ABSTRACT

Religiosity and Helping: Do Religious Individuals Volunteer More Help to Religious

Organizations than Non-Religious Organizations?

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religious in-group members.

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The effects of religiosity on prosocial behavior have been examined in a variety of ways. For example, many researchers correlate self-reported religiosity and selfreported helpfulness. Alternatively, researchers examine the interaction between selfreported religiosity and social or time pressure on help offered. In the present study, the effects of self-reported religiosity and type of organization (religious vs. nonreligious) on the number of hours offered to volunteer were examined. Individuals high in general religiosity offered significantly less help to both organizations than individuals low in general religiosity. This main effect remained when controlling for trait empathy. Individuals high in intrinsic religiosity also offered significantly less help to both organizations than individuals low in intrinsic religiosity, but only when trait empathy was statistically controlled. The results are discussed in light of an evolutionary model of religion and the benefits that prosocial behavior can provide for

Religiosity and Helping: Do Religious Individuals Volunteer More Help to Religious Organizations than Non-Religious Organizations?

by

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A Thesis

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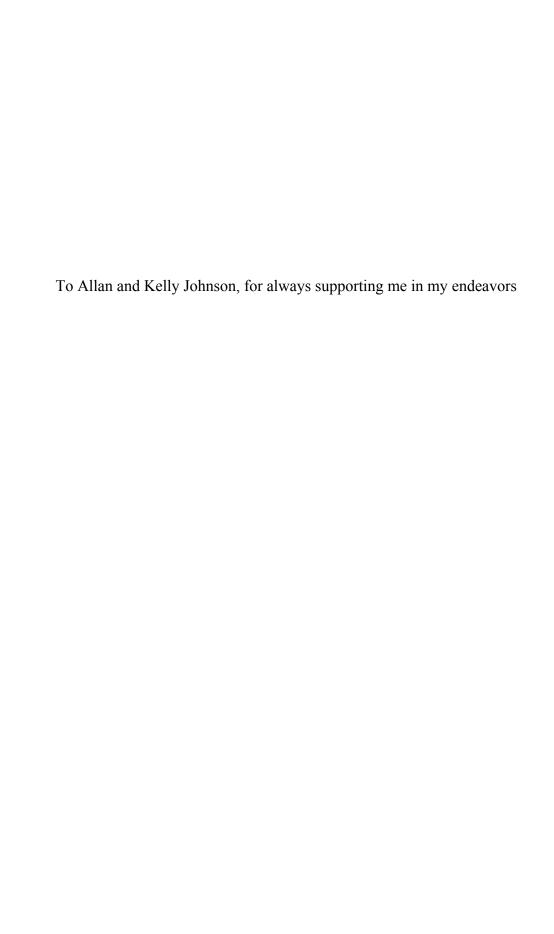
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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

"If you want happiness for an hour, take a nap. If you want happiness for a day, go fishing. If you want happiness for a year, inherit a fortune. If you want happiness for a lifetime, help somebody" (Chinese Proverb).

Helping others is a highly regarded act of humankind. It is discussed by philosophers, encouraged by great leaders such as Gandhi, prized by varying cultures, almost necessary for entrance into college, and required of members in most organizations. Not only does society emphasize the importance of helping others, but several faith traditions emphasize the importance of helping as well. Throughout the Old and New Testament, there are calls to help one's neighbor when they are in need. Acts of charity and service are looked highly upon in the Jewish faith, and most active Jews try their best to perform this mitzvah (commandment). Islam encourages acts of charity – both through giving of time and of financial resources – as a duty that individuals must engage in to help those in need. But who is one's neighbor? Are some neighbors more likely to receive help than others?

According to the scriptures in Christianity, Judaism, and Islam, all humans are created equally in the eyes of God. For instance, the Old Testament states: "Have we not all one Father? Did not one God create us?" (Malachi 2:10, New International Version) and "Rich and poor have this in common: the Lord is the maker of them all" (Proverbs 22:2). Islam's scriptures also support this idea of being made equally in the image of God: "O mankind! We created you from a single pair of a male and a female

and made you into nations and tribes, that you might know each other [not that you might despise each other]..." (Qu'ran 49.13). Furthermore, "neighbor" seems to refer simply to anyone in need of help, regardless of personal belief. In fact, Christianity stresses the importance of helping unbelievers in order to show them the love of Christ. If this is the case, one would expect religious individuals to offer help equally to all individuals. In reality, religious groups serve as a form of an in-group that may cause religious individuals to give help that is biased towards their own group. In other words, religious individuals may be more likely to give help either directly for or through their in-group. Hence, all "neighbors" may not be equally as likely to receive help from religious individuals.

Religion and Helping

Although religious individuals may give help that is biased towards their ingroup, religious individuals are expected to be more likely to help in general because most religious institutions stress the importance of performing altruistic acts. To examine this idea, early researchers looked simply at the connection between religiosity and self-reported helping behaviors. Early studies found that church attendance was correlated with both self-reported helpfulness and ranking "helpful" as an important value (Friedrichs, 1960; Rokeach, 1969). Other measures of religiosity, such as frequency of prayer, religious activities, and religious beliefs, were also correlated with self-reported helping as well as positive attitudes towards helping (Nelson & Dynes, 1976; Zook, Koshmider, Kauffman, & Zehr, 1982). Thus, more highly religious people reported being more helpful and valuing helpfulness more than less religious persons. These results indicate, at least, that religion does stress the

importance of helping. However, because these individuals gave self-reports on the amount of help they gave as well as their attitudes towards helpfulness, a social desirability bias may have been occurring. If the religious individuals' self-reports of increased helping were accurate, religiousness should also show an increase in the actual giving of help to others.

To address this issue of measurement, researchers began using behavioral measures of helping in addition to self-reported ratings of helpfulness. When given an actual opportunity to help, religious individuals did not seem as helpful as they reported. Individuals given a self-report questionnaire that asked whether they were evangelical, other religious, nonreligious, or atheist were also given an opportunity to volunteer five hours to work with a profoundly retarded child. No significant difference was found in the amount of volunteering between the groups (Smith, Wheeler, & Diener, 1975). When using several measures of religiosity including frequency of prayer and church attendance, religious orientation, and self-reported orthodoxy, individuals scoring higher on these various religious measures were no more likely to help when they heard a ladder fall, possibly injuring a woman (Annis, 1976).

Although these earlier measures of religiosity indicate that religious individuals are not more helpful, more current measures of religiosity indicate otherwise. A measure of religiosity used more recently is religious orientation. There are three main religious orientations: intrinsic, extrinsic, and quest religious orientations. Allport and Ross's (1967) Religious Orientation Scale identifies the intrinsic or "ends" religion and extrinsic or "means" religion. Individuals high in intrinsic religiosity tend to view their

religion as more of an ends or something that is inherent in them, and they often value it simply for itself. Individuals high in extrinsic religiosity tend to view their religion as more of a means, and they generally see their religion as something that is used to gain rewards (e.g., social, personal, etc.). Batson introduced a third type of religious orientation called quest, and individuals high in quest religiosity tend to have a more mature religious orientation that allows them to doubt and question religion as well as resist clear-cut answers to religious and existential questions (Batson & Schoenrade, 1991a: Batson, Schoenrade, & Ventis, 1993).

When looking at individuals' specific religious orientations and their effects on helping behavior, the results are mixed. Most researchers have found that intrinsic religion is a better predictor of nonspontaneous helping behavior than extrinsic religion. Namely, when individuals were offered an opportunity to help volunteer organizations who needed short-term or long-term volunteers, those who did volunteer scored higher on intrinsic religiosity than nonvolunteers but did not score higher on extrinsic religiosity (Hunsberger & Platonow, 1986). Moreover, a significant correlation was found between intrinsic religiosity and self-reported nonspontaneous helping but not between extrinsic religiosity and nonspontaneous helping (Hansen, Vandenberg, & Patterson, 1995). Thus, studies examining both self-reported volunteering (Hansen, Vandenberg, & Patterson, 1995) and actual volunteering (Hunsberger & Platonow, 1986) show that intrinsic religiosity may better predict helping behavior than extrinsic religiosity. Allport (1966) argued that intrinsic religion "is oriented toward a unification of being, takes seriously the commandment of brotherhood, and strives to transcend all self-centered needs" (p. 455).

These correlations may exist because intrinsic religiosity refers to a religious system that internally guides one's behavior while extrinsic religiosity is based more on gaining social and personal rewards than on following one's religion. Thus, the more internalized religious values associated with intrinsic religion may be more likely to influence someone's willingness to help. In order to understand this relationship between religious orientation and prosocial behavior, however, motivations to help needed to be examined.

While past research supported the idea that intrinsic religiosity was the best predictor of prosocial behavior, Batson challenged this claim. He wanted to get at this question of motivations to help in order to illuminate why being high in specific religious orientations might lead to volunteering to help. Through a series of studies, he suggested that a new dimension of religious orientation, quest, relates to increased compassion and the intrinsic dimension of religiosity relates only to the desire to appear compassionate (Batson & Gray, 1981; Batson, Oleson, et al., 1989). Batson and Gray found that individuals high in intrinsic religiosity were more likely to give help whether it was wanted or not. Thus, even when an individual expressed a desire not to be helped, highly intrinsic participants still offered help. These results indicated that highly intrinsic individuals were motivated to help in order to meet a personal need to be helpful but not in order to meet the individuals' actual needs. Those high in quest were more likely to give help only when it was wanted (positive correlation) but not when it was unwanted (negative correlation).

