to intervene in a disaster in Europe rather than South America. This suggests that it not the geographical proximity of the disaster, but whether the disaster is perceived to occur in a place which is identity relevant, that is important in intervention.

Further evidence for the importance of identity salience for intervention comes in the analysis of the responses to the emergency in Europe. On the dimension of financial intervention, respondents in the European identity condition were more likely to offer help than respondents in the British identity condition when the disaster was in Europe. What is particularly interesting about this is that respondents did so despite identifying less strongly with a European identity than with a British identity. In other words, despite feeling less attached to a European identity (than respondents in the British identity condition did to a British identity) they were more likely to offer financial intervention in the face of an emergency in Europe. This suggests that the salience of a particular identity, even though it is not particularly strongly felt, is enough to engender statements favouring intervention when a disaster happens in a place relevant to that identity. In practical terms, it also suggests that, even though British respondents may not feel particularly warmly disposed to a European identity (cf. Cinnirella 1997), when such an identity is salient, then people still feel some kind of obligation or responsibility for events on the European mainland. However, these feelings of responsibility (or willingness to get involved) do not appear to generalise to the domain of political intervention. This may reflect a perceived sense of distance from the political process in Europe. All the indicators of political participation in Europe (for example, voter turnout at European elections) indicate a lack of engagement with European institutions in general. In a European context, financial rather than political engagement may seem to be a mode of intervention over which people feel more control.

Finally, analysis of the emotional reaction to the disaster scenarios suggest that it is the social category relations rather than differences in strength of emotional

reaction that is important in increasing the likelihood of intervention. Despite differences in the professed willingness to offer financial or political help across identity and place, there were no differences in the reported emotional responses to the disasters across identity conditions. What seems to be important about likelihood of intervention is whether disasters, however upsetting they may be, are perceived to occur in ingroup places and to ingroup people.

Despite this interesting pattern of results, a few words of caution about the analysis are appropriate. Firstly, there is the issue of the differences in strength of identification between British and European identities. Although these differences are explicable (and are supported by other research c.f. Cinnirella (1997)) and although these differences have been taken into account in the analysis, it might be useful to conduct future research on helping in a context where identities are equally powerfully endorsed. This would enable the relative importance of salience of identity and of strength of identification in helping to be determined more clearly. Secondly, there is the difference between the results for financial intervention and for political intervention on the European disaster scenario across European and British identities. Respondents in the European identity condition are significantly more likely to give financial help, but not political help, than those in a British identity condition. It may be that different kinds of helping behaviour interact in complex ways with both identity and place and these need to be disambiguated in future research.

The general pattern of results in this study suggests an important role for identity processes in the likelihood of intervention following natural disasters. It seems that people are more likely to express willingness to intervene when identity salience and place are consonant. However, it is not yet clear what the precise relationship between

identity, place and intervention might be. We do not yet know how much of the intervention can be explained by relations to place itself, and how much to the people in those places. This is not just a difficulty for the current experiment. It is also a difficulty for theoretical work in a social identity tradition. We tend to think about context and identity in terms of the peoples that might make up relevant in and out groups. We are less used to thinking about context as the places where things happen. In this experiment identity salience may function to make people feel more interchangeable with, or more responsible for, the peoples who are victims of the disaster. However, identity salience may also make us feel that the place where the disaster has happened is a place in which we have more obligations or responsibilities. Of course, these are not mutually exclusive possibilities. Indeed, future attempts to parcel out effects of the differences between a context conceived as place and a context conceived as people should enrich our understanding not only of intervention but also of theoretical work in the social identity tradition.

In conclusion, the results of this experiment confirm the theoretical relevance of a self-categorization approach to intervention in emergencies. The analysis adds to the body of work which suggests that likelihood of intervention turns of the question of identification with the group. It also suggests that identity may be relevant to judgements about the importance of place in intervention. What is also important about this study is that, in addition to being of some theoretical interest, it also has potential practical relevance. The question of how to raise money and how to get people to become politically active following natural disasters is one which has occupied relief agencies and non governmental organisations for many years (cf. Jackson, Bachmeier, Wood and Craft, 1995). Thinking about the importance of social category relations in

the way disasters are presented, and in the way appeals are made, may help to increase the likelihood of intervention. In this way, a self-categorization approach to intervention may reopen the possibility (viewed so pessimistically by Latané & Nida 1981) of the utility of theory in the pursuit of the goal of increasing the likelihood of intervention.

