New Zealand Journal of Psychology

Editor's Introduction

Today, the day of publication of this issue of the *New Zealand Journal of Psychology*, marks the one-month anniversary of the terror attack on Al Noor and Linwood Mosques in Christchurch. While this issue is a response to this atrocity, and the broader context in which it occurred, it is important to be explicit - this is not a 'special issue', because 'special issues' are often celebratory, something 'special'. Instead, this can be considered a rapid response to the tragedy in Christchurch.

Psychology, as both a research enterprise and applied practice, has a long history of attempting to understand and remediate the foundations and impacts of prejudice and discrimination. This issue is not a celebration of that heritage because, in an ideal world, we would be able to celebrate using our knowledge and tools to end these phenomena. The events in Christchurch show that the most extreme forms of hatred are no longer things we observe only on the international news. Instead, the intent here is to contribute to the discussion that has exploded into our lives, in which we (and others) ask questions like "Why did this happen?", "How could it happen to us?", and "Will Aotearoa ever be the same?", among others. These questions will be with us for years to come.

We believe that psychology has something to say about these, and other pressing questions. In the immediate aftermath we have seen the rapid development of at least two competing narratives. The first narrative is that this is "not us", that New Zealand is not fertile ground for extremism. This has subsequently been pitted against arguments that this is simply an extreme manifestation of something that is always with us, an extension of the more everyday prejudices and plausibly deniable, and not so deniable, discriminatory acts. These are not mutually exclusive.

The commentaries, reviews, and empirical pieces contained in this issue speak to this potential contradiction, providing not just food for thought but also suggestions for where to go next. To this end, we are tremendously grateful to those people who responded to our invitation to consider preparing their work and commentary for this issue, particularly given the absurd timeframe of two weeks from invitation to submission.

We are grateful to our intellectual whānau in other countries who have responded to this invitation, and taken the time to help us understand. These include Stephen Reicher and colleagues, and the British Psychological Society, for permission to reprint their commentary published in the BPS' *Psychologist*, illustrating some of the international response to our painful experience. Michael Platow, himself formerly of the University of Otago and now in Australia, describes *The Prejudice Census*, in collaboration with his international colleagues, shedding some perspective on the nature of everyday –isms. The Muslim community is, as we have come to know, a small one, so we are grateful to Sunnya and Nigar Khawaja from QUT for providing us with 'an Islamic perspective on grief and loss'. Indeed, we're pleased that they are 'just' two of the Muslim voices contributing to this endeavour – including people whose own lives have been devastated by this atrocity.

As well as these commentaries, this issue includes at least one practical piece – Martin Dorahy and Neville Blampied's suggestions for screening those affected by this latest tragedy, itself tragically informed by their experience following the 2011 Christchurch earthquake.

And, of course, more traditional empirical contributions – mainly from the University of Auckland (home of the New Zealand Attitudes and Values Study) and the University of Otago, including both survey- and laboratory-based studies. These contributions speak to the context in which terror has occurred, including what it means to be a New Zealander or pākehā, and how these relate to diversity, multiculturalism, and immigration attitudes. These contributions reflect on civic engagement and resilience, how trust relates to discrimination, as well as the bread-and-butter of social psychology – intergroup attitudes at the broadest levels. Given that we (collectively) have devoted ourselves to studying these phenomena, publishing our research in international journals, it seems now is the time to consider what these mean for our understanding of our own backyard.

There is no better reminder that the things that we study and practice are not a spectator sport, or a thought experiment, than the tragedy in Christchurch. We add our voices, and sadness, and hope, to that of the people whose lives have been directly or indirectly, and forever, marked.

Marc Wilson
15th April, 2019

Note: This is a 'draft' issue, with final copy-editing yet to be completed. The 'final' version will include additional commentaries that could not be copy-edited in time for inclusion by the intended publication date.

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Understanding the Terror Attack: Some Initial Steps

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As I write this in early April I am incoherent as I think we all are, still reeling, from the terror attack on the Muslim community in Christchurch. Once again Muslims are the victims, coerced witnesses to the twisted narratives, fantasies, and hate of white ethno-nationalism. As a Pākehā person I ruminate over our complicity, our silences, failures and histories of entitlement, the things we haven't done. Nightmares of the physical horror of the shootings intersperse with images of the faces of those who died, Ardern's grave dignity and serious purpose, Farid Ahmed's extraordinary act of forgiveness, the banks of flowers, the arms of protection that too late try to circle New Zealand's mosques.

What can we say as psychologists that might help us understand? Perhaps very little on our own. No doubt the most useful expertise will be in ways of best supporting those in trauma. In the longer term, this event will require a broad inter-disciplinary trajectory of explanation, laying down a path with Muslim colleagues and scholars, step by step, that might contribute to productive routes forward. This is not a true crime series. We know who did it and roughly why. It is now all about trying to understand the context, and the situation. Colleagues have started this process in the UK. Stephen Reicher, Alex Haslam and Jay Van Bavel have written a deeply insightful piece in the British Psychological Society in-house journal The Psychologist thinking through the toxic identity and group dynamics that produced the killer as an 'engaged follower'. They analyse bits of his manifesto to demonstrate the way his poisonous ideology defined 'us' and 'them', dehumanising 'them' as a warrant for the attack, following the kind of murderous logic characteristic also of Nazi Germany.

For obvious reasons I am not going to analyse the killer's words here and in fact we don't need to do more of that. Why was white ethno-nationalism persuasive in the first place, and what tools can democratic social justice movements use in response? Crucially – what do these challenges mean for Aotearoa New Zealand? How does Islamophobia intertwine with older forms of racism, and with ethnic relations formed through the deep historical violence of Empire? What are the intersections between extremist violence and certain forms of masculinity? For years we have studied racism and that work continues to be relevant. But there is a danger with new atrocities if social psychologists assume familiar theory and research offer a template that can be simply layered over a new event.

I know something about the 20th century ideologies Pākehā people used to justify colonialism and Māori disadvantage (Wetherell and Potter, 1992). I think I have some handle on identity dynamics, but I don't know enough about the new international communities of hate, I don't know how Islamophobia works, and the ways in which these movements intertwine with what happens here, affecting all seen as 'other'. What I can offer is simply four suggestions about possible starting points.

Let's not evoke lone wolves and/or the universality of prejudice: It is so tempting as a psychologist to follow some familiar strategies when faced with the need to explain: search for a universal law of behaviour or a compelling account of individual pathology. These can lead in such contradictory directions – 'group-based violence is unfortunately just part of human nature and to be expected' and/or 'he was a just a lone wolf, one evil individual' – neither direction takes us very far. Of course, the killer was evil and he was exceptional, but this is a partial truth that obscures. Why was evil expressed in this way? How did this specific kind of evil become thinkable? How does 'exceptional evil' become banal, normative and routine as it did in Nazi Germany, for instance? The rhetoric of human nature, meanwhile, is often combined with the view that both 'sides' are blameworthy – Islamic fundamentalists and far right white supremacists – both have engaged in terror. But again this does not get us very far. The more urgent questions are always – why this, why now, what does it mean, and what to do next?

In their 2012 edited collection Beyond Prejudice, John Dixon and Mark Levine pull together a collection of critical articles describing social psychology's reliance on the concept of prejudice as a general catch all explanation for racism, sexism, homophobia. The authors argue that this approach has run its course, and explore what can be put in its place. Applied to the terror attack in Christchurch, a classic prejudice argument might be that categorising and distinguishing between groups is part of our biological inheritance. Once the world is categorised in terms of groups, human irrationality and cognitive limitations lead to stereotypes and over-generalisation. In this account, we are all vulnerable to being prejudiced, and in this sense 'normal' prejudice is on a continuum with the extreme prejudice shown by the Christchurch killer. For emotionally disturbed individuals, 'everyday' prejudice will fuel active hatred and violent aggression. The solution recommended by prejudice theorists, from the Enlightenment onwards, has been education, or the assumption that 'learning to tolerate' will avoid the 'mischief of irrationality'.

As Michael Billig (1988) notes, however, my rationality is often your irrationality. Enlightenment rationalism, too, has been used to justify acts of barbaric violence. After all, many Enlightenment philosophers owned slaves or participated in the slave trade. Tolerance as a kind of 'largesse of the powerful' is no solution either. To

understand the terror attack in Christchurch we need to get specific. Why is it normative for some groups in some contexts to turn to violence while other groups do not see that as legitimate? What is the social history of our current group categorisations? What kinds of differences between people become noticeable differences and who benefits from that? How do some groups become empowered to act out? And, if most people in a society insist on their rationality, and that they are not prejudiced, why are those 'tolerant' societies still racist and unequal? Prejudice explanations are too individualistic; we need to hear from social historians, sociologists, anthropologists and economists to build a depth picture of why them, why now.

Focus on ideological flows and identity dynamics: The other day I heard some fascinating commentary on Radio New Zealand about the terror attack from UK based journalist and social activist, Laurie Penny. There were two points that struck me in particular. First, Penny argues that our image of fascism is out of date – we imagine a political party, soldiers marching in massive public spaces, uniforms and insignia, and the iconography of Hitler salutes – in other words a highly visible political phenomenon with a figurehead and ideologue, one-party government and dictatorship. She suggests instead that the fascism and white ethno-nationalism mushrooming globally on the internet are relatively invisible, and almost mainstream in new ways which are hard to combat. Many of the classic features of fascism can be found – authoritarianism, ultra-nationalism, attempts to forcibly silence critics, misogyny, advocacy for violence towards those outside the core group, but dispersed in thousands of places across the global internet.

Leaders such as Trump aid and abet, through their dog whistles, their unwillingness to call out white supremacist movements, their demonizing of Muslims and through their hostile environments for migrants but the ideological flow is dispersed, everywhere and nowhere, there in the millions of views of YouTube rants that do not seem to add up to much individually, in the connections between torrents of

abuse directed at women, the links between movements such as Incel, Islamophobia, Identitarianism, and so on. Penny goes on to argue that some of us like to think that we would have known what to do in the 1940s, we would have known to fight back, and whose side to be on, but that is much less clear when fascism is hidden in plain sight. How does this new hate construct its recipients? And, a question from further back in the process - how did the affective practice of aggressive, violent, 'righteous' indignation become so normalised? How do affect and particular discourses combine and intensify? The post war period in the global North saw an unprecedented banishment of violence from the public sphere, now it is slowly creeping back.

Maybe there is a slow radicalisation going on of not just a pathological few but whole cultures, and it is this level of cultural change that produces the extremist few? This relates to Penny's second point. She didn't use this terminology but it one I find useful for thinking about cultural shifts – Raymond Williams' (1977) notion of a 'structure of feeling'. Williams argued that a community, a culture, a generation are distinguished by what he described as a kind of practical consciousness, a common sense of values, notions of how the world works, dominant feelings, debates and forms of experience. For Aotearoa New Zealand, we could contrast the structure of feeling of Pākehā New Zealand in the 1950s, for instance, with the structure of feeling of the 2000s. The 'characters' of each period are different, what is taken for granted, the hopes, ambitions and horizon of expectations. There are no clear boundaries in structures of feeling, some themes continue, others disappear, change is gradual and often difficult to articulate.

Penny is interested in exploring how the window of public discourse and public emotion has shifted in recent years to a greater acceptability for hate and white ethno-nationalism. Maybe the attack in Christchurch will bring some reflexivity and some transparency to this shift in what is seen as acceptable discourse. But, in terms of explanation, it seems to me that it is this territory of new

ideological flows, and the identities these offer, that we have to grasp. These new settlements are key to understanding the radicalisation process and the ways in which emotions, subjectivities, group norms, and systems of justification can begin to intertwine in hugely harmful ways.

Supporting Muslim and Māori scholars in gazing back: The notion of 'gazing back' I want to highlight here comes from Alice Te Punga Somerville's blog post on Brexit (see also Te Punga Somerville, 2012 and Borell, 2017). She describes obsessively watching the UK Brexit referendum results on television - a Māori woman and her Fijian partner engrossed by the unfolding drama. She is thinking about an illustration by Gustav Dore that depicts Thomas Babbington Macauley's imagining of a future to come where a New Zealander will sit on a broken arch of London Bridge to sketch the ruins of St Pauls. (In 1840, when Babbington Macauley was writing, 'New Zealander' meant Māori.) Te Punga Somerville brilliantly unpicks Dore's image and uses it as a device to reflect on the potential gaze back from indigenous people in the former colony to the ruined empire.

The point in gazing back is to reverse and disrupt the normal direction of analytic traffic, from the white British or Pakeha researcher to the migrant and indigenous subject, and to understand differently. Ann Phoenix (1991) has argued that too often black British people, for example, are 'a pathologised presence and a normalised absence' in psychological research, and the same could be said of Muslim and Māori, and other ethnic minority groups in Aotearoa. The support needed, therefore, is about finding the spaces, funds and jobs for Muslim and Māori researchers to keep on going with their work, discovering ways of healing, understanding trauma, and registering what it is like to live in hostile environments typified by micro-aggressions, the impacts and life-long consequences. This entails difficult research by Māori and Muslim researchers on Pākehā racism and Islamophobia – difficult because, as Belinda Borell (2017) describes, the emotional labour involved in recording and

listening to privilege when that privilege is not yours is enormous. Borell's thesis is an important starting point. She used kaupapa Māori methods to explore Pākehā privilege and the kinds of justifications offered for white colonial entitlement, analysing the uncomfortable hesitations, the everyday discourses, and the distancing and defensive rationales.

Understanding the fine lines of leadership: Jacinda Ardern has received global admiration for her leadership in this crisis and rightly so. But I also want to understand what she did and why it was so effective, and that's important for the future. Many accounts pick up on the ways in which Ardern focused on spreading aroha, trying to mitigate hate through love, empathy and compassion. This was key, but as the Australian social theorist, Ghassen Hage (2019), has commented, love alone is never enough. It is the way love is mobilised and, I would add, how positive emotion is organised with the making of meaning and identity.

Not long after the event, I saw a tweet from the UK that said: 'why are we making so much fuss about a white woman just doing her job?' The tweeter was making the point that we need to change the conversation from Ardern's noble acts, and focus on the lives of those who were killed. This was before we did find out more about those who died, and indeed they must be centre-stage, not the homogeneous attacked, but people with histories, with lives, and with reasons to live. As many have noted, this should not be about making white people feel better.

But there are ways and ways of doing one's job. Understanding the fine lines of leadership in this case, and the political choices, involves grasping that the identity Ardern chose to speak from was not 'white woman' but New Zealander, defined as a person from this place. She spoke from an inclusive national identity, and as the representative of a country with, as she described in an interview with Waleed Aly (New Zealand Herald, 2019), 200 ethnicities and 160 languages (more ethnicities than there are countries in the world). What was compelling was the way Ardern drew identity boundaries in the hours after the attack – 'they are us, he is not us'. Aroha was not indiscriminate, it would flow from the collective to those so deeply wounded, and white supremacists were placed outside this collective.

In her speech at the memorial event two weeks after the killings, Ardern described the open-heartedness of the Muslim community who 'had every right to express anger but instead opened their doors for all of us to grieve with them.' She described their stories of seeking refuge and arrival, and for some these are stories of long establishment in Aotearoa, noting that: 'these stories, they now form part of our collective memories." She also said, 'we can be the nation that discovers the cure' for hate and racism and, of course, with these words offered the people from this place a particular kind of national identity to take up and use to define who we are in this moment, in addition to shame and misery.

Effective leaders work with events and the material conditions determining people's lives, and they supply narratives that make sense of these. But, crucially, to be persuasive, these narratives must contain logics and lines that are already present, tacit and sometimes explicit, in the nation's communal structure of feeling. Ardern, then, drew on a New Zealand exceptionalist discourse of 'best little nation in the world', where best here came to mean welcome, warmth, openness and caring. In an odd way, after the attack, I was reminded of the time when New Zealand hosted the Rugby World Cup. I was newly returned to New Zealand, and it was so striking after the anomie of London and the UK the ways in which people cared about being good hosts in very immediate and personal ways, rushing to the airport to greet arriving teams, making sure tourists were properly fed, housing them in their own homes when beds ran short, exemplifying and modelling the welcoming and collective generosity so pervasive in Māori and Pacifica cultures, and flying the flags of all the rugby nations from their cars.

Political leaders often try to do this kind of discursive work, supplying energising national narratives, but they are persuasive and effective only to the extent they mobilise existing identity trajectories, and if they act skilfully. It is important to be clear here. I am not arguing that the nation's dominant response of shock and aroha was inevitable, and I am not buying into New Zealand's sense of exceptionalism, but rather suggesting that, fortunately, this was one of the emergent ways of being that happened to be possible right here, right now. Structures of feeling are complex, dynamic and contradictory. It would have been easy, perhaps, for Ardern to pull on other threads in our national common sense and set up narratives for exclusion, tit for tat, violent expulsion, marginalising and minimising the victims. Those logics were waiting also in the wings.

Ardern's political work and constructive choices don't change overnight a hostile climate, a colonial history, or make white ethno-nationalists think again, but they are likely to reinforce and bolster some positive paths and may have significant material effects, worked through everyday actions. I think that what she achieved was an intervention in the flow of ideology/identity/affect, the flow which authorises and legitimates feelings and actions, and which formulates common sense. If the world is drifting to fascism and hate, self-consciously she tried to remind us of other imaginings and other configurations of identity, emotion and sense making. I hope that what she might have accomplished is a decisive resetting.

Acknowledgement

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Coping with loss and bereavement: An Islamic perspective

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The aim of the present commentary is to inform the mental and allied health professionals about Islamic perspectives on life and death in the context of recent events. Further, religious and cultural factors that may help bereaved Muslims cope with their grief and make meaning of their loss are discussed. The tragic deaths of 50 Muslim worshippers at the Al Noor Mosque, Christchurch had not only shaken the World, it has triggered immense debate and reflection at an international level. New Zealand is a multicultural society. Muslims from all over the world call New Zealand home and live amongst other ethnic communities. At this difficult time the New Zealand mental and allied health professionals, experienced in dealing with emotional responses of people, are keen to support the families of the deceased. However, these health professionals may have varying levels of information about Islamic perspectives associated with death and coping, therefore, it is expected that the commentary would assist the professional in their endeavors to assist Muslims in a culturally appropriate and safe manner.

Key Words: Coping; Death; Grief; Healing; Islam; Life; Loss; Muslims.

The terror attack on 15 March, 2019 on Al Noor Mosque at Christchurch, New Zealand has shaken this peaceful nation and shocked the international community. On this day the Muslim community of Christchurch gathered to offer their Friday (Jummah) prayers. However, fifty innocent Muslim people lost their life at the hands of a terrorist gunman with right wing extremist views (BBC, 2019).This attack of islamophobia, the horrific massacre of innocent Muslims, in a place of worship has left Christchurch and the international community distraught and mourning the loss of their Muslim brothers and sisters. The general population and the Muslim community in Christchurch is trying to come to terms with this traumatic event. Although all stakeholders are in the midst of trying to understand and make sense the cause of this tragedy in order to prevent such events, mental and allied health professional are trying to assist the grieved individuals and families. Thus, it is paramount to understand Muslims religious and cultural beliefs about bereavement and healing.

New Zealand is a diverse country with people from various ethnic and religious backgrounds. Although New Zealand has a population of 4.3 million people, it is estimated that one in four individuals identify as culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) (Victoria University of Wellington, 2011). With a substantial amount of the population born overseas, there is an increase of multiculturalism and religious diversity. Further, this diversity is expected to rise in the future due to an increasing indigenous population and increased uptake of people from refugee and migrant backgrounds across the globe (Berry & Sam, 2014; Ward & Masgoret, 2008). Many of these relocated individuals and families are Muslims. Islam, which originated in Arabia in 570 AD, rapidly spread to all neighboring regions. The mass movement of people, across centuries, has taken Muslims to all corners of the globe including New Zealand.

In New Zealand, the number of Muslim people in New Zealand has increased significantly over the last 3 decades (Victoria University of Wellington, 2011). Muslim people make up approximately one percent of the total population. Most Muslims living in New Zealand were born overseas (Victoria University of Wellington, 2011). New Zealand Muslims come from a range of ethnic backgrounds. The most prominent ethnicities are Indian and Middle Eastern including Arab, Iranian and Iraqi (Victoria University of Wellington, 2011). It is important to note that although Muslims have different ethnic origins, they connected through one common thread that is their Islamic faith.

Despite subtle differences among their cultures, most of the Muslim communities share collectivistic features. Members of the collectivistic culture lead interdependent lives, where group membership is prioritized over one's self (Triandis, Bhawuk, & Gelfand,1995). In collectivistic culture members of a family and extended community interact regularly with each other. Families and communities are intertwined and act as each other's support network and system. Holistic approach, which may involve multiple family and community members are often adopted to resolve psycho-social, financial and personal matters (Gregg, 2007).

The term Muslims is used for those who follow the religion of Islam. Islam, the second largest religion in the World shares beliefs with Judaism and Christianity. It is based on Abraham's beliefs of one God (Esposito, 2009). Its followers respect and believe in all prophets and regard Mohammad (peace be upon him) as the last of the prophets send by the God. In order to understand the Islamic perspective on death, it is important to first understand the importance of life, followed by death and then the afterlife. Muslims believe that all people and all living organisms originate from God, belong to God and will return to God at the time of

death (Rubin & Yasien-Esmael, 2004). A person's life is considered to be sacred. The birth and death of a person is considered very precious in Islam as God bestowed life and only God has the ability to take it away (Rubin & Yasien-Esmael, 2004). Islam encourages Muslim people to lead a decent and fulfilling life undertaking good deeds.

A Muslim can live a decent life and accomplish good deeds throughout his/her life by following the foundations of Islam known as the '5 pillars of Islam' (Hitchcock, 2005). These five basic beliefs are the building blocks of Islam. The five pillars are faith, prayer, charity, fasting and pilgrimage (Hitchcock, 2005). Faith refers to Muslims belief in one God and his messenger the Prophet Mohammad (peace be upon him). Prayer refers to the act of praying 5 times in a day. Charity refers to the act of making a contribution the underprivileged and impoverished. Fasting refers to the act of fasting during the month of Ramadan, one of the holiest months in the Islamic calendar. Pilgrimage refers to the act of going to Mecca for hajj. Mecca is the holiest city as it is the origin of Islam.

Being a good Muslim and living a life fulfilled with good deeds is considered to bring an individual closer to God (Yasien-Esmael, Eshel, & Rubin, 2018). Prayer is considered one of the most important pillars of Islam as Muslims are encouraged to pray five times a day. Engaging in prayers is considered sacred; it is a way of connecting and getting closer to God on a spiritual level (Yucel, 2010). It becomes even more significant if prayer is offered in a mosque, the house of God. A prayer offered at the mosque is considered more important and rewarding (Gilliat-Ray, 2005). Further, prayers offered on a Friday, the Sabbath day in Islam are the most rewarding as this day is considered to be the holiest day of the week. It is a day to be celebrated as God took rest after creating the Universe. It is an important custom and blessing to pray at the mosque on a Friday (Haeri, 2013; Möller, 2005). Friday midday prayer is an important occasion for communities to gather at the mosque and pray together. As women may often be busy with domestic duties, it is a common tradition for men to attend this prayer with their sons to teach them this important ritual (Sayeed, 2001). This was a feature observed at the massacre at Christchurch.

In Islam, death is considered an inevitable part of life. In order words, death is a normal part of an individual's life (Rubin & Yasien-Esmael, 2004; Yasien-Esmael & Rubin, 2005). Muslims believe that death is a result of God's will (Rubin & Yasien-Esmael, 2004; Sarhill, LeGrand, Islambouli, Davis, & Walsh, 2001). The time and manner of an individual's death has already been determined by God (not including act of suicide). Therefore, believers accept the actions of God and believe that God has his reasons for taking the life of a person. Further, Muslims believe in life after death (Hedayat, 2006; Sarhill et al., 2001). It is believed that the spirit of a deceased individual leaves the physical body at death. Although an individual may be physically deceased, their spirit still lives on. Additionally, another important Islamic belief is associated with the concept of heaven and hell (Khalil, 2013). What happens to a person after death depends on how they have lived their life (Rubin & Yasien-Esmael, 2004). The Islamic faith promotes individuals to take responsibility for their actions throughout their lives (Rubin & Yasien-Esmael, 2004). It is believed this decision will is made by God on the day of Judgement (Hedayat, 2006; Sarhill et al., 2001).

It is believed that the Muslims actions will be assessed by God after death on the Day of Judgement. This evaluation by God will determine whether a Muslim will go to heaven or hell (Hedayat, 2006; Sarhill et al., 2001). It is believed that Muslims, who have undertaken more good deeds than bad, will be rewarded by God by acquiring a place in heaven. While those individuals, who have lived an immoral or evil life, would be required to face the negative consequences after death in the form of being placed by God in hell. The religious beliefs promote that notion of engaging in good deeds as these actions will please God and translate into a place in heaven after death.

Coming to terms with the death of a family member or friend is a very painful and emotional process for a grieving individual (Mayers-Elder, 2008; Romaniuk, 2014). Further, there is a bulk of literature that indicates the importance of meaning making (Pritchard & Buckle, 2018). Meaning making has emerged as a very important way of processing and dealing with grief (Neimeyer, Klass, & Dennis, 2014). It is particularly critical after a traumatic death. It is possible that at the time of hardship, bereaved individuals may turn to their religious and cultural views as a support system and a way of making sense of the ordeal.

Bereaved Muslims may use religious principles to help cope with the loss of loved ones (Mohamed Hussin, Guàrdia-Olmos,& Liisa Aho, 2018.The belief that Muslims return to God after death can bring comfort to grieving family members or friends. The thought that death is God's will, may help them externalize the painful loss (Rubin & Yasien-Esmael, 2004). They may interpret it as a sign that their deceased family member in a safe place (Yasien-Esmael, & Rubin, 2005). In the same way it is possible that the idea that the spirit of the deceased lives on; beliefs in an afterlife may be reassuring for the family members (Chapple et al., 2011; Hedayat, 2006). In the case of the Christchurch mosque attack, the belief that death occurred on a Friday in the midst of prayers can bring some relief to the families. Families may interpret the tragedy as a sign that their loved ones may become close to God as they lost their life while worshipping (Yucel, 2010). They may also feel some comfort in the idea that their loved one may be granted a place in heaven. Cultural values and rituals also play an important role at the time of grief. Generally, grief and loss can become a communal affair.

Driven by collectivism the wider community takes the responsibility of offering emotional, social and instrumental support to the grieved individuals and families (Suhail, Jamil, Oyebode, & Ajmal, 2011). Prayers are offered and Quran is recited to comfort the soul of the departed. These events provide an opportunity to further reiterate and reinforce the religious beliefs. Further they also provide a closure

and a chance to move on with one's life, a notion strongly supported by Islamic principles (Esposito, 2009).

Compared to any other loss, death provokes the most significant emotional response. Further, traumatic deaths, like those witnessed at Christchurch are no doubt intense and complex. However, we hope that the religious beliefs may assist the bereaved in their meaning making process. Further, we hope that this commentary assists mental and allied health professional, who may like to enhance their capacity to understand and assist traumatised individuals form different faiths. Finally, we hope that irrespective of our religious backgrounds we can all reflect and learn about the beliefs that help human beings in making sense of the grief and loss.

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The road to Christchurch: A tale of two leaderships

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In the aftermath of a slaughter like Christchurch, we are forced, once again, to confront that old question: how can people be marked for murder, not for anything they have done but simply for who they are? It is a question the killer asks himself in his so-called manifesto.

A word of warning before we proceed. Readers will note that we are not using the name of the killer in this piece. In this, we follow the argument of New Zealand Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern, who said 'he sought many things from his act of terror, but one was notoriety – and that is why you will never hear me mention his name'. On the other hand, after considerable deliberation, we have decided to quote from his manifesto. We recognise that the content is vile and will be upsetting to many. We do not encourage people to access and read the manifesto without strong reasons to do so (which is why we do not reference the document with details of how it can be accessed). However we do provide a minimum of material which we consider essential in order to understand the actions of the killer, to demonstrate the relevance of wider Islamophobic discourses to the Christchurch massacre, and therefore to help prevent the reoccurrence of such atrocities in the future.

Back to the killer's words. '*Why did you target those people*', he asks, providing his own answer: *'They were an obvious, visible and large group of invaders, from a culture with higher fertility rates, higher social trust and strong, robust traditions that seek to occupy my peoples* [sic] *lands and ethnically replace my own people*'.

So the victims were killed for being Muslims in New Zealand and the gunman acted on behalf of what he saw as his 'own people'. Who his own people are is not clear from this passage. But it is made explicit elsewhere, when the killer explains who he is: '*I am just a regular White*

man, from a regular family. Who decided to take a stand to ensure a future for my people'. And he further defines 'white' as '*those that are ethnically and culturally European*'. 'The people', then, are a racialised group. Christchurch was an act rooted in a world view which divides people into antagonistic racial blocs in which the very presence of the one is at odds with the survival of the other.

In this world, the killer positions himself as just an ordinary individual who has chosen to act on behalf of his group. He is no-one special. In another of the questions he poses to himself, '*do you consider yourself a leader*', he quickly dismisses the thought. '*No'*, he responds '*just a partisan*'. In the terms we have used to explain the psychology of atrocity, the Christchurch killer is an 'engaged follower' (Haslam, Reicher & Van Bavel, 2019). That is, he is someone who knowingly and willingly inflicts harm in the belief that he is furthering a valued ingroup cause. Unlike traditional approaches which suggest that such people act through 'thoughtlessness' and even unawareness of what they are doing (see Reicher, Haslam & Miller, 2014), we argue that such people act deliberately in the belief that what they are doing is right. '*Do you feel any remorse for the attack?*' asks the killer. '*No, I only wish I could have killed more invaders*'.

But engaged followership is only one half of the psychology of atrocity. For if people follow, who is it who guides and leads them? If the killer is a partisan, an ordinary foot soldier of racial annihilation, who are the generals? To be more precise, who created the worldview in which it could be acceptable or even noble to commit mass murder?

We characterise this destructive act of creation as 'toxic identity leadership' (Haslam et al., 2019). Where identity leadership in general is about defining the group and how

'we' should act to advance the group cause (Haslam, Reicher & Platow, 2011), toxic identity leadership specifically is a matter of defining harm to others as essential to the advancement of this cause. We can only understand Christchurch – and prevent further such events – if we widen our focus from the perpetrator and bring other dimension of identity leadership into the spotlight.

A murderous logic

Before addressing who the leaders are in the case of Christchurch, let us first consider what such toxic leadership consists of. How, that is, can acts of atrocity possibly be justified as being noble or good? Elsewhere, we have analysed the process as involving five steps (Reicher, Haslam & Rath, 2008).

The first two steps involve defining an ingroup and then setting exclusive boundaries such that particular minorities are excluded from the embrace of 'us' and become 'them'. A classic example of this is to define nationhood in ethnic terms such that ethnic minorities are excluded. As a result, these minorities are denied all the forms of solidarity, trust, respect, cooperation and influence which normally derive from being accepted as 'one of us' (Reicher & Haslam, 2009).

This denial of the positives of ingroup inclusion can be painful, marginalising and disempowering. What is more, once people become 'them', we become indifferent to their fate and disinclined to intervene when they suffer (e.g. Levine, Prosser, Evans & Reicher, 2005) But, serious though they are, such things are still a long way from perpetrating slaughter. This takes us to the next two steps.

These involve, on the one hand, representing the ingroup a noble and virtuous and the outgroup as a threat to the ingroup. These can both take more or less extreme forms. At its strongest, the argument goes that we

live in a Manichean world, where the ingroup represents the sum of all good and the outgroup (which itself is the sum of all evil) threatens to destroy the ingroup. This extreme form characterises Nazi ideology which portrayed Germany as representative of cleanliness and purity (see Koonz, 2005) under deadly threat of destruction by dirty polluting Jews (see Herf, 2008).

Once one has reached this point, then everything is in place to take the final step whereby the destruction of the other becomes permissible – indeed becomes an obligation – in order to preserve virtue. This is the logic which Robespierre used in an infamous speech of 5th February 1794 justifying the terror as a means of subduing the enemies of progress: '*the springs of popular government in revolution are at once virtue and terror; virtue, without which terror is fatal; terror, without which virtue is powerless*' (Robespierre, 2007, p.115). It is also the logic used by Himmler, speaking to Auschwitz Guards in Poznan, praising them for having the strength to do the nasty but necessary labour of mass murder: '*To have stuck it out and at the same time ... to have remained decent fellows. This is a page of glory in our history*' (cited by Rees, 2005, p.226).

Warranting Islamophobia

In some 20,000 words, the Christchurch 'manifesto' contains a mish-mash of right-wing islamophobic tropes that include all five of the steps outlined above. The author constitutes a racialised ingroup to which Muslims are positioned as other in terms of ethnicity, religion and values. He constitutes Muslims as a dangerous group of rapists and drugs dealers who constitute an existential threat to 'white' Europeans. He castigates those who are too weak to stand up to this 'threat' and insists that all must be eliminated, including children: '*It will be distasteful, it will be damaging to the soul, but know that it is necessary and any invader you spare, no matter the age, will one day be an enemy your people must face.*'

In more condensed form, the killer's guns stand as symbols to his beliefs. They are scrawled with slogans. These include the names of leaders who, supposedly saved Europe from Muslim hordes (Charles Martel, Georgia's David IV, Sebastiano Venier) the names of recent terrorists who have slaughtered Muslims and African immigrants (Alexandre Bissonnette, Luca Traini) and the names of those who are victims of the supposed Muslim invasion (Ebba Akerlund). 'For Rotherham' reads one of the slogans. And the link between ideas and murderous actions is made clear in that is written on the ammunition clip of a semi-automatic rifle.

The killer makes clear that his ideas come from a number of sources, particularly from the internet. Some of the sources are obvious. The manifesto is entitled 'The great Replacement' – a clear reference to 'replacement theory', associated with Renaud Camus, which suggests that mass migration leads to the replacement of Europeans by Arabs and African, many of them Muslim (Froio, 2018). The symbols on the guns reflect tropes that are common in supremacist far right circles. But some of the influences go wider. The notion of immigrants, particularly Muslim immigrants, as 'invaders' (with the implicit connotations of otherness and threat) have been used by leaders such as Orban and Trump. The widespread discourse of immigration based on the need for 'strong borders' in order to keep out criminals, rapists, drug dealers presupposes 'our' vulnerability and 'their' dangers (Kelly, 2019). The more general political and media discourse about Muslims does much to emphasise their strangeness, their otherness and the dangers 'they' pose in 'our' society. Thus, an analysis of five Australian newspapers in 2017 found 2971 articles (some eight a day) referring to Islam/Muslims alongside words suggesting danger (violence, extreme, terror, radical) (One Path, 2018). Closer to home, many will remember the article in which the prominent Conservative politician, Boris Johnson, referred to women wearing the burqa/niqab as looking like 'letter-boxes' or 'bank robbers'.

Our point here is not that the likes of Johnson and the relentless negative portrayals of Muslims in the media are equivalent to the far-right ideas of Camus or directly lead to massacres. But nor are they irrelevant. On the one hand, simply by portraying Islam as 'other' they impede the ability of Muslims to be accepted and play a full part in society. Moreover, it is as if they unlock the path to Christchurch and usher people in to a place where more toxic voices lurk. It is impossible to massacre people who are 'us'. Once it has become respectable to view Muslims as 'them', and moreover as a potential threat, then it becomes easier to develop these ideas in a genocidal direction.

On the other hand, those who 'other' Muslims can play no part in resolving conflict and in responding constructively in the aftermath of a Christchurch. That much becomes clear when we turn away from those toxic leadership voices who provided a cause the killer could serve and towards the post-massacre leadership of New Zealand Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern.

From exclusive to inclusive leadership

In the immediate aftermath of the mosque shootings, Jacinda Ardern called a press conference to condemn what she called '*an extraordinary and unprecedented act of violence*' and '*one of New Zealand's darkest days*'. There was nothing distinctive about this way of talking about the event. It is expected for leaders to use strong terms in describing and condemning such atrocities – and, in this, the NZ leaders' words were echoed by leaders in other countries across the world.

What made Ardern's comment different was what came next when she came to characterising the victims. Here she didn't seek to gloss over the fact that the victims were largely immigrants or that they were Muslim. However, she stressed: 'they have chosen to make New Zealand their home, and it is their home. They are us. The person who has perpetrated this violence against us in not'. Unlike others, then, Ardern took time to stress that the victims were members of the ingroup ('they are us'). Hence the attack was an attack on the ingroup (the violence was 'against us').

The significance of this should be clear. If the starting point for outgroup hatred is defining the ingroup exclusively so as to bar certain minorities from the wider

community, so the key step in contesting such hatred is to define the ingroup inclusively so that these minorities are reincorporated in the ingroup.

Additionally, if the positive embrace of the ingroup and their concern at any harm done depends upon ingroup inclusion, then the insistence that the victims are us not only makes people care, it heightens their resolve to ensure that no more harm is done. In this regard, it is worth invoking the debate about Poles and Jews in the Holocaust. In a powerful essay, Blonski (1978/1990) argues that, while there were some heroes who saved Jews and some perpetrators who betrayed or killed them, the major issue was one of indifference which derived from the view that Jews were not really Poles. As Rafael Scarf (cited in Polonsky, 1990, p. 194) puts it: '*if it had been known then that it was not Jews who were burning, but native Polish husbands, mothers, wives and children, the nation's outburst of wrath and fury would have been uncontrollable, even if they had to tear up the rails* [to the death camps] *with their teeth*'.

What Ardern achieved in her initial statements was precisely to orchestrate a transformation from anti-Muslim scares to pro-Muslim care. And she didn't stop there. Ardern's inclusive identity leadership took on a performative dimension when, the day after the massacre, she visited Christchurch. Dressed in black, wearing a hijab and visibly moved, she physically embraced members of the Muslim community.

In this simple human gesture, much is accomplished. Through her dress, Ardern (as representative of the nation) signals that Muslims, as Muslims (and without any need to assimilate), are of the nation. Through her sorrow, she indicates that the sorrow of the Muslim community is the sorrow of the nation. Through her embrace, she demonstrates that the entire nation – Muslim and non-Muslim – is (as she put it) '*united in grief*'. The words, though, are superfluous. The silent performance of an inclusive community of solidarity is sufficient. What is more, Ardern's acts of solidarity and inclusion have not just

been symbolic. She has acted to enshrine her arguments in policy and practice. She has pledged to pay funeral costs, provide assistance to bereaved families and to reform gun laws. To use the terms we use to analyse effective identity leadership (Haslam et al., 2011), Ardern has not only been a skilled *entrepreneur of identity* (building and mobilising a sense of 'us') but also an *impresario of identity* (translating collective norms and values into material lived realities). She has made a great start in healing the divisions and the hurt. But the greatest challenges still lie ahead – most notably how Ardern now deals with her coalition partners, New Zealand First, who believe that migrants should have to submit to test of 'Christian-based' New Zealand values (Ewing, 2018).

CONCLUSION

Intergroup hatred and massacres like Christchurch don't just happen all on their own. They cannot be explained by focusing on the perpetrator alone. For when someone decides to kill for a cause one must ask who created that cause and how they built up the notion that it could be a noble act, a heroic sacrifice for one's people, to inflict pain, suffering and even death upon others.

If there is just one thing we can learn from Christchurch, it is that leadership matters and that the form of leadership that is exercised is critical to what happened. Moreover, the question of leadership turns on what sorts of identities are mobilised. Is it a matter of excluding minorities from the 'us' and demonising them to the extent that we are given a choice between 'them' and 'us'? Or is it rather a matter of including minorities within the 'us' and making their fate our own?

As if to exemplify that contrast, Jacinda Ardern was asked if she agreed with Donald Trump's denial that white supremacism and right-wing terrorism were problems, she replied with a simple undiplomatic 'no'. Pushed to say how the US could help in the fight against atrocities like Christchurch, she said 'Sympathy and love for all Muslim communities'. And that won't happen as long as these communities are portrayed as unwanted invaders

from the outside rather than valued constituents of the inside.

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Prejudice is about Collective Values, not a Biased Psychological System

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The study of prejudice has a long and proud history within social psychology. But despite the hundreds if not thousands of empirical papers, we still have not seemed to "crack" the problem. Daily expressions of both subtle and hostile prejudice still occur and, more tragically, violence too, as we have seen in New Zealand (and elsewhere). In the aftermath of the horrific mosque attacks in Christchurch, it is perhaps time to take stock and re-evaluate the collective wisdom our profession has produced in understanding prejudice. In this paper we argue that psychologists' efforts toward this end have unfortunately led to an excessive focus on the psychological failings on the part of individuals. Instead, we believe that a more productive approach is to focus on collective values in the form of social norms, and how these can be used in the service of fighting prejudice.

Indeed, in the aftermath of the Christchurch murders we witnessed the explicit display of such collective values by New Zealanders in their near unanimity in restating their collective values *as New Zealanders*. This was modelled most eloquently by the New Zealand prime minister who effortlessly and genuinely engaged in identity leadership (Haslam, Reicher, & Platow, 2011) by clarifying, reaffirming and modelling the values and norms that define the nation she led. This was also done on a daily level by ordinary Kiwis, with both large scale and public gestures and smaller micro-kindnesses expressed to all people, but particularly the New Zealand Muslim community. So while it may make us feel better simply to point to the perpetrator of this hateful crime and claim he was crazy, or somehow psychologically challenged, this will not help us to solve the problem of

prejudice. This is, again, because the problem of prejudice is a problem of collective values and shared norms, that are learned and often institutionalized, and not of individual psychological processes. Ultimately, to understand that which we call prejudice, we must understand how specific intergroup attitudes and behaviours develop and become legitimated within specific groups in specific intergroup and historical contexts.

A further recent example demonstrates what we mean. Following the murders of Charlie Hebdo journalists in January 2015, many Australians, like others around the world, proclaimed "Je suis Charlie" as they showed their solidarity with the journalists. In Australia, however, this was followed by the realization that the Australian Anti-Discrimination Act would censor the journalists' work by identifying it as hate speech, thereby making the work illegal. This posed an intractable dilemma, as aspects of Australian law were now recognized as being consonant with at least one of the murderers' goals. In response to this problem, efforts were renewed to change the Act. Ironically, Australians had only recently rejected similarly proposed changes largely because such changes would allow for more frequent expressions of prejudice. We, therefore, ask: Were the attitudes expressed by the Charlie Hebdo journalists *prejudice*? Prior to the murders, many would have found it easy to identify the journalists' work as prejudiced. However, the anguish and disgust felt as a result of the brutality of the murders meant anything that would distance Australians from the murderers became more important. With this change in context, many no longer

saw the journalists as prejudiced.

The key element of the above description of the Charlie Hebdo murders is the remarkable shifting of people's understandings of the very concept of *prejudice*. Identification of attitudes and behaviours as prejudiced or not appears to be tied to, and influenced by, people's current social context and their position within it. Indeed, as we outline in more detail below, identification of an attitude as prejudiced is actually an assertion that the attitude is *counter-normative with regard to one's own contextually salient group membership*. By recognizing this situated usage and understanding of the concept of prejudice, our social-psychological efforts to combat prejudice can, thus, move away from banal (and faulty) claims of "pre-judging" and near tautological claims of faulty or biased cognitive processing. Instead, they refocus our attention to the study of the dynamic processes underlying what precisely it is that we are trying to combat in the first place: that which we understand today as prejudice may well have been seen as an accurate description of reality only just yesterday. A prime example within social psychology itself is, of course, the concept of *modern* racism, which explicitly recognizes the historical dependence of the expression and meaning of prejudice.

We see this analysis to be of value as people who believe their own attitudes are not prejudiced are likely to remain immune to anti-prejudice appeals. In fact, they are unlikely to see their attitudes in need of change, instead seeing them as accurate, truthful, legitimate and even shared among other rational people. In this manner, we heed Billig's (2012, p. 142) claim that, "any analysis of

modern racism…should include an analysis of what modern people understand by the very concept of 'prejudice'." Surprisingly, this is an area of empirical and conceptual work to which scant social-psychological attention has been paid. Indeed, Billig (p. 152) continued his call by confirming that, "there is little social scientific work…to demonstrate what people consider to be prototypical examples of prejudice." Undoubtedly, as with many concepts used in daily discourse, most people are likely to have a basic understanding of what prejudice is. Yet no understanding appears to be universally accepted, and each fluctuates with contextual changes, as exemplified above.

Notably, but not surprisingly, people see their own intergroup attitudes as normative, legitimate and correct (e.g., Crandall, Eshleman & O'Brien, 2002); at minimum, they typically fail to see them as prejudiced. For example, very low levels of self-reported prejudice were observed among university student samples; it was other people who respondents saw as prejudiced, not themselves (O'Brien, Crandall, Hortsman-Reser, Warner, Alsbrooks, & Blodorn, 2010). Moreover, a prejudice-reduction intervention procedure (Devine, Forscher, Austin, & Cox, 2012) includes the confrontation of participants with their own prejudice as measured with the Implicit Association Test. This intervention assumes people do not know that they are prejudiced. However, if people must be told by experts that they are prejudiced, then appropriate and inappropriate intergroup attitudes become the purview of these experts who impose their normative standards on others. This may well be a political state of affairs that is sought. Psychologically, however, people are likely to have intergroup attitudes as blithely as they have attitudes toward cars or vegemite.