Additionally, Batson, Oleson, et al. (1989) found that individuals high in intrinsic religiosity volunteered more help only when told the qualifying task to

actually give help was difficult (they would most likely not qualify to help). Those high in quest did not offer significantly more help in either condition (difficult or easy qualifying task). Extrinsic religiosity was associated with a general decrease in motivations to help for both conditions (although it was only significant for the easy qualifying condition; r = -.39 for easy condition and r = -.33 for difficult condition). These studies, Batson argued, indicated that intrinsic individuals may be offering help simply to alleviate any guilt or social pressure they feel to offer help, but they may not be interested in actually meeting individuals' personal needs.

To further test this hypothesis, Batson, Oleson, et al. (1989) gave participants the opportunity to help in different conditions: an altruistic (or low social pressure) condition where 2 of 7 people had already offered help and an egoistic (or high social pressure) condition where 5 of 7 people had offered help. An altruistic motivation is one in which persons help in order to meet the individuals' needs while the egoistic motivation to help is one in which persons help in order to meet some internal need to be helpful or seen as helpful. This manipulation allowed Batson, Oleson, et al. to examine how social pressure influences the effects of the different types of religious orientations on helping behavior. Extrinsic religiosity correlated negatively with helping in the altruistic condition, quest correlated positively with helping in the altruistic condition, and intrinsic religiosity did not correlate significantly with helping in either condition.

While each of the religious orientations may be associated with different motivations to help (Batson & Gray, 1981; Batson, Oleson, et al., 1989), other motivations to help are more powerful than religiosity itself. For example, when

seminary students' religious values to help one's neighbor were made salient by being told they were going to give a talk on the parable of the Good Samaritan, they were no more likely to help than individuals whose religious values were not made salient (giving a talk on a topic unrelated to helping) when in a hurry (Darley & Batson, 1973). In other words, time pressure was a significant predictor of helping behavior but making religion salient was not. Moreover, when the hurry variable was entered into a regression with type of message (Good Samaritan or non-helping message), intrinsic, extrinsic and quest religious orientation, religious orientation was not a significant predictor. Thus, time pressure was a more powerful motivation for choosing to help or not help an individual than religious orientation.

In examining past research, it is evident that the connection between prosocial behavior and religiosity is a complicated one, influenced by the type of helping behavior measured, difficulty of qualifying tasks, social pressure, and time pressure, among other things. Additionally, how each of these influences affects individuals differs based on the type of religiosity being measured. Fortunately, much work has been done in the field to shed light on these multiple different influences on helping behavior. However, another influence that may be acting on religious individuals' helping behavior but which has gone largely unnoticed is intergroup bias. In fact, religious individuals gave significantly more money to a family in need but only when the request came from a religious individual (Yinon & Sharon, 1985). This hints towards the possible existence of a religious intergroup bias in prosocial behavior.

individuals but only towards individuals connected to their own in-group (i.e., the religious individual).

The motivation for helping in-group members more than out-group members could be an evolutionary one. Research has demonstrated that religious groups use kinship language in order to promote and motivate prosocial behavior (Batson, 1983: Kirkpatrick, 2005). In fact, language such as "brother" and "sister" are commonly used in religious groups. This use of kin language leads religious individuals to identify their in-group members in the same way they identify their kin (Kirkpatrick, 2005). Hence, this theory lends itself to explaining why religious group members may give preferential treatment to their in-group members despite an actual evolved process for favoring in-group members in regard to prosocial behavior. Although asking what the motivations are for why religious individuals might give biased or preferential help to a religious in-group over a nonreligious out-group is an interesting question, one must first investigate if religious individuals give biased help. To further examine this question, researchers must look at religious individuals' helping behavior towards ingroups and out-groups while using multiple measures of religiosity (i.e., general religiosity, and intrinsic, extrinsic, and quest religious orientations). Religious individuals may possess an intergroup bias that influences their helping behavior.

Intergroup Bias and Religion

In the early twentieth century, the attempt to focus on and study group behavior was met with some resistance. McDougall (1920) suggested that certain social situations involving groups caused individuals to behave differently than they would individually. Floyd Allport (1924), however, argued that group behavior could not be

scientifically studied and that the field of psychology should keep its focus on the study of the individual. Despite this initial resistance, researchers began to examine the effects of groups on individual behavior later in the century. Perhaps most notable in leading the field of group psychology were Sherif (1936), Asch (1952), and Lewin (1952). Each of these individuals emphasized the importance of recognizing and studying the distinctiveness of social groups and their effects on individuals' behaviors.

Although these researchers highlighted the importance of studying groups, it was Sumner (1906) who coined the in-group/out-group terms. This in-group/out-group terminology referred to what Sumner believed was a universal human characteristic – preference for and attachment to one's in-group. Since the introduction of the in-group/out-group concept, research has flourished demonstrating how powerful of an in effect in-groups and out-groups have on human behavior. Ordinarily, in-groups exist for a variety of groups, including family and friends or larger social groups such as gender, race, religion, and nationality (Brewer & Brown, 1998). While in-group/out-group distinctions are most easily recognized in differences between these real groups, the tendency for humans to think of themselves in terms of in-groups and out-groups is so strong that individuals demonstrate in-group/out-group feelings in the lab simply by being placed into arbitrary categories (Brewer, 1979; Tajfel, Billig, Bundy, & Flament, 1971; Turner, 1978).

Later research focused on how being members of specific in-groups affects "real" group behavior. As mentioned, in-groups can exist for a variety of groups including larger social groups such as gender, race, and nationality (Brewer & Brown, 1998). Like these other large social groups, membership of a religious group may also

produce in-group favoritism and a general intergroup bias. Intergroup bias refers to the tendency of individuals both to prefer and view their own group (in-group) and its members more positively than outside groups (out-groups) and their members (Hewstone, Rubin, & Willis, 2002; Mullen, Brown, & Smith, 1992). This bias can affect multiple aspects of individuals' lives including attitudes (prejudice), cognition (stereotyping), and behavior (discrimination) (Mackie & Smith, 1998; Wilder & Simon, 2001). Additionally, this type of bias can take on two forms. The first form, in-group favoritism, occurs when individuals favor or show preference towards their own in-group. The second form, out-group derogation, occurs when individuals derogate out-groups (Hewstone et al., 2002).

Unfortunately, this in-group/out-group schema influences individuals' behaviors and attitudes towards both their in-groups and out-groups. When Dutch children were placed into arbitrary groups ("green" and "blue"), they demonstrated ingroup favoritism (Rabbie & Horwitz, 1969). In-group favoritism was also demonstrated using the *minimal group paradigm* (Tajfel et al., 1971). In this paradigm, groups exist only in that one is aware that he or she has been placed in one category or the other. When given the opportunity to allocate money to other people (one cannot give money to one's self), the majority of individuals gave more money to in-group members than out-group members, despite how weak the in-group identity was.

Several studies on intergroup bias have looked at race (Castelli & Tomelleri, 2008; Dovidio, Gaertner, Kawakami, & Hodson, 2002). However, intergroup bias has been studied using multiple types of groups, including groups based on political

affiliation (Gaertner et al., 1999), sexual orientation (Stürmer, Snyder, & Omoto, 2005), neighborhood location (Flippen, Hornstein, Siegal, & Weitzman, 1996), and simply "us" vs. "them" categories (Perdue, Dovidio, Gurtman, & Tyler, 1990). Thus, individuals demonstrate intergroup bias in nearly all types of groups that possesses members and non-members.

Since many individuals hold their religious beliefs as an important aspect of who they are, intergroup bias has also been studied within religious groups (Harper, 2007; Islam & Hewstone, 1993; Jackson & Hunsberger, 1999). In fact, religion serves as such a strong in-group identity that many people categorize individuals on a religious dimension, even in addition to categorizing individuals by race (Weeks & Vincent, 2007). Not only has the intergroup bias been studied in religious groups, but religious individuals have been found to show very positive attitudes towards religious others while showing very negative attitudes towards non-religious others (Jackson & Hunsberger). This indicates that religious individuals may show both in-group favoritism towards other religious individuals and out-group derogation towards nonreligious individuals. In addition to making derogating attributions towards nonreligious individuals, religious individuals have also been shown to have diverse and often quite negative stereotypes of these non-religious individuals (Harper). Religious individuals' in-group favoritism has been seen specifically in both Muslims and Hindus in Bangladesh (Islam & Hewstone). Both religious in-groups showed in-groupfavoring attributions. However, only Muslims showed out-group-derogating attributions, indicating that perhaps not all religious groups are derogating towards outgroups. Rather, some may simply favor their own in-group.