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Table 1

Table of Means for Three Types of Response to Disasters in Europe and South America

Response to Disaster	Identity	Scenario Location			
		Europe		South America	
Financial Intervention	British	<u>M</u>	4.10	<u>M</u>	4.04
		<u>SD</u>	0.88	<u>SD</u>	0.92
	European	<u>M</u>	4.27	<u>M</u>	3.83
		<u>SD</u>	0.82	<u>SD</u>	0.89
Political Intervention	British	<u>M</u>	3.22	<u>M</u>	3.09
		<u>SD</u>	1.02	<u>SD</u>	0.97
	European	<u>M</u>	3.34	<u>M</u>	2.88
		<u>SD</u>	0.92	<u>SD</u>	0.91
Emotional Reaction	British	<u>M</u>	4.10	<u>M</u>	4.04
		<u>SD</u>	1.39	<u>SD</u>	1.38
	European	<u>M</u>	4.12	<u>M</u>	3.92
		<u>SD</u>	0.96	<u>SD</u>	0.76

Note. $n = 50$ in all cells

Table 2

Analysis of Variance for Financial Intervention Scale

Source	df	F	p	Eta squared
Identity (I)	1	0.94	.91	.001
Place (P)	1	29.30**	.001	.23
I x P	2	17.01**	.001	.15
P within-group error	98	(10.62)		

Note. Values enclosed in parentheses represent mean square errors. *p<.05. **p<.01

Table 3

Analysis of Variance for Political Intervention Scale

Source	df	F	p	Eta squared
Identity (I)	1	0.05	.82	.001
Place (P)	1	31.48**	.001	.24
I x P	2	9.93**	.002	.10
P within-group error	98	(13.27)		

Note. Values enclosed in parentheses represent mean square errors. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$

Table 4.

Analysis of Variance for Emotional Reaction

Source	df	F	p	Eta squared
Identity (I)	1	0.53	.82	.001
Place (P)	1	4.02*	.048	.04
I x P	2	1.21	.27	.01
P within-group error	98	(21.58)		

Note. Values enclosed in parentheses represent mean square errors. * $p < .05$.

Appendix

Text of Disaster scenarios

European Disaster Scenario: Devastating earthquake aftershocks continue to roll through the Eastern European city of Kaunas, as authorities announce that at least 2,100 people have been killed, and many thousands more are believed to be injured and homeless. Despite a number of early warning signals, the government has been slow to react. Nothing was done to evacuate or even forewarn those people most likely to be hit. The lucky ones are now left struggling to salvage their few possessions from the wreckage. Most remain camped out in parks and on vacant lots under the most meagre of shelters. Smashed sewage lines, rapid decay and cramped conditions pose a threat as real as the quake itself. Coupled with a lack of clean water, food, basic medical supplies, shelter and sanitation, these factors compound the risk of cholera and other infectious diseases. The beleaguered government remains static, ineffective and negligent. This inactivity is likely to cause further unrest within the country, as renewed governmental dissatisfaction escalates and rebel forces gain power. Calls for help, from non-governmental organisations, echo those of the people of this stricken European nation.

South American Disaster Scenario: Arezuela: hit by floods last month that wiped out several towns, it is now suffering political paralysis and bank collapse. The disaster itself left over 2,000 people dead and many thousands more injured and homeless. The hardest hit were of course the poor. Many of who lived on unsafe hillsides and riverbanks, because the land was cheap. In such places, local officials frequently ignore building regulations in return for bribes or votes. Now, after the disaster, the government's response is similarly negligent. The inactivity and general

malaise of both regional and national branches has added to the death toll and the misery that the citizens of Arezuela must endure. The living mourn those lost in this tragedy whilst struggling to regain their lives. The lack of basic medical assistance, food supplies, and temporary housing with adequate sanitation presents a grave threat to these South American people. Diseases, such as typhoid and cholera, spread rampantly now in these conditions. The government remains slow to act and still fails to provide the organisation and assistance that is crucial at this time. Calls for international help have gone out.