If people truly do not know (or believe) their own attitudes to be prejudiced and need social psychologists to "confront" them, then we can reasonably ask: What is it that people believe are and are not prejudiced attitudes? Under what circumstances will people identify their own and others' attitudes as

prejudiced? How will these beliefs fluctuate with dynamic changes in group and intergroup relations? Answering these questions shifts the empirical focus away from the content and nature of people's attitudes about groups, to people's *beliefs about these attitudes*. It becomes an analysis of *lay beliefs about prejudice*.

Psychological analyses of lay beliefs explicitly eschew presuppositions of an association between researchers' understandings of the concepts under examination and those of their respondents. Within this research domain, as we noted above, analyses of lay understandings of prejudice, *per se*, are relatively few. In one early study (Dyer, 1945), however, participants ranked a series of statements about groups and intergroup relations on the "degree of prejudice" (p. 221) exhibited. Intercorrelations of the rankings were interpreted as a degree of consensual understanding about the prejudice concept. Although correlations were observed, they varied between attitude contexts. Higher levels of agreement, for example, were observed in the context of "segregating races and nationalities" than in "attitudes toward occupations" (p. 223). Three broad conclusions can be made from this work: (a) there *are* shared lay understandings of the concept of prejudice, (b) there are also disagreements, and (c) the degree of consensus varies as a function of the context in which it is examined.

More recent work has taken one of two approaches, both of which have revealed similarities between lay and social-psychological understandings of prejudice. One approach is discourse-analytic. This work has revealed that the negative component of prejudice in many (but not all) formal accounts is also held in lay accounts, with people often at pains to preface their intergroup attitudes with "I'm not prejudiced, but…" (Billig, 2012, p. 142). Indeed, Billig describes how people rhetorically separate *intergroup attitudes* from *prejudiced attitudes*. He notes that people have clear expectations about listeners' own views on prejudice, so they work to place themselves in a rhetorically non-taboo position. Such rhetorical distancing occurs for

others as well: Condor, Figgou, Abell, Gibson, and Stevenson (2006) showed that people construct and reconstruct close others' intergroup attitudes as non-prejudiced. Other discourse-analytic work reveals how lay understandings of prejudice also include elements of bias and irrationality. For example, Figgou and Condor (2006, p. 238) observed that prejudice was accounted for, in part, as a "problem of rationality" or "a failure to exercise…self control." In a separate paper, Wetherell (2012) demonstrated how, like social scientists, lay speakers consider prejudice to be a human failing emerging from values overriding facts.

In a second approach to examining lay understandings of prejudice, participants were asked to define prejudice and offer potential "solutions" to it (Hodson & Esses, 2005). Most participants (but certainly not all) considered prejudice to "involve group memberships", while a substantive minority (42%) included some form of negativity. Smaller minorities, yet, focused on "prejudgement" (39%) and errors (17%). Participants' proposed "solutions" also mirrored formal social-psychological analyses, highlighting education (69.2%) and other social influence attempts (i.e., "media influence," 23.1%) as well as intergroup contact (23.1%). In a subsequent paper (Sommers & Norton, 2006), participants generated traits of the social category "White racist" instead of "prejudice" *per se*. Generated traits had both similarities to social-psychological understandings (e.g., ignorant, uneducated) but also remarkable differences (e.g., opinionated, American Southern). When a separate set of participants then rated these traits on the degree to which they attributed them to the category "White racist," the ratings factored into evaluative (e.g., morality), psychological (e.g., ignorant), and demographic (e.g., again, American Southern) dimensions.

The *Prejudice Census*

Our research group has continued this line of work by, among other things, recording instances that people describe as "prejudice". In 2016, we launched our *Prejudice*

Census. This is an on-line questionnaire allowing people anywhere and at any time to report instances of prejudice that they have experienced. At its most basic level, our goal is to accumulate people's experiences according to their own subjective understandings of the concept. The data are quite rich, both qualitatively and quantitatively (as we have measured a variety of attitudes). For the current discussion, we simply present some illustrative examples of the instances of prejudice that our respondents report. In presenting these, we note several patterns. First, like previous work, nearly all instances of prejudice report negative intergroup attitudes and behaviours, some of which were directed toward others and some of which were directed toward respondents themselves. Examples include:

Prejudice Example 1:

...[someone] began extolling the reasons that Australia's 'apology' to Indigenous peoples was unnecessary, and that the affirmative action used to close the gap between whites and blacks was in fact favoritism, that Indigenous Australians were simply inherently lazy and needed to stop using their history as an excuse.

Prejudice Example 2:

We were meeting with some other latin american friends at the hostel we were staying in New Zealand. The hostel's owner kicked us out because "you f*** latins speak so bloody loud".

Prejudice Example 3:

I am a muslim female and have recently moved to australia. ... my daughter ... gave my cell no to one of her friends...her friend never called and told my daughter that she cant hang out with her...as her mother said she doesnt like people with head covering...

Prejudice Example 4:

Walking down the street with my girlfriend, and i was yelled at for being gay. ("Fucking Dyke")

In some ways, there is nothing particularly remarkable about these examples, as they are likely to conform to a broadly consensual view about what prejudice is. At the same time, and consistent with Gordon Allport's (1954) original view, we also observed occasional instances of "positive" prejudice.

Prejudice Example 5:

People assumed i was rich and smart because i am chinese.

Example 5, as well as aspects of Example 1, are particularly informative, as respondents seem more to be describing stereotypes than prejudice, per se. There is clearly a conflating in people's minds between the two concepts, a belief that they actually refer to the same process.

Second, while most of the negative intergroup behaviour were hostile, some were more subtle, as shown in the two examples below.

Prejudice Example 6:

...[a] slightly older, white man...refused to acknowledge my presence...directing his questions and complaints to my male colleague....Eventually I managed to get a word in. He was so surprised I actually had something intelligent to say, he stared at me in disbelief before once again turning to my male colleague...

Prejudice Example 7:

I ordered coffee. A much younger more attractive woman also ordered coffee. The barista fawned over her, drawing artwork on her cup, while only giving me the most cursory attention.

Here, overtly negative or hostile ("old fashioned") prejudice is replaced more by behaviours that are somewhat passive, as the instigator ignores the target more than actively derogates the target. Third, although most instances targeted traditional sociological "minorities" (as in the examples above), there were occasional instances where people describe being the target of prejudice – both negative and positive – despite being in a societally high status or powerful group.

Prejudice Example 8:

I am tall, good looking, white professional. ...I needed to take the bus to work ...Multiple times ...the bus will pass with not stopping even in rain and more severe weather and the bus was always driven by a black woman. If the bus was driven by a black man it always stopped.

Prejudice Example 9:

...whenever you go to a developing country everyone thinks you're far more wealthier because of your skin colour and bother you about buying their products or donating.

Prejudice Example 10:

...I was the only white...person [in my job], and I experienced significant favouritism from the (white) manager. This was in the context of subtle but clearly (to me) prejudiced remarks being made about the other [workers]....

These examples are particularly noteworthy, as they demonstrate the breadth with which the prejudice concept is understood. What is striking, too, is that each respondent's own social category was clearly cognitively salient in each instance. Moreover, in Example 8, it is unclear why or how racial/ethnic background was relevant given the instance described; the author seems to suggest that it is only African American women (this was in the United States) – not women in general (presumably, White women), and clearly not African American men. Why this categorization became salient to the respondent (and not, say, the time of day or capacity of the bus) is unclear, but intriguing.

Fourth, responses on a separate question in the *Prejudice Census* revealed that 70% of respondents at least "agreed somewhat" that they personally had been prejudiced at some time in the past. Despite this unexpectedly high percentage (particularly in light of previous research showing the people deny being prejudiced), in nearly every instance the prejudice that was reported was enacted by someone other than the actual respondent. We did, however, observe two exceptions.

Prejudice Example 11:

...there were concerns about people buying large quantities of baby formula and sending it to China. I...found myself becoming instantly suspicious of people of Asian appearance in the [supermarket] aisle with baby products, which also contained a range of other products.

Prejudice Example 12:

... walking up to the train station I was mildly harassed by a group of teenage ...Aboriginal guys. ...I just sat down...and tried to ignore them. ...later an Aboriginal teenage girl...walked up to me. "Oh no!" I thought..."they HAVE followed me over here, I'm still alone on the station, this isn't good ...". But what she said was, "hi, I'm so glad there's another female here. I was scared of those guys so I was waiting down the road. Can I sit with you please?"

Again, these examples seem to be more descriptions of stereotyping than prejudice, particularly Example 11. Finally, we did, of course, observe the "I'm not prejudiced, but…" claim noted by Billig (2012):

Prejudice Example 13:

I have a distinct memory of my mother saying "i'm not racist, but bloody Asians"....

In the *Prejudice Census*, after respondents provide examples of prejudice, we ask them to *explain* why it is prejudice. Some explanations are simply restatements of the actual incident; others consider group-based judgements, in and of themselves, to be prejudice; while still others invoke irrationality, unfairness, lack of education, and simply "prejudging". There was one explanations that simply essentialized prejudice into human biology. Examples explanations are presented in Table 1.

While many of the examples and explanations of prejudice we have observed in our *Prejudice Census* share broad similarities with each other, any consensus among our respondents exists *only* at this broadest level of abstraction. There is disagreement about how prejudice is expressed and why it is expressed; and, as noted above, many examples were more of stereotypes and stereotyping, while still others were more of group-based discrimination. What consensual view there is suggests that prejudice is about groups and it is bad (and maybe that it is primarily expressed by others and not self). Even the example of "positive" prejudice was reported as unwanted. Worthy of note, however, is that there does seem to be one additional form of consensus by omission: no respondent (thus far, at least) reported institutionally-based prejudice. Either the respondents are unaware of this form of behaviour, or simply do not recognize it.

Table 1. Example Explanations for Observed Prejudice

Explanation	Type of Explanation
Assuming that someone is a thief purely by their race and using derogatory racist terms shows a prejudice by the storekeepers in my opinion.	Restating Incident
Pretty self explanatory really: abusing someone verbally about their race	Restating Incident
The negative attitude towards a whole group of people--he was painting "black people" with a single brush.	Group-Based Judgements
Holding a view of people ... based not on your direct experience of that person, but on an arbitrary characteristic (e.g. Their skin colour or sexuality).	Group-Based Judgements
...Her reasons to worry were not based on any facts but an irrational belief, whose validity she didn't even attempted to check.	Irrationality
Holding a view of people...based not on your direct experience of that person, but on an arbitrary characteristic (e.g. Their skin colour or sexuality).	Irrationality
It was prejudice, as I was unfairly targeted, harassed and threatened in a way that was designed to make me feel unsafe based on my minority status....	Unfairness
It was textbook racial prejudice on my behalf because I pre-judged her based on her race. I assumed she was with the guys because she was Aboriginal. She pre-judged me as safe due to my gender, but at least her assumption was correct, mine was wrong. [From Example 12]	Prejudging
lack of understanding about the capabilities of people from different cultures.	Lack of Education
I think prejudice is an extension of neurological function....	Human biology

Unfortunately, social psychologists, too, seem to have difficulty agreeing precisely what prejudice is. Social psychologists variously define prejudice as an "attitude" (Allport, 1954), or an "attitude or feeling" (Crisp & Turner, 2014), or just "feelings" (Kassin, Fein, & Markus, 2014), or simply an "affective prejudgement" (Sutton & Douglas, 2013). For other researchers, prejudice is an "evaluation" (Smith & Mackie, 1995) or a "negative response" (Baron, Branscombe, & Byrne, 2008). For still other researchers, prejudice is a non-conscious differential association of value-laden attributes with specific targets (Banaji & Greenwald, 1994). And while, for many, prejudiced attitudes, emotions or responses must be *negative*, in Allport's (1954) classic analysis (see also Smith & Mackie), prejudiced attitudes or emotions can also be positive (a view held in at least some lay views, as we saw above).

As for the explanations, our respondents seemed to have hit on key processes also considered by social psychologists. Yet variability remains in both the lay views and in our profession. Social psychologists typically assume that prejudice is an outcome of bias, error or, alas, prejudgement (Augoustinos, Walker, & Donaghue, 2014), although this view is remarkably absent from many formally stated definitions (as a review of social psychology textbook glossaries will show). But the uniform assumption that prejudice is bad is coupled with suggested means to overcome it – most of which entail some form of "more appropriate" learning, such as explicit education (e.g., Devine et al., 2012) or appropriate contact (e.g., Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008). In this way, social psychologists understand prejudice as, effectively, the *wrong* attitudes/emotions/responses/associations about groups and group members. Claims of prejudgement presuppose more appropriate or correct forms of judgement. For attitudes[1] to *become* prejudice, they therefore must diverge from a normative set of standards identifying correct attitudes. Some normative standards, for example, suggest that attitudes about people *should* be determined only with reference to their unique individuality (e.g., Amodio, 2014). Within this latter framework, *any* attitude based upon group membership becomes inappropriate (if not error-driven and biased) – a view that, we should note, is strongly contested among other social psychologists (e.g., Oakes, Haslam, & Turner, 1994).

Our view about prejudice, however, is different. Indeed, we disagree with key features of both formal social psychological analyses and the broadly held lay views exemplified in our *Prejudice Census*. First, let us consider the view that prejudice is, simply, prejudging. Unfortunately, we view the concept of prejudging to be psychologically contentless when interrogated even slightly. Prejudging implies that there is also "judging", and that, somehow, this judging is more appropriate or accurate than judging before one judges (i.e., prejudging). We see this view as flawed, however, given there is no *psychological* process that differentiates judging from judging-before-judging. There is no psychological point at which prejudging simply becomes judging. One might argue, of course, that prejudging ceases once people learn more about others (typically, others as unique individuals and not group members). Although there is an air of lay-logic to this, it falters again because it fails to identify the psychological point where the learning itself ceases. How much do we have to know about someone before prejudging turns into judging? Will 10 minutes do? Ten days? 24/7 for 10 years? The answer is, there is no answer. Of course, as scientists, we could reasonably draw a cut-off when, for example, our views and understandings begin to plateau with each new piece of information. This is completely reasonable – but it remains the value judgement of scientists, and not an actual psychological process: scientists could reasonably place the cut-off elsewhere. In our view, claims of "prejudging" are simply rhetorical claims that others have not reached the same conclusions that we have.

A second problem with both lay views and formal views of prejudice pertains to the near universal (if not completely universal) agreement that negative intergroup attitudes are prejudiced. In some ways this appears non-contestable. If we were to claim that Aboriginal Australians were dirty and disgusting, there is no question that we would be (rightfully) labelled prejudiced. But if we were to claim that child molesters were dirty and disgusting, we suspect that most others would nod their heads in agreement. Yet both claims express (identical) negative intergroup attitudes. Of course, there is a clear difference in these two examples: child molesters have engaged in specific behaviours that place them into their group, while Aboriginal Australians have done no such thing. But even here the argument runs into difficulty. If we claim it is not prejudice if we express negative intergroup attitudes on the basis of behaviours that have placed people into their respective groups, then we should all be satisfied that claims that Jews or Muslims are dirty and disgusting are, in fact, not prejudiced. After all, people can opt into these latter social categories on the basis of their specific behaviours.

The reply, of course, is that child molesters have actually engaged in reprehensible behaviour, behaviour that we consensually view as illegitimate and warranting our negative intergroup attitude. In this way, we see our negative intergroup attitude as relatively true. While in agreement with the values expressed here, we still have concern *as psychologists*. This is because finding a behaviour to be "reprehensible" is simply a reflection of people's collective values about its relative legitimacy. To the extent that this is true, then prejudice no longer represents a psychological process, per se, but is the outcome of a disjuncture between our (socially shared) values and some form of behaviour (a process which *is*, of course, subject to psychological analysis).

[1] From this point, we will use the term "attitudes" as shorthand for the variable definitional characterizations.

It is worth pausing here to clarify our argument thus far. We do not deny the presence of negative intergroup attitudes and the social harm they can yield: both are unquestionable realities. However, our claim is that not all negative intergroup attitudes are identified as prejudice. Indeed, negative intergroup attitudes that, in any given (intergroup or historical) context, are seen as truthful rather than prejudiced, can also be seen as prejudiced with changes in the (intergroup or historical) context. Psychology itself is not immune to such changes. For example, Floyd Allport (1924, p. 386) claimed that "the intelligence of the white race is of a more versatile and complex order than that of the black race." Allport undoubtedly spoke truth as he understood it in his historical context, despite our contemporary abhorrence to his blatant prejudice. In contrast, our own historical context allows us to claim as truth differences in intelligence between the prejudiced themselves and the non-prejudiced (Hodson & Busseri, 2012).

Claims of prejudice can thus be made if we collectively believe – as a shared, in-group norm – one or both of the following: (a) attitudes about groups and/or individuals *as* group members *should not* be expressed, and (b) differential attitudes about groups or group members that are otherwise collectively believed to be equal on the attitude dimension *should not* be made. Violations of these *should not* statements incur the label *prejudice*. By labelling a target individual or group as prejudiced, an actor identifies the target as behaving counter-normatively *with regard to the actor's own group membership and, possibly, the group membership of the actor's intended audience*. Prejudice labelling thus becomes a claim of counter-normative behaviour and often includes (or is itself) an attempt to change the target's attitude and/or the criteria (normative or not) against which the target's attitude is formed.

What we are claiming is that prejudice is actually not a psychological concept at all. It is a political/value concept. When I say, "you're prejudiced", I am saying that you are expressing negative (typically) intergroup attitudes that are inconsistent with the norms and values of *my* group. If you're in my group, then I am saying, "Hey, shape up!" If you are not in my group, you are likely to reply, simply, "No I'm not; I'm telling the truth." And if I say to you, "they're prejudiced," then I am trying to reaffirm a shared social identity between you and me. Ultimately, however, what we are experiencing in claims of prejudice is an argument over shared values and what the claimants collectively understand to be truth. In our research program, we demonstrated aspects of this normative component in one of our recent papers (Lee, Platow, Augoustinos, Van Rooy, Spears, & Bar Tal, 2019). Here participants read an anti-fat statement, followed by a subsequent interpretation that it was "truth" or it was "prejudice". First, participants' perceptions of truth and prejudice were strongly negatively correlated, loading negatively on a single factor: the more the statement was seen as true, the less it was seen as prejudice. Second, when the interpretation was made by a medical doctor (an expert), participants saw the claim as relatively prejudiced when it was described as prejudice but as relatively true when it was described as truth. Participants' perceptions of the identical negative intergroup statement varied as a function of this social influence attempt. No such influence occurred, however, when the interpretation was made by a retail (non-expert) worker.

In this way, our analysis has a strong social constructivist element. Our claim, ultimately, is that there is nothing inherent in specific attitudes that make them prejudiced and others not. We realize, of course, that, for some readers, we now simply appear to be apologists for prejudice. We understand such a claim, but we disagree. In fact, we see our analysis as freeing both social psychologists and social change agents alike from the shackles of supposedly inherent biases permeating the psychological system. By recognizing that prejudice *is* about shared values and norms about intergroup attitudes and behaviours, it allows us to work collectively to shape the values and norms we seek and to negotiate with others who disagree. This is the same

argument that Oakes et al. (1994, p. 206) made about stereotypes, per se: "When we reject stereotypes…this is a political act…." When we reject negative intergroup attitudes *as prejudice*, this too is a political act. And when we embrace negative intergroup attitudes as not prejudice – as, more likely, true – this, too, is a political act, one that expresses our individual and (more often) collective values.

With this framework, we can now make a number of observations directly relevant to the horrific Christchurch murders of 50 people *because* they were Muslims. First, although a lone gunman, it is clear from his actions (e.g., broadcasting his actions to a real or imagined in-group) that the murderer did have a psychological understanding of himself *as a group member*, that he understood his attitudes and behaviours to be normative for that group, and even that he saw his attitudes and behaviours as worthy of celebration within that group. Second, his attitudes led to murder (as opposed to more "mundane" negative intergroup acts exemplified in our *Prejudice Census*) specifically because they were *delegitimizing*. They implied categorization of others as separate "from the sphere of human groups that act within the limits of acceptable norms and/or values, since this group is viewed as violating basic human norms or values and therefore deserves maltreatment" (Bar-Tal & Hammack, 2012, p. 30). This delegitimization served as a rationale for the murders by placing others categorized as an out-group in a position of lesser moral and existential worth (see also Tileaga, 2007). Indeed, the murderer expressed no regret or guilt, instead making hand gestures in court associated with his psychological in-group. In his mind, he performed a desirable act consonant with the norms and values of his psychological in-group. Finally, we note that people are, of course, not born with the supremacist views held by the murderer. As we have argued throughout, the legitimization of negative intergroup attitudes and delegitimization of others are learned and developed in the group and intergroup contexts in which people

live (Bar-Tal & Avrahamzon, 2017). The learned content of these attitudes reflect in-group norms, and collective values and beliefs that serve as a positive reference for those who hold them (Bar-Tal, 1990).

Once again, we do not want to be mistaken as providing justification for the horrors witnessed in Christchurch, let alone the daily expressions of negative intergroup attitudes found in our *Prejudice Census* (and beyond). We find these abhorrent, as we *are* members of groups that do have specific norms and collective values that lead us to label these acts as prejudice (if not worse). Although we are psychologists and scientists, we also remain members of the body politic, and so can express – and will continue to express – political attitudes. But as psychologists and scientists, we need to evaluate and re-evaluate our understandings of (negative) intergroup attitudes and the reasons they are held and expressed. While we may pursue education and contact to change others' negative intergroup attitudes, we must recognize that we are seeking to persuade others that *our* specific understandings of reality are, in fact, truthful. We must recognize that we seek to instil the norms and values of *our* groups. Claiming that "we" have truth while "they" have faulty psychological processes will undoubtedly garner claims of prejudice from the "thems" about whom we so pejoratively speak. And, of course, there will undoubtedly be times when still others will challenge our norms and our truths, and we must be ready and willing to recognize that these challenges may ultimately be forms of positive social change, in and of themselves (Dixon, Levine, Reicher & Durrheim, 2012).

Indeed, we must be willing to have our norms and values challenged by others as we negotiate and re-negotiate our understandings of the social world we inhabit. What we see as truth today may well be challenged as prejudice tomorrow. But if we seek a world of intergroup tolerance and acceptance, we must develop collective values and a shared definition of who *we* are that will enable this to come to fruition. We must seek to instil our groups with the norms and values that will realize our goals. And we must work to ensure that these collective norms and values do not place others outside the sphere of human groups as the Christchurch murder did. As a wise leader recently noted in observing specific intergroup relations, "they are us."

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A screening instrument for assessing psychological distress following disasters: Adaptation for the March 15th, 2019 mass shootings in Christchurch, New Zealand.

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In order to efficiently deploy scarce professional resources in the aftermath of a disaster, it is important to differentiate 1) those distressed individuals who will recover given time for natural psychological healing processes to effective operate from 2) those who may require more immediate and substantial psychological interventions. Following the fatal 2011 Christchurch, NZ earthquakes, a brief screening measure was developed to help practitioners and those actively engaged with survivors and support services to flag those who needed immediate intervention versus those who could be monitored for signs of improvement without immediate provision of ongoing support. This instrument has been adapted for use following the March, 15th, 2019 Christchurch Mosque shootings. The paper outlines the developments of this measure and the adaptations made.

A natural or man-made disaster, and its immediate unfolding, whether a single incident that was predicted (e.g., a hurricane; flood surge, pre-signalled terrorist attack) or unpredicted (e.g., a lone-wolf active-shooter situation, tsunami), or a more protracted sequence that struck with warning (e.g., droughts) or by-surprise (e.g., earthquake and immediate aftershocks; multiple coordinated terrorist attacks), almost always involves members of the general population. These may be direct victims of the unfolding event/s, those caught up by virtue of their proximity in helping the injured or deceased, or those coming into contact with perpetrators. The number directly affected may be very large, such as the case of a city struck by an earthquake with multiple collapsed and damaged buildings, and vast numbers of casualties and fatalities (e.g., the 2011 Christchurch earthquake) or a tourist areas engulfed by a giant swell of water (e.g., the 2004 Indonesian tsunami). In other cases victims and those civilians directly involved may be limited, such as in the case of a factory explosion or an active shooter situation with targeted victims (e.g., the 2015 Bataclan nightclub shooting in Paris, the March 2019 Christchurch Mosque attack). Such events inevitably draw on the expertise of emergency services and first-responder professions, as well as hospital and medical/nursing staff. Increasingly, clinical psychologists may be mobilised to offer their expertise while an event is ongoing, for example, in the service of assisting victims coming into emergency settings or being present amongst first responder groups to act as an adjunct to what they provide or as monitors of the immediate well-being of such staff.

Yet, typically the skills and expertise of a clinical psychologist are more pertinent and effectively initiated at a later point in the time-course of the disaster, in the days, weeks and months that follow. Early in this post-event phase families and friends of victims, and the community at large, are becoming aware of the event - its magnitude, its implications, and their personal connection. Make-shift sites for medical, psychological and social provision may be set up for victims and families, including those waiting to learn of a loved-ones' fate. From this point on a psychologist might be looking for those most in need of immediate support with a view that intervention then may halt the development of more severe problems. There is a tension here between allowing a person to go through the natural process of healing after exposure to a catastrophic event and detecting those whose natural propensity to make sense of their experience and recover from the disaster is compromised and who may especially benefit from early intervention.

It is generally understood that in days and weeks following a disaster taking a conservative approach to detecting those in need of more intense support is best practice (Hobfoll et al., 2007; NICE, 2005). Sleep difficulties, mood fluctuations, increased anxiety, feeling numb or confused, having trouble remembering what happened, feeling isolated or fearing separation, losing motivation and experiencing guilt, sadness, disbelief and anger, are all part of the natural response in the hours, days and sometimes months that follow a disaster (Disaster Response & Resilience Research Group, 2012). Such responses should not be pathologized or seen as indicators of weakness, vulnerability for prolonged or increased suffering or the development of psychopathology. It is typically recommended that basic psychological first aid involving physical and emotional support along with education about normal responses to overwhelming events should be engaged in (Disaster Response & Resilience Research Group, 2012; Kim, 2011), while there is a 'watch and wait' period, where, over eight to ten weeks, the person is invited to monitor themselves for

signs of worsening difficulties (Hobfoll et al., 2007; NICE, 2005). Should symptoms persist over several months, or worsen, the person should be further assessed with a view to more formalised interventions to reduced psychopathology or halt its further development.

Thus, following in the immediate aftermath of a disaster, three groups of people might be identified:

1) Those that show no or little distress;
2) Those who appear symptomatic at least to a moderate level. Here the 'watch and wait' period will allow, either:
   2a) The natural process of psychological healing to take place and the person will steadily recover their psychological equilibrium, motivation and curiosity for life,
   2b) The natural healing process with be disrupted and distress will be prolonged or worsened.
3) Those with high and diverse symptoms, where the natural healing process is immediately compromised, and has no chance of operating to promote recovery. Here a 'watch and wait' period would leave the person suffering without the likelihood of recuperation, and interventions would best not be withheld.

Tools have been developed to assist psychologists, emergency support agencies, counsellors and those providing psychosocial support to assist in the detection of these groups. For example, Carlson, Palmieri, and Spain (2017) developed a measure based on known risk factors (e.g., post-trauma social support, trauma cognitions, acute stress symptoms) for the development of posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) following overwhelming events. It contains 21 items in an easy to complete tickbox response format that can be used in various settings. They suggest that if a person responds positively to three or more of the six risk factors assessed, they should be referred for more specialist psychological intervention; i.e., they are in category 3 above. Brewin et al. (2002) developed a short 10-item measure (*The Trauma Screening Questionnaire*; TSQ) assessing re-experiencing and arousal symptoms following an overwhelming event. It

was designed to be used one or more months after a trauma (i.e., following a period to allow natural recovery to take hold) and has a very simple yes/no response format enquiring about the experience of each symptom at least twice in the past two weeks. It can be used in different settings and was found to be helpful following the 2005 London bombings in the detection of those most likely to have posttraumatic stress disorder. Scores of 6 or more prompt more thorough assessment, which might ultimately lead to the detection of categories 2b or 3 above.

Mass shooting in Christchurch, March, 15th, 2019

The mass shootings at two mosques in Christchurch represented a unprecedented event for the city and for the nation as a whole. Unlike the earthquakes that started in 2010, reached their height of destructiveness and human cost in 2011 and remained a constant threat over many years via persist aftershocks, the mass shootings were targeted at a specific minority group within the city, were of human design and conducted by a single person who was not from the city nor had any affiliation with it. These two disasters were different on multiple levels: One was natural, the other man-made; One left wide-spread infrastructure damage and mass scars on the built environment, the other impacted on two buildings, where the remnants of the events were etched into walls, floors, doors and ceilings in the form of bullet marks, but no structural damage ensued; One persisted following the initial turmoil for several years, with ongoing large aftershocks and the multiple stresses associated with insurance claims, etc; The other ended quickly following the initial turmoil. Yet, both lead to significant loss of life, both arose without warning, both lead to massive community responses that spread from the city to the country and onto the international community, and both tore at the social heart of the city in terms of a sense of felt safety, moving out from an individual's psychology to communal identity.

The earthquakes required a massive psychosocial and community response, as every aspect of life was affected, and everyone in the city was impacted. For some this was limited to

needing to change work or school routines, adopt new travel routes, change social and sporting outlets, and live with the anxiety of the uncertain and unpredictable. For others the impact was more costly, losing family members, homes, jobs, pets and neighbours, and needing to start again. For many the psychological effect of the earthquakes remain, and a considerable proportion of people are still working to settle insurance claims and are living in broken or unsatisfactory housing. Nevertheless, as one consequence of this experience, the Christchurch community has gained considerable experience in coping with and organizing responses to disasters.

As one example of this, in the immediate aftermath of the 2011 earthquakes, a group of clinical psychologists acting together under the auspices of the New Zealand College of Clinical Psychologists, looked at various tasks and initiatives that could be developed to assist the human response to earthquake recovery. One project was to develop a short measure of psychological function that could be used to assist in decision-making around the three categories of response outlined above (i.e., those individuals who evidenced little distress about the earthquake, those who were in the watch and wait group, on account of having symptoms and risk factors for more severe problems but where the natural process of healing might arrest the development of ongoing and more chronic distress, and those who needed more immediate engagement with more psychologically sophisticated interventions beyond psychosocial or physical support, to target symptoms and reduce pathological distress or its development).

Following the March 2019 mass shooting this measure was adapted to be more fit-for-purpose for the signal event. The measure is short (two pages) with Likert-type response formats. It includes Brewin et al.'s (2002) 10 item TSQ (see Appendix, part A), which was found to be effective at detecting those most prone to posttraumatic stress symptoms after the London bombing. In addition, as psychopathology has been a consistent risk factor for

posttraumatic problems (Ozer, Best, Lipsey, & Weiss, 2003), three separate items from the Generalised Anxiety Disorder-7 scale and two discrete depression items from the Patient Health Questionnaire-9 were utilised (see Appendix, part B). Further, as persistent dissociation has been shown to be a solid predictor of ongoing distress after potentially traumatic experiences (e.g., Hooper, Dorahy, Blampied, & Jordan, 2014), and Briere and colleagues (2005) found that four persistent dissociation items from the Detailed Assessment of PTSD (Briere, 2001) were good predictors of individuals who had more severe posttraumatic concerns, these four items were also included (see Appendix, part C).

The three different risk variables so far discussed for the development of more severe problems were included in the earthquake screening measure. The remaining questions were either designed to be more fit-for-purpose for the current situation (a mass shooting targeting the Muslim population), more specific to Christchurch residents particularly, or to assess the risk factor of lack of social support. The first new item assessed whether the respondent feels that people around them support their religious and cultural beliefs and practices (see Appendix, part D). Literature on mass shootings routinely shows that immigrants are more vulnerable to develop posttraumatic problems in the aftermath of a shooting (Lowe & Galea, 2017). For example, being a migrant was one of the best predictor of the development of more severe problems following the Utoya shooting in Norway (Dyd,

Jensen, Nygaard, & Ekeberg, 2014). The second new question addressed whether the March 15th shooting brought back distressing memories of the earthquake or other painful events (see Appendix, part E). Research persistently shows previous trauma is a good predictor for disruptions on the healing response following a potentially traumatic event (Carlson et al., 2017, Ozer et al., 2003). Finally, an item adapted from the earthquake version of the screen instrument assessed access to social support (see Appendix, part F), as again, this has been routinely shown to be a risk factor for post-trauma failure to recover (e.g., Frazier et al., 2011).

Each part of the instrument (i.e., from part A to part F) produces a yes/no score based on whether the participant is positive for each one. A traffic light system is adopted, which either reflects 1) scoring for those assessed in the two month period following the shooting, or 2) scoring that occurs if the instrument is completed at least two months after the attack. For individuals assessed in the first two months, those who score positively on two or fewer of the six areas are in the green zone. They may be offered some psychological first aid to assist full recovery, but require no further attention unless symptoms increase (category 1 above). Those affirmative on three or four of the six areas, are in category 2 above, or the orange zone. They are the watch and wait group, and following receipt of any psychological first aid on offer and any basic information or specific low-level intervention (e.g., sleep hygiene) they should be invited to recontact services (or can be

followed-up, depending on service provision and procedures) if difficulties persist or increase. Those scoring above 4 – in the red zone - are offered more assessment and more specific and targeted intervention for distress. More immediate action is needed for these individuals to reduce distress or stop the development of more severe problems. Here, specific psychological therapy may be engaged in to target symptoms or address the person as a whole, if more complex and pervasive difficulties are present.

For those completing the screening tool beyond two months after the event, the scoring is the same, but the decision making 'traffic light' system is altered. The green zone now reflects those with a zero score, the orange zone captures those with a score of 1 or 2, and those over 2 are identified in the red zone (see Appendix for scoring and decision making guidance).

The scoring scheme or categorisation has not been empirically tested and should not trump sound clinical decision making. It is based on reviewing the literature and on anecdotal reports from when the related tool was used in clinical services during the Christchurch earthquakes. It is unknown how culturally sensitive it may be, and at this stage there is only an English language version, but could be translated. In short, it requires further assessment but may be of assistance to services dealing with the current crisis, or it could be adapted and adopted to fit future disasters or traumatising events.

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Appendix

BRIEF TRAUMA SCREENING INTERVIEW

IDENTIFICATION CODE (Persons first & last initials & day & month of birth-eg. mb1308) _____

AGE _____   **GENDER** _____

PHONE _____   **EMAIL** _____

TODAY'S DATE _____   **TIMES ASSESSED WITH THIS MEASURE: 1   2   3   4   5**

DO YOU CONSENT TO BEING CONTACTED IN THE FUTURE TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS? YES   NO

The following questions are designed to be asked by a GP, clinician or health professional of people who may be distressed by the March 15th 2019 mass shootings in Christchurch. The questions are designed to help understand people's responses and reactions and identify those who might require more psychological support.

- I am going to ask you some questions about reactions that people sometimes have after an event such as the recent shootings in Christchurch.
- My questions are concerned with your personal reactions to the March 15th 2019 events.
- Can you indicate whether or not you have experienced the following AT LEAST TWICE IN THE PAST WEEK
- If answer is YES, please rate: 0=A little bit; 1=Moderately; 2=Quite a lot; 3=Very much; 4=Extremely

	(At least TWICE in the past week) **YES**	**NO**	**Rating 0-4**
1. Upsetting thoughts or memories about the event that have come into your mind without your intention			
2. Upsetting dreams about the event			
3. Acting or feeling as though the event were happening again			
4. Feeling upset by reminders of the event			
5. Bodily reactions (such as fast heartbeat, stomach churning, sweatiness, dizziness) when reminded of the event			
6. Difficulty falling or staying asleep			
7. Irritability or outbursts of anger			
8. Difficulty concentrating			
9. Heightened awareness of potential dangers to yourself and others			
10. Being jumpy or being startled at something unexpected			

A. Total score on items 1-10 ≥ 6: NO   YES

As a result of the attacks, how often have you been bothered in the past week by the following problems?	Not at all	Several days	More than half the days	Nearly every day	Every-day
11. Feeling nervous, anxious or on edge	0	1	2	3	4
12. Not being able to stop or control worrying	0	1	2	3	4
13. Feeling afraid as if something awful might happen	0	1	2	3	4
14. Feeling down, depressed, or hopeless	0	1	2	3	4
15. Feeling bad about yourself — or that you are a failure or have let yourself or your family down	0	1	2	3	4

B. Mean score on items 11-15 ≥ 1.5:   NO   YES

As a result of the attacks, how much in the last week has the following happened?	Not at all	Slightly	Some-what	Very	Extrem-ely
16. Feeling like you were walking around in a dream or a movie.	0	1	2	3	4
17. Things not feeling completely real.	0	1	2	3	4
18. Going around in a daze, not noticing things.	0	1	2	3	4
19. Times when you felt separate from your body.	0	1	2	3	4

C. Mean score on items 16-19 ≥ 2:   NO   YES

Since the attacks, to what degree have you:

20. Felt people around you have understood and supported your spiritual and religious beliefs, and culture?

    0 (Constantly)   1 (often)   2 (sometimes)   3 (occasionally)   4 (Not at all)

D. Score on item 20 ≥ 3:   NO   YES

21. Has this event reactivated painful feelings of the Canterbury Earthquakes or other distressing events?	YES	NO

E. Score "Yes' on 21:   NO   YES

22. Have you got people around that you can talk to openly about what you have experienced during and since the attack?

    0 (Not at all)   1 (occasionally)   2 (sometimes)   3 (often)   4 (Constantly)

F. Score on items 21 ≤ 1:   NO   YES

Please add the number of 'YES' responses for A-F:

- **If 2 or less, psychological first aid, education. No further action unless requested.**

- **If 3 or 4, education, support, watchful wait. Invite further contact if no change in a week**

- **If > 4, continue ongoing psychological support or referral to appropriate person/service**

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Brief Screening Scoring Key

1a: Scoring in the 2 months following the disaster

Add up items for each section (A-F) to determine if YES (criterion met) or NO (criterion not met):

A: Sum total of items 1-10 = 6 or above
B: Mean of items 11-15 = 1.5 or above
C: Mean of items 16-20 = 2 or above
D: Item 20 = 2 or above
E: Item 21 = YES
F: Items 22 = above 3

1b: Decision making in the 2 months following the disaster

Green (no further immediate action), orange (watch and wait – invite to contact again if no improvement), red (continue psychological support, assessment, & move into therapy)

- **If 2 or less, psychological first aid, education. No further action unless requested.**

- **If 3 or 4, education, support, watchful wait. Invite further contact if no change in a fortnight**

- **If > 4, continue ongoing psychological support with specific treatment of symptoms or the person, or referral to appropriate person/service**

2a: Scoring beyond 2 months following the disaster

The same as scoring above.

2b: Decision making in the 2 months following the disaster

Green (no further immediate action), orange (watch and wait – invite to contact again if no improvement), red (continue psychological support, assessment, & move into therapy)

- **If 0, Invite further contact if any difficulties arise**

- **If 1 or 2, education, support, watchful wait. Invite further contact if no change in a fortnight**

- **If > 2, continue ongoing psychological support with specific treatment of symptoms or the person, or referral to appropriate person/service**

Exploring New Zealand National Identity and Its Importance for Attitudes toward Muslims and Diversity

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In the aftermath of the horrific terrorist attack against Muslims in Christchurch, it is important to examine what psychological factors predict positive attitudes toward Muslims and acceptance of diversity, more broadly. The present work examines how beliefs about national identity predict attitudes toward Muslims and support for diversity in New Zealand. Using a national sample, we first describe the extent to which New Zealanders rate various characteristics as important for being a 'true' New Zealander. We then examine how such beliefs about national character predict attitudes toward Muslims and diversity. Results revealed that the more people believe that having specific ancestral heritage and cultural characteristics are important for being a 'true' New Zealander, the more negatively they feel about Muslims and the more they opposition they expressed toward diversity. However, endorsement of more civic characteristics (e.g., respect for the nation's institutions) was unrelated to attitudes toward Muslims and support for diversity. Taken together, this work reveals that how we define who we are as a nation influences how we feel about Muslims and diversity. Broader implications for the future of cultural diversity in New Zealand are also considered.

Keywords: national identity; New Zealand; national character; diversity; Muslims

Introduction

In the immediate aftermath of the horrific attack against Muslims in Christchurch on March 15, 2019, New Zealand's Prime Minister, Jacinda Ardern, told a shocked public: "*Many of those who will have been directly affected by this shooting may be migrants to New Zealand, they may even be refugees here. They have chosen to make New Zealand their home, and it is their home. They are us. The person who has perpetuated this violence against us is not.*" While there has been debate on whether the perpetrator of the hateful terrorist attack reflects something about 'us' (e.g., Ghumkhor, 2019; McLachlan, 2019), Ardern's words serve to define New Zealand national identity in a way that psychologically includes Muslims, immigrants, and refugees as part of the nation. Such an approach is largely in line with extant social and political psychology research showing that how people define national identity and conceptualize who is a 'true' member of the country is inextricably linked to the acceptance or exclusion of immigrants, refugees, and ethnic minority co-nationals (Pehrson, Brown, & Zagefka, 2009; Wakefield et al., 2011; for reviews, see Pehrson & Green, 2010; Yogeeswaran & Dasgupta, 2014). But, do every day New Zealanders define their national identity in a way that echoes the inclusive language of the nation's Prime Minister? And how do beliefs about what it takes to be a 'true' New Zealander account for diversity attitudes and attitudes toward Muslims in particular, the group directly targeted by this terrorist attack? The present research examines these questions using a large nationally representative sample. Here we argue that lay beliefs about the 'true' New Zealander having specific ancestry or cultural characteristics may predict negative attitudes toward Muslims and opposition to diversity. In contrast, lay beliefs about national identity that encompass civic participation may predict neutral to positive attitudes toward Muslims and diversity.

National identity and intergroup relations

For many years, political scientists have argued that national identity can be characterised along ethnic or civic dimensions (Brubaker, 2009; Citrin, Reingold, & Green, 1990; Smith, 1991). Ethnic national character refers to national identity defined by shared ancestry or heritage in specific linguistic, ethnic, or religious traditions. According to such a conception of national identity, only people of certain descent or ancestral bloodlines can claim national identity, while all others simply cannot be considered 'true' members of the nation, thereby remaining 'visitors' regardless of whether or not they are born and raised in the country and contributing to the nation (Bloemraad, Korteweg, & Yurdakul, 2008; Pehrson & Green, 2010; Yogeeswaran & Dasgupta, 2014). By contrast, civic national character defines national identity by political membership and participation along with a shared commitment to certain ideals and principles. By such a definition, anyone regardless of their cultural, religious, linguistic, or ethnic heritage can be 'true' members of the nation as long as they subscribe to core ideals or principles (e.g.,

respecting individual liberties and freedoms) and participate in society (Bloemraad et al., 2008; Pehrson & Green, 2010; Schildkraut, 2007; Yogeeswaran & Dasgupta, 2014).

While nations possess legal definitions for who counts as one of 'us' through citizenship laws (Yogeeswaran & Dasgupta, 2014), psychological conceptions of national identity can include ethnic, civic, or combination of both these conceptions simultaneously. For example, while Americans tend to endorse many civic characteristics of national identity (e.g., the importance of respecting the nation's institutions and laws, freedom of speech, working for the betterment of the country), they sometimes simultaneously show signs of ethnic national character (e.g., emphasising the importance of speaking English, being Christian; (Citrin et al., 1990; Devos & Banaji, 2005; Schildkraut, 2003, 2007). The simultaneous endorsement of both civic and ethnic national characters is further evident when exploring automatic or implicit associations using reaction-time tools alongside more explicit self-report measures as people can consciously endorse inclusive civic characteristics of their national identity, while implicitly or automatically perceiving some groups as more 'authentic' members of the nation than others (for a review, see Devos & Mohamed, 2014; Yogeeswaran, Devos & Nash, 2016).

Why should we care about people's conceptions of national identity? Extensive research within the social sciences shows that whether people define their national identity in terms of ethnic or civic characteristics has important implications for how we see other groups. For example, Wakefield and colleagues (2011) experimentally tested whether making salient the ethnic or civic aspect of Scottish national identity would differentially impact the inclusion of ethnic minorities and prosocial tendencies. Across three studies, they found that framing Scottish national identity as normatively ethnic led White Scottish participants to be less tolerant of criticism about Scotland by a Chinese-Scot (i.e., a Scottish person of Chinese descent), decreased their willingness to include a Chinese-Scot within the national identity, and reduced their willingness to help a

Chinese-Scot person in need, all relative to those in a control condition. By contrast, when Scottish national identity was framed as normatively civic in nature, White Scots were more willing to accept a Chinese-Scot's criticism of Scotland, more willing to include such an ethnic minority within the national identity, and increased their willingness to help a Chinese-Scot target who was in need, all relative to controls.

Similarly, in research from the USA, exposing participants to biographical descriptions of Asian Americans and Hispanic Americans who work for the betterment of the country (thereby highlighting their fit with civic national character) increased the explicit and implicit inclusion of both Asian and Hispanic Americans within the national identity (Yogeeswaran, Dasgupta, & Gomez, 2012). However, making salient the ethnic identification of Asian Americans and Hispanic Americans (thereby highlighting the lack of fit with ethnic national character) decreased explicit and implicit inclusion of these groups within the national identity (Yogeeswaran et al., 2012). Taken together, even ethnic minorities who are born and raised in the country, but of specific ethnic heritage, can be excluded from the national identity based on how the national identity is defined.