This idea that religious individuals show both in-group favoritism and sometimes out-group derogation fits with Social Comparison Theory (Festinger, 1950, 1954). Festinger stated that groups are formed because people need a sense of validation about their beliefs. Thus, individuals look to others who have shared beliefs to accept their own beliefs as valid. Religious individuals could be looking to other religious individuals in order to support their uncertain beliefs about God, etc. This may be especially likely with beliefs such as religious beliefs which are difficult to find support for aside from shared beliefs.

A newer, potentially competing theory for group identification is the Social Dominance Theory. Social Dominance Theory is a modern theory of intergroup bias that suggests society holds ideologies that either promote or weaken intergroup hierarchies (Hewstone et al., 2002; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Social dominance orientation (SDO) represents the degree to which individuals accept these competing ideologies. Thus, individuals with a high SDO wish for their in-group to dominate outgroups. This desire for in-group dominance spurs from individuals' desire to promote these intergroup hierarchies that some ideologies in society promote.

Hence, although religion represents an uncertain set of beliefs that may need to be validated by group members, it could also serve as an example of an ideology or system of beliefs that promotes the idea of intergroup hierarchies. Many religious groups view their own group as the one and only true faith (e.g. Christianity, Islam), and they desire that all should know their God or gods (e.g., Jesus Christ or Allah). This view of one's religious group might promote a desire for one's religious in-group to dominate out-groups (non-religious individuals). In light of understanding that

religious groups serve as in-groups that can cause individuals to show intergroup bias, an important question remains: How does this affect who religious individuals give help to?

Intergroup Bias and Helping

As evidenced, research has demonstrated that individuals showed a strong bias towards members of their own group (Hewstone et al., 2002; Mullen et al. 1992; Penner, Dovidio, Piliavin, & Schroeder, 2005). While this bias generally affects human behavior in the form of discrimination, other behaviors are affected as well. Namely, group membership also influences individuals' helping behavior. Stressing an individual's in-group status can lead to an increase in helping (Vaes, Paladino, & Leyens, 2002).

While stressing individuals' in-group memberships can lead to an increase in helping (Vaes et al., 2002), stressing an individuals' out-group status can also lead to decreases in helping behavior (Bassett et al., 2000; Batson, Eidelman, Higley, & Russell, 2001; Batson, Floyd, Meyer, & Winner, 1999; Jackson & Esses, 1997). Thus, when individuals' behaviors are value-violating or value-threatening for religious group members, they receive less help from religious individuals. This may occur because these value-violating behaviors stress the out-group status of these certain individuals.

This effect has been show with multiple measures of religion for different forms of religious "out-groups." For instance, individuals high in religious fundamentalism rejected helping both homosexuals and single mothers whose behaviors are each in line with a religious out-group instead of the religious in-group

(Jackson & Esses, 1997). Individuals high in intrinsic religiosity helped a gay individual less than a non-gay individual, regardless of whether that individual promoted homosexuality or not (Batson et al., 1999). In some cases, unlike with intrinsic religiosity, religious individuals do make the distinction between the individual and the behavior of the individual whose actions are outside of the religious in-group. Namely, Christians have been shown to make a distinction for the money they will give to organizations based on whether that organization accepts homosexual persons and/or behavior (Bassett et al., 2000). This distinction is also evident on a more specific level of religiosity. Individuals high in intrinsic religiosity offered less help to both gay and straight individuals who disclosed that they were sexually promiscuous, but they did not offer less help to individuals simply because they were gay (Mak & Tsang, 2008). Thus, individuals with value-violating actions were offered less help by highly intrinsic individuals. Individuals high in quest religiosity, those who are more open to questioning religion, helped intolerant individuals less than tolerant individuals when helping the intolerant individual would promote intolerance (Batson et al., 2001). Once again, a value-violating out-group member received less help from a religious individual.

Does this in-group/out-group bias exist more generally for religious groups? In other words, are religious individuals' helping behaviors biased to the degree that simply being a part of the religious in-group will lead to receiving greater amounts of helping than would being a member of a non-religious group? Perhaps the mere membership of a non-religious group would be value-violating enough to lead to a decrease in help received from a religious group member while being a member of a

religious group would lead to an increase in help received from a highly religious individual. Moreover, as indicated by past research, the effects of this may differ based on the measure of religiosity used. However, since Christians have shown more positive self-reported attitudes towards members of their own religious in-group compared to a religious out-group (Muslims), it is possible this would be a strong enough in-group/out-group distinction to lead to biases in helping behavior (Rowatt, Franklin, & Cotton, 2005).

This influence of sharing an in-group identity on helping that has been discussed is so strong that it even leads to an increase in helping people who were formerly viewed as out-group members once a "common group identity" has been induced (Dovidio et al., 1997; Gaertner et al., 1999). In some ways, the effects of common group identity seem dim in that it influences individuals to prefer giving help to their in-group. However, individuals' perception of who falls in their in-group can be altered. In several studies, social recategorization demonstrated a powerful effect on an increase in helping behavior (Dovidio et al.1997; Gaertner et al.; Penner et al., 2005). This social recategorization can be used to create broader categories of ingroups that are more inclusive of smaller categories (Penner et al.).

Although social recategorization has proven to be a useful tool in increasing helping, how does one make a social recategorization that will include non-religious individuals into religious groups? Because religion is such a strong, personal belief that leads to much prejudice against and stereotyping of non-religious individuals, the answer to this question becomes difficult (Harper, 2007; Jackson & Hunsberger, 1999). To answer this question, however, one must first determine if religious individuals are

biased towards whom they give help. The goal of this study was to determine if individuals high in religiosity (based on various measures of religiousness) are significantly more likely to help a religious in-group (religious organization) than a nonreligious out-group (nonreligious organization).

Hypotheses

Overarching Hypothesis

By examining past research, it appears that religious groups may serve as a type of in-group that could potentially bias to whom religious individuals give help. Thus, the overarching hypothesis was that religiosity would be a strong predictor of helping behavior but only for in-groups (religious groups), not out-groups (non-religious groups). However, there may be some measures of religiosity that were not as strongly influenced by religious intergroup bias.

General Religiosity and Helping

Because religion serves as an in-group, how would membership in a religious group influence individuals' helping behavior? The answer to this question depends on the measure of religiosity being used. Based on past research on general religious measures and helping behavior (Annis, 1976; Smith et al., 1975; Yinon & Sharon, 1985), it was hypothesized that individuals high in general religiosity (e.g. church attendance, prayer) would help a religious in-group significantly more than a non-religious out-group (*hypothesis 1*). General religiosity was not hypothesized to be a significant predictor of helping a non-religious group.

Extrinsic Religiosity

As past studies indicate, extrinsic religiosity is not a good predictor for nonspontaneous helping behavior (Batson, Oleson, et al., 1989; Hansen et al., 1995; Hunsberger & Platonow, 1986). Thus, extrinsic religiosity was not hypothesized to be a good predictor of helping behavior for either group (religious or non-religious group).

Intrinsic Religiosity

Past research on intrinsic religiosity indicates that intrinsic religiosity is one of the best predictors of helping behavior (Batson, Oleson, et al., 1989; Benson et al., 1980; Hansen et al., 1995; Hunsberger & Platonow, 1986). However, Batson claims that this is due only to individuals high in intrinsic religiosity attempting to appear compassionate and alleviate any guilt or social pressure they feel to offer help (Batson & Gray, 1981; Batson, Oleson, et al., 1989). In other words, people high in intrinsic religiosity may not be interested in meeting the individuals' actual needs. Due to this need to reduce guilt or social pressure, highly intrinsically religious people should feel more pressure to help in a religious context. Furthermore, as an "ends" religion that reflects internally guided beliefs, intrinsic religiosity may indicate a closer tie to one's own religious in-group. Thus, it was hypothesized that people high in intrinsic religiosity would help a religious group (in-group) significantly more than a non-religious group (out-group) (hypothesis 2). Intrinsic religiosity was not hypothesized to be a significant predictor of helping a non-religious group.

Quest Religiosity

Batson has demonstrated that individuals high in quest religiosity are more in tune with whether help is wanted, volunteer the same amount of help regardless of how difficult a qualifying task to help is, and offer more help when social pressure is low (Batson & Gray, 1981; Batson, Oleson, et al., 1989). Thus, individuals high in quest religiosity may be more aware of when actual help is needed and less influenced by which group (in-group or out-group) the individual is connected to (Batson et al., 2001). For this reason, individuals high in quest were hypothesized to help both groups (religious and non-religious groups) significantly more than individuals low in quest (*hypothesis 3*).

Preliminary Study

A preliminary study analyzed in our lab (Johnson, LaBouff, & Rowatt, 2008) using the Baylor Religion Survey data (BRS; Bader, Mencken, & Froese, 2007) indicated that intergroup bias occurred in religious individuals. Data from this national random probability sample (n = 1,588) used a general religiousness measure (self-reported religiosity, church attendance, reading of sacred texts, and prayer and meditation). General religiosity significantly predicted self-reported volunteering for one's place of worship and for the community through one's place of worship, but it did not predict volunteering for the community not through one's place of worship (see Table 1). Additionally, the more closely connected volunteering was to the in-group (place of worship), the stronger a predictor general religiosity was for self-reported volunteering.

Although this preliminary data hints towards a possible intergroup bias existing in religious individuals' helping behavior, no causal connections can be determined without experimental data. Thus, by manipulating various group conditions (religious vs. non-religious) and examining how multiple measures of religion influence helping in each of these groups, researchers could illuminate the current finding. Moreover, results from such a study could lead to more causal interpretations of the effects of religiosity on prosocial behavior towards in-groups and out-groups by manipulating which group individuals are exposed to. This was the goal of the current study.

Table 1

Regressions of volunteering on demographics, general religiousness, and spiritual experiences

Predictor Variables	for one	Volunteering Volunteering for for one's place community, through one's place of worship		ty, through	Volunteering for community, <i>not</i> through one's place of worship	
	Stan. β	t	Stan. β	t	Stan. β	t
Region	01	26	00	10	01	13
Gender (1 = male, 2 = female)	02	73	02	72	.01	.29
Age	.01	.37	.08	2.34	.11	3.10*
Race	.02	.53	.01	.27	.04	1.06
Education	.08	2.57	.05	1.39	.13	3.59***
Household income	.02	.48	.05	1.39	.04	1.00
Current marital status	02	56	.03	.79	.07	1.96
Political affiliation	11	-3.35*	05	-1.38	.01	.35
General religiousness	.43	11.16***	.34	8.23***	08	-1.90 (table 1 continues)

Predictor Variables	Volunteering for one's place of worship		Volunteering for community, through one's place of worship		Volunteering for community, <i>not</i> through one's place of worship	
	Stan.	t	Stan.	t	Stan.	t
	β		β		β	
Spiritual experiences	.05	1.26	.04	.91	.11	2.70*
\mathbb{R}^2	.26		.15		.04	
F	29.19***		14.79***		3.56***	

Note: *p < .01; *** p < .001; *** p < .0001

CHAPTER TWO

Method

Participants

Seventy-five undergraduate students at Baylor University¹ (Mean age = 18.80 yrs., SD = .94; 59 women) participated in this study for an hour of extra credit in an Introductory Psychology course. Participants were recruited for this study using the psychology department's Human Participation in Research website. Participants took approximately 30 minutes to complete the online survey portion and 30 minutes to complete the in-lab portion of the study.

Participants were ethnically diverse (49.3% White, 16% Hispanic, 16% Asian/Pacific Islander, 14.7% African American, and 4% other). This sample was dominantly composed of Protestants (57.3%) and Catholics (29.3%) (remainder of sample: 4% Muslim, 4% no religion, 2.7% Hindu, 1.3% Buddhist, and 1.3% other).

Measures and Procedures

Self-report Measures

After consenting to participate in the study, participants completed an online survey that included multiple measures of religiosity and other constructs. Filler items

¹ The original sample size consisted of n = 95 participants. However, some participants' data (n = 3) was excluded because they lacked the online portion of data and other participants (n = 17) were excluded from the study because they indicated suspicion that the organization they read about was not real or was connected to the study in some way.

were included in order to reduce the effects of demand characteristics. See Appendix A for a copy of the survey materials.

- A. *Demographic items*. A variety of demographic items were measured including race, religion, gender, age, and education level.
- B. General religiousness. This measure was created by standardizing and summing responses to questions about four indicators of religiosity: self-reported religiousness, religious service attendance, reading of sacred texts, and prayer/meditation. This measure of religiosity was previously found to be internally consistent (Cronbach $\alpha = 0.88$) and unidimensional (see Rowatt, LaBouff, Johnson, Froese, & Tsang, 2009).

The first item of religiosity, self-reported religiosity, was taken from a singleitem question which asks individuals, "How religious do you consider yourself to be?" Respondents were given the following response options: not at all religious, not too religious, somewhat religious, very religious, or I don't know. All "I don't know" responses were removed from data analysis.

The second item of religiosity, religious service attendance, was taken from another single-item question which asks participants, "How often do you attend religious services at a church, mosque, synagogue, or other place of worship?" Participants were given the following response options: never, less than once a year, once or twice a year, several times a year, once a month, 2-3 times a month, about weekly, weekly, several times a week.

The third item of religiosity, the reading of sacred texts, was taken from a single-item question that asks, "Outside of attending religious services, about how

often do you read the Bible, Koran, Torah, or other sacred book?" Participants were given the following response options: never, less than once a year, once or twice a year, several times a year, once a month, 2-3 times a month, about weekly, weekly, several times a week.

The final item of religiosity, prayer and meditation, was taken from another single-item question that asks, "About how often do you pray or meditate outside of religious services?" Participants were given the following response options: never, only on certain occasions, once a week or less, a few times a week, once a day, several times a day.

- C. *Intrinsic/Extrinsic religious orientation*. Intrinsic and extrinsic religious orientations were measured by the *Religious Orientation Scale* (Allport & Ross, 1967). Items on the intrinsic subscale measure "ends" religion (e.g., "My religious beliefs are what really lie behind my whole approach to life"). Items on the extrinsic subscale measure "means" religion (e.g., "The church is most important as a place to formulate good social relationships"). A 9-point rating scale was used (1 = strongly disagree; 9 = strongly agree).
- D. Quest religious orientation. Quest religious orientation was measured by the Quest Religious Orientation Scale (Batson & Schoenrade, 1991a, 1991b). This scale measures quest religious orientation as a seeking and questioning of religion (e.g., "My life experiences have led me to rethink my religious convictions"). A 9-point rating scale was also used for this scale (1 = strongly disagree; 9 = strongly agree).
- E. *Social Dominance Orientation (SDO)*. Participants were given the 14-item SDO measure (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994) to measure the degree of

- one's preference for inequality among social groups. This scale examines the degree to which individuals hold positive or negative views towards certain statements about equality or inequality (e.g. "Some people are just inferior to others)" and uses a 7-point rating scale (1 = very negative, 4 = neither positive nor negative, 7 = very positive).
- F. Desirable Responding. The Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding (BIDR; Paulhus & Reid, 1991) was used to examine the degree to which participants engage in self-deceptive enhancement and impression management (e.g., "I always know why I like things"). This scale uses a 7-point rating scale (1=not true, 7=very true). Participants received one-point for each 6 or 7 response and zero points for each response ≤ 5.
- G. *Empathy*. In order to control for empathy, the *Interpersonal Reactivity Index*(Davis, 1983), which is designed to assess the traits of *empathic concern*, *personal distress*, and *perspective-taking*, was given to participants (e.g., "When I am reading an interesting story or novel, I imagine how <u>I</u> would feel if the events in the story were happening to me"). This scale contains a 5-point rating scale (0 = does NOT describe me, 4 = describes me very well).
- H. *Filler items*. In order to reduce the appearance of an overtly religious questionnaire, a few filler items were included on the survey. These included the following scales: the *Satisfaction with Life Scale* (SWL; Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985), a 5-item measure of subjective well-being (e.g., "In most ways my life is close to my ideal;" 1 = very much *unlike me*, 5 = very much *like me*); the *Right-Wing Authoritarianism Scale* (RWA; Altemeyer, 1981), a 3-item measure

used to measure the degree of authoritarianism in individuals (e.g. "Obedience and respect are the most important things kids should learn;" 1 = strongly disagree, 0 = neutral, 7 = strongly agree); the *Ten-Item Personality Inventory* (TIPI; Gosling, Rentfrow, & Swann, 2003), designed to give a brief measure of the Big Five Personality Inventory; and the *Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale* (RSE; Rosenberg, 1965), a ten-item scale designed to measure self-esteem (e.g. "I feel that I have a number of good qualities;" 1 = disagree strongly, 7 = agree strongly).

Computer Task

After participants completed the online survey, they were instructed to come to the lab to finish the experiment. Once they arrived at the lab, participants were asked to complete a computer task. The data from this computer task was not used. Rather, it was designed with the purpose of getting participants into the lab so that the researcher could present an opportunity to help. The dummy computer task that was used was a Lexical Decision Task (LDT). In this task, individuals were exposed to a subliminal prime, followed by a mask. Next, they were asked to indicate whether the string of words that showed up was a word or a non-word. Because this task is simply a time filler, participants were given neutral prime words (so no priming effects occurred). See Dijksterhuis, Preston, Wegner, and Aarts (2008) for more detailed information on LDT procedures.

Dependent Variable

After completing the computer task, participants were told that the university is attempting to give students (especially new students since many participants are

Introductory Psychology students who are often entering freshman) more exposure to organizations they can be involved in. Thus, they would like to give students an opportunity to read about a new local organization. At this point, the experimenter handed the participant a sealed envelope with a handout about the organization and a help form inside the envelope. Before handing the envelope to the participant, the experimenter stated that they were instructed to give this envelope to all individuals who participated in any experiments.