The distinction between ethnic and civic national identity has also been important in explaining how identification with the nation can have diverging implications on attitudes toward newer groups. For example, Pehrson, Vignoles, and Brown (2009) used data from 31 countries to show that the strength of national identification among majority group members predicts anti-immigrant sentiments, but only in countries where people define their national identity in terms of more ethnic characteristics, and not in those nations with a more civic national identity. Data such as these highlight the importance of better understanding lay definitions of national identity and their implications for attitudes toward minorities and immigrants. In fact, going beyond the specific framing of national identity as ethnic-civic, Smeekes, Verkuyten, and Poppe (2011) revealed that making the

Christian roots of the Netherlands salient increased opposition to Muslim expressive rights among Dutch participants that were both high and low in national identification relative to a control condition. However, making the humanistic and tolerant history of the Netherlands salient led Dutch participants who were weakly identified with the country to show greater acceptance of Muslim expressive rights relative to those highly identified with the country.

While much psychological research has been done on national identity in other parts of the world, there is limited work on how people define New Zealand national character (see Sibley, Hoverd, & Liu, 2011; Sibley & Liu, 2007) and whether these beliefs predict attitudes toward minority groups and diversity. Therefore, the present work examines two important research questions: (1) to what extent do New Zealanders rate various ethnic and civic characteristics as defining of New Zealand national identity?; and (2) to what extent do people's beliefs about what it means to be a 'true' New Zealander predict attitudes toward Muslims and support (versus opposition) for diversity? Here we specifically focus on attitudes toward Muslims as it is important to understand how everyday beliefs about national identity can contribute to prejudice toward this group in the aftermath of the horrific terrorist attack of March 15, 2019.

METHOD

Sampling Procedure

The current study utilised data from Time 7 of the New Zealand Attitudes and Values Study (NZAVS). The NZAVS, which began in 2009, is a longitudinal national probability study that investigates social attitudes, personality, values, among other factors. The Time 7 data were collected in 2015. Sampling occurred by randomly selecting individuals from the New Zealand Electoral Roll who were over the age of 18 years. Participants drawn from the New Zealand Electoral Roll are New Zealand citizens and permanent residents who are eligible to vote. A copy of the questionnaire was posted to participants, and a second postal

follow-up was sent two months later. Participants were invited to complete an online version of the questionnaire if they provided an email address. A prize draw was offered to participants for their participation in the study (see Sibley, 2018, for further details about sampling).

Participants

The Time 7 (2015) NZAVS data contained responses from 13,944 participants. In total, 13,794 participants provided responses to the relevant measures and were therefore included in the current analysis. The mean age of participants was 50.80 years (SD = 13.89), with 62.7% identifying as female and 37.3% identifying as male. Of these participants, 80.3% identified as New Zealand European/Pākehā, 12.2% identified as Māori, 2.6% identified as Pasifika, and 2.5% identified as being of Asian descent.

Measures
Demographics

Participants provided answers to a range of demographic variables such as gender, age, religiosity, household income, whether they lived in an urban/rural area, relationship status, parental status, and employment status. Neighbourhood deprivation was measured on a scale of 1 (most impoverished) to 10 (most affluent), using the NZ Deprivation Index 2013

(Atkinson, Salmond, & Campton, 2014).

Political Orientation

Participants also completed a one-item measure from Jost (2006), asking them to rate how politically left-wing versus right-wing they saw themselves as being. This item was rated on a 7-point scale which ranged from 1 (extremely left-wing) to 7 (extremely right-wing). This variable was included as a control variable similar to the demographic factors above.

National Character

Participants completed four items which asked them about whether there are certain qualities that make someone a 'true' New Zealander. These items were adapted from Citrin et al. (1990) and asked participants to rate how important they thought each quality was for being a 'true' New Zealander. The items were: (a) "To have New Zealand citizenship", (b) "To respect New Zealand's political institutions and laws", (c) "To be able to speak English", and (d) "To have Māori or European ancestry". While the first two items relate to civic national character, the latter two relate to ethnic national character. However, as the internal consistency of the two ethnic and civic national character items was too low to justify combining the items into composite measures ($αs$ < .46), we examined

these four items independently. These items were rated on a 7-point scale which ranged from 1 (not important) to 7 (very important), with a mid-point of 4 (somewhat important).

Warmth toward Muslims

Participants completed attitude ratings modelled on affect thermometer items included in United States National Election Study. These items asked participants to rate their feelings of warmth toward Muslims on scales ranging from 1 (feel least warm toward this group) to 7 (feel most warm toward this group), with 4 indicating neutral feelings toward the group.

Diversity attitudes

Participants completed three items ($α$ = .75) which assessed diversity attitudes, taken from Breugelmans and van de Vijver (2004). Participants were asked to indicate how strongly they agreed or disagreed with three items: "The unity of NZ is weakened by too many immigrants" (reverse-coded), "I feel at ease when I am in a city district in NZ with many immigrants," and "There are too many immigrants living in NZ" (reverse-coded). The items were rated from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). Larger numbers indicate more support for diversity, while smaller numbers indicate opposition to the same.

RESULTS

Descriptive Analyses:
Ratings of New Zealand National Character

We first descriptively examined participants' ratings of the importance of each of the national character items (see Figures 1a-1d for details). As evident in Figures 1a-1d, nearly 90% of New Zealanders believed having

Regression Analyses:
Warmth toward Muslims

Multiple regression analyses were conducted to examine how different beliefs about what it takes to make someone a 'true' New Zealander predicted attitudes toward Muslims, while controlling for a number of important demographic factors and even participant's political orientation (see Table 1 for full model). After adjusting for these factors in our

New Zealand citizenship was somewhat to very important for someone to be considered a 'true' New Zealander (i.e., responded 4 or above on the measure; M = 5.64, SD = 1.63). Similarly, approximately 92% thought that being able to speak English was somewhat to very important for someone to be considered a 'true' New Zealander (M = 5.76, SD = 1.45), and more than 97% reported that respecting New model, results revealed that the more people believed that being able to speak English was important to be considered a 'true' New Zealander, the less warmth they reported towards Muslims, B = -.211, SE = .011, $β$ = -.203, p < .001. Similarly, the more participants believed that having Māori or European ancestry was important for someone to be considered a 'true' New Zealander, the less warmth they reported towards

Zealand's political institutions and laws was somewhat to very important for someone to be considered a 'true' New Zealander (M = 6.22, SD = 1.10). Finally, approximately 35% of New Zealanders reported that having Māori or European ancestry was somewhat to very important for one to be considered a 'true' New Zealander (M = 2.80, SD = 1.89).

Muslims, B = -.101, SE = .008, $β$ = -.124, p < .001. On the other hand, believing that having New Zealand citizenship was important to be a 'true' New Zealander did not predict warmth toward Muslims, B = .003, SE = .009, $β$ = .004, p = .71. However, believing that respect for New Zealand's political institutions and laws was important to being a 'true' New Zealander predicted a small increase in warmth toward Muslims,

$B = .031$, $SE = .014$, $\beta = .022$, $p = .03$. Collectively, this regression model accounted for 12.7% variance in warmth towards Muslims, $R^2 = .127$, with the four national character items alone accounting for 8.8% of the variance in warmth toward Muslims, $R^2 = .088$.
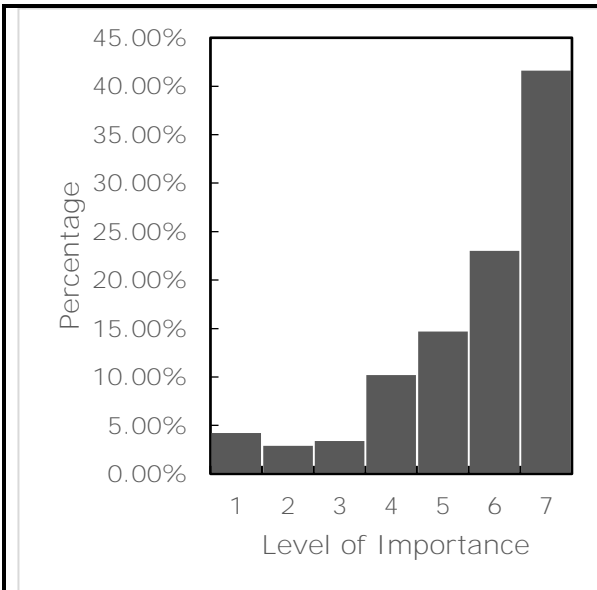
Figure 1a. To have New Zealand citizenship
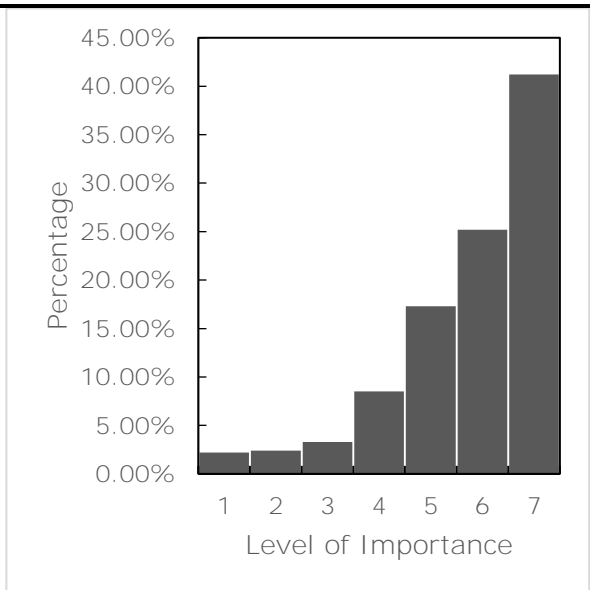
Figure 1b. To be able to speak English

Figure 1c. To respect New Zealand's political institutions and laws

Figure 1d. To have Māori or European ancestry

Figures 1a-1d

The figures presented display the distribution of responses as percentages from participants when asked how important do they personally think the following qualities are for being a true New Zealander, where 1 = not important, 4 = somewhat important, and 7 = very important.

Table 1. Multiple regression analyses examining the predictors of Support for Diversity and Warmth towards Muslims. Focal predictors (i.e.,To have NZ Citizensh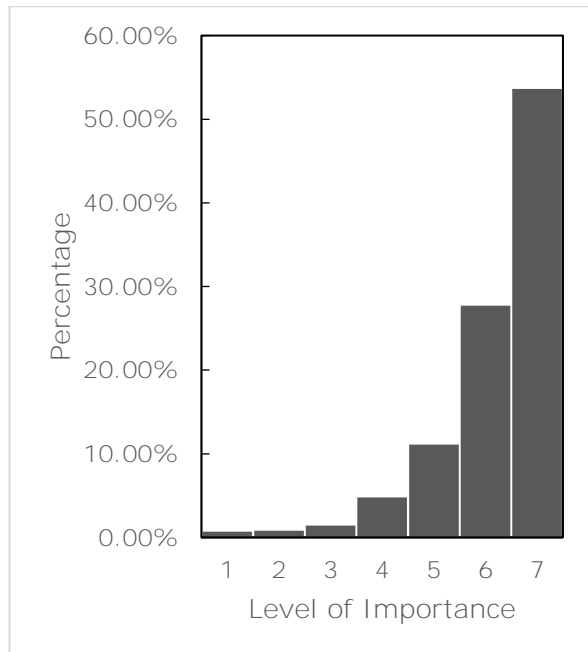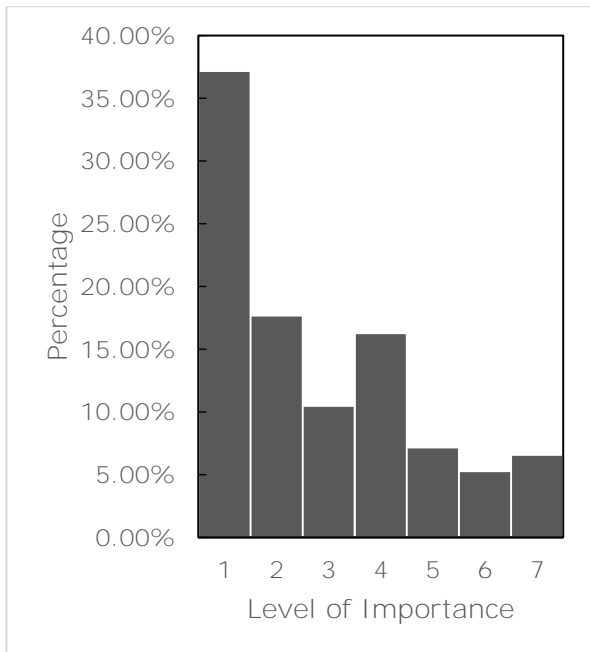ip, To be able to speak English, To respect NZ's political institutions and laws, and To have Māori or European ancestry) are emphasized in bold.

	Warmth towards Muslims			Support for Diversity		
	b	*(SE)*	*β*	*b*	*(SE)*	*β*
Constant	5.978	(0.114)		7.099	(0.099)	
To have NZ Citizenship	0.003	(0.009)	0.004	0.001	(0.008)	0.001
To be able to Speak English	-0.211	(0.011)	-0.203***	-0.242	(0.010)	-0.246***
To Respect NZ's Political Institutions and Laws	0.031	(0.014)	0.022*	0.022	(0.012)	0.017
To have Māori or European Ancestry	-0.101	(0.008)	-0.124***	-0.208	(0.007)	-0.269***
Gender[a]	-0.207	(0.028)	-0.067***	-0.187	(0.024)	-0.064***
Age	-0.005	(0.001)	-0.047***	0.004	(0.001)	0.034***
Household Income	0.005	(0.001)	0.043***	0.011	(0.001)	0.093***
Socioeconomic status	-0.003	(0.005)	-0.005	-0.010	(0.005)	-0.020*
Religiosity[b]	0.053	(0.028)	0.018	-0.082	(0.024)	-0.028***
Parental Status[c]	-0.019	(0.036)	-0.005	-0.047	(0.031)	-0.014
Relationship Status[d]	-0.103	(0.035)	-0.029**	-0.048	(0.030)	-0.014
Employment Status[e]	0.061	(0.036)	0.016	-0.001	(0.031)	0.000
Urban versus Rural[f]	0.070	(0.029)	0.022*	0.121	(0.026)	0.040***
Māori (1=yes; 0=no)	0.119	(0.044)	0.025**	-0.173	(0.038)	-0.038***
Pacific (1=yes; 0=no)	0.217	(0.084)	0.023**	-0.067	(0.073)	-0.008
Asian (1=yes; 0=no)	-0.087	(0.070)	-0.011	-0.147	(0.061)	-0.020*
Political orientation[g]	-0.168	(0.011)	-0.149***	-0.172	(0.009)	-.0160***
Education	0.003	(0.001)	0.020*	0.001	(0.001)	0.010

[a] Gender (0 = female, 1= male). [b] Identify with a religion and/or spiritual Group (0 = no, 1= yes). [c] Parental status (0 = not a parent, 1= a parent). [d] Relationship status (0 = not in a serious relationship, 1= in a serious relationship). [e] Employment status (0 = not employed, 1 = employed). [f] Urban versus rural (0 = rural, 1 = urban). [g] Political orientation (extremely left-wing = 1, extremely right-wing = 7)
* $p \leq 0.05$, ** $p \leq 0.01$, *** $p \leq 0.001$

Diversity Attitudes:

A similar regression model examined how endorsement of each of the characteristics of New Zealand national character predicted general diversity attitudes, while controlling for various demographic factors and participant's political orientation (see Table 1). This analysis yielded similar results to the above model. Specifically, the more people felt that being able to speak English was important to be considered a 'true'

New Zealander, the more they opposed diversity, *B* = -.242, *SE* = .010, β = -.246, *p* < .001. Similarly, the more people believed that having Māori or European ancestry was important to be considered a 'true' New Zealander, the more they opposed diversity, *B* = -.208, *SE* = .007, β = -.269, *p* < .001. On the other hand, believing that having New Zealand citizenship, *B* = .001, *SE* = .008, β = .001, *p* = .90, and believing

that respect for New Zealand's political institutions and laws was important to being a 'true' New Zealander *B* = .022, *SE* = .012, β = .017, *p* = .07, were not meaningful predictors of diversity attitudes. This regression model accounted for 24.6% variance in diversity attitudes, *R²* = .246, with the four national character items alone accounting for 20.6% of the variance in opposition to diversity, *R²* = .206.

DISCUSSION

The present research uses data from a nationally representative sample to explore how New Zealanders define what it means to be a 'true' New Zealander, and then tests how such beliefs predict prejudicial attitudes toward Muslims and support for diversity in New Zealand. Data revealed that a vast majority of New Zealanders believe that respecting

New Zealand's political institutions and laws, having New Zealand citizenship, and being able to speak English are somewhat to very important for someone to be considered a 'true' New Zealander. While the first two represent more civic characteristics of national identity where no specific cultural traits or heritage is placed above any other, the third characteristic is argued

to represent an ethnic conception of national identity (e.g., Citrin et al., 1990; Schildkraut, 2003; 2007) by placing higher importance on an Anglo characteristic of national identity. With that said, the ability to speak English is an achievable characteristic as anyone regardless of their heritage can learn the language. By comparison, a sizeable minority (35%) believe that having European

or Māori ancestry is required for someone to be a 'true' New Zealander, making it impossible for anyone not of these ancestral bloodlines to ever be considered a 'true' New Zealander. Overall, these findings suggest that people tend to endorse both ethnic and civic aspects of national character simultaneously, although there appears to be greater consensus around civic aspects of national character.

However, as these data show, beliefs about what makes someone a 'true' New Zealander are not just confined to people's general beliefs – they also have important bearings on how others in society feel about minority groups and diversity more broadly. Specifically, the more people believe that having certain ancestral bloodlines or certain cultural characteristics are defining of what it means to be a 'true' New Zealander, the more negatively they evaluate a minority group like Muslims, and the more negativity they express toward diversity. These relationships emerge even when controlling for a range of demographic factors and participant's political orientation, accounting for approximately 9% and 20% of the variance in people's attitudes toward Muslims and opposition to diversity, respectively. This implies that changing these beliefs about what defines 'us' to be less exclusive is an important step for forging positive relations in our increasingly diverse nation.

Broader Implications

While the present work reveals beliefs about what makes someone a 'true' New Zealander and how such beliefs that define national identity in terms of specific ancestral heritage or prioritising certain cultural characteristics can negatively predict attitudes toward Muslims and diversity, it is also important to consider the broader implications of these findings for New Zealand. For example, by a sizeable minority (35%) believing that having European or Māori ancestry is required for someone to be a 'true' New Zealander, it implies that anyone who is not of European or Māori ancestry simply can never become a 'real' New Zealander, even if they are born and raised in the country, participate and contribute to the country, and the

same would apply to their children and grandchildren in the future. As evidenced by research on identity denial, ethnic minorities (especially Asian westerners) who have their national identity denied to them experience a host of negative emotions, reduced life satisfaction, hope, and increased depressive symptoms (Cheryan & Monin, 2005; Huynh, Devos, & Smalarz, 2011; Wang, Minervino, & Cheryan, 2013). Moreover, identity denial increases compensatory behaviours and unhealthy eating in order to try fitting in (Guendelman, Cheryan, & Monin, 2011). The experience of identity denial might be especially harmful for ethnic minorities who are second-generation New Zealanders and beyond as these individuals do not have a sense of connection to any other place and expect to be accepted in nations that claim to possess inclusive and egalitarian ideals (e.g., Wang et al., 2013). This, we argue, is a significant challenge for New Zealand going forward. As the nation has experienced large increases in the ethnic diversity of its populace including people from East Asia, South Asia, the Middle East, the Americas, and Pacific Nations, the national inclusion of these groups will be a critical issue for the country in the coming decades. Defining national identity in ways that allows people of diverse backgrounds to feel fully accepted into society will be critically important for these individuals' health, well-being, and participation in wider society. In fact, some of our recent research (Yogeeswaran, Shurmer, & Hewstone, 2019) reveals that when Asian New Zealanders are exposed to video messaging that frames New Zealand national identity as normatively civic, they show greater national belonging, and in turn a stronger desire for civic participation and engagement with wider society. However, video messaging that frames New Zealand national identity as normatively ethnic in nature reduces Asian New Zealanders' sense of national belonging and decreases their desire for civic participation, as well as reduces their desire for engagement with wider society. Collectively, such work suggests that more attention is needed to consider how national identity is framed for both majority

and minority groups.

An additional challenge going forward is that national inclusion needs to be internalized in order to create a more equitable society. Many studies have shown that even when people explicitly perceive certain racial/ethnic groups as equally defining of the national identity, they may implicitly possess prototypes that certain groups are more authentic than others. For example, in the USA, Devos and Banaji (2005) demonstrated that while participants of all races implicitly perceived African Americans and White Americans to be equally American, at an implicit or automatic level, reaction-time measures revealed that White Americans were perceived to be more American than African Americans (for a review, see Devos & Mohamed, 2014). In New Zealand, Sibley and Liu (2007) demonstrated that both explicitly and implicitly, New Zealanders perceived both Māori and Europeans to be equally defining of New Zealand national identity suggesting that Māori were rightfully included at both the implicit and explicit levels, unlike in Australia where Aboriginal peoples were implicitly perceived as less 'Australian' (Sibley & Barlow, 2009). However, even in New Zealand, New Zealanders of Asian descent who participants were explicitly told were New Zealand citizens born and raised in the country were still not considered to be New Zealanders as evidenced by both implicit *and* explicit measures (Sibley & Liu, 2007).

Beyond the implications such exclusion may have for minority group members' psychological health, well-being, and emotions (see Cheryan & Monin, 2005; Huynh et al., 2011; Wang et al., 2013), research demonstrates that such implicit beliefs also predict discriminatory behaviours and judgments (Devos & Ma, 2013; Yogeeswaran & Dasgupta, 2010). For example, in the USA, implicit beliefs that 'real' Americans are White predicts discriminatory job-hiring in contexts that require national loyalty, and more negative evaluations of public policy promoted by an Asian American (Yogeeswaran & Dasgupta, 2010). Similarly, implicit conflation between Whiteness and American identity

predicted reduced willingness to vote for Barack Obama during the 2008 Presidential election (Devos & Ma, 2013). Such studies reveal that how we define who belongs in the country and who counts as a 'true' member has direct implications for our own behaviour and judgment, including who we are willing to vote for and who we are willing to hire for certain jobs. Moreover, such beliefs also negatively impact psychological outcomes for minority groups experiencing national exclusion making it an important issue for future work. Taken together with the present data, we argue that it is important to recognize that defining national identity in exclusive terms that prioritize specific cultural characteristics or specific ethnic heritage can have negative implications for creating an inclusive and equitable nation.

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A Critical Narrative Review of Research about the Experiences of being Muslim in New Zealand

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The paper reviews and integrates findings from our programme of research on acculturation and intercultural relations with, for and about members of New Zealand's Muslim community. Our objectives are to act as a conduit for Muslim voices, sharing findings about their experiences, aspirations and challenges, while increasing overall awareness about diversity-receptiveness in New Zealand. We describe how New Zealand Muslims see themselves in terms of their religious, ethnic and national identities; the challenges they face, including coping with discrimination and cultural change; the resources they access, particularly religion, family and community; and their pathways to positive psychological and social outcomes. We also examine how New Zealanders perceive and receive Muslims in the wider community.

The recent tragedy in Christchurch, the brutal slaying of 50 Muslim New Zealanders at prayer, has led not only to a national outpouring of grief, but also to sombre reflection about who we are as a nation and if we should have anticipated this act of terrorism. Emerging public discourses on white supremacy, hate crimes, gun control, Islam and Islamophobia have left a strong impression that as a nation we have been largely unaware of the insidious, divisive forces that are at work in our society. These discourses also suggest that there is limited knowledge about Muslims and Islam in New Zealand. The aim of this paper is to provide an overview of findings, both published and unpublished, from our broader programme of research on Acculturation and Intercultural Relations with, for, and about members of New Zealand's Muslim community. Our objectives are to act as a conduit for Muslim voices, sharing research findings about Muslims' experiences, aspirations and challenges, while increasing overall awareness about diversity-receptiveness in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

The Muslim community in New Zealand is a small, but growing group, having increased by 28% between the 2006 and 2013 census, but still making up only 1.2% of the national population (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). This is a smaller proportion of the population than is generally found in Europe (e.g., 6.1% in Germany, 6.3% in the United Kingdom, and 8.8% in France), but is similar to the United States (1.1%; Pew Research Center, 2017, 2018). About three-quarters of New Zealand Muslims are overseas-born, and they are highly diverse in terms of ethnicity and national background. The largest group is of Asian origin (26.9%), with around a quarter havingf African and Middle Eastern backgrounds (23.3%), as well as smaller numbers of both Māori and Europeans, comprising the community. A substantial proportion of New Zealand Muslims come from a refugee background; Afghans, Pakistanis, Syrians, Palestinians, and Myanmar's Rohingyas are among the groups currently being resettled in New Zealand with earlier settlements of refugees from Iran, Iraq, and Somalia (Beaglehole, 2013; Immigration New Zealand, 2019). Overall, New Zealand's Muslim community is young, with those aged 15-29 years making up 29% of the population, and the community is unevenly dispersed throughout New Zealand, with about two-thirds living in Auckland (Statistics New Zealand, 2013).

In the following sections we discuss how New Zealand Muslims view themselves, particularly in terms of their identities as Muslims and as New Zealanders; the challenges they face, including discrimination and coping with cultural change; the resources they access, particularly religion, family and community; and their pathways to positive psychological and social outcomes. We also discuss how New Zealanders perceive and receive members of the Muslim community. These discussions are based on a compilation of qualitative and quantitative studies, using mixed methods (interviews, focus groups, workshop exercises, identity mapping, surveys), and designed for various purposes and outcomes (e.g., social action, theory testing). A summary of the projects is presented in Table 1. In some instances the survey research is complemented by comparative data from international sources; in particular the research on *Pathways to Positive Development* includes a comparative sample of 142 young British Muslims, and the work on *Identity, Acculturation and Adaptation* is part of a larger national study with Korean, Indian, Chinese, Samoan, Māori and Pākehā youth, which make up the New Zealand data in the 13-nation International Comparative Study of Ethno-cultural Youth (ICSEY; Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006).

Table 1. Overview of Projects

Project		Participants
	Interviews and Focus Groups	
1.	Pathways to Positive Development	25 young Muslim adults (19-27 years)
	Workshops	
2.	Young Muslim Leaders: *Qaadah Muslimoona Shabaab*	36 young Muslims (15-25 years)
3.	Young Muslims: Needs and Challenges	94 young Muslims (15-27 years)
4.	Building Bridges: *Jusoor Tawaasul*	24 ethnically diverse, Muslim and non-Muslim students (13-14 years)
	Surveys	
5.	Identity, Acculturation and Adaptation	180 Muslim youth (13-19 years)
6.	Pathways to Positive Development	155 Muslim youth (16-27 years)
7.	Acculturative Stress and Muslim Religious Coping	167 Muslim adults (mean age = 31.5 years)
8.	Muslim Identity, Visibility and Well-being	153 Muslim women (aged 16-60 years)
9.	Acculturation, Adaptation and Intercultural Relations	100 Muslims (16-71 years)
10.	Attitudes to Immigrants	2020 New Zealand households
11.	Attitudes to Muslims	295 New Zealanders (18- 65+ years)

Striving for Balance: Identity and Integration

Acculturation and Integration

Acculturation theory points to two key issues that individuals and groups face when they settle in a new country; these involve decisions about the extent to which traditional cultural heritage is or should be maintained and the extent to which participation in and adoption of the culture of the wider society is desired or achieved (Berry, 2001, 2005). Whether examined in real or ideal terms, research has shown these two issues are conceptually and empirically distinct (Navas et al., 2005; Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000; Ward & Kus, 2012). Framing acculturation in terms of these two orthogonal dimensions permits the identification and classification of four acculturation strategies or orientations: separation (cultural maintenance only), assimilation (participation/cultural adoption only), marginalisation (neither cultural maintenance nor participation/cultural adoption) and integration (both cultural maintenance and participation/adoption).

Although acculturation preferences and outcomes vary as a function of socio-political contexts, research has suggested that integration is generally preferred by new settlers (Phinney, Berry, Vedder, & Liebkind, 2006; Ward, Fox, Wilson, Stuart, & Kus, 2010), and our research has indicated that this is the case for both Muslims and non-Muslims in New Zealand (Ward, 2009; Ward, Liu, Fairbairn-Dunlop, & Henderson, 2010). The essence of integration involves engagement with both heritage and national cultures. The process of being and becoming integrated has been articulated by young Muslims in terms of "balance," which has been described both as a pathway to positive development and a key indicator of success (Stuart & Ward, 2011a).

Achieving a good balance, being a Muslim and being a member of a non-Muslim society and not compromising on faith, but still being able to be comfortable (p. 259).

Balance is seen as a means of minimising the risks of managing multiple cultural affiliations and competing demands. Efforts are made to "fit into" New Zealand culture, but neither at the expense of compromising the self, nor by shedding one's values and beliefs.

Being true with myself, who I am and where I am from. Being able to balance out the two different cultures, mine and theirs (p. 260).

Balance is also seen as fostering positive intergroup relations, assisting in building better relationships with non-Muslims as well as cultivating virtues that are aligned to religious beliefs.

Tolerance, learning about the New Zealand culture and way of life, seeing things from others' point of view, being honest, understanding and having empathy. Balancing my culture with New Zealand culture (p. 260).

Moreover, the young Muslims who participated in our research appeared highly skilled in broadly achieving balance.

I feel a sense of belonging and connection to both my religion and culture as well as to New Zealand society. I do not see them as conflicting (p. 260).

These expressions of balance were further elaborated in the exercise of identity mapping, a technique developed by Sirin and Fine (2008) in their work with young Muslims in the United States. Using this technique participants illustrate their identities pictorially, prompted by a request to draw all of the elements of the self. Sirin and Fine (2008) uncovered three profiles from identity mapping: integrated (Muslim identity and

national identity blended in a non-conflicting way), parallel (both identities depicted as separate) and conflicted (representations of tension, hostility or irreconcilability of identities). As in Sirin and Fine's (2008) research, we found that the majority of identity maps generated by young adults in our workshop sessions portrayed integration; however, both the process and the content were represented. Figure 1 depicts one such identity map (Ward, 2013); while Islam is central to the self, as shown in the outstretched hand and the mosque, the map also depicts national identities in the adjacent flags of New Zealand and Pakistan. In addition, both English and Arabic (*shafaq*, compassion) scripts are present. The Sunni path, in conjunction with family (caution lights) and friends (bumps), suggests that acculturation is experienced as a process or journey. Figure 2 illustrates the extent of integration at one point in time (Stuart, Ward, & Adam, 2010). Multiple identities, roles and relationships are brought together in the folds of a woman's *hijab*. A pin, labelled Islam/Allah, represents how her faith is holding multiple identities

together while her nose is illustrated by an inverted question mark labelled "balance" and her smile is "thankful or trying to be."

Findings from our survey research converge with those from the qualitative studies. Overall, we found evidence of strong religious, ethnic and national identities. We also found positive associations between young Muslims' ethnic and national identities (Stuart, 2012; Ward, Adam, & Stuart, 2011; Ward, Liu et al., 2010). Broadly speaking, a positive association between ethnic and national identities in immigrant and minority groups has been seen to be an indicator of a multicultural or diversity-receptive environment where individuals are not forced to choose between heritage and national cultures. This pattern is more often observed in settler societies such as New Zealand and Australia as opposed to the "Old World" societies such as France, Germany and the Netherlands (Phinney et al., 2006).

Although the relationship between religious and national identities has been relatively neglected in the international literature, work by Verkuyten and Yildiz (2007)

addressed this issue with Turkish-Dutch in the Netherlands. Their findings indicated that Turkish and Muslim identities were strongly inter-related and that both were negatively related to Dutch identity. As Muslim identity was also associated with Dutch dis-identification, the researchers argued that Dutch Muslims see their religious and national identities as largely incompatible. In line with Verkuyen and Yildiz (2007), we also found a positive relationship between ethnic and religious identities in New Zealand Muslims; however, in contrast to the Dutch study, we observed a positive relationship between Muslims' ethnic and national identities. Moreover, Muslim and New Zealand identities were unrelated, undermining the suggestion that these identities are seen as incompatible in the New Zealand context. Indeed, many of the voices we have heard from the Muslim community after the horrific attacks in Christchurch mosques have expressed the sentiment of being "a proud Muslim, and a proud New Zealander."

Figure 1. Young Muslim's identity map

Figure 2. Young Muslim's identity map
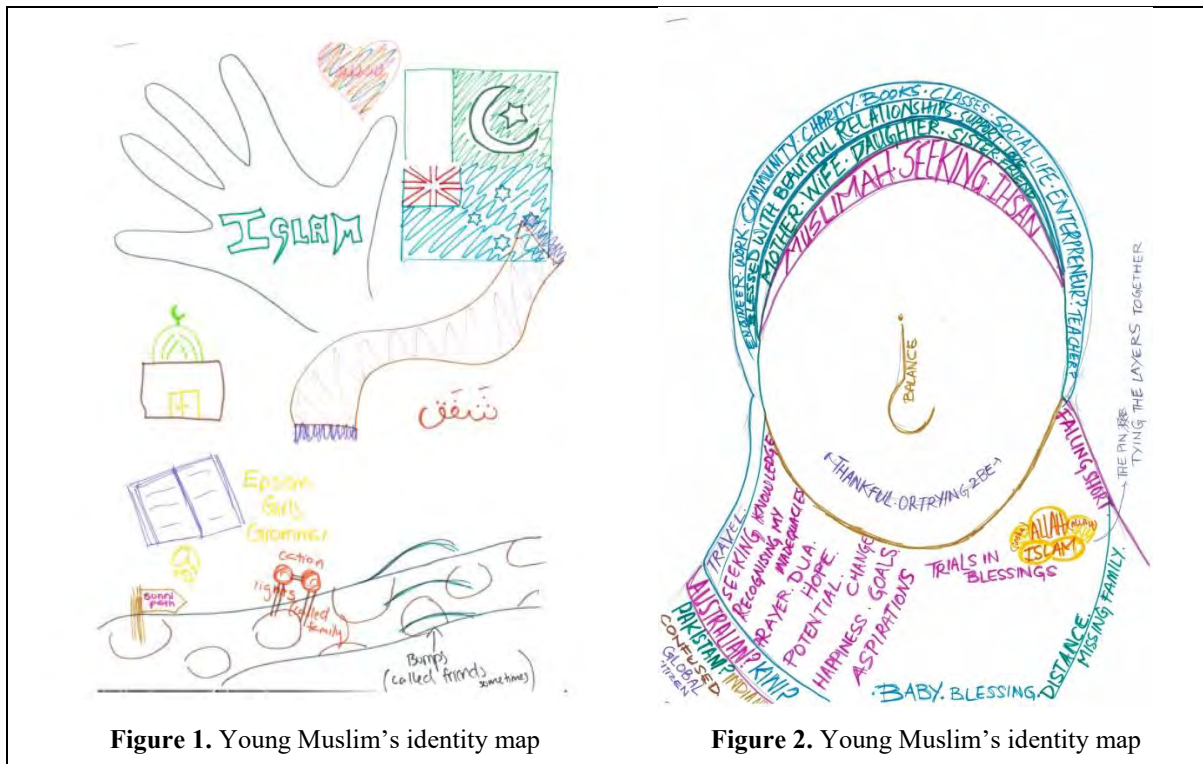
Identity, Acculturation and Well-being

On one hand, managing multiple cultural identities can be stressful,

precipitating identity conflict and crises (Baumeister, Shapiro, & Tice, 1985; Stuart & Ward, 2011b; Ward, Stuart, & Kus, 2011). On the other

hand, achieving an integrated cultural identity is associated with positive psychological outcomes, including a higher level of well-being and a lower

level of depression (Lam, Nguyen, & Benet-Martínez, 2011). The links between integration and well-being were examined in greater detail in Nguyen and Benet-Martínez's (2013) meta-analysis, which investigated biculturalism (i.e., two integrated cultural identities) in association with psychological, sociocultural and health outcomes. Their results indicated that the relationship between integration and positive adaptation was stronger than the relationship between either ethnic or national identity on their own and the adaptive outcomes. Along these lines, our research shows that Muslim youth are largely achieving integration with 85% ($N = 180$) categorised as integrated on the basis of having both strong Muslim and national identities (Ward, Liu et al., 2010), and they are well adapted with young Muslims reporting higher levels of life satisfaction, fewer symptoms of psychological distress, better school adjustment and fewer behavioural problems than their Māori and Pākehā peers (Ward, Liu et al., 2010; Ward, Adam et al., 2011).

The high level of resilience and adaptability found among Muslim youth was also reported in the International Study of Ethno-cultural Youth where Muslim immigrants displayed higher levels of psychological well-being and better social functioning than their Christian, Jewish and Buddhist immigrant peers. In the ICSEY project both national and ethnic identities were associated with positive psychological (e.g., life satisfaction) and behavioural (e.g., better school adjustment and fewer behavioural problems) outcomes (Sam, Vedder, Ward, & Horenczyk, 2006). In the extension of this research to New Zealand Muslims we also included a measure of Muslim identity. While we found evidence that Muslim, ethnic and national identities all predict greater psychological well-being in terms of life satisfaction, only Muslim identity predicted better school adjustment and fewer behavioural problems (Ward, Liu et al., 2010; Ward, Adam et al., 2011). The importance of Muslim identity and religious practices are discussed in more detail in the following sections.

Risks, Resources & Resilience

Beyond managing multiple cultural identities, new settlers confront a variety of challenges as they adjust to their new living arrangements and unfamiliar social context. These may involve learning a new language, dealing with homesickness, facing discrimination and marginalisation, managing family pressures, and establishing new networks for friendship and social support. In many cases challenges such as these present risks that induce acculturative stress (Berry, 2006a; Ward & Szabo, in press), which is associated with decrements in well-being and increased psychological symptoms, including depression, anxiety, and psycho-somatic problems (Berry, 2006a; Jibeen & Khalid, 2010; Miller, Kim, & Benet-Martínez, 2011; Romero & Roberts, 2003; Ward & Szabo, in press). One of the most common risks that young Muslims face in New Zealand is discrimination (Stuart, 2014). This manifests itself in terms of everyday racism, negative stereotypes based on lack of knowledge about Islam, and unfavourable media portrayals of Muslims, as well as discrimination in educational and employment contexts (Ward, Lescelius, Naidu, Jack, & Weinberg, 2016). Although discrimination is the most commonly cited risk that young Muslims confront, the overall level of perceived discrimination appears to be moderately low and more often apparent as prejudice towards the group in general rather than towards specific individuals. When this occurs, it is most likely to be at the less violent end of the spectrum, such as being insulted as opposed to being threatened (Ward, Liu et al., 2010). Our research has shown that young Muslims are no more likely to report perceived discrimination than Indian, Chinese, Korean, Samoan and Māori youth. In terms of the prevalence of discrimination, 8% of young Muslims indicated they had been threatened or attacked, compared to 25% who had been teased or insulted. Moreover, 8% said that they did not personally feel accepted by New Zealanders, although 39% agreed that Muslims as a group have been treated unfairly. This appears consistent with Shaver and colleagues' contention that relationships between New Zealand's Muslims and other ethnic communities are generally peaceful and at least until the recent terrorist attack have been largely non-violent (Shaver, Troughton, Sibley, & Bulbulia, 2016).

Beyond discrimination, Stuart (2014) found that cultural differences presented significant risks. The differences were frequently described in terms of interpersonal or social interactions and the challenges of "fitting in" while maintaining Muslim norms and values. Differences were often discussed with regard to alcohol, gambling, *halal* food, and female dress, especially the *hijab*.

And I always feel that I am different. I always feel that I look different, I have an accent. I'm not like everyone else; I don't drink, I don't go clubbing, I don't have a boyfriend- I'm not allowed to (p. 34).

This overlapped to a large extent with the needs identified by Ward et al. (2016), broadly referred to as issues of Integration and Inclusion. These needs emphasised the importance of cultural and religious maintenance and the desire to participate in the wider society, which are dependent upon increasing acceptance and accommodation of cultural and religious diversity in New Zealand. Challenges of participating in public life included access to prayer spaces during school or work hours, availability of *halal* food, exposure to alcohol and limited options for modest dress for young women at school.

Young Muslims in Stuart's (2014) study also identified three major resources in dealing with risks: religion, family and the wider intercultural environment. Religion impacted all aspects of life, informed attitudes and behaviours, and influenced the way the young people defined themselves.

I really, truly believe every single thing that is good about me is because I am a Muslim and every single thing that is not so good about me is because of my innate problems as a person, as a human being (p. 31).

Family provided the most significant context for cultural transmission as well as ongoing support for maintenance of values in everyday life.

(Family) is important for understanding who you are, your identity . . . family support and knowledge are the most important to be a successful Muslim here (p. 28).

Diversity and multiculturalism were acknowledged as important aspects of the intercultural environment that are conducive to positive adaptation, fostering openness and acceptance and allowing young Muslims to be their authentic selves. They were also seen as supporting connections among ethnically diverse Muslims.

We feel we are connected with them because of our religion and . . . we all are the same. Even though they have different backgrounds like Indian and Arab, still we're the same (p. 30).

These resources are discussed in greater detail in the following sections.

Religion

There is a robust literature on the positive relationship between religiosity and mental health, including enhanced quality of life (Hackney & Sanders, 2003; Sawatzky, Ratner, & Chiu, 2005). Findings from research with New Zealand Muslims are in accordance with these trends. Both Muslim identity and Muslim practices are associated with greater psychological well-being (Stuart, 2012; Ward, Liu et al., 2010). In addition, religion has been recognised as an important mechanism by which people cope with stress (Ano & Vasconcelles, 2005), and a study with Muslim students in New Zealand found that positive religious coping was linked to lower levels of stress and a higher quality of life (Gardner, Krägeloh, & Henning, 2014). In a series of studies we have examined the impact of Islam on managing acculturative stress, both in terms of discrimination and cross-cultural differences. Adam and Ward (2016) identified three domains of Muslim religious coping: cognitive (interpreting stressful situations as Allah's will), behavioural (performing religious rituals) and social (seeking help from the Muslim congregation) in a sample of highly religious Muslim adults. Each of these forms of religious coping were frequently used, and each predicted

greater life satisfaction, suggesting the importance of faith-based coping strategies in building resilience.

Racism is known to exert a widespread and negative influence on mental health (Harris, Stanley, & Cormack, 2018), with ethnic and religious discrimination linked to poor psychosocial functioning, including more depression, anxiety, and psychological distress as well as lower levels of self-esteem and life satisfaction (Schmitt, Branscombe, Postmes, & Garcia, 2014). However, Islamic practices can buffer the detrimental effects of discrimination on life satisfaction. Jasperse, Ward and Jose (2012) found not only that wearing *hijab* as an expression of visible Muslim identity predicted greater life satisfaction, but also that religious practices buffered the negative effects of discrimination on well-being among Muslim women. Similarly, Adam and Ward (2016) reported that behavioural forms of Muslim Religious Coping, such as making *dua*, seeking guidance from the Quran, and increasing prayers to Allah, buffered the detrimental effects of acculturative stress on life satisfaction. However, these results were not replicated in Stuart and Ward's (2018a) study with Muslim youth. Although religious practices predicted greater life satisfaction, those who were highly engaged in Islamic practices were more susceptible to the detrimental influences of discrimination stress. It is difficult to tease out the variable effects of Muslim religious practices across these three studies as they were based on highly varied samples (Muslim adults, youth and women), examined Muslim practices as a generic resource versus a specific coping mechanism, framed perceived discrimination in terms of its occurrence versus the distress it generated, and were confined to cross-sectional studies, which did not permit analyses of the temporal sequence of these relationships. Nonetheless, in general the findings suggest that religion contributes to enhanced resilience and plays a positive role in coping with distress and fostering well-being.

These findings have important implications for supporting vulnerable members of New Zealand's Muslim community. Faith-

based therapeutic interventions in counselling and clinical settings are likely to prove useful. Not only should these be culturally sensitive and appropriate, but they also need to reflect an understanding of the importance of religion amongst our local Muslim population. This is likely to be particularly important in response to the events in Christchurch, given that the brutality and specificity of the attack have led many to turn to spiritual understandings and practices to try and make sense of the tragedy and seek comfort.

The international literature advocates an integrated therapeutic approach, incorporating religion, when working with Muslim clients (Abu Raiya & Pargament, 2010) and has suggested that cognitive therapies provide a good fit for a wide range of religious traditions (Hodge, 2006). More specifically, previous attempts to develop Islamically-integrated interventions have focussed on cognitive restructuring techniques that encompass a religious worldview (Hodge & Nadir, 2008). These suggestions may present challenges to New Zealand's secular mental health system, but are worth consideration in light of increasing demands for responsiveness to cultural diversity amongst the clientele.

Family

Families have the capacity to foster well-being and provide a context in which individuals resolve acculturative stress (Oppedal, 2006). Conversely, families can be a major source of conflict, particularly when there is difference in the acculturation strategies of parents and children (Telzer, 2010). For young people, functional and supportive family relationships serve as a foundation for successful engagement in the social world, whereas dysfunctional family relationships potentially leave young people unprepared to meet challenges in other social contexts (Crosnoe & Elder, 2004). Furthermore, because young people tend to relocate with their family units, there are reciprocal influences between the individual's acculturation experience and the experiences of other family members.