The first thing the envelope contained was a handout about a particular organization (see Appendix B for handouts). Participants were randomly assigned to either the religious (Christian) or nonreligious (unaffiliated) helping condition. Both the religious and nonreligious conditions involved helping organizations addressing the same problem: world hunger. World hunger was chosen because of its ability to be easily applied to both religious and nonreligious contexts and because it does not have any particular social stigmas attached to it (e.g., AIDs). However, in the religious condition, the organization was overtly religious (Christian). In the nonreligious condition, the organization focused on helping alleviate world hunger while being unaffiliated with any religious group. Along with the handout, individuals received a help form to fill out indicating if they were interested in helping the organization and if so, how many hours they were willing to help (see Appendix C for help form). In order to get a measure of help hours provided, the organization indicated that they need short-term help (1-10 hours) in mailing out brochures to individuals and organizations who might be interested in supporting their cause. By avoiding long-term sign-up, a more accurate measure of helping could be collected that does not rely on long-term

commitment. So that social desirability bias was reduced, participants also received an addressed envelope to seal and return to the experimenter after they finished reading the brochure and filling out the help form. To insure that participants read the brochure, research assistants left them in the room to read the brochure and asked them to get them when they finished reading through the materials. Thus, the *dependent variable* was measured in number of hours volunteered to help.

Manipulation Check

In order to check that the participants were aware of the religious or nonreligious aspect of the organization they evaluated, a set of manipulation check questions were given at the end of the experiment, after participants were given an opportunity to help (e.g. "What was the purpose of the organization about which you read?" "Was the organization about which you read affiliated with a religion?" See Appendix A).

Debriefing

After handing back the sealed envelope with the help form inside, participants were asked a few questions by the experimenters to probe for suspicion (e.g, "What did you think of the experiment?; Did the different portions (computer task and online survey) of the experiment seem related?; Did anything raise questions?"). Once the experimenters determined whether participants had any suspicions or questions about the experiment, they fully debriefed them and explained the real purpose of the study. Participants were informed that the organization they read about was fictitious and that the true purpose of the study was to examine individual differences in contributing help

to organizations. Participants were informed that in order to study helping behavior accurately, it was necessary to provide an opportunity to help. After participants were fully debriefed and all questions had been answered, they were asked to sign a confidentiality form that stated they would not discuss the purposes or procedures of this experiment since it was going to be run over the next few months. Once this form was signed, participants were dismissed from the study.

CHAPTER THREE

Results

All self-report measures for this study were internally consistent (see Table 2). Note that help hours was not measured in actual hours but in categorical values (0 = 0 hrs; 1 = 1-2 hrs; 2 = 3-4 hrs; 3 = 5-6 hrs; 4 = 7-8 hrs; 5 = 9-10 hrs).

Table 2

Descriptive Statistics and Scale Reliabilities

Personality/Self-Concept Measure	Mean	SD	α
Intrinsic Religiosity	5.94	1.71	.89
Extrinsic Religiosity	3.61	1.20	.79
Quest Religiosity	4.58	1.36	.84
General religiosity (4-item measure)	10	3.57	.88
Social Dominance Orientation (SDO)	2.53	.92	.86
Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA)	15.47	3.27	.66
BIDR - Impression management	.29	.20	.82
IRI – Empathic Concern	3.07	.67	.76

Manipulation Check

Participants were all aware of the religious or non-religious nature of their organizations. A chi-square demonstrated that 100% of participants in the religious

condition said their organization was affiliated with a religion and 100% of those in the non-religious condition indicated it was not affiliated with a religion. ¹

General Religiosity and Helping Behavior

The general religiosity items (self-reported religiosity, religious service attendance, reading of sacred texts, and prayer and meditation) were standardized and aggregated to form a general religiosity measure.² A median split was then computed on this item in order to create high (\ge .41) and low (\le .40) general religiosity variables. An ANOVA was computed to examine the effect of general religiosity and helping condition (religious vs. non-religious) on number of hours helped. Individuals high in general religiosity helped significantly less (M = .36, SD = .59) than individuals low in general religiosity (M = .74; SD = .98), F(1, 70) = 4.16, p < .05 (See Figure 1).

There was no interaction between general religiosity and condition. Thus, more highly religious individuals were significantly less likely to help, regardless of whether they were helping a religious or a non-religious group. *Hypothesis 1* – individuals high in general religiosity will help a religious in-group significantly more than a non-religious out-group - was not confirmed. Contrary to prediction, individuals high in

¹ Some participants (n = 9) did not answer the question on religious affiliation of the organization - "Was the organization about which you read affiliated with a religion?"

² The newly formed general religiosity index was negatively skewed. I reflected and log transformed this measure, but the distribution was still negatively skewed. Thus, I analyzed data in its original format, the standardized and aggregated measure.

³ Degrees of freedom are 70 instead of 74 because four participants did not indicate whether they would help the organization or not, so these participants' lack data on this measure, namely hours helped.

general religiosity helped significantly less that individuals low in general religiosity. Furthermore, they were not significantly influenced by helping condition (religious vs. non-religious).

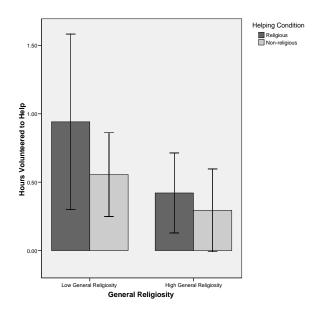


Figure 1. Mean scores on hours helped (0 = 0 hrs; 1 = 1-2 hrs; 2 = 3-4 hrs; 3 = 5-6 hrs; 4 = 7-8 hrs; 5 = 9-10 hrs) for each helping condition (religious or non-religious) for individuals low and high in general religiosity.

Intrinsic Religiosity

A median split was also computed on the intrinsic religious orientation subscale in order to create high (\geq 6.00) and low (\leq 5.99) intrinsic religiosity variables. Individuals high in intrinsic religiosity were marginally less helpful (M = .37; SD = .77) compared to individuals low in intrinsic religiosity (M = .72; SD = .85), F(1, 70) = 3.65, p = .06. There was no significant interaction for intrinsic religiosity and helping condition. Thus, intrinsically religious people were not significantly influenced by whether they were helping religious or non-religious individuals. *Hypothesis* 2 –

individuals high in intrinsic religiosity will help a religious in-group significantly more than a non-religious out-group - was not supported.

Extrinsic Religiosity

A median split was computed on the extrinsic religious orientation subscale in order to create high (\geq 3.72) and low (\leq 3.71) extrinsic religiosity variables. As expected, extrinsic religiosity was not a significant predictor of helping behavior, and it showed no interaction with helping condition (religious vs. non-religious).

Quest Religiosity

Finally, a median split was computed on the quest religious orientation subscale in order to create high (≥ 4.75) and low (≤ 4.74) quest religiosity variables. There was no significant effect of quest on helping behavior, and there were no interaction effects between quest and helping condition. Thus, *hypothesis 3* – individuals high in quest will help both groups (religious and non-religious) significantly more than individuals low in quest – was not supported.

Correlations

Correlations were run between each of the religious measures (intrinsic, extrinsic, and quest religious orientations, and general religiosity), SDO, RWA, BIDR-impression management, and trait empathy (see Table 3). Because correlations for each of the organization groups (religious vs. non-religious) did not differ greatly, I collapsed these two groups together and ran correlations on variables in both helping conditions together. In examining this table of correlations, it becomes apparent that with the exception of intrinsic religiosity and general religiosity, there appears to be no

Table 3
Correlations Between Self-Reported Measures of Religiosity and Other Psychological Dimensions Related to Religion and Helping

Personality/Self-Concept Measures	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Intrinsic Religiosity		40**	03	.82**	24	.09		
2. Extrinsic Religiosity	45**		.11	39*	.24	.14		
3. Quest Religiosity	13	.20		12	19	02		
4. General Religiosity	.84**	47**	22		14	.07		
5. SDO	28*	.26*	15	15		.10		
6. RWA	.25*	.05	08	.24*	.02			
7. BIDR-Impression Mangement	.30*	40**	20	.23	24*	.22		
8. Trait Empathic Concern	.22	24*	.00	.21	49**	.16	.23	

Note: Zero-order correlations are presented below the diagonal. Partial correlations controlling for BIDR – Impression Management and trait empathic concern are presented above. *p < .05; **p < .01

multicollinearity problems. Furthermore, this strong correlation between general religiosity and intrinsic religiosity (r = .84, p < .01; and r = .82, p < .01 when controlling for impression management and trait empathic concern) demonstrates that these two measures are highly correlated and may be measuring similar constructs.

Additional Analyses

Additional analyses ⁴ were conducted to examine if general religiosity's effect on helping behavior holds when controlling for SDO, RWA, BIDR-impression management, or trait empathic concern. ANCOVAs were computed to examine the effects of general religiosity and helping condition on hours helped while controlling for SDO, RWA, BIDR-impression management, and trait empathic concern separately. Moreover, ANCOVAs were run to examine if intrinsic religiosity became a significant predictor for hours helped once each of these individual variables was controlled for. Of the greatest interest was the effect of general religiosity and intrinsic religiosity on helping behavior when controlling for trait empathic concern because of empathy's strong association with helping behavior.