One of the most important protective factors for immigrant youth is a shared set of beliefs, values, and expectations among family members.

This is demonstrated by research on intrafamilial congruence, or the perception that there is a similarity in behaviours and beliefs between oneself and the members of the family. High levels of congruence alleviate the stress of migration for children (Stuart & Ward, 2011b; Stuart, Ward, Jose, & Narayanan, 2010; Ying, Lee, & Tsai, 2004), whereas incongruence between parents and children, sometimes referred to as the "acculturation gap," has been associated with depression, anxiety and gang involvement in adolescents, and to depression and anger in parents (Dinh, Weinstein, Tein, & Roosa, 2013; Ying et al., 2004). Research also indicates that family obligations, or the extent to which family members feel a sense of duty to assist one another and to take into account the needs and wishes of the family when making decisions, is associated with positive outcomes for acculturating youth (Fuligni, Tseng, & Lam, 1999).

Extending research on familial acculturation, we examined the roles that family congruence and family obligations play in connection with acculturative stress and positive adaptation in adolescents and young adults in New Zealand's Muslim community (Stuart, Ward, & Robinson, 2016). More specifically, we tested a model whereby family congruence and family obligations exerted both direct and indirect effects on psychological well-being (life satisfaction) and social functioning (behavioural problems) with the indirect effects mediated by acculturative stress. The findings indicated that family congruence exerted a direct effect on young Muslims' social functioning, predicting a lower level of behavioural problems. Likewise, family obligations were associated with positive outcomes, predicting both greater life satisfaction and fewer behavioural problems; however, family obligations also predicted greater acculturative stress, which in turn, predicted lower levels of life satisfaction and more behavioural difficulties.

Overall, these findings are consistent with earlier qualitative studies. Families provide resources that young people need to thrive and flourish. Not only do cohesive families ensure the transmission of cultural norms and values, they also provide a sense of connection.

Sometimes it feels like I am losing the connected part of me. But I can keep this alive just by being with my family here (Stuart, 2014, p. 28).

Moreover, social support from families and family congruence are linked to a wide range of positive outcomes for youth, including greater life satisfaction, fewer psychological symptoms and fewer behavioural problems (Ward, Liu et al., 2010).

Family obligations encourage behaviours that are in line with cultural and religious norms and values; however, this can be a source of stress for young immigrants who are navigating more than one culture. The challenges of achieving balance can take a psychological toll, particularly when impacted by family obligations.

I'm the oldest and have to set an example for my sisters, which I find really hard, extremely hard. Sometimes I just want to let it go, but I'm like nah, you have to do this for your family (Stuart, 2012, p.28).

Ultimately, the goals, aspirations, and experiences of young Muslims must be interpreted in context. Family provides the most proximal and influential context, but the intercultural context and national diversity climate are also important.

The Intercultural Context

Success following resettlement is not only dependent upon the individual's efforts, family support and community contributions; it is also dependent upon the nature of the receiving community. Schwartz et al. (2014) discussed this in terms of *contexts of reception*, which have been conceptualised and operationalised as "an immigrant's perception of welcomeness, opportunity structure, and availability of social supports in the receiving community" (p. 2). Negative contexts have been shown to be detrimental to new settlers' psychological and social wellbeing, predicting higher levels of depression and more antisocial behaviours among youth (Forster, Grigsby, Soto, Schwartz, & Unger 2015; Schwartz et al., 2014; Ward, Szabo, & Stuart, 2016). An important feature of the context of reception is the degree to which immigrants perceive their environment to be multicultural; that is, characterised by culturally diverse groups in contact with one another, a general appreciation of cultural diversity, and policies and practices that support and accommodate diversity (Stuart & Ward, 2018b).

Stuart (2012) examined the influence of young Muslims' perceptions of a multicultural environment (PME) on psychological well-being in both New Zealand and the United Kingdom. She hypothesised and found that PME predicted positive outcomes, lower levels of depression in New Zealand and both lower levels of depression and higher life satisfaction in the United Kingdom. Controlling for age, gender, generation and refugee background, Stuart (2012) reported that there were significant differences in perceptions of a multicultural environment in the two countries with New Zealand Muslims viewing the national context in more favourable terms. Moreover, British Muslims reported more discrimination stress, depression and behavioural problems than their New Zealand peers.

These results led to further exploration of country-level factors that might impact psychological adaptation and social functioning in young Muslims. To these ends, Stuart (2012) utilised data from the 13-nation International Comparative Study of Ethno-cultural Youth, extracting survey responses from young Muslims and supplementing this with New Zealand data. This resulted in a nine country study that examined country-level indicators: % of Muslims in the population, a national index of diversity (see Berry, Westin, Virta, Rooney, & Sang, 2006) and national-level positive and negative attitudes toward immigrants as predictors of the individual-level outcomes of perceived discrimination, life satisfaction, psychological symptoms and behavioural problems. Multi-level modelling revealed that neither the percentage of Muslims in the population nor the national diversity indices were significant predictors; however, attitudes toward immigrants affected all of the outcomes. Specifically, positive national-level attitudes toward

immigrants predicted less perceived discrimination and greater life satisfaction while negative national-level attitudes toward immigrants predicted more psychological symptoms and behavioural problems. The findings highlight the significance of the context in which Muslims settle, particularly the impact of pervading attitudes on immigrant acculturation and well-being (Stuart & Ward, 2015; Ward & Geeraert, 2016).

The broader international literature shows that multicultural policies also have implications for immigrant well-being and social cohesion. The presence of national multicultural policies is not only associated with more positive intergroup perceptions, including attitudes toward Muslims, but also with greater integration and better social functioning in immigrant youth and more positive indicators of immigrant health and wellbeing (Guimond et al., 2003; Marks, McKenna, & Garcia Coll, 2018; Vedder, van de Vijver, & Liebkind, 2006). For Muslims specifically, multicultural policies are associated with lower levels of discrimination and greater life satisfaction (Jackson & Doerschler, 2016). This leads to the more serious consideration of multicultural policies, diversity-receptiveness and attitudes toward immigrants in general and Muslim immigrants more specifically in New Zealand, which are discussed in the next section.
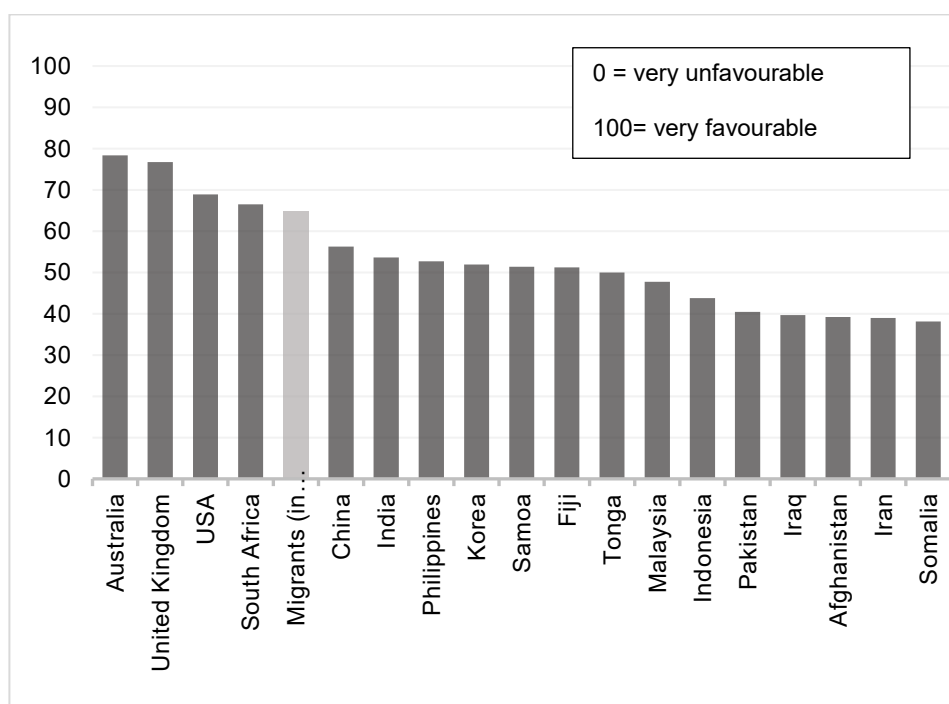
Figure 3. Favourability ratings of immigrants from various source countries.

Multicultural New Zealand?

Is New Zealand a diversity-receptive environment for immigrants? The answer depends on the context and basis for comparison, but in general New Zealand performs well on indicators of multiculturalism (Sibley & Ward, 2013). The 2010 analysis of the Multiculturalism Policy Index for immigrant minorities in 21 countries ranked New Zealand fourth equal with Finland after Australia, Canada and Sweden (Multiculturalism Policy Index, 2010). New Zealand was more recently ranked a close second to Iceland as the most immigrant-accepting country based on the Migrant Acceptance Index used in a Gallup poll of 138 countries. While this may sound very impressive, it is noteworthy that the index was based on three questions: whether immigrants living in the country, an immigrant neighbour, and an immigrant marrying into your family is a good thing or a bad thing (Esipova, Fleming, & Ray, 2017). International Ipsos (2017) polling showed less favourable results. New Zealand was ranked 18th among 25 countries when it came to agreeing with the statement that there are too many immigrants in the country; 44% of New Zealanders (in a range 15-83%) agreed this was the case. However, it is difficult to develop a nuanced interpretation of these data given the marked variation in the actual number of immigrants across the participating countries. For example, New Zealand's response adjoins that of Great Britain (45% agreement) while New Zealand has one in four persons overseas-born compared to 14.4% in the United Kingdom (Migration Observatory, 2018).

Data reported by Ward and Masgoret (2008) indicated that 89% of the 2020 participants in their national survey agreed that *It is a good thing for a country to be made up of different races, religions and cultures*, significantly more than found in Australia (85%) and the European Union (36-75%). Relatedly, 80% agreed that *It is important to accept a wide variety of cultures in New Zealand,* and 82% endorsed

integration, a cornerstone of multiculturalism, compared to only 21% agreeing with assimilation and 28% with separation. However, not all immigrant groups are perceived in equally positive terms. Favourability ratings of immigrants from seven countries of origin showed that immigrants from white, English-speaking countries (e.g., Australia, Great Britain) were viewed most favourably, Asian and Pacific countries (e.g., China, Samoa) occupied an intermediate position, and those from Somalia were viewed significantly less favourably than all other groups. A subsequent study examined attitudes toward Muslims, sampling approximately 300 New Zealanders from the electoral roll (Stuart & Ward, 2009). Respondents were asked to rate the favourability of their perceptions of immigrants from a variety of countries on a 0-100 scale with 0 being *very unfavourable* and 100 being *very favourable*. As can be seen in Figure 3, immigrants from predominantly Muslim countries are perceived less favourably than those from other countries, and those from countries associated with refugee resettlement (e.g., Afghanistan, Iran, Somalia) are perceived least favourably. Indeed, there is a marked split in the favourability ratings with immigrants from all and only Muslim majority countries receiving an average evaluation falling on the unfavourable side of the 50.0 midpoint. Moreover, when asked about perceptions of immigrants of different faiths, Christians were viewed most favourably, followed by Jews, Buddhists, Hindus and Muslims, with each group significantly differing from the other. Overall, these findings seem to converge with research by Shaver and colleagues that reported markedly warmer feelings toward "immigrants" compared to Muslims, although tests for significant differences were not reported (Shaver et al., 2016; Shaver, Sibley, Osborne, & Bulbulia, 2017).

The survey also examined perceptions of threat in connection with Muslims in New Zealand. Perceptions of realistic threat (i.e., threat and competition over tangible resources) were low; 18% and 19% of respondents, respectively, agreed that immigrants from Muslim countries have a negative effect on the country's economy and take jobs away from New Zealanders. Perceptions of symbolic threat were markedly higher with 44% agreeing that Muslim values are not compatible with New Zealand values and 52% agreeing Muslims do not share our worldview. While New Zealanders positively value diversity as a general principle, there is a noticeable difference between principles and practices. Maintaining heritage cultures and sustaining cultural diversity require accommodation by majority groups, and New Zealanders appear at best only moderately accommodating. Forty-four per cent of the respondents would not want a mosque in their neighbourhood, and 47% agreed there was no place for *burqas* in New Zealand- even though 64% believed we should recognise Muslim holidays and celebrations. This principle-practice gap is what Yogeswaaran and Dasgupta (2014) refer to as abstract versus concrete construals of multiculturalism, noting that abstract construals are less threatening and less likely to fuel prejudice.

Beyond these descriptive analyses, we also tested integrative models of attitudes toward immigrants. In the earlier study of national households, we hypothesised and found support for a model whereby multicultural ideology and contact exerted both direct and indirect (via threat) effects on attitudes toward immigrants. More specifically, in addition to predicting more positive attitudes, multicultural ideology and contact also predicted lower perceived threat, and threat in turn predicted more negative attitudes toward immigrants (Ward & Masgoret, 2008). In the latter study with participants sampled from the electoral roll, we went beyond integrated threat theory (Stephan & Stephan, 2000) and the multiculturalism hypothesis (Berry, 2006b) and introduced Intergroup Emotion theory (Mackie, Devos, & Smith, 2000), proposing and confirming that the effects of threat on attitudes toward Muslims were partially mediated by the negative emotions of anger and fear (Lescelius, Ward, & Stuart, 2019). Overall, the models demonstrate that both situational factors, such as intercultural contact, and individual differences (such as a general acceptance of diversity), contribute to more positive attitudes toward immigrants in general and Muslim immigrants more specifically; however, perceived threat and negative emotions adversely impact these attitudes.

Moving Forward

Prior to the Christchurch tragedy young Muslims in Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch offered suggestions on how to move forward in managing the risks associated with racism and discrimination and in meeting the challenges of achieving belonging and inclusion. Their commentaries were highly insightful and reflected a keen sense of social accountability, with many of their recommendations in accordance with intergroup theory and research. The widespread perception of Muslims as terrorists and the stereotyped view of oppressed Muslim women were often cited hardships. Pervasive ignorance, reflected in a lack of basic knowledge of Islamic concepts, such as "*halal*" and "*haram*," was seen as a marker of social exclusion and as impacting negatively on relations between Muslims and non-Muslims. These misconceptions and misunder-standings brought out a sense of social responsibility in youth to act as Muslim ambassadors and to "represent Islam in the right way." Accordingly, the community recommended and initiated various outreach activities, including open days at mosques, dialogues between government and the Muslim community, and sharing the celebration of Eid. In short, increasing contact between Muslims and non-Muslims was strongly encouraged (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006, 2008), with members of the Muslim community leading such initiatives (Ward et al., 2016). The merit of these recommendations was borne out in our *Jusoor Tawaasul: Building Bridges* workshop that brought together 24 ethnically diverse Muslims and non-Muslims aged 13-14 years at a Wellington girls' school. When the students discussed the most important things that they learned at the workshop, unity emerged as a key theme. As one participant noted "*We may look different, but we can all have the same problems and we are the same on the inside.*"

Other recommendations for moving forward were seen to require more widespread and proactive commitment to accommodating diversity in New Zealand. For Muslims to participate in the wider community, socially and economically, in educational, recreational and workplace settings, it is important to ensure access to *halal* food and prayer spaces, as well as alternatives for modest dress for Muslim women. Paraphrasing one of our workshop participants, "*if we can have vegan and gluten free food in restaurants, why can't we have halal options*?" Beyond providing opportunities for Muslims to practice their religion freely, it is essential for New Zealanders to critically appraise and ultimately minimise the negative and stereotypic portrayal of Islam and Muslims in the national media (Ward et al., 2016). Although Muslim youth have suggested the use social media to promote positive representations, it is not solely their responsibility to do so. Indeed, Stuart's (2012) research indicates that there are feelings of helplessness, at least to some degree, and an insidious belief that negative portrayals are "inevitable" in light of socio-political circumstances.

> *But I can't do much about it. It's not like I can go to newspaper and tell them to stop doing that. That's why I think if you want to correct that I should lead by example. If the media says that Islam is violent then I should not be violent. I think that if we are misunderstood, then*

we correct them, that is all (Stuart, 2012, p. 38).

Nevertheless, youth are right to be concerned about media portrayals. Research by Rahman and Emadi (2018) found a growing number of narratives linking Islam to "terrorism" and "*jihad*" so much so that by 2016 New Zealand news outlets reported on "Islamic terrorism" almost seven times more often than on Islam more generally. This provides further insights into the research by Shaver et al. (2017), which examined exposure to news among a national sample of over 16,000 New Zealand residents. In support of media-induced Islamophobia, their results indicated that greater news exposure was associated with increased anger and reduced warmth towards Muslims.

Beyond the positive influence of contact and the negative outcomes linked to the portrayal of Muslims in the media, social psychological theory and research tell us that a sense of shared identity reduces perceived threat (Rousseau & Garcia-Retamero, 2007) and induces more positive intergroup emotions (Ray, Mackie, Rydell, & Smith, 2008). This is in line with the guiding theme of the recent memorial service in Christchurch: Ko tātou, tatou- we are one. But we need to ask ourselves if this is something that we have achieved or can truly realise. Specifically, how do we move from symbolic representations of togetherness in discourse, which is both easier to accomplish and more likely to occur, to engaging in

intercultural contact, reducing negative stereotypes and enhancing inclusion, which require effort and commitment from everyone. It is now time to put the means of achieving unity into action, to share the responsibility for change and to create an environment where everyone feels safe and all communities work together. We must not seek to simply react to violence when it occurs, but to destroy the seeds of hate before they take root.

After the terrorist attack, the public rallied together finding comfort in the common belief "this is not us." Yet, what we thought would never happen did; a group of innocent people who were a part of our community were killed indiscriminately, solely on the basis of their religious beliefs. These people felt safe, but they were not protected. We can no longer ignore prejudice and hate, nor the fact that Islamophobia is a real threat to social cohesion for everyone in a multicultural society. So how do we move forward as a community after the flowers that were left in solidarity wilt? How do we build upon our emerging awareness for the future, rather than looking back and wondering why things have not changed? Once the shock, anger, and grief have passed, this is the challenge all New Zealanders must face. Hopefully, the voices from our Muslim community offer some signposts as to how we can move forward together.

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Beyond tokenistic solidarity in the wake of the Christchurch terrorist attacks: Insights from psychology, and practical suggestions for action

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The Christchurch terrorist attacks of March 15th, 2019 revealed the deadly consequences of Islamophobia and anti-Muslim sentiment. In the wake of the attacks, there were vast outpourings of support and inclusion towards Muslims from the non-Muslim community in New Zealand and Australia. In the absence of concrete action aimed at reducing Islamophobia, and making society a safer, fairer, and more inclusive place for Muslims, however, the promise of such messages cannot be fulfilled. In the current paper we outline the need for allyship with Muslims, and highlight issues associated with acts of tokenistic solidarity. We recognize barriers to engaging in solidarity, before discussing practical suggestions for solidarity that those wishing to support Muslims may take.

On March 15th 50 Muslims were killed in a brutal terrorist attack in Christchurch, New Zealand. The attacks were carefully and callously planned, perpetrated across two Mosques as Muslims set to prayer and reflection. This act of terrorism sent shock waves across the world, showing the deadly power of White supremacy, and bringing into sharp focus the frightening climate in which Muslims in the West currently live (and in this case, died). Across New Zealand and Australia (and indeed, the Western World), White and non-Muslim peoples rallied in the thousands, to express their shock, grief, and anger – publicly countering the message sent by the terrorist. Messages were generally simple, emphasizing points such as: *we are sorry*, *you should have been safe*, *you are welcome*, and *we are one* ("Christchurch shootings: New Zealand falls silent for mosque victims," 2019). The first author of this manuscript has noted that around Brisbane, Australia (where both authors live) Mosques are still being inundated with flowers. A vast body of individuals clearly wish to express solidarity with Muslims. The examples listed above represent *symbolic* solidarity. Those posting messages on Facebook or leaving flowers are trying to send a social message of inclusion; a message that is both necessary and valued. In the current paper, however, we argue that support for Muslims in the West must move beyond symbolic solidarity to concrete action. In the absence of concerted, deliberate, inclusive, and sometimes effortful action, symbolic solidarity risks becoming tokenistic, and even counterproductive. In the following paper we outline why this is the case, and make practical suggestions for how to act as allies to Muslims in the West.

Emoting in the wake of the Christchurch terror attacks

We are strongly embedded in, and influenced by, the groups to which we belong (Tajfel, Turner, Austin, & Worchel, 1979). These include large scale categories such as the nation we reside in, our ethnicity or race, and our religion. We look to these groups to figure out how to think, feel, and behave, and are deeply connected to them; our group memberships help make up who we are. This means that we often feel emotions in response to what happens to our group, even if we are not personally involved (Mackie, Maitner, & Smith, 2009; Mackie, Silver, & Smith, 2004). We can be moved to tears of joy if our rugby team wins (common for New Zealand, less so for Australia), or feel proud when a fellow countryperson wins an Oscar. Group based emotions can also be negative: following the Christchurch terror attacks many non-Muslim New Zealanders and Australians, as well as White people in general, expressed feelings of guilt, grief, and anger.

As might be expected, experiencing negative emotions is unpleasant, and people are often motivated to act to relieve them (Yzerbyt, Dumont, Wigboldus, & Gordijn, 2003). The messages of solidarity shown by non-Muslims to Muslims after the attacks then, likely not only reflect a general desire to explicitly define the group norm (e.g., "We are a nation that likes Muslims"), to reject the terrorist, and to support the Muslim community, but also to express and purge negative emotion. There is evidence to show that this can work. People who receive social support after crying report experiencing catharsis, and gain a new understanding of the event that caused them to cry (Bylsma, Vingerhoets, & Rottenberg, 2008). Consequently, it is possible that those who expressed grief and anger in the wake of the attacks (leaving flowers and messages) and received support and thanks, may have experienced alleviation of distress, signaling the end of an emotional experience. The problem with this is that 1) for Muslim people, the distress is ongoing, and 2) these attacks did not occur in a vacuum, and the societal factors that give rise to Western Islamophobia, White nationalism, and intergroup violence, have not been eliminated.

Ongoing, active solidarity is needed

Muslim people living in the West face substantial levels of prejudice and discrimination. A meta-analysis from 30 countries in Europe reveals that antipathy towards Muslim people is higher than prejudice towards "immigrants" in general, and that prejudice towards Muslims was substantive well in advance of 2001 (Strabac & Listhaug, 2008). On September 11, 2001 members of the terrorist group Al-Qaeda coordinated a series of attacks in the United States. Attacks were widely condemned by Western Muslim groups(Hashmi, n.d.; Kurzman, 2018). Despite this, following the attacks hate crimes against Muslims in the U.S. increased by 1600% from the previous year (Selby, 2018). In 2016, the year of the U.S. presidential election, the numbers of attacks on Muslims on record for that year surpassed the number of attacks on Muslims the year following 9/11(Kishi, 2017). The issue of Islamophobia is not just one relegated to the U.S., however. After the attacks on Muslims in New Zealand this year, hate crimes against Muslims rose by 593% in the United Kingdom, 89% of which made direct reference to the New Zealand attacks (Dodd, 2019).

Returning to New Zealand, there is evidence that media coverage of Muslim people may be contributing to anti-Muslim sentiment. Shaver, Sibley, Osborne, and Bulbulia (2017) found that the number of hours' people report watching the news every week was related to increased anger and prejudice towards Muslims. This was true regardless of people's education, age, gender, socio-economic status. and political orientation. In sum then, Islamophobia is prevalent across the Western World. If anti-Muslimness and xenophobia are pervasive, then, we need pervasive solidarity.

Symbolic support matters, but is not enough

In the face of such widespread Islamophobia, symbolic support may help to set a less prejudiced societal norm, increasing the extent to which prejudice is seen as unacceptable, and communicating a message of inclusion. This matters a lot, as exposure to prejudice is linked to distress and ill-health (for reviews see Schmitt, Branscombe, Postmes, & Garcia, 2014; Yip, 2018) and messages of acceptance may help to counter these ill effects on Muslim people (and eventually even reduce the amount of prejudice Muslims are exposed to). Words and gestures of support, however, are only one small part of the solution. If our actions do not move beyond these gestures, they are tokenistic. Tokenism has been defined as the symbolic inclusion of certain groups to give an *appearance* of diversity, in the absence of actual behavior that promotes diversity (Grant, 2017). In this case, tokenistic solidarity would be the symbolic inclusion of, or solidarity with, Muslim people, in the absence of further action that makes society a fairer, more inclusive, safer space for Muslims.

While above we have highlighted that symbolic action matters (and it does), in the absence of action that brings about equity and structural change, it may have unintended negative consequences. First, symbolic solidarity offers a promise of fair treatment and equity that simply cannot be fulfilled without concerted effort and change in society. To understand this point, we invoke a comparison with an interpersonal relationship. Imagine a situation where a man finds out that his romantic partner has been unfaithful (the offence). His partner apologizes for the offence vociferously, hugs him, and swears undying love and future fidelity. Two months later the man finds out that his partner has continued to cheat on him. At first glance, it may seem that this interpersonal example has little to do with a complex intergroup situation, but as we highlighted earlier, what happens at the group level is deeply meaningful and impactful at the personal level. Someone offering purely tokenistic solidarity to Muslims without creating structural and societal change is metaphorically the partner that continues to cheat after apologizing. The words offer comfort and safety, but the actions allow an environment of threat to flourish. Past intergroup research also suggests that false promises of fair treatment from majority group members can have a sedative effect on minority group members, reducing their support for collective action to address inequality, fostered by an expectation of equality from majority group members (Dixon, Tropp, Durrheim , & Tredoux, 2010). The message, for the ally (or the cheating partner, for that matter), is to follow through on promises with action. True allyship and solidarity, however, is hard. A practical look at how to move beyond tokenistic solidarity must acknowledge this, and deal with the problem head on.

Barriers to active allyship and solidarity

The flowers and messages of support offered to Mosques and Muslims after the March 15th terrorist attacks reveal a large body of support for Muslims in New Zealand and Australia, and indeed across the world. Given this, it might be imagined that concrete activism and improved social conditions for Muslims in the West will naturally follow. This is unlikely to be the case, however. Activism is generally difficult, and there are countervailing pressures that will make it easier for potential allies to express support and move on, rather than engage in creating actual change. As illustrated above, however, it is vital that pervasive long-term solidarity is deployed. Long term solidarity involves not overlooking, but rather, overcoming the normal barriers associated with being an ally, which we outline below.

Dealing with interracial (or interreligious) issues is stressful

Many White people in Western nations are highly motivated to appear non-prejudiced when interacting with minority group members (Richeson & Shelton, 2007; Shelton, 2003). In general, while minority group members struggle to be respected in intergroup interactions, members of majority groups are concerned about being liked (Shelton, 2003). In part because of this, some studies suggest that majority group members get nervous and uncomfortable when dealing with members of minority groups (Vorauer & Kumhyr, 2001). In one study White participants showed increased cardiovascular reactivity when interacting with a Black confederate (Blascovich, Mendes, Hunter, Lickel, & Kowai-Bell, 2001). Richeson and Shelton (2007)

similarly found that Whites are concerned with appearing prejudiced. They carefully monitor feelings, behavior, and thoughts when around non-White people, leaving them feeling very depleted after interracial interactions. White people also display anxiety about discussing racial issues, especially if they think that they are going to have to discuss racial issues with people of color (Marshburn & Knowles, 2018). It should be noted that discomfort in interracial interactions is also evident for minority group members (Clark, Anderson, Clark, & Williams, 1999), and as discussed in a later section, is just one part of the burden minority group members face in spaces and interactions with majority group members. This overall body of research highlights how intergroup interactions are uncomfortable and stressful for those that engage in them.

While Muslims do not represent a homogenous ethnic group, they are often non-White – in New Zealand a large percentage of Muslims are Indian and Middle Eastern (Ward, 2011), in the United States, the largest racial subset are Blacks (Mogahed & Chouhoud, 2017) – and further have visible markers of Muslimness (e.g., wearing a *hijab*). There is considerable evidence that non-Muslim people feel nervous about interacting with Muslim people or issues (Hutchison & Rosenthal, 2011; Velasco González, Verkuyten, Weesie, & Poppe, 2008). Consequently, one barrier to engaging in meaningful solidarity with Muslims is likely to be stress and anxiety about what to do and say, and how to behave. Like most anxieties or fears, exposure is important. There is evidence that people who have more contact with Muslims (Hutchison & Rosenthal, 2011), or read narrative fiction with Muslim protagonists (Johnson, Jasper, Griffin, & Huffman, 2013), experience less intergroup anxiety. Thus, the more we engage with Muslim people and their experiences (as told by them and not the news, as mentioned in (Shaver et al., 2017), the less stressful and anxiety provoking these interactions will become.

People often dislike those who stand up to prejudice and discrimination

In general, people who draw attention to inequality and injustice are often disparaged. People who confront prejudice are often seen as complainers and exaggerators, and may face social costs for speaking up (e.g., exclusion and teasing) (Shelton & Stewart, 2004). People who attribute negative outcomes to discrimination are also liked less than those who do not make these attributions (Garcia, Reser, Amo, Redersdorff, & Branscombe, 2005). It is much more comfortable to think of our world as just and fair. By extension, it is uncomfortable and unpleasant to confront the grim realities of social inequity (Lerner, 1980), particularly when our group is benefiting from the inequality (e.g., Lowery, Knowles, & Unzueta, 2007). This research highlights the fact that there will likely be social costs of confronting prejudice towards Muslims. People find it hard to conceive of their world, let alone themselves, as being prejudiced or contributing to harm to another group. It is OK to be scared about the social consequences of confronting prejudice; this is a normal part of becoming an ally, and indeed, ongoing solidarity. The important thing, however, is that personal fears do not prevent important and concrete allyship.

We will get things wrong, and be criticized for it

One social consequence of engaging in allyship not previously discussed is the fact that no ally is perfect – all people engaging in solidarity based action will make mistakes, and be criticized for them. The problem is that we all see ourselves as good and moral, and there is evidence that the same is true at the group level. In fact, it is more important to us that groups to which we belong are seen as moral than either sociable or competent (Leach, Ellemers, & Barreto, 2007). When our group has treated another group poorly we are motivated to restore our group's moral image. We may do this, for example, through a group apology or a gesture of remorse. One problem, however, is that we are sensitive to any criticism of these gestures of goodwill. A series of Australian studies found that when intergroup apologies were rejected, people felt morally damaged, and consequently withdrew their support for reconciliation (Barlow et al., 2015). It is easy to see the obstacles we face as allies; if we engage in helping, we will make mistakes, and if we are called out on the mistake, we will be inclined to withdraw our support. Furthermore, if we are rejected or criticised, the emotional pull will be to reposition ourselves as victims (e.g., stating: "I was trying to help!"). It is easier thinking about ourselves and our group as being victimized, rather than being the perpetrator of a wrong (Bar-Tal, Chernyak-Hai, Schori, & Gundar, 2009).

The vital thing here is not avoiding mistakes (it is impossible), but persevering through them. If you belong to a majority group (e.g., are a White New Zealander or Australian) it is likely that you might be especially sensitive to criticism about doing the wrong thing when it comes to race or religion. White people, as the dominant majority group, are not used to thinking about their own race. Consequently, even small reminders of whiteness, racial privilege, or lack of consideration for people from other groups, can feel like severe attacks (DiAngelo, 2018). Again, the easiest path, is to shy away from situations that remind you of your race, and position as part of a dominant majority group (i.e. your privilege). Two common responses are to 1) deny the existence of privilege, or 2) distance oneself from the group (e.g., by stating: "I don't really see myself as White", or "I just see everyone as an individual") (Knowles, Lowery, Chow, & Unzueta, 2014). The problem with either approach is that in the absence of a fair society, both responses contribute to ongoing inequality. The final option is to work to increase intergroup equity (Knowles et al., 2014). In this case, this would involve working to ensure that Muslims are included, safe, and respected in our societies.

Activist burnout is rife

For the reasons listed above, as well as many others, people who engage in long term activism are prone to burnout (Gorski & Chen, 2015). This burnout can result in disengagement from the movement or cause for which they are fighting

(Klandermans, 2003). Other causes of burnout include stress, feeling overworked, and experiencing failure, as well as working in a culture that demands selflessness, and the resultant lack of self-care (Gorski & Chen, 2015). People have outlined the symptoms of activist burnout as deterioration of physical and emotional wellbeing, and feelings of disillusionment and hopelessness (Gorski & Chen, 2015). Engaging in genuine solidarity with a group that is disenfranchised can be hard and draining. Again, this is normal, and a cost most often born by the disenfranchised themselves. Consequently, acknowledging the strain that solidarity can take is important. We know from clinical psychological research that acknowledgement and labeling of difficult emotions helps with dealing with difficult circumstances (Hayes, Luoma, Bond, Masuda, & Lillis, 2006; Hayes, Pistorello, & Levin, 2012). We recommend this alongside ensuring that you engage in appropriate self-care.

The draw of inaction is strong

Not all barriers to engaging in genuine solidarity concern the difficulty of talking about or engaging with inequality, or even being an activist. There is also the fact that we live busy and stressful lives, and the temptation will often be to procrastinate, and leave the difficult work on inclusivity to another day. Leaving aside work, family, and health commitments, there is Netflix, Facebook, Tinder, gaming, socializing, and so on, all of which offer us immediate gratification or distraction from otherwise uncomfortable realities. Solidarity requires prioritizing allyship – at least some of the time. Here, we believe that the concrete actions that can help to overcome procrastination, such as setting small and tangible goals, may be useful (Owens, Bowman, & Dill, 2008; Wieber & Gollwitzer, 2010).

Overcoming barriers is important and possible

The aim of this section is not to provide a laundry list of reasons *not* to participate in meaningful solidarity. Rather, we aim to normalize the difficulties associated with activism, and in doing so, give people the capacity to recognize issues that they may go through, and advocate for self-

compassion, and resilience, in the face of such barriers. Research suggests that developing a strong and consolidated activist identity is a good predictor of engaging in collective action. Identification with the group (even opinion based groups) provides protective factors and enhances wellbeing (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999; Haslam, Reicher, & Levine, 2012; Jetten, Haslam, Cruwys, & Branscombe, 2018).

Further to this, those who have a conviction that there is a moral issue at stake, or are angry about inequality, are again likely to feel morally compelled to act (van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008). Identification, moral conviction, and anger over injustice in this tragedy are all seeds that have been sown for the development of strong, effective allyship. People are enraged about the attack, and acknowledge that a great moral violation has occurred. The next step is translating this energy into creating a society in which Muslims are safe and included, and not just seen as outsiders to be tolerated. Of course, an easy alternate option would be to withdraw from the situation, or stay silent. Doing this, however, is far from apolitical; it is deciding to lay the onus of both the tragedy and societal change at the feet of Muslims. Muslim people (and minority group members in general) do not have the luxury of disengaging with prejudice and Islamophobia and are constantly put in the position where they have to defend themselves, their religion, their group, and their existence. As we know from the Civil Rights Era in the U.S., to bring about equality for those most vulnerable in our society, true solidarity and engagement is needed.

Impact on minority people

Members of minority groups are rarely, if ever, insulated from race-based or minority-based stress (Jones & Norwood, 2016). They are perpetually reminded of their minority status, whether through being the only member of their group in their workplace or school (e.g., being the only Muslim academic in a department), being repeatedly asked to define and defend their group, (e.g., "Yes, I am a Muslim woman. I choose to wear a headscarf, and for me it represents freedom and faith, not oppression"), or facing race or

religion based stereotyping, aggression or prejudice (Jones & Norwood, 2016). Minorities in general have a heightened sense of their visibility in majority spaces. Research shows that they feel social isolation in these spaces, as well as the pressure to assimilate, and to perform emotionally, resulting in psychological burnout (Erickson & Ritter, 2001; Evans, 2013; Evans & Moore, 2015; Gustafson, 2008; Kanter, 2008; Krimmel & Gormley, 2003; Wingfield & Alston, 2013). To be accepted by mainstream society, additional expectations are placed on minority group members. They are expected to behave more morally than majority group members in the same circumstances (Fernández, Branscombe, Saguy, Gómez, & Morales, 2014).

Muslim people in the West are keenly aware of religious discrimination, and societal anti-Muslim sentiment (Rippy & Newman, 2008). As many Muslim people in the West are also immigrants, these stressors are often combined with the pressure of adapting to a new culture. Lower levels of English proficiency and recent immigration are associated with depression in young Muslim women in the US, for example (Khuwaja, Selwyn, Kapadia, McCurdy, & Khuwaja, 2007). Post 9/11 Muslim youth in the West have reported feeling that they have to hide their Muslim identity in order to fit in, or vehemently police themselves and other group members in order to be seen as a "good" Muslim by non-Muslim people (Sirin & Fine, 2007).

There is also evidence to suggest that Islamophobia is gendered. Muslim women are more likely to be the victims of anti-Muslim hate crimes in Australia, the UK, and the U.S., than are Muslim men (Abu-Ras & Suarez, 2009; Dreher, 2006; Githens-Mazer & Lambert, 2010; Perry, 2014). Muslim men, on the other hand, are stereotyped as being violent, threatening, sexist, and dangerous to women (Ewing, 2008). Muslim women who wear a *hijab*, *niqab*, or *burqa* are instantly identifiable as Muslim. These articles of dress are often portrayed as threatening, oppressive, dangerous, or "othering", particularly in media depictions (Bullock & Jafri, 2000).

Given the rates of hate crimes Muslim women in the West face, as well as the prejudice associated with their dress, they have a fear of violence and harassment, and a reduced sense of belonging. These fears restrict their freedom of movement in public spaces; Muslim women report being hesitant to go out alone because of Islamophobia (Abu-Ras & Suarez, 2009; Kwan, 2008; *Listen: National consultations on eliminating prejudice against Arab and Muslim Australians*, 2004; *Race, faith and gender: converging discriminations against Muslim women in Victoria*, 2008) In addition to all of this, Muslim people who publicly challenge Islamophobia and inequitable treatment will face the same derogation that any disadvantaged group member faces when attributing outcomes to prejudice.

From the rates of hate crimes reported by Muslims, to the everyday stressors associated with Islamophobia, to the terrorist attacks of March 15, it should now be evident that choosing *not* to stand in solidarity with Muslims amount to acceptance of a society in which Muslims are excluded and targeted. Choosing not to do something leaves Muslim people to be both the target of Islamophobia, and to bear the burden of ending Islamophobia. Again, the support shown by swathes of non-Muslim New Zealanders and Australians suggests that there is an appetite for solidarity. Below we outline 13 practical suggestions (see Figure 1) for how to act as a practical ally to Muslims.

Practical Suggestions

It can be confusing trying to work out how to best act as an ally. Advantaged group members may have ideas about how to support disadvantaged groups, for example, but this may not align with how these disadvantaged groups want to be supported (Droogendyk, Wright, Lubensky, & Louis, 2016; Louis et al., 2019). Below we offer practical suggestions for inclusivity that moves beyond tokenism to create structural change in spaces that impact the everyday lives of Muslims. Before we begin, a few caveats are necessary. The list below is not exhaustive, and where possible you should ask minorities how they can be

accommodated. Creating lasting structural change is a long-term endeavour, and one that many others have written about more fully (e.g., Louis, Barlow, & Greenaway, 2012; Louis et al., 2019). It is our hope, however, that the implementation of even a few of these suggestions might provide relief and support for Muslims in the West. We also note that none of the actions listed below is intended to replace symbolic support, but rather to be implemented in concert with it. Finally, we recognise that many of the suggestions require sacrifice, or changing something about your behavior, program, or structure.

For Children & Adolescents

According to a poll by *The Institute for Social Policy and Understanding*, 43% of Muslim families with kids in K-12 schools report they have a child that has been a target of bullying because of their faith– a quarter of the time, the bully was an adult (Mogahed & Chouhoud, 2017); This rate is compared to 23% of Jewish children, and 6% of Catholic children that report being bullied because of their faith. Negative stereotypes of Islam are often also targeted at Muslim children, who are keenly aware of being different from their peers (Ramarajan & Runell, 2007).

Talk to your children

If you are expressing open Islamophobia, or stereotyping and othering Muslims in the home, it is likely that your child will adopt these attitudes, and take them to school. Outside of this, however, children exist in a society in which Muslim people are routinely dehumanized (Viki, Osgood, & Phillips, 2013). Thus, it is possible that while parents assume a lack of prejudice and Islamophobic bullying, it may exist. In this instance, it is not enough to *not* display prejudice. Rather, it is important to talk clearly and openly about the inclusion and acceptance of Muslims, as well as standards of behavior. There is some evidence that parenting factors can contribute to the development and cessation of bullying (Cohn & Canter, 2003; Hazlerr, Carney, Green, Powell, & Jolly, 1997; Smith, Twemlow, & Hoover, 1999), and thus intervening in the home may be successful.

Inclusion of Muslim Narratives

Another way that schools can be more inclusive of Muslim students is through representation of Muslim narratives and experiences through literature in school libraries, and books assigned for readings. As parents, you may buy books with Muslim protagonists for your children or their school, and read these stories to them. Donating books to public libraries that center Muslim stories is a practical way of increasing diversity. [A list of books representing such stories is provided here.](#) Girls of the Crescent, an American non-profit organization, aims to increase diversity and representation by collecting books with female Muslim main characters and donating them to school districts and libraries in the U.S. Neither New Zealand nor Australia currently has an organization akin to Girls of the Crescent, and thus another act of solidarity might be to create one.

Inclusion of Muslim Teachers and Administrators

Another way to ensure Muslim representation and inclusion at school is to ensure that there are Muslim teachers. We are aware, however, that in New Zealand, only 1% of the population identifies as Muslim (Ward, 2011), and so it may not be feasible to have a full-time Muslim teacher, Muslim administrator, or a Muslim person on the school board. If this is the case, Muslim voices can still be included in schools by hiring Muslim experts to give a talk, or run an activity. Are there, for example, local Muslim police officers who would be willing to come and talk to children about what it is like to be on the force? Might there be local Muslim engineers who would be willing to come in and talk about fun projects they are working on? Meaningfully including a diverse range of people in positions of leadership and expertise may serve to humanize Muslims, show Muslim role models, as well as send a clear message of inclusion of Muslims to both Muslim and non-Muslim children.

Ramadan Lunch space

During the month of Ramadan (note that the dates change year to year, see below), kids from the age of 9 can start to fast. Recess and lunch

hours can be challenging for children, as they can be singled out for not eating. In addition to ensuring that there is diverse religious education that lets non-Muslim children learn about Ramadan, we suggest creating a space – an unused classroom for example – for Muslim kids, and others who want to join, to do crafts, read, or nap.

For Academic & Organizational Settings

As stated above, public spaces (including workspaces) can often feel hostile or isolating to Muslim people in the West. There are simple and concrete steps you can take, however, to make your workplace more welcoming for Muslims.

Halal dietary restrictions

Many Muslims observe Halal dietary restrictions. Including halal meal options at cafeterias and canteens, and at special, catered events, will not only allow Muslims to eat, but also send a message of respect and inclusion.

Alcohol

Muslims generally do not drink alcohol, and may find it inappropriate to attend events where intoxicants are served. The interpretation and implementation of this ruling varies; some will not attend an event at all if alcohol is served, while others will attend but need to be at a table where alcohol is not consumed. This presents a challenge for office parties, networking and social activities, as it is normative in New Zealand and Australia for these events to include alcohol.

If you have Muslim colleagues or students at your event, a simple solution is to ask what they are comfortable with. Depending on their comfort it may be possible to set up sober tables at events, or to not serve alcohol for the first portion of the event, or to create networking and social opportunities throughout the year that are alcohol free (e.g., if

Friday evening drinks occur fortnightly, a non-alcoholic morning tea could be organized on alternate weeks). Initiatives like this need not disrupt work events serving alcohol, but rather simply ensure that there are opportunities for Muslim and non-Muslim colleagues to mingle, collaborate, and enjoy functions together.

Prayer Space

Muslims typically pray 5 times daily. For the many that work and learn in spaces that do not accommodate them, they end up praying in empty corridors, car parks, behind buildings, or in restrooms. Aside from these spaces not being quiet or clean, it often draws the attention of passersby. There have been reports of law enforcement being called in response to praying Muslims, whose behaviour is interpreted as "suspicious activity"(Armstrong, 2015; Salinger, 2016)

We suggest providing a clean, quiet, and safe space for Muslims and people of other faiths to pray and meditate. Ideally, prayer spaces would be provided as long-term spaces in organizations, but such spaces are also needed in the short term to ensure Muslims are safe and comfortable. For short-term events like conferences and day seminars hotels will often provide prayer spaces if asked, and some even have prayer rugs. Note that these spaces need not exclusively be used for prayer. A quiet and clean space, such as an empty meeting room that can be used for prayer would also do. Having prayer spaces at schools, universities, businesses, conferences, and so on, sends a message of inclusion and provides a safe space for Muslims to conduct their prayer.

Handshaking, hugging, and touch

Some Muslims (and Orthodox Jews) follow theological rulings that don't allow for touching people of another gender, outside of one's immediate family. This practice is not related to sexism, or antipathy towards other genders (Nazeer, Mirnajafi, & Lalonde, 2019), but is rather to do with etiquette, respect, modesty, and humility. If you meet a Muslim (or Orthodox Jew), simply ask, "Do you shake hands?" If they say no, try not to take this personally, remembering that it is a religious custom rooted in respect. Think about how you can warmly greet them without touch (an enthusiastic hello always works well!). While it may seem strange at first to ask if someone shakes hands, given how normative handshaking is in the West, it will become more natural over time. Think of it as obtaining consent before reaching out to touch someone – be it hugging or shaking someone's hand.

Recognition of holidays

While holidays are governmentally mandated for Christian traditions such as Easter and Christmas, Muslims often have to work through holy celebrations. Recognition of Muslim holidays is important in the workplace as it both signals inclusivity and allows people to take time off. Returning to the example of Ramadan (for which no time off is required bar the day that marks the end of Ramadan, known as *Eid*), organizations will benefit by recognizing this period. It may be possible to ensure that work retreats, or energetic work activities are planned (where possible) when Muslim employees are not fasting. Note, the Islamic calendar is a lunar calendar meaning the dates rotate every year – so if *Eid* is in June one year, it will not be in June the following year.

For Children & Adolescents	In Organizational & Academic Settings	More Broadly
Talk to your children about inclusion and acceptance	Inclusion of Halal options in cafeterias and catered events	Educate yourself
Donate books with Muslim protagonists to libraries	Inclusion of alcohol free events	Speak up against Islamophobia
Representation of Muslims in schools as speakers and role models	Creating a prayer space	Push for Muslim representation in the media
Ramadan lunch spaces	Ask "Do you shake hands?" when meeting a Muslim	Complain when you see or hear Islamophobia in the media
	Recognize Muslim holidays	

Figure 1. A guide to inclusivity and practical suggestions for being an ally to Muslims

In General – Challenge Islamophobia

One final point of practical solidarity is that in order to maximize your impact, you can work to challenge anti-Muslim sentiment if and when you see it. Doing so can be difficult, for the reasons outlined in the barriers section, but it is worthwhile. Part of challenging systemic Islamophobia is through symbolic solidarity – modelling positive and inclusive attitudes to your social circle and beyond. Part will also involve actively challenging people and organizations when they engage in behavior that is prejudiced or discriminatory. Small things you can do are:

Educate yourself

In order to be able to factually challenge stereotypes, and counter false notions about Muslims you need to learn about Islam, Islamophobia, and Muslim people. Of course, there is no singular Muslim person, but exposing yourself to diverse Muslim stories, narratives, and points of view will be useful.

Speak up when people express Islamophobia

People often use racial or religious slurs about Muslim people, make sweeping generalizations, or dehumanize Muslim people (Kteily & Bruneau, 2017). This behavior will not end with the terrorist attacks – as mentioned above, attacks on Muslims in the UK rose by 593% after the New Zealand attacks (Dodd, 2019). When confronted with this behavior you have an opportunity to speak up, defend Muslim people, express social disapproval of prejudice, and in the best case, change the mind of the person expressing prejudice. Sometimes this person will be your family, your partner or your friend, and this can be challenging. Amnesty International has outlined how to talk to a loved one when they're their prejudiced. We also recommend this guide outlining anti-racism strategies and conversations based on psychological literature.

Agitate for increased representation of Muslim people

It is not just children's books that suffer from lack of representation of Muslim people and voices. Muslim people are often simply not depicted in Western films, TV shows, books, magazines, and even advertisements. When they are represented it is often in a negative way (e.g., as a terrorist) (Alsultany, 2012; Said, 2008; Shaheen, 2003). As highlighted earlier, exposure to negative Muslim stereotypes and tropes is linked to increased prejudice (Shaver et al., 2017), while reading Muslim narratives can reduce intergroup anxiety and prejudice (Johnson et al., 2013). If you think that your favorite show would benefit from the inclusion of a Muslim family or character, write to the producers, or start a petition. There is also a large body of films made, and books written, by Muslim creatives. You can ask your local cinema to play these films, read books by Muslim authors in your local book club, and ensure that children at your local school are being exposed to stories from a diverse (not to mention interesting, informative, and fun) range of people.

Complain when the media reports on Muslim affairs in a prejudiced way

In a similar vein, it can be useful to write and complain if you feel that media coverage of Muslim issues or affairs is promoting racial or religious intolerance or hatred, or bolstering stereotypes. You may communicate make complaints to media regulating agencies (in Australia: Australian Press Council, and in New Zealand: The Broadcasting Standards Authority), report the behavior to the human rights commission, write opinion letters, or write letters of complaint. Small changes on the way in which Muslim people are portrayed in the media may lead to large net changes in how Muslim people are treated in New Zealand and Australia, and across the Western World.

Conclusion

In the present paper we have made the case that while symbolic displays of support for Muslim people are necessary and valued, they are not sufficient to overcome pervasive Islamophobia, anti-Muslim sentiment, and social exclusion of Muslims in the West. In contrast, deliberate and persistent solidarity and allyship is needed. We have outlined challenges to solidarity and allyship, and made the case for why these must be overcome. We end with practical solutions that we hope each reader will integrate into their school,

workplace, and life. While such actions will take effort, it is through action that we can (and must) work together to ensure that Muslims in the West feel safe to pray, to go out and eat and shop, to study, to work, to have fun, and to be valued, equal, and included members of the nations that they call home.

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News headlines or ideological beliefs: What affects readers' interpretations of news stories about immigration, killing in the name of religion and other topical issues? A cross-cultural analysis

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The tragedy that shook the entire nation on 15 March, 2019, compels researchers to try and understand the factors that perpetuate stereotypes and prejudice against minority groups. While in the past, New Zealand was thought of as a welcoming and inclusive nation, events in Christchurch challenge that view. Anti-immigrant prejudice is rooted in attitudes captured by self-report scales measuring mindsets such as a Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) and Right Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) across various age groups and ethnicities (Matić & Bratko, 2018; Caricati, Mancini & Marletta, 2016). In New Zealand, RWA is found to be most strongly related with anti-immigration attitudes and SDO with low warmth toward people of Chinese origin (Satherley & Sibley, 2016).

SDO and RWA are closely related to prejudice (e.g., Sibley & Duckitt, 2008), but the underlying motive varies for each (Halkjelsvik & Rise, 2014). RWA is based on the belief that the world is perilous and encourages orthodoxy, whereas SDO views the world as a fight for power and a struggle to sustain or increase hierarchical inequities (Duckitt, 2001). These ideological beliefs also affect how incoming information, including news, is processed. Tausch and Hewstone (2010) found that SDO was negatively associated with stereotype change. This suggests that people are more likely to process information in line with their pre-existing beliefs and can discard any contradictory information presented to them. In contrast, when individuals lack prior information about an event, they are more likely to depend on headlines and story content when interpreting news information (Blair & Banaji, 1996; Bodenhausen et al., 1999).

Sensational headlines have long been a topic of interest for researchers. In 1949, Steigleman called American readers "a shopper of headlines" (p.389). Tannenbaum (1953) found that using positive, negative or neutral headlines affected the views of the reader regarding the guilt of a defendant in a murder trial. Participants who viewed a positive headline most commonly rated the accused as 'innocent' while those who read negative headlines rated him 'guilty'. Those who viewed the neutral headline said they had 'no opinion'. However, this effect was not observed consistently and mostly occurred when the participants quickly scanned through the news article. Pfau (1995) obtained similar results when the use of 'black riot' instead of 'union riot' resulted in an event being perceived as more violent by American students. Additionally, Pfau found that increased prior knowledge about the outgroup appeared to make participants susceptible to stereotypical distortion.

In contrast, some other studies have found that headlines have not affected news story interpretation. For instance, Leventhal and Gray (1991) found that when crime articles were paired with headlines that were either neutral or positively framed towards the accused or the victim, the manipulation had no effect on assessment of crimes or memory for the article. Similarly, Condit et al. (2001) found that varying the headline had no role in shifting beliefs regarding genetic determinism.

These ideas are relevant to the Christchurch attack in that the alleged perpetrator is thought to have been radicalised through a combination of meetings while travelling abroad as well as through online sources. For instance, the alleged perpetrator posted his "manifesto" on 8chan, "a popular website where many right-wing users discuss 'white genocide,' among other apocalyptic concerns" (https://www.theringer.com/2019/3/15/18268015/christchurch-new-zealand-shooter-social-media-internet). The implication is that information on the web can distort thinking in new directions. An alternative is that one seeks information on the web that simply confirms or intensifies pre-existing views.

We examined these ideas in the present study by presenting news stories about topical issues in four conditions. The stories were preceded by headlines that were positive, negative, both positive and negative, or were not preceded by a headline. Nearly all prior research studies used news articles constructed purely for the experiment, with no studies that we are aware of exploring the effect of SDO and RWA on 'real' headline perception. Thus, we aimed to fill this gap in literature, that is, to understand what happens when a reader is exposed to a strongly-worded, real headline about a familiar topic. For example, this set of contrasting headlines was published on the website *Stuff* (https://goo.gl/R8exBT) and *The Telegraph* (https://goo.gl/ci2gTM), respectively: 'Immigration good news for NZ business' versus 'Immigration damages house prices, say Home Office advisers'. The question was whether the headline changes their opinion or do readers interpret the news in line with their own pre-existing beliefs?

We tested participants in two countries: America and Pakistan. These countries were chosen because participants were expected to have divergent opinions about the four issues we examined (killing in the name of Islam, honour killing, Donald Trump's travel ban for certain countries and immigration). For this reason our initial analyses examined cultural differences in attitudes about the four topics.

METHOD

Participants

American and Pakistani undergraduate students ($N = 429$) completed the experiment using the Qualtrics© online survey (212 from Pakistan and 217 from the USA). Six attention questions were included in the experiment to ensure that the respondents were paying attention to the presented stimuli. Two hundred participants from the USA and 122 from Pakistan demonstrated an acceptable level of attention and comprehension (at least 5 of 6 attention questions correct). Only these 322 participants were included in the data analysis to ensure accuracy of the results while retaining the maximum number of participants. On average, participants were 22.99 years old ($SD = 4.99$). There were 137 male, 183 female and 2 gender fluid participants. In the entire sample, there were 151 who reported they were religious (92 who identified as Muslim, 53 as Christian and 6 from other religions).

Materials Participants completed 6-item versions of the RWA ($\alpha = .70$; M =1.11, SD = 0.80) and SDO scales ($\alpha = .79$; $M = 1.06$; $SD = 0.90$) by rating items on a 7-point scale (0, *strongly disagree*; 6, *strongly agree*; Pratto et al., 1994; see Appendix A). After this, the participants were presented with four news stories that focused on political, religious and social issues, with the stories preceded by headlines as described above (positive, negative, both, no headline) (see Appendix B). The crux of all the news stories was to highlight the difference between the ideas of two groups or individuals. Since the experiment was conducted in America and Pakistan we chose stories of relevance to each country: Donald Trump, honour killing (justifying killing a young woman accused of bringing dishonour to a family), killing in the name of Islam (justifying taking another person's life because they belong to or support a different religion), and immigration. Each of the four stories had two different headlines that were presented in four conditions: positive headline, negative headline, both, or no headline. When there was a headline, it (they) always preceded the text. In each condition, the text for a particular story was exactly the same. For each story, after reading the headline and article, participants were given three questions in which they reported their feelings towards the story characters or issue on a feelings thermometer (see Appendix C) from 0 (highly unfavourable) to 10 (highly favourable).

RESULTS

First, we used univariate analysis of variance (ANOVA) to test the effects of gender, age, nationality and experimental group on the participant's outcome feelings (4 stories x 3 questions each). Only the effects of nationality were significant (see Table 1), so we analysed American and Pakistani participants separately for all further analyses.

Effect of headline manipulation

For each story, we then examined whether assignment to an experimental group had an effect on reported outcome feeling towards the main subject (question a in Table 1) using a one-way ANOVA with condition as the between-subjects variable (4 levels). The experimental group did not affect outcome feelings towards Donald Trump, Asian Immigrants, Qandeel Baloch (the woman killed by her brother for posting "scandalous" videos on social media), or Mumtaz Qadri (the man who killed the governor Salman Taseer to take revenge for supporting a Christian) (see Table 2). For each story, we then used identical one-way ANOVAs for the two other questions (questions b and c in Table 1), with the results indicating no significant effect of experimental group for any of the eight questions (all $ps > .05$).

Next, we used multiple regression to examine whether SDO and RWA affected feelings for the main subject of each story (question a in Table 1). To be as thorough as possible, we also included whether the headline had been positive or negative (see Table 3). As above, the valence of the news headline (whether positively worded or negatively worded) was not a significant predictor of the outcome feelings for any of the four stories. In contrast, SDO significantly predicted 3/4 outcome feelings in the USA and 1/4 in Pakistan. Likewise, RWA significantly predicted 3/4 feelings in the USA and 2/4 in Pakistan.

Next, we created question composites by summing the three questions for each story into an overall scale measuring feelings (Appendix C), making sure to reverse questions that were negatively worded. There were four subscales measuring feelings towards: Donald Trump ($\alpha = .443$; $M = 8.66$; $SD = 5.83$), anti-immigration ($\alpha = .799$; $M = 8.58$; $SD = 5.59$), positive attitudes toward killing a woman for family honour ($\alpha = .448$; $M = 5.04$; $SD = 4.41$), and positive attitudes towards killing in the name of religion ($\alpha = .674$; $M = 8.05$; $SD = 6.33$). Pearson's correlations indicated that all four topical issues were significantly correlated with SDO and RWA in the USA. This result is similar to that obtained for the main topic (Table 3) but indicated a more consistent relation for the composite. In Pakistan, two issues (positive attitudes toward killing a woman for family honour and killing in the name of religion) were significantly correlated with RWA and one with SDO (see Tables 4a and 4b).

Table 1. Mean and Standard Deviation of all 12 outcome feelings, as well as SDO and RWA in Pakistan and the USA

	Pakistan	USA		Pakistan	USA
Feelings towards:	*M (SD)*	*M (SD)*	Feelings towards:	*M (SD)*	*M (SD)*
1a. Donald Trump	1.70 (2.60)	1.16 (2.27)	3a. Qandeel	4.66[a] (2.86)	7.26[b] (2.45)
1b. Muslim countries	3.34 [a] (3.66)	4.99 [b] (3.15)	3b. Qandeel's brother	1.14 [a] (2.19)	0.69 [b] (1.55)
1c. Ban	1.80 (2.61)	1.59 (2.48)	3c. Honour killing	0.50 (1.60)	0.44 (1.28)
2a. Asian Immigrants	6.91 (2.38)	7.29 (2.26)	4a. Qadri	3.37[a] (3.50)	1.15[b] (1.78)
2b. Immigration	7.01 (2.14)	7.22 (2.32)	4b. Salman Taseer	4.25 (3.26)	5.49 (2.77)
2c. New Zealand	7.11 (2.17)	7.09 (2.60)	4c. Killing for religion	2.25[a] (3.04)	0.46[b] (1.31)
SDO	1.33 (.80)	1.05 (.90)			
RWA	2.75 (.688)	1.10 (.80)			

Note. For each of the 12 questions, means in Pakistan and the USA were compared with *t*-tests, and corrected with the Holms-Bonferroni correction. [ab]$p<.004$ (means for Pakistan versus USA were significantly different after correction).

Table 2. One-way ANOVAs showing effect of headline manipulation for the main subject of each story

	USA					Pakistan				
Feelings for:	**SS**	**df**	**F**	**p**	**η_p^2**	**SS**	**df**	**F**	**p**	**η_p^2**
Donald Trump	10.45	3	.67	.57	.01	11.87	3	.58	.63	.01
Asian Immigrants	7.08	3	.46	.71	.01	26.55	3	1.58	.20	.05
Qandeel Baloch	19.34	3	1.07	.36	.02	17.22	3	.70	.56	.02
Mumtaz Qadri	8.02	3	.84	.47	.01	60.29	3	1.67	.18	.04

Table 3. Multiple regression analysis with SDO, RWA, negative and positive headlines as predictors

		Donald Trump			Asian Immigrants			Qandeel Baloch			Mumtaz Qadri		
		B	SE	β	B	SE	β	B	SE	β	B	SE	β
USA	SDO	.90	.17	.36[c]	-1.0	.17	-.40[c]	-.51	.19	-.19[b]	.06	.15	.03
	RWA	.68	.19	.24[b]	-.19	.20	-.07	-.96	.22	-.31[c]	.38	.17	.17[a]
	Pos.	-.23	.34	-.04	-.16	.36	-.03	-.11	.39	-.02	.26	.31	.06
	Neg.	.53	.35	.10	.04	.36	.01	-.69	.39	-.12	.18	.31	.04
Pakistan	SDO	.12	.30	.04	-.27	.27	-.09	-.09	.32	-.03	1.08	.38	.25[b]
	RWA	-.24	.36	-.06	.24	.32	.07	-1.12	.37	-.29[b]	1.23	.45	.24[b]
	Pos.	-.19	.61	-.02	.71	.54	.13	-.01	.63	.00	.11	.80	.01
	Neg.	-.05	.60	-.01	-.54	.54	-.10	.88	.63	.13	-1.40	.74	-.17

Note. [a]$p < .05$, [b]$p < .01$, [c]$p<.001$.

Table 4a. Correlations between SDO, RWA and Question Composites in USA

Variable	1	2	3	4	5
1. Pro-Trump	-				
2. Anti-Immigration	.523[b]	-			
3. Pro-Honour Killing	.249[b]	.288[b]	-		
4. Pro-Killing for Religion	.181[a]	.180[b]	.541[b]	-	
5. SDO	.428[b]	.500[b]	.281[b]	.203[a]	-
6. RWA	.337[b]	.285[b]	.369[b]	.403[b]	.376[b]

Note. [a]$p<.05$, [b]$p < .01$.

DISCUSSION

In this study, sensational news headlines did not have a significant effect on attitudes regarding the four key issues studied. Instead, ideological belief systems – RWA and SDO – had a much greater influence on how a reader perceived the news and how they felt about the main subject. Amongst participants from the USA, we found that individuals who scored higher on RWA were more likely to endorse Donald Trump, Mumtaz Qadri, and Qandeel's brother. Those who scored high in SDO tended to rate Donald Trump more ositively, but Asian Immigration in New Zealand and Qandeel Baloch negatively.

These findings make sense in light of Feldman and Johnston's (2013) definition of RWA (submissive, conservative, religious) and SDO (dominant personality, seeking socioeconomic superiority of their in-group and less concerned with preserving traditional values).

For instance, Pettigrew (2017, p.108) notes the following: "Trump's speeches, studded with such absolutist terms as "losers" and "complete disasters," are classic authoritarian statements. His clear distinction between groups on the top of society (Whites) and those "losers" and "bad hombres" on the bottom (immigrants, Blacks and Latinos) are classic social dominance statements".

Other recent studies have reported that individuals scoring high on RWA and SDO tend to exhibit more favourable feelings towards Trump and a higher intention of voting for him (Choma & Hanoch, 2017). Our story focussed on Trump's stated aim to protect Americans from attacks by Muslims. The solution proposed by Donald Trump is to establish dominion over America and curtail the entrance of individuals from Muslim countries who may pose a threat to the Americans. These are essential features of both RWA (minimising diversity, the influence of ethnic minorities, and external threat) and SDO (domination of low status groups by higher status groups), and it therefore makes sense that participants who scored higher on SDO were pro-Trump and pro-

banning of Muslim countries. The results of the present study are consistent with previous findings and provide additional evidence to show that participants who already had pro- or anti-Trump feelings could not be swayed differently when presented with a contrary headline.

Cohrs and Stetzl (2010) found that SDO and anti-immigration feelings were most popular in countries which have foreign-born people who are either unemployed or in a disadvantaged position. Our second story was about locals who have to compete for houses because of immigrants, and is therefore consistent with the characteristics of RWA and SDO, that outgroup members are perceived as presenting the threat of economic competition (Duckitt, 2006).

An interesting finding of this study is that amongst participants from Pakistan, only two issues appeared to be significantly correlated with SDO and RWA. These two issues were both highly relevant in Pakistan (i.e., honour killing and killing in the name of religion). The case of Qandeel Baloch, a young Pakistani model who was murdered by her brother for indulging in modelling photoshoots, reflects the idea that men have more autonomy and women must follow basic restrictions (SDO) and that they must not step out of conventional roles (RWA). Christopher and Wojda (2008) found that participants higher in SDO held negative beliefs about women in managerial roles. Likewise, Fraser, Osborne and Sibley (2015) found a positive correlation between SDO and opposition to gender-based affirmative action. Likewise, Altemeyer (1988; cf. Smith & Winter, 2002, p.306) claims that authoritarian personalities hold "a 'law and order' mentality that legitimizes anger and aggression against those who deviate from social norms and conventions." In this case, the penalty was death by her brother, which participants high in RWA and SDO were more likely to endorse.

Killing in the name of religion presented a unique case as it was one issue for which SDO and RWA were consistent predictors in both the countries. While the story concerned

an issue that took place in Pakistan, even American students high in RWA and SDO rated it as more acceptable. This is a striking finding because a subsection of college students in two diverse countries, with different religious views and not much else in common, showed more tolerance for murder as justified by religion. This finding makes clear that violence toward others of differing beliefs is not simply a Muslim issue or an American issue, but rather, is an issue that is not restricted to a particular religion or cultural/ national context. Although the mean approval for killing in the name of religion (see Table 1) still tended to be low overall, even in a mainstream, non-extremist college sample, there is more tolerance for killing in the name of religion in those high in SDO or RWA. As such it is inopportune to blame a particular culture, national group or religion for promulgating hatred toward another group. Clearly, this is a human propensity that is possible for a wide range of ethnographic groups, and depends on more general attitudes such as SDO or RWA. Future research could replicate the same study in other cultures to examine the role of SDO and RWA in shaping attitudes toward other phenomena, and potentially, the role of the media in developing such attitudes in the first place. It could also examine whether repeatedly slanted headlines or news story biases might change attitudes even if one-off headlines do not. This, for instance, could explain some of the general differences in attitudes in Pakistan versus the USA (see Table 1).

In conclusion, the present study suggests that one-off sensational headlines do not cause a significant change in an individual's perceptions about people and issues, at least in a university-educated audience. Instead, RWA and SDO are the main influences for how such individuals interpret incoming information regarding a known topic. Moreover, based on the sample from Pakistan, it appears that issues that one is most familiar to are the ones most strongly predicted by SDO and RWA.

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Appendix A: Questionnaires

SDO Short version
1. It is OK if some groups have more of a chance in life than others.
2. Inferior groups should stay in their place.
3. To get ahead in life, it is sometimes okay to step on other groups.
4. We should have increased social equality.∗
5. It would be good if all groups could be equal.∗
6. We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups.*

RWA Short version
1. It is always better to trust the judgment of the proper authorities in government and religion than to listen to the noisy rabble-rousers in our society who are trying to create doubt in people's minds.
2. It would be best for everyone if the proper authorities censored magazines so that people could not get their hands on trashy and disgusting material.
3. Our country will be destroyed someday if we do not smash the perversions eating away at our moral fibre and traditional beliefs.
4. People should pay less attention to The Bible and other old traditional forms of religious guidance, and instead develop their own personal standards of what is moral and immoral.*
5. Atheists and others who have rebelled against established religions are no doubt every bit as good and virtuous as those who attend church regularly.*
6. Some of the best people in our country are those who are challenging our government, criticizing religion, and ignoring the "normal way" things are supposed to be done.*
    *Reversed

Appendix B: Headlines for the experimental groups

Group 1	Group 2	Group 3	Group 4
1. Trump renews call for 'travel ban' to protect against 'dangerous Muslim countries'	Trump's Muslim Ban 3.0 Is Just as Inhumane — and Even More Frightening.	No headline	Both headlines
2. Asian Immigration good news for NZ business.	Asian Immigration damages house prices, say Home Office advisers.	No headline	Both headlines
3. Qandeel Baloch died a feminist hero	Qandeel Baloch died a prostitute, not a hero	No headline	Both headlines
4. Mumtaz Qadri Hero of Islam & Pakistan.	Mumtaz Qadri: the cowardly murderer we hail as an Islamic saint.	No headline	Both headlines

Appendix C: Questions following each story, and scale for measuring feeling towards sensitive topical issues

		Using the thermometer (where 0 is least favourable and 10 is highly favourable) indicate your feelings towards:
Story 1	1a	Donald Trump
	1b	Muslims from banned countries
	1c	Trump's travel restrictions
Story 2	2a	Asian Immigrants
	2b	Immigration
	2c	New Zealand
Story 3	3a	Qandeel Baloch
	3b	Qandeel's brother
	3c	Honor killing
Story 4	4a	Mumtaz Qadri
	4b	Salman Taseer
	4c	Killing in the name of Islam

Combination of outcome feeling questions to form issue clusters
Pro Trump =1a+1c-1b
Anti- Immigration =-2a-2b-2c
Pro Honour Killing =3b+3c- 3a
Pro Killing for Religion =4a+4c-4b

White Nationalism and Multiculturalism Support: Investigating the Interactive Effects of White Identity and National Attachment on Support for Multiculturalism

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Although white nationalism is increasing globally, little is known about the interactive effects of white identity and national attachment on intergroup attitudes. We address this oversight and theorise that nationalism (i.e., an unquestioning belief in the superiority of one's nation) should strengthen, whereas patriotism (i.e., a positive, albeit objective, attachment to one's nation) should weaken, the negative correlation between white identity and multiculturalism support. As hypothesised, white identity and nationalism correlated negatively, whereas patriotism correlated positively, with support for multiculturalism amongst a sample of New Zealand Europeans (N = 12,815). Moreover, the negative correlation between white identity and multiculturalism support was nearly twice as strong for those high (versus low) on nationalism, but was half the size for those high (versus low) on patriotism. These results demonstrate the negative impact of white nationalism on intergroup relations, and highlight the potential for patriotism to lessen the harmful effects of white identity on support for diversity.

Keywords: white nationalism; nationalism; patriotism; multiculturalism; White identity; terrorism

Introduction

On 15 March 2019, the wave of white nationalism sweeping across the globe came crashing into New Zealand as a lone terrorist began his assault on two Mosques in Christchurch. The attack—New Zealand's deadliest in modern history—claimed the lives of 50 people and injured 50 more. In the immediate aftermath of this atrocity, debate raged over whether the hatred espoused by the terrorist reflected deep-seated and unrecognised biases held by us as a nation (e.g., Ryan, 2019, March 24). Yet, intolerance towards Muslims (and other minorities) has long-been evident in New Zealand. For example, Shaver, Sibley, Osborne, and Bulbulia (2017) reveal that New Zealanders' warmth towards Muslims is notably low. Moreover, minorities in general report markedly higher rates of interpersonal and institutional forms of discrimination than do their New Zealand European counterparts (e.g., Harris et al., 2012; Harris et al., 2006). Collectively, research on intergroup relations in New Zealand reveals an uncomfortable reality. Namely, the intolerance laid all too bare in the recent terrorist attacks may lurk underneath a thin veneer of acceptance in New Zealand.

The current study addresses this possibility by investigating the impact of white nationalism on multiculturalism support in New Zealand. To begin, we briefly review the literature on ethnic identification amongst ethnic majority groups, paying particular attention to how white identity influences intergroup attitudes. We then discuss studies on national attachment to show that the ways in which one identifies with his or her nation of residence has distinct implications for attitudes toward ethnic minorities. Finally, building upon the reviewed literature, we propose that nationalistic attachment should exacerbate, whereas patriotic attachment should mitigate, the negative effect of white identity on acceptance for cultural diversity.

White Identity and Intergroup Attitudes

Although ethnic identification is particularly salient for low-status groups (Sidanius & Petrocik, 2001) and can protect minorities from the harmful effects of discrimination (Cronin, Levin, Branscombe, van Laar, & Tropp, 2012; Stronge et al., 2016), a newly-emerging and burgeoning literature has begun to examine ethnic identification amongst members of high-status groups. Accordingly, this research consistently reveals that the origins and implications of ethnic identification differ between low-status and high-status groups. For example, Levin and Sidanius (1999) investigated the correlates of ethnic identification amongst high- and low-status groups in the United

States and Israel and found that the preference for group-based hierarchy (namely, social dominance orientation; SDO) correlated negatively with ethnic identification for low-status groups, but positively for high-status groups (also see Levin, Federico, Sidanius, & Rabinowitz, 2002). Similarly, whereas beliefs that legitimise the social hierarchy (e.g., the Protestant work ethic, conservatism, etc.) correlate negatively with ethnic identification for low-status groups, they correlate positively for high-status groups (Levin, Sidanius, Rabinowitz, & Federico, 1998). In short, ethnic identification amongst high-status groups is rooted in the preference for group-based inequality, suggesting that white identity may have nefarious consequences for intergroup relations.

Consistent with the view that white identity could have negative consequences for intergroup relations, research reveals that ethnic identification amongst whites (i.e., white identity) correlates with a number of harmful views toward minorities. For example, Lowery, Unzueta, Knowles, and Goff (2006) showed that white identity correlated negatively with affirmative action support, particularly when the policy was framed in terms of the potential losses affirmative action could imply for whites. Likewise, Major, Blodorn, and Blascovich (2018) revealed that informing whites about the changing demographics of the United States increased support for anti-immigration policies and the likelihood of voting for Donald Trump, but *only* for those who were already high on white identity. Finally, Osborne, Jost, Becker, Badaan, and Sibley (2019) demonstrated that white identity correlated negatively with collective action aimed at redressing inequality, but positively with collective action aimed at reinforcing the status quo. In contrast, ethnic identification correlated positively with support for collective action to redress inequality, but negatively with protests that would reinforce the status quo, for minorities. Together, these studies reveal that white identity undermines support for diversity and intergroup tolerance.

The Impact of (Distinct Forms of) National Attachment

Although white identity seems to be at the centre of the current raft of intergroup bias seen across the globe, it is also important to take into account the nature of one's attachment to his or her nation of residence. Accordingly, research distinguishes between two forms of national attachment: (a) nationalism and (b) patriotism (see Kosterman & Feshbach, 1989). Whereas nationalism reflects an unwavering—and unquestionable—belief that one's nation is superior to others, patriotism captures the simple positive affective attachment people have towards their nation. Although these constructs have been given different names including blind versus constructive patriotism (Schatz & Staub, 1997; Schatz, Staub, & Lavine, 1999; Spry & Hornsey, 2007), nationalism versus patriotism (Blank & Schmidt, 2003; De Figueiredo & Elkins, 2003), and ethnic exclusion versus patriotism (Coenders & Scheepers, 2003), a core feature distinguishing these two forms of national attachment is rejection versus acceptance of democratic values, respectively.

Consistent with the view that nationalism and patriotism reflect distinct forms of national attachment, the two constructs have separate antecedents and consequences. As for the antecedents to nationalism, Osborne, Milojev and Sibley (2017) investigated three waves of longitudinal data from New Zealand and revealed that right-wing authoritarianism (RWA; i.e., people's tendency to obey authorities) correlated positively with relative increases in both patriotism and nationalism. In contrast, SDO correlated positively with relative increases in nationalism, but negatively with increases in patriotism. Notably, the corresponding cross-lagged effects these two forms of national attachment had on RWA and SDO were either unreliable, or notably smaller than the reciprocal associations. Accordingly, nationalism and patriotism have distinct antecedents.

In addition to having distinct origins, nationalism and patriotism independently—and sometimes in countervailing directions—predict important outcomes for intergroup relations. For example, nationalism correlates with hostile intergroup attitudes including prejudices toward immigrants (De Figueiredo & Elkins, 2003; Wagner, Becker, Christ, Pettigrew, & Schmidt, 2012), anti-immigration sentiment (Ariely, 2012), and outgroup derogation (Blank & Schmidt, 2003). Conversely, after accounting for the negative effects of nationalism, the relationship between patriotism and intergroup attitudes is either positive, or unreliable (De Figueiredo & Elkins, 2003). Finally, Ariely (2012) found that nationalism correlated positively, whereas patriotism correlated negatively, with anti-immigration views across 34 countries. Thus, nationalism seems to undermine support for diversity, whereas patriotism facilitates intergroup acceptance. Nevertheless, research has yet to examine the extent to which these distinct forms of national attachment moderate the effect of white identity on attitudes toward multiculturalism.

Current Study

The current study addresses this oversight by investigating the impact distinct forms of national attachment have on the relationship between white identity and attitudes toward diversity. Given that a preference for group-based hierarchy underlies ethnic identification and ingroup favouritism for high-status groups (Levin et al., 2002; Levin & Sidanius, 1999; see also Hamley, Houkamau, Osborne, Barlow, & Sibley, in press), we predicted that white identity would correlate negatively with support for multiculturalism (i.e., an ideology that promotes the acceptance of diverse cultures and opposes hierarchy). The strength of this negative association should, however, depend on the type of attachment one holds toward his or her nation of residence. Because nationalism reflects an uncritical belief in national superiority and is based on a preference for group-based hierarchy (Osborne et al., 2017; Sidanius, Feshbach, Levin, & Pratto, 1997), nationalism should strengthen the negative correlation between white identity and support for multiculturalism. Conversely,

patriotism captures a positive identification with one's nation of residence, yet nevertheless recognises that one's nation is fallible in its pursuit to uphold democratic values (Blank & Schmidt, 2003). Thus, patriotism should attenuate the predicted negative correlation between white identity and multiculturalism support.

In order to identify the independent (and interactive) effects of white identity and national attachment on support for multiculturalism, we control for multiple key covariates. Because women are less conservative than men (Fraley, Griffin, Belsky, & Roisman, 2012), we controlled for participants' gender. Also, given that the diversity in one's community can influence political beliefs (Major et al., 2018; Schlueter & Wagner, 2008), we controlled for whether or not participants lived in an urban or rural setting. We also used employment status as a covariate, as the (perceived) threat from ethnic diversity may be heightened amongst the unemployed (Schlueter & Scheepers, 2010). Finally, we controlled for participants' levels of education and conservatism, as they correlate positively and negatively (respectively) with pro-diversity attitudes (see Sarrasin et al., 2012; Sidanius, Levin, van Laar, & Sears, 2008). By adjusting for these variables, we rule out the most likely alternative explanations for our predicted results and provide a compelling examination of the impact that white nationalism has on multiculturalism support.

METHOD
Sampling Procedure
Data come from Time 9 of the New Zealand Attitudes and Values Study (NZAVS)—a nationwide longitudinal study that began in 2009.[2] Sampling for Time 9 occurred on five occasions. In 2009 (Time 1), a random sample of adults from the electoral roll (i.e., a national list of registered voters) were invited to participate in a 20-year longitudinal study. This first sampling occasion yielded 6,518 participants (with a

response rate of 16.6%). By 2011, 3,914 participants remained in the study (i.e., a 60% retention rate from Time 1). To address sample attrition, a non-random booster sample was recruited through the website of a major nation-wide newspaper. This second sampling occasion yielded 2,970 new participants, bringing the sample size at Time 3 to 6,884 participants.

To increase the size and diversity of the sample, we conducted three additional sets of booster sampling based on random samples (without replacement) of the electoral roll, but oversampling hard-to-reach populations (see Sibley, 2018). The first of these three sampling occasions was in 2012 (i.e., Time 4) and used multiple sample frames to recruit 5,108 new participants into the study (with a response rate of 9.98%). The second sampling occasion occurred in 2013 (i.e., Time 5) and recruited 7,581 new participants into the study (with a response rate of 10.6%), whereas the third sampling occasion occurred in 2016 (i.e., Time 8) and recruited 7,669 new participants into the study (with a response rate of 9.5%). Therefore, Time 8 had 21,937 participants (i.e., 13,779 retained from at least one prior time point, 7,669 additions from booster sampling, and 489 unmatched or unsolicited opt-ins). By 2017 (i.e., Time 9), 17,072 participants remained in the study (i.e., a 77.8% retention rate from the prior wave), 13,885 of whom solely identified as New Zealand European and are the focus of the current study.

Participants
Of the 13,885 sole-identifying New Zealand Europeans who participated in Time 9 of the NZAVS, we examine the 12,815 (M_{age} = 52.17, SD = 13.61; 63.0% women) who gave partial or complete responses to our variables of interest (92.3% of the sample who identified as New Zealand European).

Measures
Time 9 of the NZAVS included measures of white identity, nationalism, patriotism, and multiculturalism support, along with demographic covariates (and other

variables outside the scope of the current study). Unless noted, items were rated on a 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree) scale.

White identity was assessed using three items from Leach and colleagues' (2008) identity centrality subscale: (a) "I often think about the fact that I am a member of my ethnic group", (b) "The fact that I am a member of my ethnic group is an important part of my identity", and (c) "Being a member of my ethnic group is an important part of how I see myself". Items were averaged together to form a measure of white identity (α = .72).

Nationalism was assessed using two items from Kosterman and Feshbach's (1989) 8-item scale: (a) "Generally, the more influence New Zealand has on other nations, the better off they are" and (b) "Foreign nations have done some very fine things, but they are still not as good as New Zealand". Items were averaged together to form a measure of nationalism (r = .32).

Patriotism was assessed using two items from Kosterman and Feshbach's (1989) 12-item scale: (a) "I feel great pride in the land that is our New Zealand" and (b) "Although at times I may not agree with the government, my commitment to New Zealand always remains strong". Items were averaged together to form a measure of patriotism (r = .57).

Multiculturalism support was assessed using these three items: (a) "The unity of New Zealand is weakened by too many immigrants", (b) "I feel at ease when I am in a city district in New Zealand with many immigrants" (reverse-coded), and (c) "There are too many immigrants living in New Zealand". Items were averaged together to form a measure of multiculturalism support (α = .77).

Covariates included participants' age (open-ended), gender (0 = man, 1 = woman), employment status (0 = unemployed, 1 = employed), residential status (0 = urban, 1 = rural), education, and level of political conservatism. Education was coded in accordance with the New Zealand Qualifications Authority's (2012) classification scheme (1 = level 1 certificate, 10 =

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[2] We focus on data from Time 9 because it is the most recently

collected wave of data and, as such, provides the most up-to-date

assessment of intergroup attitudes in New Zealand.

doctoral degree), whereas conservatism was measured by asking participants to indicate "how politically liberal versus conservative" they saw themselves on a 1 (extremely liberal) to 7 (extremely conservative) scale.

RESULTS

Table 1 displays the bivariate correlations and descriptive statistics for our variables of interest. Given the negative impact of ethnic identification on support for diversity among whites (see Lowery et al., 2006), we predicted that white identity would correlate negatively with multiculturalism support. Indeed, the negative correlation between white identity and multiculturalism support ($r = -.12$, $p < .001$) shown in Table 1 is consistent with this notion. Crucially, however, we predicted that the strength of this negative association would vary by the type of attachment people have with their nation of residence. Specifically, because nationalism reflects an uncritical belief in national superiority and is rooted in the preference for group-based hierarchy (see Osborne et al., 2017; Sidanius et al., 1997), we expected that nationalism would strengthen the hypothesized negative correlation between white identity and multiculturalism support. Conversely, patriotism is rooted in a positive, but critical, identification with one's nation and correlates positively with support for democratic values (see Blank & Schmidt, 2003). Thus, patriotism should weaken the predicted negative correlation between white identity and multiculturalism support.

To investigate these hypotheses, we entered our mean-centred and dummy-coded covariates, as well as our mean-centred predictor variables (i.e., white identity, nationalism, and patriotism), into the first block of a regression model. The second block of our regression added the (a) White Identity × Nationalism and (b) White Identity × Patriotism interaction terms to the model. The full model was then regressed onto multiculturalism support using full information maximum likelihood estimates and 95% confidence intervals (CIs).

As shown in Table 2, Model 1 reveals that participants who lived in urban settings and who were employed supported multiculturalism more than their counterparts who lived in rural settings and who were unemployed, respectively ($B = 0.21$, 95% CI [0.16, 0.27], $p < .001$ and $B = 0.09$, 95% CI [0.03, 0.15], $p = .003$, respectively). Also, education correlated positively ($B = 0.10$, 95% CI [0.09, 0.11], $p < .001$, but conservatism correlated negatively ($B = -0.25$, 95% CI [−0.27, −0.24], $p < .001$), with multiculturalism support. After adjusting for these key covariates, we found support for our hypotheses. Specifically, white identity ($B = -0.09$, 95% CI [−0.11, −0.08], $p < .001$) and nationalism ($B = -0.18$, 95% CI [−0.20, −0.16], $p < .001$) correlated negatively, whereas patriotism correlated positively ($B = 0.14$, 95% CI [0.12, 0.17], $p < .001$), with multiculturalism support.

Table 2 also displays our results for the predicted interactive effects of nationalism and patriotism on the negative association between white identity and multiculturalism support (see Model 2). As hypothesised, nationalism strengthened the negative association between white identity and multiculturalism support ($B = -0.02$, 95% CI [−0.04, −0.01], $p < .001$). Simple slope analyses at ± 1 SD from the mean of nationalism demonstrated that the negative association between white identity and support for multiculturalism was nearly twice as strong at high ($B = -0.12$, 95% CI [−0.14, −0.10], $p < .001$) versus low ($B = -0.07$, 95% CI [−0.09, −0.05], $p < .001$) levels of nationalism (see Figure 1). Conversely, patriotism weakened the negative association between white identity and multiculturalism support ($B = 0.04$, 95% CI [0.02, 0.05], $p < .001$). Simple slope analyses at ± 1 SD from the mean of patriotism revealed that the negative relationship between white identity and multiculturalism support was nearly half the size at high ($B = -0.06$, 95% CI [−0.08, −0.04], $p < .001$) relative to low ($B = -0.13$, 95% CI [−0.16, −0.11], $p < .001$) levels of patriotism (see Figure 2). Thus, consistent with our hypotheses, nationalism strengthened, whereas patriotism weakened, the negative association between white identity

and multiculturalism support.

Table 1. Bivariate correlations and descriptive statistics for the variables included in this study.

	M	SD	α	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.
1. Gender[a]	0.37	0.48	---	---									
2. Urban[b]	0.81	0.39	---	−.00	---								
3. Employed[c]	0.78	0.42	---	.04***	-.01	---							
4. Age	52.17	13.61	---	.11***	-.04***	−.34***	---						
5. Education	5.32	2.74	---	−.04***	.09***	.15***	−.19***	---					
6. Conservatism	3.57	1.39	---	.04***	−.07***	−.03***	.15***	−.23***	---				
7. White Identity	3.19	1.41	.72	−.08***	.03**	−.07***	.13***	.00	.08***	---			
8. Nationalism	3.71	1.20	---	.06***	.00	−.02*	.04***	−.12***	.15***	.13***	---		
9. Patriotism	5.90	1.00	---	−.06***	−.04***	−.03**	.18***	−.05***	.14***	.13***	.28***	---	
10. Multiculturalism	4.77	1.42	.77	−.04***	.09***	.06***	−.08***	.27***	−.31***	−.12***	−.20***	.00	---

[a] Dummy-coded (0 = woman, 1 = man); [b] Dummy-coded (0 = rural, 1 = urban); [c] Dummy-coded (0 = unemployed, 1 = employed)

Table 2. Regression analysis predicting multiculturalism support as a function of white identity, nationalism, and patriotism, as well as their interactive effects.

	Model 1					Model 2				
				95%	CI				95%	CI
	β	SE	B	Lower	Upper	β	SE	B	Lower	Upper
Intercept	---	---	4.54	(4.47	4.61)	---	---	4.54	(4.47	4.61)
Gender[a]	−.01+	(.01)	−0.04	(−0.09	0.01)	−.01	(.01)	−0.04	(−0.09	0.01)
Urban[b]	.06***	(.01)	0.21	(0.16	0.27)	.06***	(.01)	0.22	(0.16	0.27)
Employed[c]	.03**	(.01)	0.09	(0.03	0.15)	.03**	(.01)	0.09	(0.03	0.15)
Age	.01	(.01)	0.00	(−0.00	0.00)	.01	(.01)	0.00	(−0.00	0.00)
Education	.19***	(.01)	0.10	(0.09	0.11)	.19***	(.01)	0.10	(0.09	0.11)
Conservatism	−.25***	(.01)	−0.25	(−0.27	−0.24)	−.25***	(.01)	−0.25	(−0.27	−0.24)
White Identity	−.09***	(.01)	−0.09	(−0.11	−0.08)	−.09***	(.01)	−0.10	(−0.11	−0.08)
Nationalism	−.16***	(.01)	−0.18	(−0.20	−0.16)	−.16***	(.01)	−0.19	(−0.21	−0.17)
Patriotism	.10***	(.01)	0.14	(0.12	0.17)	.11***	(.01)	0.15	(0.13	0.18)
White Identity × Nationalism						−.03***	(.01)	−0.02	(−0.04	−0.01)
White Identity × Patriotism						.04***	(.01)	0.04	(0.02	0.05)
Model Summary										
R²			.18***					.18***		

[a] Dummy-coded (0 = woman, 1 = man); [b] Dummy-coded (0 = rural, 1 = urban); [c] Dummy-coded (0 = unemployed, 1 = employed)
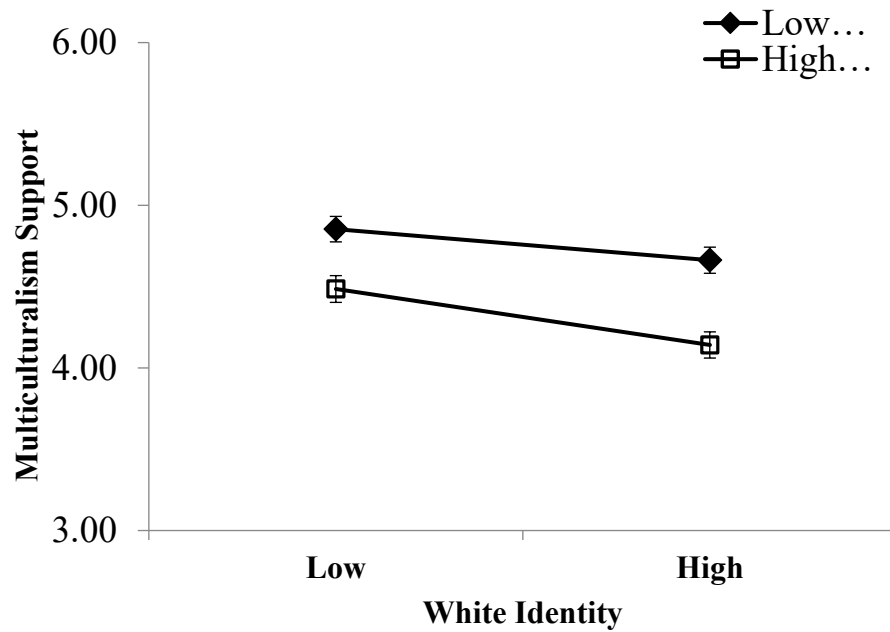
Note: Results adjust for nationalism and the White Identity × Patriotism interaction term, as well as our covariates.