Individuals high in general religiosity (*adj.* M = .34; SD = .59) helped significantly less than individuals low in general religiosity (*adj.* M = .74; SD = .98), even when controlling for trait empathic concern, F(1, 69) = 5.28, p = .03. In fact, general religiosity became a stronger predictor when controlling for empathic concern.

⁴ Analyses were run separately on men and to examine gender differences. Because there were not enough men (n = 16), there was not enough power to examine these effects for men. When running these analyses separately for women; however, the effects for general religiosity no longer existed. Nevertheless, intrinsic religiosity became a significant predictor, when controlling for and not controlling for trait empathic concern.

No significant interaction existed between general religiosity and helping condition (religious vs. non-religious).

Once controlling for trait empathic concern, intrinsic religiosity became a significant predictor. Individuals high in intrinsic religiosity (adj. M = .35; SD = .77) helped significantly less than individuals low in intrinsic religiosity (adj. M = .72; SD = .85) when controlling for empathic concern, F(1, 69) = 5.13, p = .03. No significant interaction existed between intrinsic religiosity and helping condition (religious vs. non-religious).

When simultaneously controlling for SDO, RWA, BIDR-impression management, and trait empathic concern, general religiosity still trended towards being a significant predictor. Namely, individuals high in general religiosity (adj. M = .33; SD =

.60) trended towards helping less than individuals low in general religiosity (adj. M = .70; SD = .92), regardless of helping condition, F(1, 66) = 3.62, p = .06. Because none of these variables are highly correlated with each other, multicollinearity should not be an issue in this analysis.

CHAPTER FOUR

Discussion

Surprisingly, religion did not predict prosociality as hypothesized. With the exception of intrinsic religiosity (but only when controlling for empathy), none of the religious orientation measures significantly predicted prosocial behavior. The one measure of religiosity that continued to emerge as a significant predictor of how much help individuals offered was general religiosity. However, as general religiosity increased, hours of help offered decreased. Given past findings on religion's tendency to lead to increases in prosocial behavior (Batson & Gray, 1981; Batson, Oleson, et al., 1989; Hunsberger & Platonow, 1986), why might this counterintuitive finding emerge?

An evolutionary model may help explain the counterintuitive findings.

Religion serves as a type of group that binds together human societies which would otherwise be uncooperative (Shariff, Norenzayan, & Henrich, in press). Thus, religions are cohesive in-groups of individuals that can cooperate together in order to create gains that would otherwise not exist. In fact, as mentioned, religious groups use kinship type language in order to increase the preferential treatment given to in-group members (Kirkpatrick, 2005).

In addition to the kin-like connection to other religious in-group members, one of the mechanisms by which these religious in-groups are forced to cooperate is the presence of high gods that serve to monitor in-group individuals' behaviors (Shariff et al., in press). By feeling watched by a supernatural agent, individuals are more likely to cooperate with each other. In fact, individuals allocated more money to strangers

when primed with God concepts than when primed with neutral or no concepts (Shariff & Norenzayan, 2007). This supernatural watching of God may explain why individuals help other members of their own in-group (in order to avoid punishment); but why was there less helping behavior for individuals who were high in general religiosity, even when help was being offered to a religious group? If the kinship theory holds true, should religious individuals not help their in-group more than a nonreligious out-group?

The problem may be that most researchers ignore some of the evolutionary advantages of engaging in prosocial behavior. Generally, researchers focus on how prosocial behavior can be used to help one's kin (allowing individuals' genes to carry on) or to receive reciprocal benefits (Batson, 1995). However, there is another benefit that may go unnoticed. Namely, prosociality may be used to maintain a favorable social reputation within the in-group (Norenzayan & Shariff, 2008). Thus, religious individuals should not only discriminate to whom they give help but they should discriminate to whom they give help based on who is watching (i.e., other in-group members).

This idea is supported by the findings that intrinsically religious individuals have egoistic motivations to help individuals (Batson & Gray, 1981; Batson, Oleson, et al., 1989). In other words, it is the desire to appear helpful that motivates highly intrinsic individuals to volunteer help. Thus, the monitoring of in-group members theory proposed by Norenzayan and Shariff (2008) is supported by Batson and colleagues' findings that highly intrinsic persons offer more help when social pressure

is high (Batson, Oleson, et al.) and when they can offer help with fewer costs (Batson & Gray).

In this experiment, a few factors may have existed that decreased the amount of help religious individuals would offer. First, the in-group may not have been a strong enough form of the individuals' in-group to merit offering help. Because prosociality is such a limited resource, the participants may not have wanted to invest more of their resources on a religious group that was not their own, specific in-group. Different results may have occurred if individuals were offered an opportunity to volunteer for their own church or some other religious in-group they are directly tied to. For instance, in the preliminary study, it was found that general religiosity was a significant predictor for volunteering for one's place of worship and for the community through one's place of worship, but not for the community when it was not through one's place of worship. Hence, general religiosity only served as a predictor for volunteering that was somehow tied directly to individuals' places of worship. Participants in the present experiment may not have viewed the in-group (a religious organization) as their own in-group. In other words, they may be using their helping resources on religious in-groups more strongly affiliated with them (e.g., their church or other organizations they already volunteer for).

Second, the religious condition may not have evoked the feeling of being watched by a supernatural agent (i.e., God). Different results might have occurred if individuals were primed with God concepts. Finally, and perhaps most directly tied to previous research (see Norenzayan & Shariff, 2008), individuals may not feel like anyone from their religious in-group will "see" their behavior; thus, it would be a waste

of resources to offer help. In short, these highly religious individuals may reserve their prosocial resources as a mechanism to gain socially favorable reputations within their own in-group.

Thus, it appears that "the religious situation is more important than the religious disposition in predicting prosocial behavior" (Norenzayan & Shariff, 2008, p. 62). For some time now, researchers have focused more on various measures of religious disposition to predict prosocial behavior. While these various religious measures may still be important, this study suggests that the religious situation may be a powerful influence on whether religious individuals offer help. Hence, other factors besides religious affiliation need to be taken into account. As previously demonstrated, time and social pressure have an influence on help offered by religious individuals (Batson, Oleson, et al., 1989; Darley & Batson, 1973). It appears that whether an individual's help is seen may also be an important factor in determining whether religious individuals offer help.

The reason general religiosity may be a significant predictor (even when controlling for trait empathic concern) while the other religious measures are not is because it is the measure most tied to involvement in a religious group. It is composed of measures like how much individuals attend religious services, read sacred texts, and pray/meditate. Each of these variables is more directly tied to how involved individuals are with their religious in-group. Thus, it would naturally serve as the best predictor of prosocial behavior for in-groups and out-groups. Moreover, it is likely that these individuals are preserving their resources to offer help either to their own in-

group or when their in-group is observing their behavior. However, further research needs to be conducted in order to test these ideas.

Limitations and Directions for Future Research

As already discussed, the manipulations of in-group and out-group may not have been strong enough to examine the effects of religiousness on prosocial behavior for religious in-groups and out-groups. Future studies should attempt to create a more powerful manipulation of the religious in-group and out-group such that individuals either feel directly a part of the in-group (religious) or have more negative feelings towards the out-group (non-religious). Although an interaction effect did not occur in this experiment, however, religious individuals did offer more help to the religious organization than the non-religious organization, hinting towards a possible effect of out-group derogation. A stronger in-group/out-group manipulation could be created by getting groups that the individual is already involved in or by making the volunteering more directly tied to an individual's church, synagogue, or place of worship.

Another issue may be that the out-group was value-violating but did not have value-violating behavior. As previously noted, religious individuals often differentiate between whether an organization or individual has value-violating behaviors or merely value-violating beliefs (Bassett et al., 2000; Batson et al., 2001; Mak & Tsang, 2008). Because this study only examined value-violating beliefs, it may not have created a strong enough out-group in order to produce intergroup bias effects. Future studies could examine out-groups with value-violating behaviors rather than merely value-violating beliefs to see if the in-group/out-group effects seen in more specific out-

groups (e.g., homosexuals) exist for the more general out-group of a nonreligious group.

Priming God concepts would be another interesting effect to examine as well. It has already been demonstrated that priming God concepts led to increases in charity (Shariff & Norenzayan, 2007), but could God concept primes lead to different effects on the amount of help offered to religious and non-religious groups? In other words, would these primes increase prosocial behavior in both conditions or in only the religious condition?

Finally, a study examining the effects of a religious "other" observing one's behavior would be interesting to investigate. This becomes more difficult to examine since observer effects exist in general, so one would have to partial out the effects of it being a religious observer (vs. merely an observer). More research is needed in order to examine how this could be studied.