Figure 1. Interactive effects of white identity and nationalism on multiculturalism support.
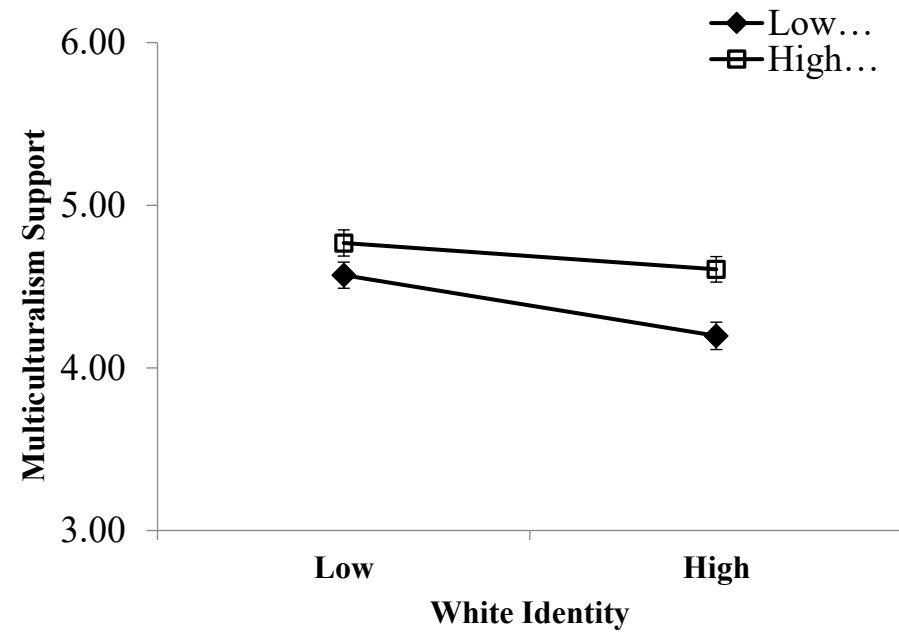
Note: Results adjust for nationalism and the White Identity × Patriotism interaction term, as well as our covariates.

Figure 2. Interactive effects of white identity and patriotism on multiculturalism support.

DISCUSSION

In light of the recent terrorist attack in Christchurch, it is important to understand the factors that influence white majority group members' attitudes toward diversity, particularly in a nation where the demographics are changing rapidly (e.g., New Zealand). To these ends, the current study investigated the independent and interactive effects of white nationalism on support for multiculturalism—an issue central to the white nationalist ideology sweeping across the globe (see Bonikowski, 2016). Because a preference for group-based hierarchy underlies ethnic identification for high-status groups (Levin & Sidanius, 1999), we predicted that white identity would correlate negatively with multiculturalism support. The strength of this negative association should, however, depend on the type of attachment a person has with his or her nation of residence. Given that nationalism reflects an uncritical belief in national superiority rooted in a preference for group-based hierarchy (Osborne et al., 2017; Sidanius et al., 1997), nationalism should strengthen the negative correlation between white identity and multiculturalism support. In contrast, patriotism captures a positive identification with one's nation of residence, yet nevertheless recognises that the nation may be fallible in its pursuit to uphold democratic values (Blank & Schmidt, 2003). As such, patriotism should weaken the predicted negative correlation between white identity and support for multiculturalism.

As hypothesised, white identity and nationalism correlated negatively, but patriotism correlated positively, with multiculturalism support. But critically, the negative association between white identity and support for multiculturalism depended on the type of attachment one has with his or her nation of residence. As predicted, the negative association between white identity and multiculturalism support was nearly twice as strong for those high (versus low) on nationalism. Conversely, this same relationship was reduced by nearly half for those high (versus low) on patriotism. Together, these results highlight the harmful effects of white nationalism on support for

diversity, and suggest that the ideology underlying the raft of alt-right violence sweeping across the globe is present—and impactful—in New Zealand.

Strengths, Limitations, Implications, and Future Directions

By assessing the independent and interactive effects of white identity and national attachment on multiculturalism support, the current study makes multiple contributions to the literature. For one, we provide one of the first investigations into white nationalism in New Zealand and show that ethno-national identities (at least partly) motivate opposition to ethnic and cultural diversity. In this sense, our results demonstrate that, despite its geographical isolation from the rest of the world, New Zealand is nonetheless susceptible to the same extremist beliefs that saw the rise of Donald Trump and Brexit (see Inglehart & Norris, 2016; Roy & McGowan, 2019, March 20; Wright, 2019, March 19). Accordingly, it is incumbent upon us, as a community, to recognise that these biases exist and to understand how white nationalism may influence our public discourse. Only by acknowledging that these prejudices exist and by recognising the potential threat this belief system holds for democracy can we begin to make New Zealand a safe place for the myriad ethnic and religious groups who call New Zealand home.

The current study also makes an important contribution to the literature on national attachment. Specifically, some have questioned the utility of treating nationalism as distinct from patriotism (e.g., Parker, 2010). While we have previously shown that nationalism and patriotism have separate *antecedents* (i.e., RWA has positive cross-lagged effects on both nationalism and patriotism, whereas SDO has positive and negative cross-lagged effects on nationalism and patriotism, respectively; Osborne et al., 2017), the current study shows that these two types of national attachment also have separate *consequences*. Whereas nationalism correlated negatively with support for multiculturalism, patriotism fostered multiculturalism support.

Together with other research conducted both locally (e.g., Greaves et al., 2017) and internationally (Blank & Schmidt, 2003; Li & Brewer, 2004; Spry & Hornsey, 2007), these results help to further differentiate nationalism from patriotism and validate their conceptual independence.

Although not the focus of this study, our results also identify numerous additional correlates of multiculturalism support. Consistent with research showing that conservative political views often correlate with opposition to minority rights (see Sears & Henry, 2005; Sidanius et al., 2008; Yogeeswaran, Verkuyten, Osborne, & Sibley, 2018), conservatism correlated negatively with support for multiculturalism. Indeed, conservatism was by far the strongest predictor in our model, demonstrating the symbolic nature of the multiculturalism debate. Nevertheless, education and employment status also correlated with multiculturalism support, indicating that those who are of low socioeconomic status may see multiculturalism as a threat to their (financial) wellbeing (Lane, 1962). Alternatively, it may be that education fosters democratic values of acceptance and appreciation of others (see Dee, 2004), providing a potential solution to intergroup intolerance. Likewise, consistent with the vast literature on the contact hypothesis (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Schmid, Al Ramiah, & Hewstone, 2014; Wagner, Christ, Pettigrew, Stellmacher, & Wolf, 2006), participants living in urban settings (i.e., neighbourhoods that are likely to be ethnically diverse) supported multiculturalism more than did whites living in rural areas where diversity is likely to be low. These latter potential interpretations of our data offer some hope for improving intergroup relations by suggesting that education and contact with minorities may increase New Zealand Europeans' support for ethnic diversity.

Despite the strengths and implications of our results, it is important to note limitations to the current study. Given the cross-sectional nature of our study, inferences about the causal direction

of these associations must be made with caution. That said, some longitudinal panel research reveals that nationalism and patriotism predict hostile intergroup attitudes over time, rather than vice versa (Wagner et al., 2012). Second, given our focus on white nationalism, we necessarily restricted our analyses to New Zealand Europeans. As such, our results *cannot* speak to the effects of ethnic identity on intergroup attitudes among minorities. Indeed, there are reasons to believe that our results would differ if we focused on minorities. For example, Osborne and colleagues (2019) reveal that, although ethnic identity correlates positively with collective action aimed at redressing inequality amongst minorities, whites' ethnic identity predicts support for protests that seek to reinforce the status quo. That is, ethnic identity has different (and often opposing) political implications for ethnic minorities and whites. Thus, future research should investigate the extent to which our results differ for ethnic minorities in New Zealand.

We should also note that the associations observed in the current study were relatively small in magnitude. Indeed, a myriad of attitudes likely contribute to people's views toward multiculturalism—white identity, nationalism, and patriotism only being part of a larger set of variables that correlate with multiculturalism support. Yet our results held after controlling for the most likely alternative explanations. That white identity, nationalism, and patriotism correlated with multiculturalism support after accounting for these other effects demonstrates the robustness of our findings. Still, future research should investigate other predictors of multiculturalism support alongside the variables tested here in order to replicate and extend our results (e.g., terrorism anxiety correlates negatively with warmth towards Muslims; see Hawi, Osborne, Bulbulia, & Sibley, in press).

It is also important to note that we examined the negative impact of white nationalism on support for multiculturalism. As such, our results *cannot* directly speak to the motivations behind the terrorist attack in Christchurch, nor terrorism in general. Indeed, while opposition to immigration and other forms of multiculturalism is a main feature of the ideology behind white nationalism (Bonilla-Silva, 2000; Swain, 2002), we cannot, nor do we wish to, equate opposition to multiculturalism with support for terrorism. Future research must address this sensitive, albeit timely, topic.

Finally, the current study investigated the deleterious *effects* of white nationalism. Although this is necessary to increase understanding of how white nationalism may shape New Zealand politics in the years to come, it does little to explain *why* some New Zealand Europeans endorse such views. Accordingly, Sengupta, Osborne, and Sibley (in press) argued that nationalism may appeal to some members of ethnic majority groups because it offers a positive identity for those who think their group is losing their relatively advantaged position in society. Indeed, others have noted that right-wing populist movements benefit from leaders who are able to transform whites' objective structural advantage during times of prosperity into a narrative of (perceived) relative deprivation (e.g., Mols & Jetten, 2015). Accordingly, Marchlewska, Cichocka, Panayiotou, Castellanos, and Batayneh (2018) show that collective narcissism about the greatness of one's nation (i.e., arguably a form of nationalism) mediated the association between relative deprivation and support for both Brexit (Study 2) and Donald Trump (Study 3). Therefore, future research should investigate both the underlying reason(s) behind the rise in white nationalism, as well as the consequences this alarming trend has on intergroup relations.

Conclusion

The terrorist attack on Christchurch's Muslim community on 15 March 2019 shook the conscience of our nation and catapulted New Zealand into the international news cycle. Many openly pondered how such an atrocity could occur in an otherwise peaceful nation, whereas others noted that it was an all-too-poignant reminder that racism is alive and well in New Zealand (Ryan, 2019, March 24). Regardless of the position one takes in this debate, it is impossible for us to carry on as things were before the attack—we are a nation forever changed by the vile hatred displayed towards our Muslim brothers and sisters less than a month ago (at the time of this writing).

The current study—and, indeed, the papers that comprise this special issue of *New Zealand Journal of Psychology*—sought to pay tribute to the Muslim community of New Zealand by attempting to answer a seemingly unanswerable question (namely, how could someone take the lives of 50 innocent people and injure 50 more?). While our results uncover the harmful effects of white nationalism on support for diversity, we also identify a potential solution to this problem. By emphasising the patriotic aspects of national attachment (i.e., a positive attachment to New Zealand that recognises its faults), white identity need not always conflict with the ideals of multiculturalism.

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Encouraging flourishing following tragedy:

The role of civic engagement in well-being and resilience

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The present study explores the potential of well-being and resilience benefits for people who are civically engaged in the context of the Christchurch terror attacks. Young people (n = 530, mean age = 20.9) completed one civic engagement, well-being, and resilience questionnaire. Results showed that people who were flourishing had significantly higher levels of civic engagement compared to those who were doing just ok. A hierarchical regression showed that civic engagement predicted 35% of the variance in well-being, controlling for age and SES. Civic intentions, community belonging, social trust, generosity, and helping a neighbour made unique contributions to well-being. A second hierarchical regression showed that civic engagement predicted 5% of the variance in resilience, controlling for well-being and age. Civic intentions, helping a neighbour, and volunteering made unique contributions to resilience. How civic engagement promotes well-being and resilience, and how to promote civic engagement following adversity, are discussed.

Keywords: Civic engagement; Well-being; Resilience

Introduction

Evidence of human excellence – generosity, love, community and flourishing - is perhaps most remarkable when evident in contexts of significant adversity and challenge (Ryff & Singer, 2003). In the aftermath of the Christchurch terror attacks on March 15th, people have reported they feel sad, angry, and fearful, but people have also reported they feel gratitude, love, respect, compassion, and belonging (Fouda, 2019; O'Connell Ripara, 2019).

While Aotearoa New Zealand continues to grieve for the 50 lives lost in the terror attack, there has also been an outpouring of support for the survivors and the Muslim community. Seventy thousand people signed a gun law reform petition, tens of thousands of New Zealanders have donated to survivor and families of victims support organisation, thousands of people have formed human chains of solidarity around mosques while people prayed, and tens of thousands have attended vigils, held in every centre around Aotearoa New Zealand (O'Connell Ripara, 2019). Directly following the attack, volunteers flocked to Christchurch to help (Martin, 2019), taxi drivers offered their services for free, (RNZ, 2019), people have brought food and flowers to mosques (Fouda, 2019), and organised donations of goods, vouchers, and care packages to survivors and the Muslim community (Let's Collaborate, 2019). In the weeks following the attack people continue to offer their support to the Muslim community through donations and volunteering for organisations that support refugees and Muslims (Morris, 2019). The acts of compassion and contribution can be described as civic engagement – "individual and collective actions designed to identify and address issues of public concern" (American Psychological Association n.d.). While the Muslim community have noted and given thanks to the people of New Zealand for their leadership, help, love and compassion (Fouda, 2019), civic engagement can also benefit the people who are participating – making not just our communities and nations better places, but improving individuals' well-being and resilience as well.

The present paper examines the types of civic engagement that can lead to higher well-being, resilience, and human flourishing. We argue that the acts of kindness and community participation shown by New Zealanders following the Christchurch terror attacks will not only "guide us to creating a more just and inclusive Aotearoa," (O'Connell Ripara, 2019) but also improve the well-being of the people who are being good citizens.

Civic Engagement

The term civic engagement describes a collection of values and behaviours that suggest that people believe their lives and goals are connected to others, and they are committed to creating a better society (Flanagan & Christens, 2013; Sherrod & Lauckhardt, 2009). The importance of engagement to healthy societies and democracies cannot be understated - it is through civic engagement and the exercise of citizen rights and responsibilities that democracy is sustained (Hayhurst, 2017). In the present study the definition of civic engagement is left intentionally broad, as people from different groups, cultures, and countries have their own means of showing and understanding citizenship. For example, in some contexts voting is considered the highest expression of civic engagement (Vowles, 2004). In Aotearoa New Zealand, people under the age of 18 are not allowed to vote, so by some measures they would not be considered engaged. However, we know that New Zealand youth do

contribute to their communities and work to address key challenges of their generation (Hayhurst, 2014). For example, on the same day as the Christchurch terror attacks, tens of thousands of young people in 40 centres around the country took to the streets demanding action on climate change – the largest youth protest in New Zealand history (Walls, 2019).

Generally, researchers and practitioners use the term civic engagement to describe a collection of values and behaviours. For the purpose of the present study, we have selected several civic engagement variables that are relevant to Aotearoa New Zealand following the Christchurch terror attack: civic participation, civic values, civic intentions, community belonging, social trust, and interpersonal generosity. Civic participation describes diverse acts such as protesting, but also volunteering at organisations, helping neighbours, and working to make communities better (Flanagan, Syvertsen, & Stout, 2007). Civic values include believing that people can make a difference and wanting to make a difference, as well as feeling that helping other people, equality, and making the world a better place are important (Hayhurst, 2017). Civic commitment describes intending to contribute in the future, such as voting in the next election or volunteering to help people (see Sherrod et al., 2010). Community belonging is considered a "seedbed for the development of active citizenry," as it predicts civic intentions, helping, and involvement in groups (Duke et al., 2009, p. 167). Social trust is vital to democracy, and means that people have "a positive view of humanity… the belief that most people are fair, helpful and trustworthy," (Flanagan, 2003, p. 165). Finally, although there is a dearth of research linking interpersonal generosity to civic engagement, it does describe many of the acts of contribution and helping shown by people following the terror attacks, and is therefore included as a potential predictor of well-being and resilience.

Civic engagement & well-being

Beyond the importance of civic engagement to democracy, healthy communities, and addressing social and environmental challenges, it is also linked to individual well-being. The research on why this is remains unclear for several reasons. First, as mentioned, there are many definitions of civic engagement, making it hard to compare findings across groups, studies, and disciplines. Second, as there are diverse forms of civic expression and participation, it is likely that not all civic engagement is beneficial to well-being. People's motivations for engagement, the sense of belonging to the group they are working with, positive emotions, as well as the success of the civic acts, may all impact the personal outcomes for people who are contributing (Stukas, Hoye, Nicholson, Brown & Aisbett, 2016; Youniss, McLellan & Yates, 1997). Third, predictors of civic engagement are strongly linked to predictors of well-being such as SES and education levels (McCollum, 2016). People who are civically engaged are likely already on a path towards health and well-being (Ballard, Hoyt & Pachucki, 2018), and the relationship between the two is likely bi-directional (Lerner, Dowling & Anderson, 2003).

Despite these complications, there is still considerable evidence that civic engagement promotes well-being (Pancer, 2015). Civic engagement contributes to identity, sense of belonging in communities and society, purpose, positive relations to others, feelings of mastery, and personal growth– all of which are related to well-being outcomes (Duke, Skay, Pettingell, & Borowsky, 2009; Flanagan et al., 2007; Keyes, 2012; Putnam, 2001; Wilson, 2012). In this paper we look at more direct evidence that civic engagement can predict well-being, controlling for factors that often predict both, such as socio-economic status (SES). Moreover, we explore the high end of well-being – flourishing, and how it relates to civic engagement.

Civic engagement & flourishing

Flourishing describes people living within the optimal range of human functioning (Fredrickson, 2006). Individuals who are flourishing "like most parts of themselves, have warm and trusting relationships, see themselves as developing into better people, have direction in life, are able to shape their environments to satisfy their need, and have a degree of self-determination," (Keyes, 2002, p. 208).

While there are many predictors of flourishing, including positive emotions and strong support networks, contribution and civic engagement are especially relevant to the present context. Keyes (2006) has found that while youth who are languishing (with poor mental health) help people a couple times a month, youth who are flourishing help others at least once a week. Further, eudaimonia (i.e. striving toward excellence based on one's unique potential; see Ryff & Singer, 2008) is enhanced when people work to create positive change and their behaviours are congruent with their values (Waterman, 1993), strengths (Seligman, 2002), and prosocial selves (Steger, Kashdan, & Oishi, 2008). A large research programme run by Lerner and colleagues has shown that positive youth development is both a predictor and an outcome of contribution (Lerner et al., 2005). Keyes (2012) recommends that we don't just need to shift our attentions away from mental illness to mental health, but also away from focusing on the individual to focusing on others and communities.

Civic Engagement & Resilience

Generally, resilience is defined as the ability to react to adversity and challenge in an adaptive and productive way, and is therefore considered crucial to healthy development (Hayhurst et al., 2015; Rutter, 1987). While there is a dearth of research specifically exploring the role of civic engagement in resilience, drawing from related areas of research, we can expect that civic engagement may contribute to resilience for several reasons. For example, belonging and social support both predict resilience (Hayhurst et al., 2015) and civic engagement (Duke et al., 2009; Youniss et al., 1998). Likewise, positive emotions, such as kindness, joy and love, both motivate generosity towards others (Hayhurst, 2010), and predict resilience (Fredrickson, 1998). Of particular relevance to the present study, Frederickson and colleagues did an in-depth study of a small group of people following the 9/11 terror attacks in the United States (Fredrickson, Tugade, Waugh, & Larkin, 2003). They found that

following the attack, positive emotions such as gratitude, interest, and love, protected resilient people from depression and promoted positive mental health.

Amidst the grief and anger following the Christchurch terror attacks, talking about the benefits of civic engagement may seem incongruous or inappropriate. However, it is when individuals and communities are tested that we learn about human strength – how it is nourished and how it is undermined (Ryff & Singer, 2003). People in Aotearoa New Zealand report feeling grateful and interested in the country's unfolding political, social and spiritual response. But are civic responses to tragedy tokenistic or fleeting? We argue they are not. Instead, we argue that civic engagement is an active ingredient in promoting well-being and coping following adversity.

The present paper explores this possibility with a group of young people who completed one civic engagement and well-being questionnaire at the start of a tertiary class or a youth event. We predict that not only will levels of civic engagement distinguish those who are flourishing from those who are doing just ok or languishing, but also that civic engagement will predict well-being and resilience. We hope to show that civic engagement is salutary and important following tragedies such as the Christchurch terror attack, not just to show support and love for survivors and their community, but also as an effective coping mechanism and to promote well-being and heal a nation. Thus, we have three main research questions:

1. Do people who are flourishing have stronger civic engagement?
2. Can civic engagement predict well-being?
3. Can civic engagement predict resilience?

METHOD

Participants and Procedure

Participants were 530 young people (192 males, range: 16-32 years, M= 20.9 years, SD = 2.76) taking part in a youth event or a tertiary class (psychology, physical education, or surveying). The present participants are a convenience sample selected from a larger parent study on civic engagement in Aotearoa because they had completed a wide range of well-being and civic engagement measures.

Three hundred and sixty-seven identified as New Zealand European/Pākeha and 151 as Māori, Pasifika, Asian, or another ethnic group. For the purpose of the present analysis, people who identified as Pākehā/ New Zealand European were categorised as the majority group, and people who identified as Māori, Pasifika, Asian, 'Other', or with more than one ethnic group were categorised as a minority ethnic group. The present method of categorisation is far from perfect as Aotearoa New Zealand is a bicultural nation that recognises Māori as the tangata whenua (first people, people of the land). Also, there are likely considerable differences in cultural conceptualisations and relationships to civic engagement between different minority ethnic groups (Jagers et al., 2017; Raihania & Walker, 2007). However, substantial civic engagement research has highlighted different levels of participation between majority and minority ethnic groups (Foster-Bey, 2008), and because of the sample size of the present study, majority/minority was the most appropriate group distinction.

One hundred and eleven participants were taking part in a youth event that focused on supporting young people to make positive change in their communities. They completed the questionnaires on the first day of their event. Four hundred and nineteen participants were tertiary students (psychology, physical education, or surveying), who completed the questionnaire on the first day of class. Only a portion of the participants (n = 147) completed the resilience scale alongside the well-being scales. They were psychology students who completed the questionnaire for course credit.

Measures
Well-being

Well-being was measured using Keyes' (2009) 14-item Mental Health Continuum Short Form (MHC-SF, see also Keyes, 2006). This scale is designed to measure three facets of well-being: emotional (e.g., "How often do you feel happy?"), social (e.g., "How often do you feel that you had something important to contribute to society?"), and psychological (e.g., "How often do you feel that you liked most parts of your personality?"). Participants responded to items on a 1 (never) to 6 (every day) Likert scale. The present findings supported the scale's reliability, Cronbach's α = .87.
Resilience. Resilience was measured using a 15-item (shortened) version of Wagnild and Young's (1993), modified by Neill and Dias (2001) to measure levels of resilience in young people. Participants responded to items such as, "(w)hen I make plans I follow through with them," on a 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree) Likert scale. The present findings supported the scale's reliability, Cronbach's α = .91.

Mother's education

Level of mother's education was measured as a proxy for socio-economic status (SES). Asking for mother's education is standard practice in research with young people, as they are much more likely to respond, and respond accurately, than when asked about parental income (Entwisle & Astone, 1994). Furthermore, many participants were tertiary students, meaning that their current income may not reflect their background or living conditions as well as level of mother's education.
Civic values. Civic values were measured using a nine-item shortened version of Zaff and colleagues' (2010) civic duty scale, part of the Active Engaged Citizenship (AEC) measure. The scale asks participants to responds to questions such as, "I believe I can make a difference in my community," on a 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree) Likert scale. The present findings supported the scale's reliability, Cronbach's α = .87.

Civic intentions

Civic intentions were measured using three items taken from the CIRCLE (Centre for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement) expectations for engagement in community issues scales (Flanagan et al., 2007). The scale included questions such as, "(w)hen you think of the next few years, how likely are you to do volunteer work to help needy people?" Answers were scored on a 1 (not at all likely) to 5 (extremely

likely) Likert scale. The present findings supported the scale's reliability, Cronbach's α = .79.

Civic participation

For the purpose of the present study, civic participation was measured using three items drawn from CIRCLE's civic behaviour scale (Flanagan et al., 2007). The items are relevant to the present exploration of the types of behaviours New Zealanders have been doing following the terror attacks. Participants responded to the question, "during the last 12 months, how many times have you: 1) helped make your city or town a better place for people to live? 2) helped a neighbour? and, 3) volunteered your time (at a hospital, day care centre, food bank, youth

program, community service agency)?" on a 0 (never) to 4 (5 or more times) Likert scale.

Community belonging

Participants' sense of community belonging was measured using a slightly modified version of Sheldon and Bettencourt's (2002) three-item group inclusion scale. The participant responded to three statements such as, "I feel included in my community", on a 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree) Likert scale. The present findings supported the scale's reliability, Cronbach's α = .89.

Social trust

Social trust was measured using two items from the CIRCLE civic measures paper (Flanagan et al., 2007). Participants responded to items

such as, "(in) general, most people can be trusted," on a 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree) Likert scale. The present findings supported the scale's reliability, Cronbach's α =.83.

Interpersonal generosity

Interpersonal generosity (hereafter referred to as generosity) was measured using Smith and Hill's (2009) generosity scale. Participants responded to items such as, "(w)hen one of my loved ones needs my attention, I really try to slow down and give them the time and help they need", on a 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree) Likert scale. The present findings supported the scale's reliability, Cronbach's α =.83.

RESULTS

Correlations

In order to assess the relationships between well-being, resilience and civic engagement, we performed a series of Pearson product-moment

correlations (see Table 1). Well-being was positively correlated to all civic engagement measures collected in this study. Well-being was also positively correlated to age and SES (measured by level of mother's education). Resilience was positively correlated to age, as well as civic values, civic

intentions, sense of community belonging, social trust, interpersonal generosity, or helping to make the city a better place, helping a neighbour, and volunteering in the past year. Resilience was not correlated to SES.

Table 1. Correlations between Demographic, Well-being, Resilience, and Civic Engagement Variables

	Age	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. SES	.11*										
2. Well-being	.15**	.16**									
3. Resilience	.24**	.11	.71***								
4. Values	.14**	.16**	.36***	.23**							
5. Intent	.14**	.13**	.36***	.31***	.59***						
6. Belong	.00	.09	.37***	.30***	.20***	.18***					
7. Trust	.12*	.01	.39***	.27**	.25***	.11*	.14**				
8. Generosity	.09	.07	.36***	.27**	.51***	.40***	.16**	.11*			
9. City Better	.10*	.10*	.30***	.15*	.33***	.44***	.21***	.15**	.18***		
10. Neighbour	-.04	.01	.23***	.23**	.14**	.10*	.16**	.04	.17***	.28***	
11. Volunteer	.08	.10*	.28***	.10*	.35***	.45***	.17**	.15**	.25***	.50***	.23***

Note. *p* < .05, **p* < .01, ***p* < .001. SES = levels of mother's education; WB = well-being; Values = civic values; Intent = civic intentions; Belong = community belonging; Trust = social trust; City/City Better = helped make the city a better place in past year; Neighbour = helped a neighbour in past year; Volunteer = volunteered in past year.

Comparing Groups

We performed a series of *t*-tests in order to explore whether there were differences between young men and young women, and people who identified with the majority or a minority ethnic group, and well-being and resilience.

There were no differences between young men (*M* = 62.69, *SD* = 9.42) and young women (*M* = 63.71, *SD* = 9.00) in terms of well-being, *t*(441) =

1.14, *p* = .26. Young men scored significantly higher (*M* = 84.00, *SD* = 9.20) than young women (*M* = 79.66, *SD* = 13.34) on resilience, *t*(145) = 2.00, *p* < .05.

There were no differences between people who identified with a minority ethnic group (*M* = 63.06, *SD* = 9.14) and people who identified with the majority ethnic group (*M* = 63.42, *SD* = 9.18) in terms of well-being, *t*(440) = 0.39, *p* = .70. There were no

differences between people who identified with a minority ethnic group (*M* = 78.18, *SD* = 12.39) and people who identified with the majority ethnic group (*M* = 82.00, *SD* = 12.21) in terms of resilience, *t*(145) = 1.66, *p* = .10.

Engagement & Flourishing

Based on Keyes' (2002) recommend analysis, we split the participants into three groups as a function of their scores on the well-

being scale: Languishers, moderates and flourishers. There were only five participants who fit the languishing profile, who were excluded from the following analysis due to small numbers. We were left with two groups: those who Keyes and colleagues define as people who were doing moderately well at life (neither languishing nor flourishing, $n = 180$) and those who were flourishing ($n = 244$). We performed a series of *t*-tests in order to compared moderates and flourishers in terms of civic engagement (see Table 2).

Table 2. t-Test Results Comparing Differences between Flourishers and Moderates

	Moderate Mean/SD		Flourish Mean/SD		*t*	df
Age	20.68	2.70	21.03	3.14	1.18	422
SES	2.97	1.25	3.34	1.19	3.12**	414
Resilience	74.36	10.44	88.03	9.33	8.12***	136
Values	36.32	4.91	39.32	4.28	6.23***	363
Intent	12.80	4.24	15.23	4.39	5.27***	406
Belong	14.87	3.00	16.35	2.66	5.36***	421
Trust	6.15	1.86	7.32	1.57	6.53***	379
Generosity	39.19	5.00	40.95	4.91	3.61***	417
City	2.05	1.51	2.85	1.67	5.02***	408
Neighbour	2.46	1.55	2.82	1.51	2.44***	410
Volunteer	2.10	1.89	2.88	1.92	4.09***	411

Note. **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$. SES = levels of mother's education; Values = civic values; Intent = civic intentions; Belong = community belonging; Trust = social trust; City = helped make the city a better place in past year; Neighbour = helped a neighbour in past year; Volunteer = volunteered in past year.

As shown in Table 2, there were significant differences between moderates and flourishers on every civic engagement measure included in this study, as well as resilience. Even after controlling for multiple comparisons using the Holms Bonferroni correct factor, every comparison was significantly different. Flourishers had significantly higher resilience, civic values, civic intentions, community belonging, social trust, generosity, and been more likely to have helped to make their city a better place, helped a neighbour, and volunteered in the past year. Flourishers also had significantly higher SES (measured by levels of mother's education) compared to moderates. Flourishing was not related to age.

Civic Engagement & Well-being

In order to assess whether civic engagement could predict well-being, controlling for common predictors of well-being such as age and SES, we performed a hierarchical regression. Mother's education (SES) and age were entered in the first step, and civic engagement variables were entered in the second (civic values, civic intentions, community belonging, social trust, generosity, making the city better, helping a neighbour, and volunteering).

Table 3 shows the unstandardised regression coefficients (B) and intercept, the standardised regression coefficients (β), the R, R^2, R^2 change and F change at Step 1 (age and SES entered into the prediction equation) and Step 2 (with civic engagement variables entered into the prediction equation) of the hierarchical regression.

Table 3. Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Variables Contributing to Well-being

Variable	B	SE B	β	t	R	R^2	ΔR^2	F Change
Step 1					.21	.04	.04	8.72***
Age	.45	.17	.14	2.66				
SES	1.08	.37	.15	2.90				
Step 2					.63	.39	.35	26.34***
Age	.22	.14	.07	1.59				
SES	.68	.31	.09	2.21*				
Values	-.02	.11	-.01	-.21				
Intent	.52	.19	.15	2.68**				
Belonging	.73	.13	.23	5.41***				
Trust	1.47	.21	.30	6.91***				
Generosity	.35	.09	.19	4.00***				
City better	.34	.29	.06	1.21				
Neighbour	.73	.26	.12	2.79**				
Volunteer	.05	.24	.01	.20				

Note. *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$. SES = levels of mother's education; Values = civic values; Intent = civic intentions; Belonging = community belonging; Trust = social trust; City Better = helped make the city a better place in past year; Neighbour = helped a neighbour in past year; Volunteer = volunteered in past year.

The regression revealed that the overall model at Step 1 was significant, $F(2,377) = 8.72$, $p < .001$. Together, age and SES accounted for 4.4% (adjusted $R^2 = .04$) of the variation in well-being. Inspection of the beta weights revealed significantly positive effects for age, $\beta = .14$, $p < .01$ and SES, $\beta = .15$, $p < .01$.

The overall model at Step 2 was significant, $F(10,369) = 23.75$, $p < .001$. Together, age, SES, civic values, civic intentions, community belonging, social trust, generosity, making the city better, helping neighbours and volunteering, accounted for 39.2% (adjusted $R^2 = .38$) of the variation in well-being. Civic engagement explained an additional 34.7% of the variance in well-being, after controlling for age

and SES, R^2 change = .35, F change $(8, 369) = 26.34$, $p < .001$.

In the final model, inspection of the beta weights revealed significantly positive effects for SES, $\beta = +.09$, $p < .05$, community belonging, $\beta = +.23$, $p < .001$, generosity, $\beta = +.19$, $p < .001$, social trust, $\beta = +.30$, $p < .001$, civic intentions, $\beta = +.15$, $p < .01$, and helping a neighbour, $\beta = +.12$, $p < .01$. In contrast, age, $\beta = +.07$, $p = .11$, civic values, $\beta = -.01$, $p = .83$, making the city better, $\beta = +.06$, $p = .06$, and volunteering, $\beta = +.01$, $p = .20$, did not make unique contributions to the model.

Civic Engagement & Resilience
In order to assess whether civic engagement could predict resilience, controlling for age and well-being, we

used hierarchical regression. Age and well-being were entered at the first step, and civic engagement variables that were correlated to resilience (civic values, civic intentions, community belonging, social trust, generosity, making the city better, helping a neighbour, and volunteering) were entered at the second step.

Table 4 shows the unstandardised regression coefficients (B) and intercept, the standardised regression coefficients (β), the R, R^2, R^2 change and F change at Step 1 (age and well-being entered into the prediction equation) and Step 2 (with civic engagement variables entered into the prediction equation) of the hierarchical regression.

Table 4. Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Variables Contributing Resilience

Variable	*B*	*SE B*	*β*	*t*	*R*	*R²*	*ΔR²*	*F Change*
Step 1					.72	.52	.52	72.94***
Age	.63	.27	.14	2.34*				
Well-being	.92	.08	.68	11.36***				
Step 2					.75	.57	.05	1.95
Age	.68	.37	.15	2.58*				
Well-being	.88	.10	.65	8.86***				
Values	-.26	.20	-.10	-1.28				
Intent	.89	.37	.19	2.40*				
Belonging	.28	.27	.07	1.05				
Trust	.13	.43	.02	.30				
Generosity	.04	.17	.02	.26				
City better	-.62	.55	-.08	-1.13				
Neighbour	1.05	.51	.13	2.07*				
Volunteer	-1.11	.46	-.17	-.24*				

Note. *p < .05, ***p < .001. Values = civic values; Intent = civic intentions; Belonging = community belonging; Trust = social trust; City better = helped make the city a better place in past year; Neighbour = helped a neighbour in past year; Volunteer = volunteered in past year.

The regression revealed that the overall model at Step 1 was significant, $F(2,137) = 72.94$, $p < .001$. Together, age and well-being accounted for 51.6% (adjusted $R^2 = .51$) of the variation in resilience. Inspection of the beta weights revealed significantly positive effects for age, $\beta = .14$, $p < .05$ and well-being, $\beta = .68$, $p < .001$.

The overall model at Step 2 was significant, $F(10,129) = 16.96$, $p < .001$. Together, age, well-being, civic

values, civic intentions, community belonging, social trust, generosity, making the city better, helping neighbours, and volunteering, accounted for 56.8% (adjusted $R^2 = .53$) of the variation in resilience. Civic engagement explained an additional 5.2% of the variance in resilience, after controlling for age and well-being, R^2 change = .35, F change $(8, 129) = 1.95$, $p = .05$.

In the final model, inspection of the beta weights revealed significantly

positive effects for age, $\beta = +.15$, $p < .05$, well-being, $\beta = +.65$, $p < .001$, civic intentions, $\beta = +.19$, $p < .05$, helping neighbours, $\beta = +.13$, $p < .05$, and volunteering, $\beta = -.17$, $p < .05$. In contrast, civic values, $\beta = -.10$, $p = .21$, community belonging, $\beta = +.07$, $p = .30$, social trust, $\beta = +.02$, $p = .77$, generosity, $\beta = +.02$, $p = .80$, and making the city better, $\beta = -.08$, $p = .26$, did not make unique contributions to resilience.

DISCUSSION
When the Al Noor Mosque Imam, Gamal Fouda, spoke to a crowd of thousands at Hagley Park in Christchurch on March 22nd, he said:

"Last Friday I stood in this mosque and saw hatred and rage in the eyes of the terrorist who killed 50 people, wounded 48 and broke the hearts of millions around the world.

Today, from the same place I look out and I see the love and compassion in the eyes of thousands of fellow New Zealanders and human beings from

across the globe who fill the hearts of millions."

As Gamal Fouda (2009) described, people across New Zealand and worldwide have responded with love and compassion to the survivors and those affected by the attacks. We argue that these high levels of civic engagement will not just help those in need, but also help those who are contributing. We provided evidence for this argument in three ways. First, we showed that civic engagement predicted well-being, while controlling for age and SES. In particular, civic intentions (planning on volunteering or helping others in the future), sense of community belonging, social trust, generosity, and helping a neighbour in the past year, made unique and significant positive contributions to well-being. Second, we showed that civic engagement predicted resilience, after controlling for age and well-being. In particular, civic intentions, helping a neighbour and volunteering in the past year uniquely and positively contributed to resilience. Third, we showed that people who were flourishing had significantly higher levels of civic engagement – across every variable we measured – compared to people who were just doing ok. Taken together these findings suggest that it is likely that the tens of thousands of people who contributed to help the survivors and families of victims following the Christchurch terror attacks will experience improved well-being and resilience, especially if they helped a neighbour, volunteered, showed generosity, social trust, or a sense of community belonging.

One strength of the present study is that we used measures that explored both past civic acts (e.g., helping to make the city a better place, helping a neighbour, or volunteering in the past year) as well as future civic intentions (e.g., planning to volunteer in the future). Both past engagement and future commitment predicted well-being and resilience. Civic intentions are linked to people's civic identity – their values and beliefs about themselves as citizens. While people may not have been able to contribute in the past year for any number of reasons, simply wanting to help can make a difference to people's well-being and resilience.

There are several reasons why civic engagement may contribute to well-being and resilience. We know that civic engagement can nurture feelings of effectiveness, an important part of well-being (Ryan & Deci, 2000) and resilience (Hayhurst et al., 2015). This may be especially crucial to deal with feelings of hopelessness in the face of senseless tragedies such as the Christchurch terror attack. Further, civic engagement encourages a sense of belonging (Duke et al., 2009), which is another key aspect of well-being and positive intergroup behaviour (Ryan & Deci, 2000; Hunter et al., 2017). In the present study, community belonging was a unique predictor of well-being. Finally, civic engagement is one way of showing a positive social identity (Sherrod et al., 2010; Hayhurst, 2017). A compelling and growing literature explores the many health and well-being benefits of social identity (see Haslam, Jetten & Haslam, 2012) including resilience (Scarf at al., 2016). Future research should explore the potential influence of community belonging and social identity on civic engagement in terms of well-being outcomes.

Limitations & Future Research

Despite the strengths of the study, there are several limitations. First, we do not have data from the people who are presently contributing to their communities and supporting survivors following the terror attack. Instead, the present participants are a convenience sample of young people that had completed questionnaires that included behaviours such as those shown by New Zealanders following the terror attacks (e.g., helping neighbours, volunteering). There will likely be several differences between the people in the present study and the people who are contributing as this paper is written. The most important difference is that following the terror attacks people may have lower levels of well-being, or higher levels of mental health issues. Research suggests that most people recover fully following terror attacks, however some may experience persistent mental health issues such as anxiety, depression, PTSD, health issues, and behavioural changes (Braun-Lewensohn et al., 2009; DiMaggio & Galea, 2006). Importantly, this paper is not intended

for people in crisis, or the survivors or families of victims of the Christchurch terror attack. Instead this paper describes one way that we can heal as a community and a nation, and the likely outcomes people will experience when they show love and support for the survivors and their community. It is also important to note that the present study found that past civic behaviours contributed to well-being and resilience – meaning that helping a neighbour now can buffer people from challenges in the future.

A second limitation is that although we had an adequate sample size who completed civic engagement and well-being measures, only 147 people also completed the resilience scale. Therefore, while resilience and well-being were strongly correlated, we were unable to show whether resilience predicted well-being. Further, participants only completed the questionnaire at one time point. While hierarchical regressions can show whether a variable can predict another variable, a longitudinal design would provide more convincing evidence.

Therefore, future research exploring the links between levels of civic engagement, well-being and resilience of people following terrorist attacks is clearly warranted, and a longitudinal design is recommended. Pursuing salutary well-being and resilience outcomes begs the questions of how to cultivate civic engagement following crises. There is mixed evidence concerning the psychological benefits of civic engagement programmes, such as community service through schools, or requests for donations following natural disasters (Hayhurst, 2010). As mentioned in the introduction, motivation may play an important role as to why some programmes are successful while others are not (Stukas et al., 2016). Other important features of successful civic engagement programmes are a sense of belonging, social identity, and positive emotions (Fredrickson et al., 2003; Hayhurst, 2017; Scarf et al., 2016), although further research is needed.

Conclusions

The present study explored the benefits of civic engagement to an individual's well-being and resilience.

Results showed that something as simple as helping a neighbour can buffer people from adversity and promote well-being. While all civic engagement measures were positively correlated to well-being, and people who were flourishing showed significantly higher levels of civic engagement, our results suggest that specific acts made unique contributions to well-being. In particular, civic intentions (planning to volunteer and help the community in the future), community belonging, social trust, generosity, and helping a neighbour were especially important to well-being. Likewise, civic intentions, helping a neighbour, and

volunteering in the past year were especially important to people's resilience. Future research should explore people's levels of civic engagement and well-being in response to terror attacks specifically, use a longitudinal design, and explore the roles that community belonging and social identity play in civic engagement outcomes.

In times of challenge and tragedy it can be easy to consider our own well-being as unimportant or trivial, especially compared to those who directly suffered from the terror attack. However, in order to effectively support other New Zealanders, make the appropriate

changes to our communities, policy, and government, and make Aotearoa safer for everyone, we need to be well and we need to be resilient. We argue, based on the literature and the results from the present study, that contributing to society and supporting our own well-being are two sides of the same coin – by being engaged and contributing we bolster our well-being and become more resilient. In short, in so much that people who are flourishing are also highly engaged, it appears that we are designed to be good to each other and care for our communities.

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Terrorism Anxiety and Attitudes toward Muslims

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Many communities in New Zealand were left shaken following the terrorist attack against two Muslim mosques in Christchurch on March 15, 2019. However, historical records and expert assessments warned of a far-right anti-Muslim act of violence for some time. Our study examined people's reported anxiety about the possibility of a terrorist attack in New Zealand using data from the 2017/2018 New Zealand Attitudes and Values Study (N = 17,072). Although anxiety regarding a potential terrorist attack was low, warmth toward Muslims correlated negatively with terrorism anxiety. Numerous other socio-demographic and attitudinal variables (e.g., age, gender, political orientation, nationalism, and aspects of personality) also correlated with terrorism anxiety. Collectively, our results reveal a relatively strong association between terrorism anxiety and attitudes toward Muslims. It remains an open question as to whether this association will endure over time, despite growing evidence of terrorism stemming from the far-right.

Keywords: terrorism, terrorism anxiety, Muslim attitudes, Christchurch, New Zealand

Introduction

On March 15, 2019, a sole gunman with professed connections to white nationalism and supremacy attacked two mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand (Coaston, 2019; Koziol, 2019). The terrorist attack (George, Berlinger, Whiteman, Kaur, Westcott, & Wagner, 2019), which killed 50 Muslims and injured 50 more, left the city of Christchurch—and the rest of the world—in a state of shock (Savage, 2019). However, within days of the incident, news articles and opinion pieces emerged that described the growing presence of white supremacy in Christchurch as early as the 1970s (Ainge Roy & McGowan, 2019; Wright, 2019). Moreover, this was not the first time the Muslim community in New Zealand had been attacked over the years (Kabir, 2016; Shaver, Troughton, Sibley, & Bulbulia., 2016). Nevertheless, after this latest attack, academics and experts highlighted the spread of white supremacist and nationalist groups that were left uninvestigated and under the radar while "New Zealand's security agencies investigated and infiltrated the Muslim community, animal rights groups and environmental organisations" (Ainge Roy & McGowan, 2019).

Outside of New Zealand, research has found connections between white supremacy and violence, particularly against minority religious and ethnic groups (e.g., Blazak, 2001; Freilich, Chermak, & Caspi, 2009). While Freilich et al. (2009) acknowledge the threat of international terrorist groups such as Al Qaeda, their work also draws attention to the danger and threat that homegrown far-right groups also pose (see also Bonilla-Silva, 2007). In a survey of 37 states in the United States (US), far-right groups like Neo-Nazis, skinheads, and militias each outnumbered the number of Islamic Jihadist extremists (Freilich, Chermak, & Simone, 2009). In fact, the number of violent attacks or threats from the far-right in the US increased between 2007 and 2012 (i.e., the time of publication), while Muslim-American terrorism declined precipitously over a similar timespan (i.e., between 2001 and 2012; Perliger, 2012). Moreover, fatalities from far-right groups have outnumbered those from Muslim extremist groups between 2001 (right after the 9/11 attacks) and 2012 (Kurzman, 2013). Finally, according to FBI reports, more suspected far-right domestic terrorists have been arrested than those "inspired by international terror groups" (Barrett,

2019), and most far-right extremist suspects have been White men (Gruenewald, 2011).

The purpose of this study is to address two questions: First, to what extent did New Zealanders worry about a terrorist attack occurring in their country prior to the terrorism incident in Christchurch? According to most media reports, New Zealanders were not deeply concerned about mass shootings or terror attacks happening in the country (Campbell, 2019).[3] Indeed, given that New Zealand was ranked as the second safest country in the world and the 114th impacted by terrorism (Institute for Economics and Peace, 2018), such a sense of security was understandable. Moreover, the last mass killing in New Zealand occurred 22 years ago (Leask, 2017). Therefore, we would expect that only a small percentage of *non-Muslim* New Zealanders would be worried about terrorism occurring in New Zealand.

Second, the present study aims to identify the group(s) New Zealanders associate with terrorism, and specifically whether attitudes toward Muslims predicts anxiety about terrorist attacks. Although the March 15 Mosque attacks were carried out by a white male who publicly expressed

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[3] However, this may not be the case for Muslims, who have suffered a number of attacks against their community and

mosques for over two decades (Kabir, 2016) and have warned against further

attacks repeatedly over the years (Ainge Roy & McGowan, 2019).

support for white supremacy, and the historical record suggests that there is a growing threat of far-right terrorism led by whites (at the global level; Perliger, 2012; Wright, 2019), it is unclear whether New Zealanders could have imagined a white terrorist in their midst.[4] Despite the growing evidence to the contrary, past research on media and prejudice would suggest that most people would picture a terrorist with a Muslim (rather than a New Zealand European) background (Kabir, 2006; Pedersen, Watt, & Griffiths, 2007; Shaver, Sibley, Osborne, & Bulbulia, 2017).

Although far-right white supremacist violence (i.e., terrorism) is on the rise, the public and state-level reaction has seemingly failed to take notice (Bouie, 2019). Unfortunately, media coverage has similarly downplayed the threat of terrorism from far-right white nationalists (Aly, 2007). One study found that "attacks by Muslims received significantly more coverage than attacks by non-Muslims" (Kearns, Betus, & Lemieux, 2019, p.10). Another study on New Zealand mainstream newspapers found that hard news tended to portray Muslims as "dangerous others" (Kabir & Bourk, 2012). Indeed, the media – in its various types – has perpetuated, if not created, a stereotypical link between Arabs and/or Muslims and terrorism (Karim, 2003; Saleem & Anderson, 2013; Shaheen, 2009). Moreover, previous research from the New Zealand Attitudes and Values Study has found a link between media exposure and anti-Muslim attitudes in New Zealand (Shaver et al., 2017).

To what extent, then, do attitudes toward Muslims predict fear of terrorist attacks in New Zealand? According to various studies across the world, the perception of an association between terrorism and Muslim or Middle Eastern groups is quite robust (Park, Felix, & Lee, 2007; Saleem & Anderson, 2013) and intensified after the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on the US (Harmon-Jones, Greenberg, Solomon, & Simon, 1996; Hitlan, Carillo, Zárate, & Aikman, 2007; Hutchison & Rosenthal, 2011). Numerous studies

have also demonstrated a strong relationship between anxiety and intergroup attitudes (e.g., Hutchison & Rosenthal, 2011; Stephan & Stephan, 1985). For instance, one study found that Australian media fostered associations between "Muslims with the threat of terrorism" (Ally, 2007). An experimental study showed similar effects, whereby participants who played video games with a terrorist theme later reported higher anti-Arab attitudes than did those who played a nonviolent game, even when those games contained no Arab characters (Saleem & Anderson, 2013).

Other research has also found a link between attitudes toward Muslims and a fear of terrorism (e.g., Kabir, 2007). In one study, individuals who viewed Muslims more negatively, particularly when it came to "warmth" stereotypes (e.g., violence and trustworthiness), were more likely to support the "War on Terror" (Sides & Gross, 2013). Similarly, German participants implicitly perceived Muslims to be more aggressive and supportive of terrorism than Christians (Fischer, Greitemeyer, & Kastenmüller, 2007). Another study that examined data from five major Western countries similarly found that participants perceived Muslims as violent and supportive of terrorist groups (Ciftci, 2012; Shaver et al., 2017).

Based on the recent reports and evidence on New Zealand, we predicted that only a small portion of New Zealand participants would be highly worried over a terrorist attack occurring in their country in 2017/2018 (when our data were collected). Despite the hypothesized low levels of concern over a terrorist attack, lower warmth toward Muslims should predict terrorism anxiety among our sample. Finally, to demonstrate the robustness of our results, we include a number of demographic and attitudinal covariates.

METHOD
Sampling Procedure
Data for this study came from Time 9 (2017) of the New Zealand

Attitudes and Values Study (NZAVS) – a multi-year study based on a national probability sample of New Zealand adults. Sample recruitment is based on the New Zealand electoral roll, which represents all citizens and permanent residents over 18 years of age who are eligible to vote. The Time 9 sample contained responses from 17,072 participants. Participants were mailed a copy of the questionnaire, with a reminder posted to non-respondents after two months. Participants who provided an email address were also emailed and offered the option to complete an online version of the survey. All respondents were posted a Season's Greetings card from the NZAVS research team and were offered a prize draw for a grocery voucher in exchange for their participation (see Sibley, 2018, for details). Full details for the NZAVS sampling procedure for this and other waves of the study are available at: www.nzavs.auckland.ac.nz.

Participants
Of the 17,072 participants included in Time 9 of the NZAVS, 16,328 (i.e., 95.6% of the full sample) completed the relevant measures for the analysis. The mean age of the sample was 51.27 ($SD = 13.73$), where 63.4% of the sample were women (36.6% were men), 81.6% identified as primarily New Zealand European, 11.6% identified as primarily Māori, 2.7% identified as primarily Pacific Islander, and 4.1% identified as primarily Asian. In addition, 63.9% of the sample did not identify with any religion or spiritual group, 31.5% identified as Christian, while the rest identified with other religious or spiritual groups, including 0.2% who identified as Muslim.

Materials
Feeling Thermometer
To measure our focal predictor, participants were asked to indicate how warm they felt toward a number of groups using a "feeling/affective thermometer" for each group. The groups included here were Muslims, Indians, Chinese, Immigrants (in general), Refugees, Pacific Islanders, Asians, Māori, and New Zealand

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[4] Given that most group-based violence in New Zealand has been targeted against (rather than perpetrated by) Muslims

(Kabir, 2016, Shaver et al., 2016), the possibility of a white terrorist is objectively more plausible. But this is

not to say that the public's perceptions reflect this likelihood.

Europeans. Responses were rated on a scale ranging from 1 ("feel LEAST WARM toward this group") to 7 ("Feel MOST WARM toward this group").

Covariates

To better identify the specific role of warmth toward Muslims in predicting Terrorism anxiety, our statistical model adjusted for demographic variables such as age, gender (0=female, 1=male), household income, and ethnicity (Maori, Pacific Islander, and Asian, relative to NZ European), as well as whether they are religious, employed (0=unemployed, 1=employed), born in New Zealand, have children, are in a romantic relationship, and live in a rural or urban area (0=rural, 1=urban). Deprivation was measured using the 2013 New Zealand Deprivation Index, which uses census information to assign a decile-rank index from 1 (least deprived) to 10 (most deprived) to each meshblock unit (Atkinson, Salmond, & Crampton, 2014). Socioeconomic status (SES) was measured using the New Zealand socio-economic index, with a score ranging from 10 to 90, where 90 indicates high socio-economic status (Milne, Byun, & Lee, 2013). Education was coded into an eleven-level ordinal variable (0 = no qualification, 10 = doctorate).

To adjust for other variables that might also explain terrorism anxiety, a number of attitudinal covariates were also included in the model. First, the Big-Six personality factors, measured through the Mini-IPIP6 (Sibley et al., 2011), were included in the model. Each trait is measured using 4 items rated from 1 (very inaccurate) to 7 (very accurate) and averaged to give scale scores for Extraversion (α = .76), Agreeableness (α =.72), Conscientiousness (α = .69), Neuroticism (α = .74), Openness to Experience (α = .71), and Honesty/Humility (α = .77). Since neuroticism can measure anxiety tendencies (e.g., "Am relaxed most of the time"), we expected a relatively stronger relationship between that trait and terrorism anxiety.

In addition, two separate political orientation items were included as relevant control variables for this study. These were measured by asking participants to "rate how politically liberal versus conservative [they see themselves] as being" (from 1 = "Extremely conservative" to 7 = "Extremely liberal") and to "rate how politically left-wing versus right-wing [they see themselves] as being (from 1 = "Extremely left-wing" to 7 = "Extremely right-wing"). Finally, two national identity measures, Patriotism (r = .32) and Nationalism (r = .57), were also entered into the model. Patriotism was assessed using two items from Kosterman and Feshbach (1989): "I feel great pride in the land that is our New Zealand" and "Although at times I may not agree with the government, my commitment to New Zealand always remains strong." Nationalism was assessed using two items from Kosterman and Feshbach (1989): "Generally, the more influence New Zealand has on other nations, the better off they are" and "Foreign nations have done some very fine things but they are still not as good as New Zealand." Responses to these items ranged from 1 ("Strongly Disagree") to 7 ("Strongly Agree").

Terrorism Anxiety

To measure anxiety about terrorism, participants were asked to rate a single item, "I often worry about terrorist attacks happening in New Zealand", on a scale ranging from 1 ("Strongly Disagree") to 7 ("Strongly Disagree"). This item was developed specifically for use in the NZAVS.

RESULTS

The Extent of Terrorism Anxiety

Descriptive statistics and bivariate correlations for terrorism anxiety and all predictors included in the regression model are presented in Table 1. The first purpose of this paper is to estimate New Zealanders' concern about a terrorist attack happening in their country. At the time the data for this paper was collected (i.e., 2017), the average mean score for terrorism anxiety was 2.64 (*SD* = 1.61; with mode and median = 2). Further analysis confirms that this mean score is significantly lower than the midpoint of the scale, $t(16327) = -107.66$, $p <$ .001, indicating that terrorism anxiety in New Zealand was relatively low. Indeed, 30.1% of participants "strongly disagreed" with the statement and thus reported no anxiety.

Nevertheless, a considerable percentage of participants expressed some concern over terrorist attacks, as a total of 16.1% of the sample agreed somewhat (9.7%), moderately (4.3%), or strongly (2.1%) that they worried about a terrorist attack happening in New Zealand.

Terrorism Anxiety Predicted by Warmth toward Groups

A multiple regression analysis was conducted, predicting terrorism anxiety from feelings of warmth toward different groups, as well as from various demographic, personality, political, and national identity measures. Missing data for the 34 predictor variables were estimated using Rubin's (1987) procedure for multiple imputation, by generating 100 datasets (thinned using every 100th iteration). Table 2 displays the results of this analysis.

After adjusting for the effects of various relevant demographic variables and covariates, warmth toward Muslims negatively correlated with terrorism anxiety. Among the groups that participants expressed their feelings toward, warmth toward Muslims had the strongest (negative) association with terrorism anxiety, $b = -.111$, $SE =$ .016, $p <$.001. Put another way, the less warmth participants felt toward Muslims, the more worried they were about a terrorist attack happening in New Zealand. The effect size for this predictor was more than double that of any other ethnic or religious group assessed (the second strongest was warmth toward refugees, $b = -.050$, SE =.016, $p = .002$). On the other hand, warmth toward New Zealand Europeans did not significantly predict terrorism anxiety ($b = .007$, $SE = .012$, $p = .587$).

Table 1. Descriptive statistics and correlations for all variables

		Mean	SD	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12..	13.	14.	15.	16.
1.	Terrorism Anxiety	2.64	1.61	-															
2.	Warmth toward Muslims	4.08	1.47	-.164	-														
3.	Warmth toward Immigrants	4.52	1.24	-.120	.702	-													
4.	Warmth toward Asians	4.53	1.28	-.077	.612	.703	-												
5.	Warmth toward Chinese	4.36	1.34	-.084	.655	.740	.832	-											
6.	Warmth toward Indians	4.28	1.37	-.110	.742	.741	.712	.766	-										
7.	Warmth toward NZ Europeans	5.60	1.23	.035	.112	.239	.287	.212	.194	-									
8.	Warmth toward Maoris	5.03	1.26	-.029	.436	.474	.491	.428	.446	.427	-								
9.	Warmth toward Pacific Islanders	4.79	1.25	-.073	.542	.599	.613	.551	.585	.345	.717	-							
10.	Warmth toward Refugees	4.67	1.35	-.138	.661	.718	.579	.569	.621	.202	.485	.585	-						
11.	Gender (0 female, 1 male)	.37	.48	-.064	-.101	-.062	-.015	-.02	-.039	-.017	-.082	-.080	-.12	-					
12.	Age	51.27	13.73	.094	-.093	-.003	-.016	.029	.008	.019	.013	-.016	-.009	.109	-				
13.	Education	5.28	2.77	-.165	.171	.156	.12	.104	.146	-.019	.059	.120	.186	-.045	-.198	-			
14.	Deprivation	4.58	2.72	.043	-.022	-.044	-.017	-.02	-.031	-.06	.023	-.016	-.039	-.027	-.030	-.146	-		
15.	Socio-economic Index	54.93	16.14	-.123	.141	.137	.109	.104	.132	.015	.067	.115	.150	-.076	-.088	.561	-.155	-	
16.	Maori Ethnicity (0 no, 1 yes)	.12	.32	.058	-.011	-.053	-.018	-.025	-.040	-.069	.162	.037	-.043	-.033	-.046	-.105	.158	-.070	-
17.	Pacific Ethnicity (0 no, 1 yes)	.03	.16	.055	.008	.009	-.003	.002	-.011	-.066	.021	.100	-.006	-.009	-.065	-.030	.117	-.023	.102
18.	Asian Ethnicity (0 no, 1 yes)	.04	.20	.042	.003	.026	.060	.028	-.005	-.083	-.056	-.032	-.026	-.014	-.117	.096	.008	.044	-.047
19.	Religious (0 no, 1 yes)	.36	.48	.091	-.026	.037	.037	.031	.029	.028	.049	.066	.032	-.046	.131	-.005	.038	.001	.018
20.	Parent (0 no, 1 yes)	.74	.44	.065	-.046	-.011	-.015	.015	.002	.031	.037	.014	-.023	.004	.416	-.111	-.060	-.009	.025
21.	Partner (0 no, 1 yes)	.76	.43	-.027	-.002	.025	.009	.014	.027	.039	-.004	.014	.002	.080	.033	.054	-.192	.102	-.073
22.	Employed (0 no, 1 yes)	.77	.42	-.082	.055	.03	.012	.012	.031	.024	.023	.039	.012	.037	-.314	.154	-.067	.129	-.006
23.	Urban (0 rural, 1 urban)	.82	.39	.017	.044	.048	.054	.052	.030	-.008	.005	.021	.038	-.003	-.053	.091	.096	.092	-.010
24.	Born in NZ (0 no, 1 yes)	.80	.40	.038	-.022	-.08	-.024	-.010	-.043	.033	.065	.003	-.022	-.032	-.010	-.159	.06	-0.10	.160
25.	Political Orientation (0 liberal, 7 conservative)	3.57	1.39	.199	-.239	-.147	-.091	-.097	-.143	.131	-.091	-.105	-.221	.037	.161	-.221	-.014	-.139	.001
26.	Political Wing (0 left-wing, 7 right-wing)	3.71	1.35	.161	-.233	-.129	-.071	-.069	-.131	.149	-.116	-.114	-.229	.107	.151	-.204	-.063	-.125	-.021
27.	Patriotism	5.91	1.01	.053	.034	.087	.082	.079	.070	.231	.211	.164	.075	-.052	.183	-.051	-.039	.003	.038
28.	Nationalism	3.77	1.22	.170	-.080	-.059	-.025	-.034	-.064	.12	.062	.018	-.068	.056	.042	-.123	.056	-.087	.082
29.	Household Income (Log)	11.37	.85	-.123	.062	.068	.042	.039	.051	.055	.023	.061	.046	.065	-.164	.256	-.272	0.30	-.065
30.	Extraversion	3.88	1.18	-.031	.073	.103	.073	.072	.087	.070	.127	.126	.094	-.004	-.007	.022	-.046	.055	.023
31.	Agreeableness	5.35	.96	-.024	.206	.217	.159	.166	.199	.081	.187	.210	.259	-.291	.01	.092	-.047	.105	-.052
32.	Conscientiousness	5.11	1.02	.009	-.014	.026	.021	.021	.015	.123	.046	.042	-.004	-.087	.065	-.014	-.062	.023	.002
33.	Neuroticism	3.44	1.14	.102	-.055	-.101	-.100	-.109	-.102	-.077	-.09	-.105	-.056	-.136	-.221	.006	.042	-.022	-.001
34.	Openness	4.93	1.11	-.132	.148	.137	.115	.113	.130	-.044	.076	.107	.149	.057	-.112	.235	-.041	.146	-.014
35.	Honesty/Humility	5.43	1.17	-.166	.154	.147	.093	.112	.149	-.073	.079	.122	.177	-.121	.176	.061	-.026	.055	-.053

Table 1 (continued). Descriptive statistics and correlations for all variables

	17.	18.	19.	20.	21.	22.	23.	24.	25.	26.	27.	28.	29.	30.	31.	32.	33.	34.	35
17. Pacific Ethnicity (0 no, 1 yes)	-																		
18. Asian Ethnicity (0 no, 1 yes)	.004	-																	
19. Religious (0 no, 1 yes)	.081	.060	-																
20. Parent (0 no, 1 yes)	-.024	-.083	.080	-															
21. Partner (0 no, 1 yes)	-.039	-.021	-.021	.272	-														
22. Employed (0 no, 1 yes)	-.006	.004	-.054	-.075	.079	-													
23. Urban (0 rural, 1 urban)	.044	.059	.022	-.085	-.103	-.010	-												
24. Born in NZ (0 no, 1 yes)	-.025	-.250	-.034	.004	-.060	.008	-.017	-											
25. Political Orientation (0 liberal, 7 conservative)	.009	.012	.244	.143	.048	-.038	-.057	.047	-										
26. Political Wing (0 left-wing, 7 right-wing)	-.002	.013	.154	.134	.075	-.016	-.071	.030	.661	-									
27. Patriotism	.003	-.015	.085	.136	.053	-.018	-.042	.056	.128	.150	-								
28. Nationalism	.042	.030	.091	.051	-.009	-.031	-.001	.082	.139	.125	.278	-							
29. Household Income (Log)	-.032	-.018	-.071	.048	.343	.348	.026	-.028	-.037	.041	.047	-.052	-						
30. Extraversion	.017	-.026	.02	.072	.070	.047	.001	.003	-.053	.001	.129	.026	.094	-					
31. Agreeableness	-.032	-.019	.073	.042	.030	-.009	.014	-.019	-.111	-.151	.164	-.045	.020	.206	-				
32. Conscientiousness	.022	.005	.043	.079	.078	.008	.003	-.020	.141	.144	.154	.005	.072	.054	.140	-			
33. Neuroticism	.003	.027	-.026	-.122	-.062	.008	.030	.003	-.054	-.086	-.159	-.027	-.053	-.144	-.035	-.190	-		
34. Openness	-.001	.001	-.056	-.079	-.001	.061	.020	-.067	-.273	-.223	-.005	-.095	.075	.186	.230	-.027	-.042	-	
35. Honesty/Humility	-.042	-.070	.014	.066	.032	-.084	-.049	-.032	-.078	-.121	.058	-.186	-.027	-.061	.207	.098	-.175	.062	-

Note. Correlations above .025 are significant at p < .001; correlations above .015 are significant at p < .05

Terrorism Anxiety Predicted by Other Covariates

Several other variables also played a significant role in predicting anxiety about terrorist attacks in New Zealand. For instance, with the exception of Conscientiousness, all personality factors predicted terrorism anxiety. Honesty/Humility (b = -.174) and Neuroticism (b = .127) were the two strongest personality predictors of terrorism anxiety, revealing that those higher on honesty/humility and those lower on neuroticism worried about terrorist attacks less.

Political orientation and national identification also played a strong role in predicting terrorism anxiety. For instance, the higher their nationalism and the more conservative their political orientation, the higher their terrorism anxiety (b = .133 and b = .105, respectively). Right-wing political orientation predicted terrorism to a lesser extent (*b* - .041), whereas patriotism was unassociated with terrorism anxiety.

When it comes to other demographic variables, higher anxiety about terrorist attacks was predicted by being female, being older, lower income, lower socioeconomic status, being religious, and living in an urban area. There was no significant relationship between neighbourhood deprivation levels, employment, having children or a partner, or being born in New Zealand. Finally, results showed that those who identified as Māori, Pacific, and Asian expressed more anxiety about terrorist attacks than did those who identified as New Zealand European.

Table 2. Multiple regression with demographic predictors for the dependent variable of terrorism anxiety (N=16,328)

	b	se	t	p	95% CI	
Intercept	3.487	.254	13.717	<.001	3.069	3.906
Warmth toward Muslims	-.111	.016	-6.914	<.001	-.137	-.084
Warmth toward Immigrants	-.017	.020	-0.840	.401	-.050	.016
Warmth toward Asians	.024	.021	1.162	.245	-.010	.059
Warmth toward Chinese	.004	.021	0.201	.841	-.031	.039
Warmth toward Indians	.040	.018	2.189	.029	.010	.070
Warmth toward NZ Europeans	.007	.012	0.543	.587	-.014	.027
Warmth toward Maoris	.048	.017	2.815	.005	.020	.077
Warmth toward Pacific Islanders	-.017	.019	-0.888	.375	-.047	.014
Warmth toward Refugees	-.050	.016	-3.156	.002	-.076	-.024
Gender (0 female, 1 male)	-.289	.027	-10.813	<.001	-.333	-.245
Age	.009	.001	8.480	<.001	.007	.011
Education	-.031	.006	-5.574	<.001	-.040	-.022
Household Income (Log)	-.120	.017	-6.871	<.001	-.148	-.091
Deprivation	-.007	.005	-1.445	.149	-.015	.001
Socio-economic Index	-.003	.001	-2.775	.006	-.004	-.001
Maori Ethnicity (0 no, 1 yes)	.130	.042	3.085	.002	.061	.200
Pacific Ethnicity (0 no, 1 yes)	.444	.090	4.911	<.001	.295	.593
Asian Ethnicity (0 no, 1 yes)	.343	.069	4.987	<.001	.230	.456
Religious (0 no, 1 yes)	.078	.027	2.934	.003	.034	.122
Parent (0 no, 1 yes)	.060	.031	1.932	.053	.009	.110
Partner (0 no, 1 yes)	.043	.032	1.365	.172	-.009	.095
Employed (0 no, 1 yes)	-.063	.032	-1.928	.054	-.116	-.009
Urban (0 rural, 1 urban)	.133	.031	4.272	<.001	.082	.184
Born in NZ (0 no, 1 yes)	.039	.031	1.271	.204	-.012	.090
Extraversion	-.025	.011	-2.256	.024	-.043	-.007
Agreeableness	.064	.015	4.324	<.001	.040	.088
Conscientiousness	-.003	.013	-0.260	.795	-.024	.018
Neuroticism	.127	.012	10.977	<.001	.108	.146
Openness	-.046	.012	-3.716	<.001	-.067	-.026
Honesty-Humility	-.174	.012	-14.327	<.001	-.194	-.154
Political Orientation (0 Liberal, 7 Conservative)	.104	.013	7.927	<.001	.082	.125
Political Wing (0 left-wing, 7 right-wing)	.041	.013	3.069	.002	.019	.063
Patriotism	-.003	.013	-0.195	.845	-.025	.019
Nationalism	.133	.011	11.626	<.001	.114	.152

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this paper was two-fold. First, we set out to examine how worried people in New Zealand were about a terrorist attack occurring in New Zealand in 2017. After identifying the mean level of concern within the population, we sought to investigate the factors associated with terrorism anxiety in New Zealand. Accordingly, descriptive analyses showed that anxiety over a terrorist attack was relatively low and that only a small proportion of the sample was worried about a potential terrorist attack in New Zealand in 2017/2018. Bearing in mind that only .2% of the sample identified as Muslims (a population that may have expressed some concern due to past incidents of violence directed toward them), such

low levels of anxiety were seemingly well-justified, as New Zealand was the second safest country in the world and ranked low on terrorism impact (Institute for Economics and Peace, 2018). The relative absence of concern helps to partly explain the shock over the terror attacks of March 15, 2019. However, it also demonstrates a potential disconnect between the information that members of the community had versus the warnings that came from experts, scholars, and members of the Muslim community who claim that this sort of attack was "inevitable" (e.g., Ainge Roy & McGowan, 2019; Campbell, 2019; Shaver et al., 2017).

Despite the non-Muslim public's relatively low levels of concern about terrorism in New Zealand, we nevertheless found that anxiety toward terrorist attacks were strongly predicted by (the absence of) warmth toward Muslims. Indeed, compared to warmth toward eight other groups including immigrants, refugees, Asians, and other major ethnic groups in New Zealand, warmth toward Muslims was more than twice as strong of a predictor of terrorism anxiety. This implies that the association between Muslims and terrorists remains quite strong—even when the perceived threat of terrorism is low. The next strongest group to be associated with terrorism anxiety was refugees, whereas feelings toward immigrants did not seem to be associated with this anxiety. It is possible that participants distinguish between immigrants and refugees, whereby the latter group is more likely perceived to come from Middle Eastern/Muslim countries (Pedersen, Watt and Hansen 2006). Indeed, the latest statistics show that over half the refugees arriving in New Zealand between 2015-2017 came from predominantly Muslim countries (New Zealand Immigration, 2019). A recent study in New Zealand has also found that anti-Muslim sentiment is relatively higher than anti-immigrant sentiment (Shaver et al., 2016). Finally, it is worth noting that feelings toward New Zealand Europeans did not significantly predict terrorism anxiety. This suggests that respondents' feelings toward New

Zealand Europeans are independent from their anxiety over terrorism.

Our analyses also revealed that terrorism anxiety correlated with several other predictors. As expected, socio-political beliefs correlated with anxiety over a potential terrorist attack. Specifically, conservatism, nationalism, and (to a lesser extent) right-wing orientation correlated positively with terrorism anxiety, even after adjusting for our key predictors and other covariates. These results are consistent with previous studies showing that perceived threat from terrorism correlates with political ideology (liberal/conservative or left/right wing; Cohrs, Kielman, Maes, & Moschner, 2005; Crowson, Debacker, & Thoma, 2006; De Zavala, Cislak, & Wesolowska, 2010) and national identity (Sekerdej & Kossowska, 2011).

Our results also demonstrated that personality predicted terrorism anxiety. Specifically, honesty/humility (and to a lesser extent, open-mindedness and extraversion) correlated negatively, whereas neuroticism (and to a lesser extent, agreeableness) correlated positively, with anxiety toward terrorism. The strong association between terrorism anxiety and neuroticism was expected since this trait is typically considered to be closely related to anxiety in a number of domains (Muris, Reolofs, Rassin, Franken, & Mayer, 2005; Twenge, 2000). The strong negative association between honesty/humility and terrorism anxiety was less expected in this context, but research reveals that honesty/humility correlates negatively with conservatism and right-wing political orientation (Chirumbolo & Leone, 2010). Moreover, other work has found that humility in general buffers anxiety over death (Kesebir, 2014).

A number of other demographic variables also predicted terrorism anxiety. For instance, women and older participants reported more anxiety than did men and younger participants. Those with lower income, lower education, and lower socio-economic status also worried more about the possibility of a

terrorist attack. Living in an urban area also correlated with terrorism anxiety, perhaps because of the higher likelihood of terrorist attacks happening in more densely populated areas (Beall, 2007). Finally, those who identified with a religion and/or religious group expressed more worry about terrorist attacks.

Limitations

Although our study makes multiple contributions to the literature, it is important to note that our analyses utilize cross-sectional data and cannot speak to the causal direction of these relations. Indeed, anxiety about terrorism may either decrease warmth toward Muslim or refugee groups (Navarrete, Kurzban, Fessler, & Kirkpatrick, 2004; Ward & Masgoret, 2006) or foster conservative attitudes (Echebarria-Echabe & Fernandez-Guede, 2006; Jost, Glaser, Kruglanski, & Sulloway, 2003). As such, future research will be needed to investigate the causal direction of the associations identified here.

Another limitation to the current study is that it does not include other reference groups in the feeling thermometer scale. Specifically, if "Muslim" is considered to be a religious identity, we did not ask participants to report their warmth toward other religious groups like Christians (i.e., the religion endorsed by most far-right or white nationalist groups; see Fletcher, 2017; McDaniel, Nooruddin, & Faith Shortle, 2011).[5] Future research could examine first whether Muslims are perceived as a religious or ethnic group, and second, whether attitudes shift as a function of how the reference group is perceived (e.g., Muslim vs. Muslim fundamentalists, White vs. White supremacist, Christian vs. Christian nationalist).

Implications

A news piece by *Time*, published the day after the March 15 attack, quotes a bystander near the Al Noor Mosque as saying, "I thought it would be the other way around, the Muslims attacking, that's what everyone was waiting for" (Campbell, 2019). Yet, the latest data on violence stemming from extremist ideology would argue otherwise, whereby violence

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[5] However, if Muslims are perceived as an ethnic identity, then the comparison group would be "New Zealand Europeans".

stemming from whites against minorities such as Muslims has been on the rise, particularly in Western countries. Despite those statistics, a data-based review by the *Intercept* found that, although approximately 268 right-wing extremists met the legal definition of terrorism, only 34 were treated under anti-terrorism laws by the U.S. Justice Department. Notably, this is a number far less than that of alleged international terrorists (Aaronson, 2019). Even when examining responses from the FBI and other counterterrorism groups, terror acts perpetrated by white supremacists are treated as local incidents rather than part of a larger threat of violent extremism—a downplaying of terrorism that is also reflected among the public (Ackerman, Woodruff, & Banco, 2019). Accordingly, while multiple scholars have critiqued the media's role in perpetuating the perception of Muslim threat (e.g., Kearns et al., 2019; Saeed, 2007) including New Zealand (Shaver et al, 2017), other scholars note that systematic investigations into far-right criminal activities remain neglected and selectively biased (e.g., see Chermak, Freilich, Parkin, & Lynch, 2012; Simi, 2010).

Therefore, unless the media actively ends its selective coverages and unless formal investigations begin to give other extremist/violent groups their share of attention, terrorism anxiety may continue to correlate negatively with warmth toward Muslims. Although the associations identified here are relatively small, it is worth noting that they remain significant in a model of 34 predictors and covariates—a point that speaks to the strength of the (seemingly implicit) association between Islam and terrorism (Fischer et al., 2007; Park et al., 2007). The current data also indicate that participants do not associate New Zealand Europeans with terrorism, which could partially be due to the fact that the majority of participants identify as European and, thus, may be displaying a form of ingroup favoritism (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). By itself, the fact that Europeans are not stereotyped as violent extremists should be viewed positively. However, when juxtaposed with the (unfounded) association between warmth toward Muslims and terrorism anxiety, it becomes problematic. Therefore, our goal as researchers should not be to foster a fear of all "Whites", but rather, to find ways to reduce the fear of all "Muslims". It is also notable that those who scored high on nationalism were more likely to worry about terrorist attacks, despite the fact that the terrorist attacker of March 15, 2019, was a white nationalist himself. This finding, however, does not imply that all nationalists are violent, but rather, that some of those who subscribe to a nationalist ideology may ignore or discount the violent and extreme tendencies that can be entangled with this ideology (Srenshaw, 1988).

Conclusion

Research has consistently shown that when Muslims are seen to pose a terrorist threat or support terrorism, they are more likely to be discriminated against, both personally and institutionally (Doosje, Zimmerman, Küpper, Zick, & Meertins, 2009; Fischer et al, 2007). Moreover, the association between Islam and terrorism, whether by the media or other figures, implies that Muslims continue to be perceived as a threat. Ironically, this may provide the needed justification or endorsement that white nationalist or supremacist groups need to plot violent attacks against Muslim communities, the very groups that are perceived as violent. The bigger threat is when it leads to a vicious cycle of animosity between Muslims (or Middle Easterners) and predominantly "Christian Whites" through a self-fulfilling prophecy that is marked by ongoing violence. Hope can be found, though, within the Muslim community's response of extended arms of forgiveness and fraternity, despite the provocation and insecurity threatening their existence. Hope can also be found in the response of New Zealand as a whole. Starting with the media, the government, and New Zealanders at large, the horrific hate-filled attack that took the lives of 50 Muslims on March 15th has unified the community and foiled – at least for now – any long-term intentions to spread hate and violence in the country. Perhaps there is a lesson to be learned here on how we can escape the perceptions that cripple our communities

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Ingroup Favouring Evaluations in Response to Belonging Threats in Public and Private Contexts

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In the present investigation, we sought to examine the association between threats to belonging and intergroup discrimination in private and public contexts. To this end, participants (men) received either inclusion or ostracism feedback via a Cyberball game, and then were given the opportunity to differentially evaluate ingroup (i.e., men) and outgroup (i.e., women) members whilst believing these evaluations were to remain private or be shared publicly with other ingroup members. It was found that ostracised men whose evaluations were to be shared publicly and included men whose evaluations were to remain private evaluated the ingroup significantly more positively than the outgroup. Ostracised men whose evaluations were to be shared publicly and included men whose evaluations were to remain private evaluated the ingroup and the outgroup fairly. The ramifications of these findings are discussed.

Keywords: belonging; ostracism; inclusion; intergroup discrimination; ingroup favouritism; intergroup evaluations

Introduction

On Friday the 15th of March 2019, at 1:40 in the afternoon, a lone gunman entered the Masjid Al Noor Mosque in Christchurch, New Zealand. He carried a semi-automatic weapon, and opened fire on the Muslims holding *Jumu'ah* (Friday Prayer) inside. By the time he was arrested, just 36 minutes after the attacks began, the gunman had killed 50 Muslims at two separate Mosques and injured at least 50 more. This makes the shooter, to date, the perpetrator of the deadliest mass killing in modern New Zealand history.

The aftermath of such an attack was devastating and widespread. What could have possibly motivated such hate? How could one man kill another so heartlessly, simply because of differing religious beliefs or skin colour? One important way to begin to understand such occurrences is through research carried out on group behaviour. Groups are regularly bound by common or shared beliefs like religion and political ideology. When members from one group encounter members of a group with differing beliefs and values, conflict is a likely outcome. A vast body of research investigating the hostility and violence observed between groups, posit such intergroup discrimination arises from

the intergroup dynamics of, and between, the conflicting groups.

Social identity theory (SIT; Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986) has guided much of the research on intergroup relations over the past 40 years, providing an account of how individual psychology is influenced by group membership. The meta-theoretical basis of SIT lies in the distinction between personal identity and social identity. Personal identity is active and drives behaviour in interpersonal contexts. Social identity (the component of an individual's self-concept that is derived from their group memberships together with their associated emotional significance) drives behaviour in intergroup contexts (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; see also Hewstone & Cairns, 2001).

A further assumption of SIT is that people are motivated to evaluate the self positively in the drive to attain positive social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986; but see Turner, 1999). One way to accomplish this goal is by engaging in favourable intergroup comparisons (Turner et al., 1987). Successful intergroup comparisons are possible through ingroup bias (e.g., bias favouring the ingroup), outgroup derogation (e.g., discriminating against an outgroup), or a combination of both (e.g., intergroup discrimination). SIT,

therefore, proposes that intergroup discrimination can be construed as a behavioural outcome of an individual's attempt to attain or maintain a positive social identity.

Whilst much research has sought to investigate links between social identity and intergroup discrimination, a vast amount of research attended to the latterly developed self-esteem hypothesis (SEH; Abrams & Hogg, 1988). Though SIT directly addresses the need for positive social identity, much of the research investigating intergroup behaviour in the discipline of social psychology has since focused on the need for self-esteem, as posited by the SEH. The shift in focus to self-esteem stems from conceptualization problems with social identity and a study by Oakes and Turner (1980) that first stressed the role of self-esteem under the framework of SIT. The conceptual problem with social identity stems from its vague definition. Moscovici and Paicheler (1978, p. 256) point out that "identity is as indispensable as it is unclear". The lack of clarity of the concept of social identity has led to some contention and disagreement about the meaning and implications of social identity, none more prominent than the emergence of the concept of self-esteem (see Turner, 1999). Oakes and Turner's (1980)

focus on self-esteem as a component of SIT, with their repeated reference to the need for self-esteem as a motivation, led to a plethora of further studies formulating, investigating, and refining self-esteem's role within intergroup discrimination.

To provide clarity regarding self-esteem within a SIT framework, Abrams and Hogg (1988) formulated the self-esteem hypothesis (SEH). The SEH contains two specific corollaries. The first is that acts or displays of intergroup discrimination will enhance social identity and thus self-esteem. The second, based on the assumption that people are motivated to achieve and maintain a positive sense of self-esteem, is that low or threatened self-esteem will enhance intergroup discrimination.

Multiple studies have since explored one or the other of the corollaries of SEH. The findings outlined in subsequent reviews (e.g., Rubin & Hewstone, 1998) together with research emerging afterwards (e.g., Aberson, Healy & Romero, 2000; Fein & Spencer, 1997; Gramzow & Gaertner, 2005; Houston & Andreopoulou, 2003; Hunter et al., 2004; Long & Spears, 1997; Verkuyten & Hagendoorn, 2002) are largely inconsistent and contradictory. Though a few studies provide support for the SEH in its entirety (e.g., Branscombe & Wann, 1994; Fein & Spencer, 1997; Hunter et al., 2004, expt 2; Hunter et al., 2005), the bulk of the evidence reveals merely moderate support for the first corollary, and much less support for the second.

To overcome such inconsistencies, researchers have generally taken one of two routes. Some have attempted to overcome conceptual and methodological flaws of the SEH (see Abrams & Hogg, 1988; Hunter et al., 1996; Rubin & Hewstone, 1988; Turner, 1999; Hunter et al., 2004; Hunter et al., 2005; Long & Spears, 1998; Scheepers, Spears, Manstead & Doosje, 2009). Others suggest the motivational role of self-esteem has been over-stated with respect to intergroup discrimination and argue that other motives may provide greater (at the very least, additional) explanatory value (Abrams & Hogg, 1988; Hogg & Abrams, 1993).

Research assessing the contribution of motives other than self-esteem to our understanding of intergroup discrimination have so far tended to emphasize uncertainty reduction (e.g., Grieve & Hogg, 1999), control (Hayhurst, Iverson, Ruffman, Stringer, & Hunter, 2014), fear of death (Solomon, Greenberg & Pyszczynski, 2001), group-based dominance (Duckitt, 2001), or distinctiveness and inclusion (Brewer, 1991). The importance of distinctiveness and inclusion is captured by the optimal distinctiveness theory (ODT; Brewer, 1991). ODT is, to date, the only view we are aware of that promotes a central role of belonging.

Given that belonging is generally considered fundamental to the human condition and a core motive in social psychology (e.g., Fiske, 2004; Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Williams, 2009), this lack of focus on belonging as a motivational construct of intergroup discrimination is somewhat unexpected. When fulfilled, a sense of belonging is associated with a range of psychological benefits, including lower rates of anxiety and depression, an enhanced sense of self-worth and self-confidence, and heightened feelings of self-esteem, control, and meaningful existence (amongst others; see Cruwys, Haslam, Dingle, Haslam, & Jetten, 2014; Fiske, 2004). Conversely, a dissatisfied sense of belonging is associated with a wealth of negative psychological, behavioural and physical outcomes (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Williams, 2009). Given the clear implications of a fulfilled or thwarted sense of belonging (see Baumeister & Leary 1995 for an in-depth discussion), the trifling number of studies investigating the relation between this and intergroup discrimination is especially surprising.

The studies that have examined the effect of threats to belonging (either via social exclusion or social ostracism), however, have found mixed results. Some studies have found rejection by an ingroup to increase aggression. For example, in one study, ostracised (compared to included) participants allocated more hot sauce to a stranger even though they knew that the stranger strongly

disliked hot and spicy foods (Warburton, et al., 2006). Other research, however, has found that ostracism leads to pro-social behaviour such as increased conformity (Williams et al., 2000) and increased social mimicry (Lakin & Chartrand, 2005, 2008). In fact, ostracised participants have been shown to work harder on a group task even when their efforts would benefit the very group that ostracised them (Williams & Sommer, 1997).

These divergent results may be clarified by examining how rejected group members may strategically utilise intergroup discrimination to restore their position within the group. Indeed, some research suggests that the display of ingroup favouritism following some form of exclusion from the ingroup serves as a kind of identity management strategy, a way to enhance or restore inclusion within the ingroup (Noel et al., 1995). As such, perhaps ingroup favouritism will only increase following ostracism feedback if such behaviour could potentially restore ingroup inclusion. Biased behaviour may be utilised by ostracised group members to reinforce their commitment to, and shared values with, the ingroup.

Noel et al. (1995) examined strategic responding in peripheral group members by looking at differences in public versus private outgroup derogation. The findings showed peripheral group members derogated a relevant outgroup only when their opinions were to be made public to fellow ingroup members. Peripheral group members showed no such derogating behaviour when these opinions were to remain private. This suggests that rather than reflecting personal opinions and beliefs, publicly displayed intergroup bias may instead reflect the drive or desire to increase inclusionary status (or re-inclusion in the case of ostracism) with the ingroup (see also Branscombe et al., 1999). This is supported by the lack of bias shown by peripheral group members when their opinions were to remain private, as it would be of little benefit in terms of solidifying inclusion with the ingroup (Noel et al., 1995). Indeed, it seems that displays of intergroup discrimination may be utilised strategically by peripheral group

members, in order to demonstrate they are worthy and good group members and solidify their acceptance or inclusion in the ingroup.

Similarly, other researchers have found that when peripheral group members anticipated future ostracism by the group, they showed less loyalty and identification with the group. When peripheral group members expected increased future acceptance, those who highly identified with the group demonstrated more loyalty (Jetten, Branscombe, Spears, & McKimmie, 2003). Therefore, current group behaviour depends on what group members expect might happen in the future. This again supports the idea of strategic responding by peripheral group members, in so far as they will show intergroup bias if they believe this may lead to greater ingroup inclusion in the future.

These studies look at the behaviour of peripheral group members. Noel et al. (1995) utilised a realistic group in terms of sorority pledges, whereas Jetten et al. (2003) manipulated peripheral status via bogus personality test feedback. Whilst peripheral group members have not received an explicit belonging threat per se, they are marginal group members and are motivated to enhance connectedness to the group, as ostracised members may be motivated to do. Therefore, we might expect a similar pattern of strategic responding in participants who have received a threat to belonging via ostracism feedback: reporting bias decisions publicly in front of the other ingroup members may influence ostracised participants to show increased bias. This display of bias would theoretically function to demonstrate loyalty to the group and potentially increase the perceived likelihood of reconnecting with the group. In keeping with such theorising, ostracised participants have been shown to work harder on a group task even when their efforts would benefit the very group that ostracised them, perhaps to prove their loyalty and worth to the group (Williams & Sommer, 1997).

Therefore, the present study aims to investigate the role of self-presentational concerns relating to displays of ingroup favouritism

following belonging threat. To this end, participants received inclusion or ostracism feedback via a Cyberball game. Following the threat to belonging, participants evaluated ingroup and outgroup members whilst believing that these evaluations were to remain private or to be shared publicly with other members of the ingroup.