Despite the limitations of this study, it still reveals an interesting finding: individuals high in general religiosity offer significantly less help than individuals low in general religiosity. This finding lends itself towards the evolutionary explanation that the religious individuals have nothing to gain by offering help in this situation because it is not directly benefiting their specific religious in-group and no one is observing their behavior. Perhaps more interesting is why non-religious individuals are more willing to help. This enigma may be easily explained by the emphasis religion places on prosociality. Because it is such a heavily praised behavior in religious groups, religious individuals may deplete more "helping resources" to their

own religious in-group. In other words, non-religious individuals may have more resources to offer help. Future research is needed in order to test this idea.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Survey Materials

Date:_	Time:	Last 5-dig	gits of your Baylor ID#
		h statement or question c e any questions, please as	
1. Sex (circle one): Male	Female	
2. Age (in years):		
3. With	which racial/ethnic grou	up do you most closely ide	ntify? (circle one)
1	African American / Blac	ck Asian / Pacif	ic Islander
I	Hispanic	Native Amer	ican
.	White	Another race/ethnici	ty (please specify)
4. What	is your primary religiou	us affiliation? (circle one)	
None	Protestant	Catholic Jewish	Muslim
I	Hindu Buddhist		
Other re	eligion:		
5. Wha	at is your highest level o	of education achieved? (circ	cle one)
I	Less than high school		
I	High school		
I	Associate/Junior college		
I	Bachelor's		
1	Masters		
I	Doctoral degree		

General Religiousness Items (From Baylor Religion Survey)

1. How religious do you consider yourself to be? (circle one)

Not at all religious

Not too religious

Somewhat religious

Very religious

I don't know

2. How often do you attend religious services at a church, mosque, synagogue, or other place of worship? (circle one)

Never

Less than once a year

Once or twice a year

Several times a year

Once a month

2-3 times a month

About weekly

Weekly

Several times a week

3. Outside of attending religious services, about how often do you read the Bible,

Koran, Torah, or other sacred book? (circle one)

Never

Less than once a year

Once or twice a year

Several times a year

Once a month

2-3 times a month

About weekly

Weekly

Several times a week or more often

4. About ho	w often d	lo you pr	ay or me	editate ou	ıtside of r	eligious s	ervices?	(circle one
Neve	er							
Only	on certai	in occasi	ons					
Once	e a week o	or less						
A fe	w times a	week						
Once	e a day							
Seve	ral times	a day						
		Re	liaious	Orienta	ntion Sca	ales		
1 Strongly disagree	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 Strongly agree
* (rever	se-keyed	l item)						
Extrinsic (su	ıb)scale							
94.	Although		-	_	I feel tha	t there are	e many 1	more
95.	It doesn'	't matter	so much	what I b	elieve so	long as I	lead a m	noral life.
96.	The prim	nary purp	ose of p	orayer is	to gain rel	lief and pr	rotection	1.
97.	The chur relations		ost impo	rtant as a	place to f	formulate	good so	cial
98.	. What religion offers me most is comfort when sorrow and misfortune strike.							
99.	I pray ch	niefly bed	cause I h	ave been	taught to	pray.		
100.	Although		_		I refuse to	let religi	ous cons	siderations
101.	. A primar social ac	•	n for my	interest i	n religion	is that ch	nurch is	a congenial
102.	Occasion order to	-		-	compron	-	eligious	beliefs in

103.	One reason for my being a church member is that such membership helps
104	to establish a person in the community. The purpose of prayer is to secure a happy and peaceful life.
Intrinsic (sub	o) scale
105.	It is important for me to spend periods of time in private religious thought and meditation.
106.	If not prevented by unavoidable circumstances, I attend church.
107.	I try hard to carry my religion over into all my other dealings in life.
108.	The prayers I say when I am alone carry as much meaning and personal emotion as those said by me during services.
109.	Quite often I have been keenly aware of the presence of God or the Divine Being.
110.	I read literature about my faith (or church).
111.	If I were to join a church group I would prefer to join a Bible study group rather than a social fellowship.
112.	My religious beliefs are what really lie behind my whole approach to life.
113.	Religion is especially important to me because it answers many questions about the meaning of life.
Quest (sub)s	scale (Batson, Schoenrade et al)
114.	I was not very interested in religion until I began to ask questions about the meaning and purpose of my life.
115.	I have been driven to ask religious questions out of a growing awareness of the tensions in my world and in my relation to my world.
116.	My life experiences have led me to rethink my religious convictions.
117.	God wasn't very important for me until I began to ask questions about the meaning of my own life.
118.	It might be said that I value my religious doubts and uncertainties.
119.	For me, doubting is an important part of what it means to be religious.
120.	I find religious doubts upsetting.*

121. Questions are far more central to my religious experience than are									
answers 122. As I grow and change, I expect my religion also to grow and change									
123. I am constantly questioning my religious beliefs.									
124. I do not expect my religious convictions to change in the next few years. *									
125. There are many religious issues on which my views are still changing.									
Social Dominance Orientation (taken from Prato, Sidanius, Sttallworth, & Malle, 1994)									
(taken from 1 rato, Sidamus, Stan worth, & Franc, 1994)									
<u>Instructions:</u> Which of the following objects or statements do you have a positive or negative feeling towards? Beside each object or statement, place a number from "1" to "7" which represents the degree of your positive or negative feeling.									
1 2 3 4 5 6 7									
Very Negative Slightly Neither positive Slightly Positive Very Negative Negative nor negative Positive Positive									
1. Some groups of people are simply not the equals of others.									
2. Equality.									
3. It is important that we treat other countries as equals.									
4. This country would be better off if we cared less about how equal all people were.									
5. To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on others.									
6. In an ideal world, all nations would be equal.									
7. Increased social equality.									
8. If people were treated more equally we would have fewer problems in this country.									
9. Some people are just more deserving than others.									
10. It is not a problem if some people have more of a chance in life than others.									

humans 1	1. We sho	uld try t	o treat o	one ano	ther as	equals a	s much	as possible	e. (All
S	hould be tr 2. Some p		/	nore wo	rthy tha	n other	S.		
13	3. Increase	ed econo	omic eq	uality.					
1	4. Some p	eople ar	e just ir	nferior t	o others	S.			
		Balanc	ced Inv	entory	of Desi	rable R	espon	ling	
	ions: Usin true about	_	ale belo	ow, indi	cate wh	ether th	e follo	wing staten	nents are
Not Tru	e 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very T	'rue
	_ 177. My	first imp	oression	s about	people	usually	turn ou	t to be right	t.
	_ 178. It w	ould be	hard for	me to l	oreak ar	ny of my	y bad h	abits.	
	_ 179. I do:	n't care	to know	what o	ther pec	ple real	lly thinl	x of me.	
	_ 180. I ha	ve not a	lways b	een hon	est with	myself			
	_ 181. I alv	vays kno	ow why	I like tł	nings.				
	_ 182. I do	n't know	what n	ny majo	r streng	ths and	weakn	esses are.	
	_ 183. Onc	e I've	made u	ip my	mind, o	other p	eople o	can seldom	change my
	op	inion.							
	_ 184. I am	not a sa	afe driv	er when	I excee	d the sp	eed lin	nit.	
	_ 185. I am	fully in	contro	l of my	own fat	e.			
	_ 186. It's l	nard for	me to s	hut off a	a disturb	oing tho	ught.		
	_ 187. I ne	ver regre	et my de	ecisions					
	_ 188. I so	metimes	s lose o	ut on th	nings be	ecause]	can't	make up m	ny mind soon
	en	ough.							
	_ 189. The	reason]	I vote is	because	e my vo	te can r	nake a	difference.	

 _ 190. My parent(s) were not always fair when they punished me.
 _ 191. I am a completely rational person.
 _ 192. I rarely appreciate criticism.
 _ 193. My solutions to problems are original and effective.
 _ 194. I have sometimes doubted my ability as a sex partner.
 _ 195. It's alright with me if some people happen to dislike me.
 _ 196. I don't always know the reasons why I do the things I do.
 _ 197. I sometimes tell lies if I have to.
 _ 198. I never cover up my mistakes.
 _ 199. There have been occasions when I have taken advantage of someone.
 _ 200. I never swear.
 _ 201. I sometimes try to get even rather than to forgive and forget.
 _ 202. I always obey the laws, even if I'm unlikely to get caught.
 _ 203. I have said something bad about a friend behind his or her back.
 _ 204. When I hear people talking privately, I avoid listening.
 _ 205. I have received too much change from a salesperson without telling him
or her.
 _ 206. I always declare everything at customs.
 _ 207. When I was young I sometimes stole things.
 _ 208. I have never dropped litter on the street.
 _ 209. I sometimes drive faster than the speed limit.
 _ 210. I never read sexy books or magazines.
211 I have done things that I don't tell other's about

212.	I never take thir	ngs that don't belo	ong to me.		
213.	I have taken sic	ek leave from wo	rk or school	even though I was n	ot really
	sick				
214.	I have never dan	maged a library b	ook or store	merchandise withou	t
	reporting it.				
215.	I have some pre	etty awful habits.			
216	. I don't gossip a	bout other peopl	e's business.		
	Int	terpersonal Rea	ctivity Inde	X	
of situations. appropriate let	For each item, in ter on the scale a		it describes page. REAI		-
0 Does <u>NOT</u> describe me	1	2	3	4 Describes me very well	
126	I daydream and happen to me.		some regular	rity, about things that	t might
127	.I often have ten me.	ider, concerned for	eelings for p	eople less fortunate	than
128	I sometimes fin view.	d it difficult to so	ee things fro	m the "other guy's" I	point of
129	Sometimes I do problems.	on't feel very sorr	y for other p	people when they are	having
130	I really get invo	olved with the fee	elings of the	characters in a nove	1.
131	.In emergency s	ituations, I feel a	pprehensive	and ill-at-ease.	
132	•	jective when I wy caught up in it.		e or play, and I don't	often

 _ 133.I try to look at everybody's side of a disagreement before I make a decision.
 _ 134. When I see someone being taken advantage of, I feel kind of protective towards them.
_ 135.I sometimes feel helpless when I am in the middle of a very emotional situation.
 _ 136. I sometimes try to understand my friends better by imagining how things look from their perspective.
 _ 137. Becoming extremely involved in a good book or movie is somewhat rare for me.
 _ 138. When I see someone get hurt, I tend to remain calm.
 _ 139. Other people's misfortunes do not usually disturb me a great deal.
 _ 140. If I'm sure I'm right about something, I don't waste much time listening to other people's arguments.
 _ 141. After seeing a play or movie, I have felt as though I were one of the characters.
 _ 142. Being in a tense emotional situation scares me.
 _ 143. When I see someone being treated unfairly, I sometimes don't feel very much pity for them.
 _ 144. I am usually pretty effective in dealing with emergencies.
 _ 145. I am often quite touched by things that I see happen.
_ 146. I believe that there are two sides to every question and try to look at them both.
 _ 147.I would describe myself as a pretty soft-hearted person.
 _ 148. When I watch a good movie, I can very easily put myself in the place of a leading character.
 _ 149.I tend to lose control during emergencies.
 _ 150. When I'm upset at someone, I usually try to "put myself in his shoes" for a while.

151. When I am reading an interesting story or novel, I imagine how <u>I</u> wou feel if the events in the story were happening to me.
 152. When I see someone who badly needs help in an emergency, I go to pieces. 153. Before criticizing somebody, I try to imagine how <u>I</u> would feel if I we in their place.
Satisfaction with life
<u>Instructions</u> : Please use the following scale to determine if an item is like you or not.
1=Very Much <u>Unlike Me</u> 2=Unlike Me 3=Neutral 4=Like Me 5=Very Much <u>Like Me</u> 11. In most ways my life is close to my ideal.
12. The conditions of my life are excellent.
13. I am satisfied with my life.
14. So far I have gotten the important things I want in life.
15. If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing.
Right Wing Authoritarianism
1=Strongly Disagree 2=Moderately Disagree 3=Slightly Disagree 4=Neutral 5=Slightly Agree 6=Moderately Agree 7=Strongly Agree
154. Obedience and respect are the most important things kids should learn
155. We must crack down on troublemakers to save our moral standards ar keep law and order.
156. People should be made to show respect to America's traditions.

10-item big five

<u>Instructions:</u> Here are a number of personality traits that may or may not apply to you. Please print a number next to each statement to indicate the extent to which *you agree or disagree with that statement*. You should rate the extent to which the pair of traits applies to you, even if one characteristic applies more strongly than the other.

Disagree strongly	Disagree moderately 2	_	Neither agree nor disagree 4	Agree a little 5	Agree moderately 6	Agree strongly 7						
	Extraverted, enthusiastic											
	_ Critical, o	quarrelsom	e.									
	_ Dependal	ole, self-dis	sciplined.									
	_ Anxious,	easily upse	et.									
	_ Open to r	new experie	ences, complex.									
	_ Reserved	, quiet.										
	_ Sympathe	etic, warm.										
	_ Disorgan	ized, carele	ess.									
	_ Calm, en	notionally	stable.									
	_ Convent	ional, uncre	eative.									

Rosenberg Self-Esteem

<u>Instructions</u>: A number of statements which people have used to describe themselves are given below. Read each statement and then print the number that best describes how you feel in the appropriate blank to the left of the statement:

Disagree	Disagree	Disagree	Neither agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	
Strongly	moderately	a little	nor disagree	a little	moderately	strongly	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
8. I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on equal basis with others.							
0 I for 14b - 4 I b							
9. I feel that I have a number of good qualities.							

___ 10. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.

1	11. I am able to do things as well as most other people.
1	12. I feel I do not have much to be proud of.
1	13. I take a positive attitude toward myself.
1	14. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.
1	15. I wish I could have more respect for myself.
1	16. I certainly feel useless at times.
]	17. At times I think I am no good at all.

Volunteer Organization Awareness Questionnaire

1.	Is it helpful to	be made aware	of a volunteer organization you can help? (circle one)
	Yes	No	
2.	Do you think	it is appropriate	to expose students to different volunteer organizations
tha	at they can help	? (circle one)	
	Yes	No	
3.	What was the	purpose of the o	organization about which you read?
4.	Was the organ	nization about w	hich you read affiliated with a religion?
5.	If so, how reli	gious?	
6.	-	ear, how many of s of those organi	organizations have you volunteered for? Please also izations.
7.	Did you volu	inteer through so	ome organizations (i.e. fraternity or sorority; church)?
8. or		quired to volunt u volunteered fo	neer? If so, were you required to volunteer for all the or?

APPENDIX B

Handouts for Organizations (NOTE: handouts fit on single page)



United Resources International

4900 Lake Air Drive Waco, TX 76710

"My major problem with the world is a problem of scarcity in the midst of plenty ... of people starving while there are unused resources ... people having skills which are not being used." – Milton Friedman

Who We Are

United Resources International is a newly formed organization in <u>Waco, TX</u> designed to help individuals whose basic needs (such as water, food, and shelter) are not met. United Resources International is <u>not affiliated with any particular religion</u>. We believe that all religions deserve equal opportunities and that different religions are right for different individuals. As such, we do not affiliate with any religious groups and/or beliefs.

What We Do

At United Resources International, our goal is to help those around the world who do not have their basic needs met. Currently, our organization works in various cities in Africa (specifically Uganda), Laos, and Brazil. Here are some of the services we provide:

- Starting up "clean water projects," allowing citizens of local towns to enjoy fresh, clean water one of the essentials to daily living
- Providing chicken, grain, livestock, and seeds to individuals so that they can begin to build self-sustaining economies in their own towns
- Building projects creating small homes for families with no good form of shelter. Currently, we have built over 20 homes in all three countries.

How You Can Help

We need to get the word out! We need people like you to help donate some of their time to help us with a mass mailing campaign we are going to undertake in order to inform individuals and companies who might be interested in financially supporting our cause. Tasks would include things such as: printing and folding materials, stuffing envelopes, labeling envelopes, etc. Please consider helping our cause by giving an hour or more of your time! See below for our current list of endorsers.

<u>Endorsed by:</u> Queer Economic Justice Network, American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, and Atheists Against Poverty (AAP)



Harvest Ministries International

4900 Lake Air Drive Waco, TX 76710

"When you reap the harvest of your land, do not reap to the very edges of your field or gather the gleanings of your harvest. Leave them for the poor and the alien. I am the LORD your God."
Leviticus 23:22

Who We Are

Harvest Ministries International is a newly formed Christian ministry in <u>Waco, TX</u> designed to help individuals whose basic needs are not met. By meeting the basic needs (such as water, food, and shelter) of individuals, our hope is to demonstrate the love of Christ.. Through this ministry, we hope to leave some of our harvest to "the poor and alien" who so greatly need it.

What We Do

At Harvest Ministries International, our goal is to help those around the world who do not have their basic needs met. Currently, our ministry works in various cities in Africa (specifically Uganda), Laos, and Brazil. Here are some of the services we provide:

- Starting up "clean water projects," allowing citizens of local towns to enjoy fresh, clean water one of the essentials to daily living
- Providing chicken, grain, livestock, and seeds to individuals so that they can begin to build self-sustaining economies in their own towns

• Building projects creating small homes for families with no good form of shelter. Currently, we have built over 20 homes in all three countries.

How You Can Help

We need to get the word out! We need people like you to help donate some of their time to help us with a mass mailing campaign we are going to undertake in order to inform individuals and companies who might be interested in financially supporting our cause. Tasks would include things such as: printing and folding materials, stuffing envelopes, labeling envelopes, etc. Please consider helping our cause by giving an hour or more of your time! See below for our current list of endorsers.

Endorsed by: Habitat for Humanity, Campus Crusade for Christ, Evangelicals for Social Action, and Christians Against Poverty (CAP)

APPENDIX C

Help form

Would you	be willing to	o help w	ith our large	mailing?	(circle one)

Yes	No)			
 Please indicate the			ould be willing t		
large mailing to ge	t the word o	ut about our	organization.		
*Note: Your experimen	tal credit for pa	rticipating in the	e study does not dep	oend on whether y	ou help.
Please circle the nu	mber of hour	s you would l	be willing to help	o:	
0	1-2	3-4	5-6	7-8	9-10
Please complete the help each day if you later time to confirm Ex. I	a know at this n when work	s time. If you	do not know, w edule.	e can contact y	you at a
Monday:					
Tuesday:					<u> </u>
Wednesday:	· 				
Friday:					
Saturday:					
Sunday:					
Please write your na your information.	ame and ema	il address so	that we can conta	act you once w	'e receive
Name:					
Email Address:					

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