It was hypothesised that, due to self-presentational concerns and a wish to increase their belonging within the ingroup (Noel et al., 1995), participants who received ostracism feedback and believed that their intergroup evaluations would be shared publicly with members of the ingroup would display ingroup favouritism (i.e., evaluate the ingroup more positively than the outgroup). Displays of ingroup favouritism privately would be of little benefit in terms of solidifying inclusion (Noel et al., 1995), and so it was anticipated that ostracised participants who expected their intergroup evaluations to remain private, would not evaluate the ingroup and the outgroup differently. Participants who received inclusion feedback should have felt secure with their status within the ingroup and thus no self-presentation concerns were anticipated (Noel et al., 1995). Therefore, participants who received inclusion feedback were not expected to rate the ingroup and the outgroup differently whether they believed their evaluations would remain private or be shared publicly with the ingroup.

In other words, it was hypothesised that *only* participants who wished to increase their inclusionary status within the group (i.e., ostracised participants), *and* who believed there was a reasonable chance to do so (i.e., such that any displays of ingroup favouritism were to be shared publicly with the ingroup), would evaluate the ingroup significantly higher than the outgroup.

METHOD
Participants

Participants were recruited through the website, https://app.prolific.ac, in return for a £3.50 payment. The only inclusion criteria were that participants identified as men. The final pool of participants included

207 men with an age range of 16 to 57 years ($M = 26.70$, $SD = 7.58$). In terms of participants' highest level of education, 2.4% of the participants had not completed high school, 40.8% had completed high school (or equivalent secondary education), 37.4% had completed an undergraduate degree (or other tertiary education), and 19.4% had completed some form of postgraduate degree. Fifty-one participants currently lived in the USA, 32 in Canada, 21 in Portugal, 16 in each of Mexico and the UK, 11 in Spain, 10 in Australia, eight in each of Chile and Poland, six in Greece, four in England, three in each of Germany and Hungary, two in each of the Czech Republic, Japan, and New Zealand, and one in each of Estonia, Finland, Israel, Italy, Norway, Sweden, and Wales. Five participants declined to state the country they currently lived in.

Design

Our study utilised a mixed-model design. The target-group of evaluations (i.e., ingroup vs outgroup) was within groups. Belonging feedback (i.e., inclusion vs ostracism) and the nature of favouritism (i.e., public vs private) were between subjects. Allocation of participants to each condition was random. The number of participants allocated to each condition is presented in Table 1.

Procedure

Following a procedure similar to Williams et al. (2000), participants were told they would be playing a Cyberball game with other members of the all-male group. It was made clear that performance in the game was not important, rather, the game was a chance to practice their visualisation skills. Participants were encouraged to visualise themselves, the environment, and other players. It was emphasised that the results of the game were of no importance, but it was paramount they participate in the game and focus on their visualisation skills. The game was ostensibly played with other members of the men group, however in reality the participant was the only person playing the game. The other 'players' were avatars pre-programmed to either include or ostracise the participant. The participant's avatar

was labelled *Man 2 (me)*, whilst the computer-controlled avatars were labelled *Man 1*, *Man 3*, and *Man 4*. See Figure 1 for a screenshot of the Cyberball game as seen from the participants point of view.

Inclusion/ostracism

The computer-programmed players (or virtual confederates) were scripted to either include or ostracise the participant. Upon receiving a ball toss, the participant clicked on one of the three other players they wished to throw the ball to, and the computer animated the pass. The computer then dictated the throws of the digital avatars, depending on the condition the participant was assigned to. The game was scripted so that participants assigned to the inclusion condition received a fair share (approximately a quarter) of all ball tosses. Those in the ostracism condition received two throws at the beginning of the game to become familiar with gameplay and to supplement its realism. Ostracised participants were then denied the ball for the remainder of the game. All games consisted of 30 throws.

Belonging

Following the Cyberball game, participants were presented with a scale of belonging devised by Sheldon and Bettencourt (2002).

This scale (adapted slightly to become specific to the men group of interest in the current study) was comprised of three items; '*I feel that other men have included me*', '*I feel well integrated with other men*', and '*I feel a sense of belongingness with other men*' (*Cronbach's alpha =* 0.95). Participants' responses were scored using a 7-point Likert scale (1 – strongly agree, 7 – strongly disagree), and were specific to how participants felt 'right now'.

Public/private bias task: Evaluations

Following the belonging scale, all participants were given the opportunity to differentially evaluate ingroup (i.e., men) and outgroup members (i.e., women) using 20 pairs of 11-point trait rating scales. Participants assigned to the private condition were told that their evaluations of ingroup and outgroup members would remain private. Those assigned to the public condition were informed their evaluations would be made public and were to be shared with other men during a group discussion, ostensibly occurring later in the experiment.

The 20 pairs of evaluative traits were taken from Platow, McClintock, and Liebrand (1990; *cooperative-competitive*, *helpful-*

unhelpful, *selfish-unselfish*, *intelligent-unintelligent*, *strong-weak*, *warm-cold*, *flexible-rigid*, *manipulative-sincere*, *fair-unfair*, *honest-dishonest*, *friendly-unfriendly*, *trustworthy-untrustworthy*, *consistent-inconsistent*), and Oakes et al. (1994; *pushy-reticent*, *humble-arrogant*, *confident-shy*, *aggressive-non-aggressive*, *ignorant-well informed*, *straight forward-hypocritical*). Counterbalancing was used to rule out ordering effects, and reverse scoring was employed where necessary such that higher scores indicated more positive ratings.

Manipulation checks

In the final step of the experiment, participants were presented with a series of manipulation checks and demographic questions. Participants were asked (a) what they thought the study was about, (b) if they noticed anything odd or unusual about the study, (c) if they had taken part in similar studies before, (d) if they took the study seriously, and (e) if they normally consider themselves to be men. Information was also gathered on participants' age, highest level of education, and current country of residence. Finally, participants were fully debriefed, thanked for their time and interest in the study, and paid.

Table 1. Number of men per condition.

	Nature of Favouritism		
Belonging Feedback	Private	Public	*Total*
Inclusion	53	53	*106*
Ostracism	50	51	*101*
Total	*103*	*104*	*207*

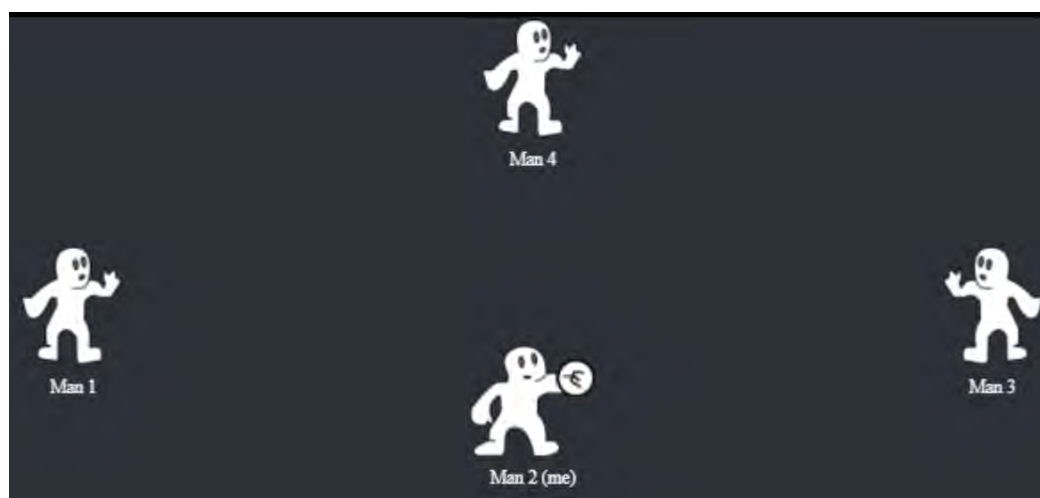**Figure 1.** Screenshot of Cyberball game as seen from the participant's point of view.

RESULTS

Belonging

In order to assess the effectiveness of the Cyberball paradigm to manipulate levels of belonging in participants, a 2 (feedback type: inclusion vs ostracism) x 2 (nature of favouritism: private vs public) between groups' analysis of variance (ANOVA) (analysis of variance) as a function of belonging was conducted. A main effect was found for feedback type, $F(1, 203) = 154.18$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .432$. Participants who received ostracism feedback had lower belonging scores than participants who received inclusion feedback ($M = 7.95$, $SD = 4.83$ vs $M = 15.36$, $SD = 3.71$). No other significant main or interaction effects were found.

Ingroup favouritism

To assess the extent to which men who received either inclusion or ostracism feedback differentially evaluated members of the ingroup (i.e., men) and outgroup (i.e., women) either publicly or privately, a 2 (feedback type: inclusion vs ostracism) x 2 (nature of favouritism: private vs public) x 2 (target group: ingroup vs outgroup) mixed model ANOVA was conducted. The first two variables were between groups. The third variable was within groups. Cell means are presented in Table 2.

Table 2. Evaluations of ingroup (i.e., men) and outgroup (i.e., women) members that were to remain private or be shared publicly for participants who received either inclusion or ostracism feedback.

Feedback Type	Nature of Favouritism	Intergroup Evaluations		N
		Ingroup	Outgroup	
Inclusion	Private	158.68 (22.09)**	147.87 (22.29)	53
	Public	153.70 (17.36)	147. 94 (21.09)	53
Ostracism	Private	147.50 (21.29)	146.76 (21.97)	50
	Public	151.02 (20.25)**	132.43 (24.03)	51
Overall		152.82 (20.57)**	143.82 (23.14)	207

Note. Higher scores indicate more positive evaluations.
Note. ** $p < .005$, significantly higher evaluations of ingroup than outgroup.

A significant main effect was found for target group, $F(1, 203) = 18.27$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .083$. Overall, participants evaluated ingroup members (i.e., men) more positively than outgroup members (i.e., women; $M = 152.82$, $SD = 20.57$ vs $M = 143.82$, $SD = 23.14$). A significant main effect was also found for Cyberball feedback, $F(1, 203) = 13.15$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .061$. Included participants gave evaluations that were overall more positive than evaluations given by ostracised participants ($M = 152.05$, $SD = 17.13$ vs $M = 144.43$, $SD = 12.83$).

A significant 3-way interaction effect was found between feedback type, nature of favouritism, and target group, $F(1, 203) = 7.441$, $p = .007$, $\eta^2 = .035$. Planned comparisons using repeated measures t-tests (and incorporating the Bonferroni-Holm correction) revealed that included participants whose evaluations remained private ($M = 158.68$, $SD = 22.09$ vs $M = 147.87$, $SD = 22.29$), $t(52) = 3.49$, $p = .004$, and ostracised participants whose evaluations were to be shared publicly ($M = 151.02$, $SD = 20.25$ vs $M = 132.43$, $SD = 24.03$), $t(50) = 3.25$, $p = .006$, evaluated the ingroup significantly more positively than the outgroup. No significant differences between evaluations for the ingroup versus the outgroup were found for included participants whose evaluations were to be shared publicly ($M = 153.70$, $SD = 17.36$ vs $M = 147.94$, $SD = 21.09$), $t(52) = 1.72$, $p = .184$, nor for ostracised participants whose evaluations were to remain private ($M = 147.50$, $SD = 21.29$ vs $M = 146.76$, $SD = 21.97$), $t(49) = .175$, $p = .862$. No other significant main or interaction effects were found.

DISCUSSION

This study tested one hypothesis; that only participants who wish to increase their inclusionary status within the group (i.e., ostracised participants), and believe there is a reasonable chance to do so (i.e., any displays of ingroup favouritism will be shared with the ingroup), will evaluate the ingroup significantly higher than the outgroup. This hypothesis was not supported. Men who received ostracism feedback and shared their intergroup evaluations publicly did evaluate the ingroup significantly more positively than the outgroup, as expected. Men who received inclusion feedback and shared their evaluations publicly, and

men who received ostracism feedback and their evaluations remained private, did not significantly differentiate between the ingroup and the outgroup in their intergroup evaluations, also as expected. Somewhat unexpected, however, was the fact that men whose evaluations remained private and who received inclusion feedback did evaluate the ingroup more positively than the outgroup.

With respect to men who received ostracism feedback, the ostracised men in the private bias task condition did not discriminate, whilst the ostracised men in the public condition did. This supports theories of intergroup discrimination outlined

by Leary (2005; Leary et al., 1995) and Noel et al. (1995). Leary and his colleagues argue that people who are motivated to increase their inclusionary status (e.g., people whose acceptance by the group has been threatened) will try to increase their value to the group (Leary, 2005; Leary et al., 1995). One way this might be achieved is through intergroup differentiation where the ingroup is favoured over the outgroup. Noel et al. (1995) suggests that showing intergroup bias publicly demonstrates that one is working in the best interests of the group. Conceivably, therefore, publicly displaying ingroup favouritism following ostracism feedback may

function to demonstrate one's value to the ingroup and therefore increase their inclusionary status.

The current study reinforces this proposition. Indeed, following ostracism feedback from the ingroup, these men have a threatened sense of belonging. When their intergroup evaluations are to be shared publicly, they have an opportunity to show other ingroup members that they are worthy and deserve to be accepted into the group. They favour the ingroup as an attempt to demonstrate their commitment and loyalty to the ingroup, and therefore convince other group members to accept them. The public context of their evaluations offers hope for a chance of acceptance in the future (Jetten et al., 2003). When their evaluations are not to be shared publicly and are to remain private, the ingroup remains unaware of any displays of favouritism. As such these responses have no chance of increasing their acceptance status within the group and thus we do not see the same levels of ingroup favouritism.

Men who receive inclusion feedback show a different pattern of results than men who received ostracism feedback. Privately, included men unexpectedly show significant levels of ingroup favouritism. It may be that the inclusion feedback fosters feelings of respect, reassurance, and satisfaction with respect to one's position in the group. Such feelings may have, in turn, resulted in group members acting in accordance with group norms (Smith & Tyler, 2007), being supportive of other in-group members (Schmitt & Branscombe, 2001), and showing in-group favoritism (Leonardelli & Brewer, 2001; Spears, Ellemers, Doosje, & Branscombe, 2006).

This ingroup favouritism is not present, however, when included men were to share their evaluations publicly with other men. It may well be that in public settings these men fall back on a general social norm of fairness. This tendency to discriminate when evaluations were to remain private may have been restrained by a reluctance to behave in a way potentially construed as discriminatory (in this case, sexist). Whilst the social norm of fairness in a public context may be overridden by the need to belong in certain circumstances (as evidenced by significant levels of ingroup favouritism in public by ostracised males), included men have no motivation to act in any way incongruent with the fairness norm. These men have received inclusion feedback such that their position within the group is secure, and therefore they are not motivated to publicly display their loyalty to the ingroup through ingroup favouritism. Their belonging needs are fulfilled, and any public displays of bias offer no benefit.

Clearly the behavioural outcomes examined in this study (intergroup evaluations) are vastly different from those that occurred in Christchurch on March 15. It is key to note that the present study examines how men might publicly favour the ingroup following belonging threat, opposed to the public violence exhibited against an outgroup on March 15. Comparatively, favouring an ingroup via intergroup evaluations is fairly mild. Previous research has suggested that such intergroup evaluations may be unrelated to more negative forms of discrimination (e.g., blasts of white noise, or the allocation of hot sauce; Struch & Schwartz, 1989). It has also been suggested that explanatory constructs (e.g., group identity, self-esteem) that are associated with milder forms of intergroup discrimination may be unrelated to more negative forms of discrimination (Amoit & Bourhis, 2005; Hodson, Dovidio, & Esses, 2003). As this is true for some constructs, it may potentially be true for belonging also. Therefore, we must be extremely careful when drawing any conclusions that a threat to belonging may have been a contributing factor to what motivated the events of March 15.

Nevertheless, the present findings do contribute to a growing body of research suggesting that a threatened sense of belonging may indeed motivate displays of intergroup discrimination (or at least ingroup favouritism). By no means is this the only possible motivation of such behaviour, nor that this was necessarily related to what motivated the events of March 15. But the present findings point to threatened belonging as a potential explanation of why intergroup discrimination might occur in some contexts. If we can begin to understand *why* something is happening, there is a possibility we can work together to prevent its reoccurrence in the future.

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They Are Us? The mediating effects of compatibility-based trust on the relationship between discrimination and overall trust

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The tragic Christchurch massacre brought the dangers of social 'othering' to the forefront of public attention. While the extreme nature of the attack shocked majority and minority groups alike, overt and latent discrimination are common experiences for many minorities in Aotearoa. Focusing on the impact of discrimination, this research examines the mechanism through which discrimination negatively affects intergroup trust, utilizing the multidimensional Intergroup Trust Model. We investigate trust through a study of police-minority relations, comparing the Aotearoa Māori perspective with the Black American perspective. Mediation analysis, based on a multidimensional approach to trust, suggests a similar mechanism across both groups: Perceived discrimination's impact on trust is mediated by a lack of compatibility-based trust, the perception that they are 'others' to the police. Taken together, the results provide insight on how discrimination erodes intergroup relations and indicate that its damaging impact can be repaired by strengthening groups' perceived compatibility with one another and highlighting shared parallel similarities.

With modern societies seeing a dramatic increase in heterogeneity, questions around social equality and cohesion become increasingly pressing. Perceptions of unfairness and inequality in the treatment of different groups in society erode trust and threaten social cohesion and stability. Such perceptions are typically held by minorities groups, who are more likely to inhabit a space of social 'otherness'.

Otherness is an abstract social condition that implies difference and/or categorical separation. Its social connotations suggest a contrast against an accepted standard and often results in the devaluation of individuals and groups that do not meet the parameters for 'standard' membership in society. To inhabit a space of social otherness is to be relegated to social isolation and vulnerability. Therefore, the act of 'othering' is fundamentally dangerous.

The Christchurch Shooting highlights the devastating result of social othering and otherness. Systemically and culturally, Muslim residents of Aotearoa suffered from being made 'other' prior to the tragedy. In the aftermath, their place in society, though sentimentally reaffirmed by widespread and repeated declarations of inclusion, remains functionally on the outskirts of 'standard'. Bias and discrimination are part of the lived experiences of many minorities groups in Aotearoa, including Muslim Kiwis, refugees, and visitors (Harris et al., 2012; Rahman, 2018). Recent influxes of East and Southeast Asia immigrants have resulted in increasingly visible instances of 'benign' anti-Asian racism (Ng, 2017). Within academic discourse surrounding immigration and refugee intake in Auckland and other major cities throughout Aotearoa, Muslim immigration raises questions about security, terrorism, and foreign religion (see Stephens, 2018), while resettlement intake of white South Africans prompts questions about 'finding home' (eg. Winbush & Selby, 2015). Meanwhile, other minority group members are marginalized and/or entirely ignored in Kiwi social categorization.

The bias and discrimination faced by minority groups, like the Muslim, Māori, and Pasifika communities in Aotearoa, are often used to explain their lower levels of trust (e.g., Born et al., 2009; Dovidio et al, 2008). The trust minority groups have in their society and institutions is negatively linked to their perceptions of bias and discrimination. Douds and Wu (2018) reported a negative relationship between perceived racial discrimination and generalized trust in Texas, such that individuals who had experienced more racial discrimination reported lower levels of generalized trust, or "a general belief in the trustworthiness of most people" than individuals who experienced less (p. 567). Similarly, Bowling, Parmar, and Phillips (2003) concluded that discriminatory policing practices, such as excessive use of stop and search, negatively impact trust of minority communities in the police.

Although causality between perceived discrimination and bias and trust is difficult to establish, longitudinal research indicates that perceived discrimination may breed lower trust. Gordon, Street, Kelly, and Souchek (2006) found that while there was no difference in the level of trust displayed by Black and White patients in their physician before their initial visit, Black patients reported less trust after the visit. The difference in trust between Black and White patients was predicted by Black patients' perceptions that their physician displayed less supportiveness, less partnership, and less information during the visit.

Taken together, current research suggests that when individuals participate in a society or institution as a minority, how they are treated can shape the trust they have for those around them. When they encounter bias and discrimination, their trust decreases, negatively affecting social cohesion, social capital, and general intergroup relations (Hooghe, Reeskens, & Stolle, 2007).

As the literature on the relationship between perceived discrimination and bias and trust has grown, our understanding of trust has been evolving. While most of the research on this link captures trust using unidimensional scales with a few general items, the field has come to understand trust as a complex, multidimensional construct that requires context-specific measures (Balliet & Van Lange, 2013; Bhattacherjee, 2002; Roy, Eshghi, & Shekhar, 2011). The present research seeks to use the Intergroup Trust Model to bring these recent developments in trust literature to the study of the relationship between perceived discrimination and bias and trust (Kappmeier & Guenoun, 2018).

Introduction to the Intergroup Trust Model

The Intergroup Trust Model unifies the existing literature on the multidimensionality of trust to provide a common foundation in the context of intergroup conflict or tension (Kappmeier, 2016). The model posits that intergroup trust is the aggregate of the five dimensions of competence, integrity, compassion, compatibility, and security. (refer to Figure 1 for descriptions of each of the dimensions)[6]. These dimensions are interdependent such that one may correlate with another. For instance, a decrease in competence-based trust may be associated with a decrease in integrity-based trust. Additionally, trust along each of these dimensions is conceptualized as a continuum such that groups can have varying levels of trust along each of the dimensions.
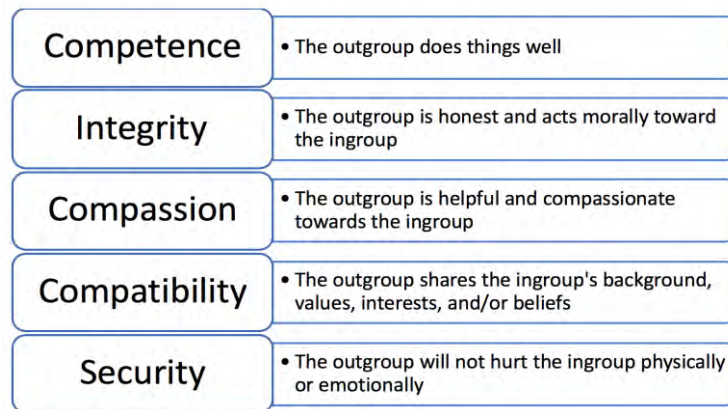

Figure 1. Dimensions of the Intergroup Trust Model.

Minority Trust in the Police

The current research used trust relations between the police and minority communities in Aotearoa and the United States as case studies through which to examine the relationship between perceived discrimination and bias and trust. The police as a institution is a relevant context in which to investigate minority trust. They have many interactions across different groups in a society but they represent the beliefs and power of the more dominant groups (Sidanius, Liu, Shaw & Pratto, 1994).

Trust in the police is integral to the stability and security of a society. Minority trust in the police is particularly important to the development of a sense of belonging in the wider society. International research on the interactions between police and minority communities reveal the police as a polarizing institution. Some view the police as peacekeepers and a helpful fixture of a secure society. Others, particularly minorities, view the police and their modes of operation with suspicion or contempt (Tyler, 2005). Minorities consistently report less trust in police than majorities, and they are less likely to view the police a legitimate institution (Tyler, 2010; 2011). Minority lack of trust in the police often stems from historical antagonism between the police as an oppressive force and minorities as victims of violence and/or prejudice. In societies with a history of group-based law enforcement discrimination, the police can be perceived by minorities as heavy-handed agents of existing, unjust power dynamics rather than as peacekeepers. Past and present experiences of brutality, harassment, and bias create perceptions of the police as racially and/or culturally discriminatory, procedurally prejudiced, and ultimately untrustworthy (Schuck, Rosenbaum & Hawkins, 2008). Repeated experiences of police prejudice, discrimination or violence (or vicarious experiences shared among members of a community) negatively impact trust in the police as well as the belief that a particular group belongs within the policed society (Rosenbaum, Schuck, Costello, Hawkins, & Ring, 2005). While a great deal of research and media attention has been devoted to strained police-minority relations in the USA, a similar pattern is evident in Aotearoa: Māori communities are less likely than Pākehā communities to

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[6] The original article, using qualitative research speaks of seven dimensions, however quantitative follow-up work indicate a stronger support for the five dimensional model

report that they trust the police (e.g. Panditharatne, et al., 2018). Furthermore, Te Whaiti and Roguski (1998) highlights the negative consequences of the police's bias and discrimination towards Māori communities on Māori trust.

This article centers on the relationship between perceived discrimination and bias and intergroup trust. Through two studies, we conceptualized intergroup trust as trust in the police to tap into minority perceptions of their relationship with their broader society. We explored the relationship between perceived discrimination and bias and trust using working scales based on the Intergroup Trust Model. Study 1 was conducted in Aotearoa and Study 2 was conducted in the United States. We chose to compare police-minority relations in Aotearoa with those in the United States because we wanted to confirm that our Aotearoa findings were also observed in a context where police-minority relations are particularly contentious. As reflected in the Black Lives Matter movement, the relationship between Black Americans and police is notably categorized by brutality and institutionalized inequality.

While we expected to replicate the established finding that there is a negative association between perceived discrimination and bias and trust, the primary goal of this research was to get a more nuanced understanding of the mechanism through which perceived discrimination and bias lower intergroup trust. Unlike the trust measures used to study the relationship between perceived discrimination and bias and trust in previous studies, the Intergroup Trust Scale (Kappmeier & Guenoun, 2018) can provide an understanding of which of the five dimensions of intergroup trust are most relevant to this relationship. Such insight can be utilized to guide future research into the link between discrimination and bias and trust. Additionally, this research can support the development of trust-building interventions between the police and their communities, given our context of police trust relations.

STUDY 1

Study 1 investigated minority trust in the police in the context of Aotearoa by examining the relevance of the five trust dimensions in face of discrimination and bias.

METHOD
Participants

Study 1 was conducted in Aotearoa through an online Qualtrics survey and exclusively recruited participants from a minority group: Māori (n = 320).

Measures
Perceived discrimination was measured with three items, including "People who share my racial identity are discriminated against by the police". Ratings were made on 7-point scales anchored at 1 ('Strongly disagree') and 7 ('Strongly agree') (α = .78).
Perceived bias was measured via two items which assessed police bias,

e.g. "The police consistently apply the same rules to different people." Ratings were made on 7-point scales anchored at 1 ('Strongly disagree') and 7 ('Strongly agree'). The final scale was reversed coded so that 'Strongly agree' corresponded with the perception that the police display bias (α = .71).
Overall trust in the police was measured on a scale from 0 to 100. Participant were asked how much they trust the police, with 0 indicating no trust and 100 signifying complete trust.
Trust dimensions. We used a working version of the revised Intergroup Trust Scale (Kappmeier & Guenoun, 2018) which consisted of 26 items on 7-point scales anchored at 1 ('Strongly disagree') and 7 ('Strongly agree'). The items captured the five dimensions of Intergroup Trust Model: five items measured competence-based trust (α = .83), five items measured integrity-based trust (α = .82), five items measured compassion-based trust (α = .71), seven items measured compatibility-based trust (α = .72), and four items measured security-based trust (α = .72). Items were framed as if-then statements in order to tap into the perceived relevance of the dimensions to trust. The structure of conditional statements allows for a more concrete causal link between the attributes of the outgroup introduced by each item and trust (Borsboom, Mellenbergh, & van Heerden, 2004; Mischel & Shoda, 1995). An example of an item created to assess integrity-based trust is "If the police are honest, then my trust in them will increase".

Table 1. Study 1 Descriptive Statistics and Bivariate Correlations

	1	2	3	4	5	Mean	SD
Overall Trust	---					73.81	21.03
Relevance of:							
Competence-based trust	-.022	---				5.39	1.06
Integrity-based trust	-.069	.57**	---			5.83	0.92
Compassion-based trust	.021	.73**	.65**	---		5.51	0.93
Compatibility-based trust	.152**	.37*	.36**	.35**	---	5.04	0.96
Security-based trust	.01	.58**	.7**	.68**	.4**	5.64	0.98

** p < .001

RESULTS

Descriptives and correlations

Overall, the Māori participants reported trusting relationships with the police with M = 73.81 (sd = 21.04), but they also reported perceived bias (M = 4.85; Sd = 1.25) and bias (M = 3.25; Sd = 1.36) to some degree from the police. Before further analysis, we examined correlations between the mediator variables and overall trust. While all five trust dimensions correlated positively with each other (ps < .001), only compatibility-based trust was also significantly associated with overall trust (See Table 1).

Relationships between perceived discrimination, trust, and the five trust dimensions in Aotearoa

First, we examined the relationship between perceived discrimination and overall trust in the police and the role of the five trust dimensions in this relationship.

We conducted a multiple parallel mediation analysis through ordinary least squares regression using perceived discrimination as the predictor, overall trust in the police as the outcome, and the five trust dimensions as mediators. The analysis was conducted in SPSS, using the Haynes process tool 3.3, Model 4. Figure 2 presents the model. The direct path from perceived discrimination to and overall trust was significant (c' = -4.8, $p = .00$, CI [-6.36; -3.25]), indicating that perceived police discrimination negatively impacts overall trust in the police. Additionally, as outlined in Table 2, the direct paths from perceived police discrimination to four dimensions - competence, compatibility, compassion, and integrity - were significant. Only the path to security-based trust was not significant. This suggests that perceiving police discrimination increases the relevance of competence-, integrity-, compassion- and compatibility-based trust. However, the only indirect paths from perceived police discrimination to overall trust that were significant where those through integrity- and compatibility-based trust (integrity-based trust: β = -.6253, $β_{se}$ = .36, CI [-1.46, -.07], compatibility-based trust: β = 1.53, $β_{se}$ = .52, CI [.66, 2.7]). This indicates that of the four trust dimensions relevant to the relationship between perceived police discrimination and overall trust, only integrity- and compatibility-based trust mediate the relationship. In summary, integrity- and compatibility-based trust play primary mediating roles in the relationship between perceived police discrimination and overall trust.

Table 2. Study 2 OLS path analysis for the indirect effects of discrimination on overall trust

Predictor	Mediator	a	a_{se}	LCI	UCI	Outcome	b	b_{se}	LCI	UCI
discrimination	Competence	.1*	.04	.01	.19	Overall Trust in the Police	-1.96	1.59	.-7	.16
	Integrity	.14**	.04	.06	.22		-4.41*	1.8	-1.4	-.08
	Compassion	.1*	.04	.02	.18		3.3	2.02	-.08	1
	Compatibility	.24**	.04	.16	.32		6.36**	1.33	.66	2.67
	Security	.08	.04	-.005	.17		.32	1.78	-.4	.43

** p < .001; * p < 0.05; 5000 Bootstraps, Seed=190323

Relationship between perceived bias, trust, and the five trust dimensions in Aotearoa

Next, we examined the relationship between perceived bias and overall trust in the police and the role of the five trust dimensions in this relationship.

We again conducted a multiple parallel mediation analysis using ordinary least squares regression with bias as the predictor, overall trust in the police as the outcome, and the five trust dimensions as mediators. The analysis was conducted in SPSS again, using the Haynes process tool 3.3, Model 4. Figure 3 presents the model.

Just as with perceived discrimination, the direct link from bias to overall trust was significant (c' = -5.63, $p = .00$, CI [-7,24; -4.03]), indicating that perceived police bias negatively impacts overall trust in the police. However, as seen in Table 3, unlike perceived discrimination, perceived bias was only negatively associated with compatibility- and security-based trust, indicating that perceived bias reveals a higher need for compatibility- and security-based trust. From these two trust dimensions, only the indirect path from perceived bias to overall trust through compatibility-based trust was significant (β = 2.75, $β_{se}$ = 1.27, CI [.26, 5.24]). This suggests that only compatibility-based trust mediates lower trust in the police in the face of perceived bias.

Taken together, the correlation results and analysis suggest that compatibility-based trust plays an important role in explaining the effect on perceived discrimination and bias on trust. Perceived police discrimination or bias predicts lower trust in the police. This lower trust is mediated by an increased need for compatibility-based trust— a trust based on the perception that one relates to the police or that police are similar to one's own group. While integrity-based trust was also relevant for the relationship between perceived discrimination and overall trust, only compatibility- based trust had significant indirect effects for both perceived discrimination and perceived bias. Thus, of the five dimensions of the Intergroup Trust Model, it was compatibility-based trust that gave the most insight into the relationship between perceived discrimination and bias and trust.
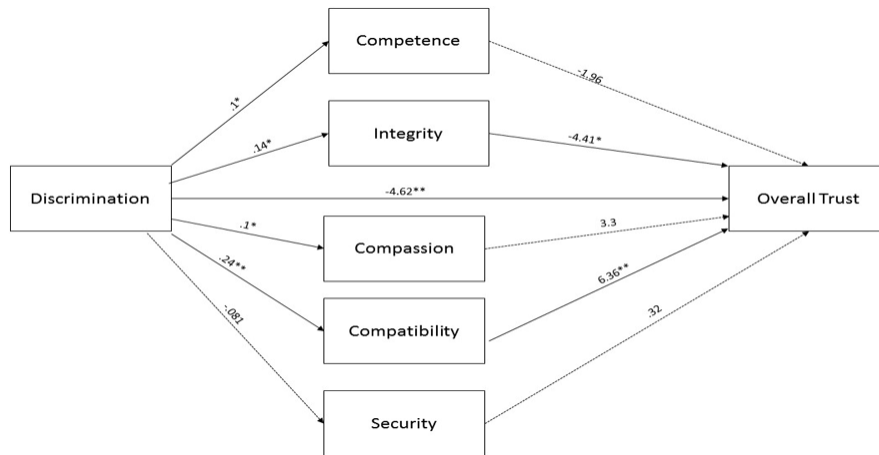
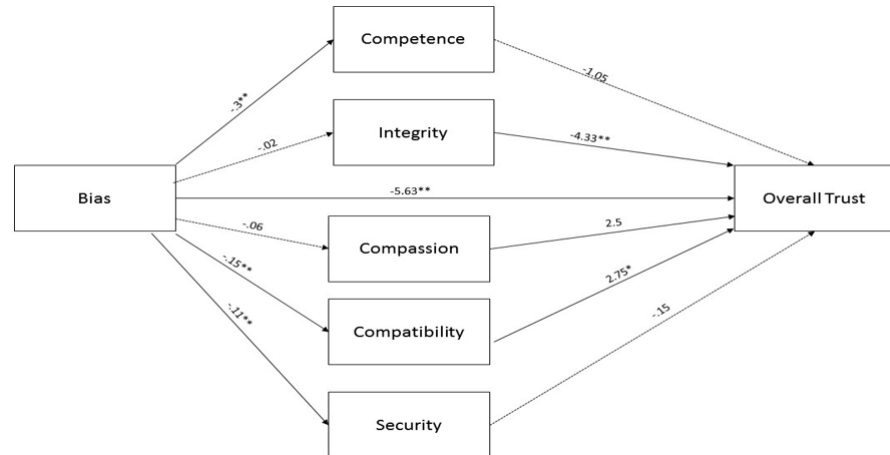**Figure 2.** Study 1. Mediation model from discrimination to overall trust

Figure 3. Study 1. Mediation model from bias to overall trust
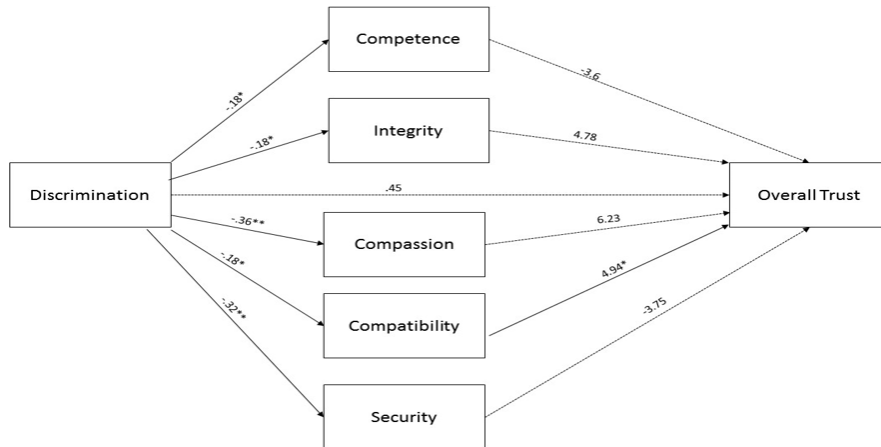

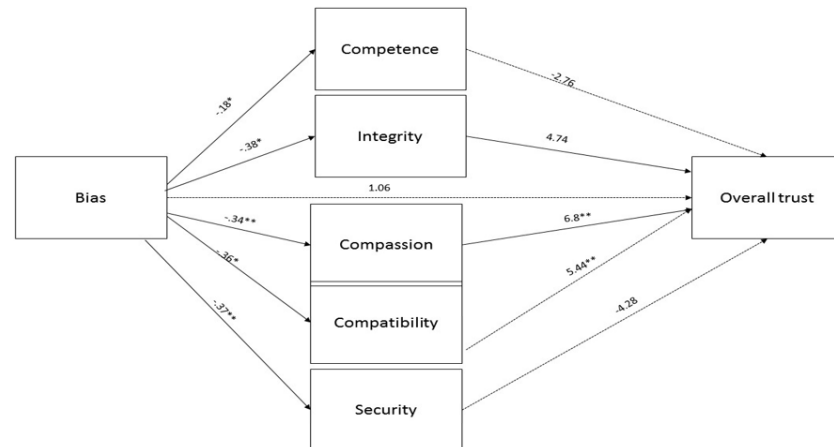**Figure 4.** Study 2. Mediation model from discrimination to overall trust (USA)

Figure 5. Study 2. Mediation model from bias to overall trust (USA)

Table 3. Study 1 OLS path analysis for the indirect effects of bias on overall trust

Predictor	Mediator	a	a_{se}	LCI	UCI	Outcome	b	b_{se}	LCI	UCI
Bias	Competence	-.03	.04	-.12	.05	Overall Trust in the Police	-1.05	.81	-5.09	1.16
	Integrity	-.02	.04	-.1	.05		-4.33*	.01	-8	1.16
	Compassion	-.06	.04	-.14	.01		2.5	1.96	-.68	7.28
	Compatibility	-.15**	.04	-.23	-.08		2.75**	1.27	3.73	9.00
	Security	-.11*	.04	-.18	.03		-.15	.93		

** p < .001; * p < 0.05; 5000 Bootstraps, Seed=190323

While the research in the Aotearoa context indicates that compatibility-based trust is relevant in the face of perceived discrimination and bias, there is still the question of whether this is specific to the minority relations in Aotearoa or whether similar pattern would be found in other minority contexts as well.

We collected similar data in the United States, where minority relations tend to be more strained than in Aotearoa (AP-NORC Center for Public Affairs Research, 2015). In the US, the killings of unarmed Black citizens have deteriorating the relationships between minority community and police so much that a presidential task force was formed in 2014 to address the lack of trust in the police (President's Taskforce on 21st Century Policing, 2015).

Does compatibility-based trust still play a similar role in the relationship between perceived discrimination and bias and in this different context where there is a higher perceived risk to minorities' physical security?

STUDY 2

Study 2 inquired about trust in the police from both the minority and majority group perspective in Boston, USA. Only the responses of the minority participants are reported in the current study as the goal was to compare their experiences with those of minority group members in Aotearoa.

METHOD
Participants

Study 2 was conducted in in three demographically diverse Boston neighborhoods: Mattapan, South Boston, and Hyde Park. Participants were approached and invited to complete a survey that investigated trust in the police. A total of 136 Black-American residents completed the survey across the three neighborhoods.

Measures

Study 2 utilized the same measure for perceived discrimination (α = .86), perceived bias (α = .5), and overall trust in the police as Study 1.

Trust dimensions. We used a simplified working scale based on the Intergroup Trust Model, which consisted of 19 items that capture the five trust dimensions. Three items measured competence-based trust (α = .53), five items measured integrity-based trust (α = .66), three items measured compassion-based trust (α = .66), two items measured compatibility-based trust (α = .5), and three items measured security-based trust (α = .7). The lower alpha derives from the fact that the scale was developed for both White- and Black-American respondents, but only the data for Black-American participants is reported. The items were displayed on scales with opposite anchors on both sides, and participants indicated where on the continuums their perceptions of the police fall. (E.g. a security statement read, "We have nothing to fear from them" paired with "We have something to fear from them".) This unusual form was selected for its ability to mitigate multicollinearity between the trust dimensions. Also, unlike Study 1, it allowed the items to assess trust in the police along each of the dimensions.

RESULTS

Descriptives and correlations

Noticeably, the Black-American sample reported much lower levels of trust in the police compared with the Aotearoa Māori participants sample (M = 47.62 (sd = 29.27)). Unsurprisingly, Black-American participants also reported perceived police bias (M = 5.1, sd = 1.8), but to a greater degree than the Aotearoa Māori participants (M = 4.89, sd = 1.64). Prior to further analysis, we examined correlations between the mediating variables and overall trust. As seen in Table 4, all five trust dimensions correlated positively with one another and with overall trust.

Relationship between perceived discrimination, trust and the five trust dimensions, USA context

As in Study 1, we examined the relationship between perceived discrimination and overall trust in the police and the role of the five trust dimensions by conducting a multiple parallel mediation analysis. Again, we used perceived discrimination as the predictor, overall trust in the police as the outcome, and the five trust dimensions as mediators. The analysis was conducted in SPSS, using the Haynes process tool 3.3, Model 4. Figure 4 presents the model.

Surprisingly, the direct path from bias to overall trust was not significant (c' = .45, p = .77, CI [-2.67; 3.58]). This was unexpected given the evidence of perceived discrimination in this community, and our own prior findings regarding minority–police relations in Aotearoa. However, given that our Black-American sample reported very low levels of trust in the police, there might be a floor effect at play.

As outlined in Table 5, the direct paths from perceived police discrimination to all five trust dimensions were significant. This

suggests that perceived police discrimination is negatively associated with competence-, integrity-, compassion-, compatibility- and security- based trust. Additionally, the direct paths from compassion- and compatibility-

based trust to overall trust were significant. However, only the indirect path from perceived police discrimination through compassion-based trust was significant (β = -2.23, β_{se} = 1.34, CI [-5.3, -.05]). The confidence interval for the indirect

path via compatibility-based trust included a zero (β = -.91, β_{se} = .72, CI [-2.64, .15]), indicating that compatibility-based trust does not influence overall trust after perceived discrimination.

Table 4. Study 2 Descriptive Statistics and Bivariate Correlation

	1	2	3	4	5	Mean	SD
1. Overall Trust	---					46.99	29.82
2. Competence	.49**	---				3.95	1.29
3. Integrity	.52**	.46*	---			3.46	1.26
4. Compassion	.57**	.62**	.68**	---		3.38	1.44
5. Compatibility	.52**	.42**	.6**	.57**	---	3.49	1.46
6. Security	.37**	.46**	.73**	.7**	.47**	3.45	1.55

**p < .001

Table 5. Study 2 OLS path analysis for the indirect effects of discrimination on overall trust

Predictor	Mediator	a	a_{se}	LCI	UCI	Outcome	b	b_{se}	LCI	UCI
discrimination	Competence	-.18*	.07	-.32	-.03	Overall Trust in the Police	3.6	2.59	-2.67	3.58
	Integrity	-.18*	.07	-.32	-.03		4.78	3.29	-154	8.75
	Compassion	-.36**	.08	-.51	-.20		6.23*	2.99	-1.77	11.33
	Compatibility	-.18*	.09	-.36	-.003		4.94*	2.04	.26	12.2
	Security	-.32**	.09	-.49	-.14		-3.75	2.68	-9.08	1.58

** p < .001; * p < 0.05; 5000 Bootstraps, Seed=190323

In conclusion, unlike in the context of Aotearoa, perceived discrimination does not predict lower overall trust. However, perceived discrimination does lower overall trust via compassion-based trust. The role of compatibility-based is less conclusive: even though the two direct paths for compatibility–based trust were significant, its indirect path was not. Thus, while there are relationships between perceived discrimination, overall trust, and compatibility-based trust, it does not appear to mediate the influence of perceived discrimination to overall trust.

Relationship between perceived bias, trust and the five trust dimensions, USA context

Next, we examined the relationship between perceived bias and overall trust in the police and the

role of the five trust dimensions. Again, we conducted a multiple parallel mediation analysis with bias as the predictor, overall trust in the police as the outcome, and the five trust dimensions as mediators. The analysis was conducted in SPSS, using the Haynes process tool 3.3, Model 4. Figure 5 presents the model.

Again, the USA study differed from the Aotearoa study in that the direct path from bias to overall trust was not significant (c' = 1.06, *p = .54*, CI [-2.44; 4.57]). However, as outlined in Table 6, the direct paths from bias to all five trust dimensions were significant. This indicates that perceived police bias is negatively associated with competence-, integrity-, compassion-, compatibility-, and security- based trust. Additionally, the direct paths from compassion- and compatibility-

based trust to overall trust were significant. With perceived bias as an indicator, both indirect paths through compassion- and compatibility-based trust were also significant and the confidence intervals excluded zero (compassion-based trust: β = -2.32, β_{se} = 1.28, CI [-5.27, -.36], compatibility-based trust: β = -1.97, β_{se} = 1.04, CI [-4.38, -.32]). This suggests that the negative impact of perceived bias on overall trust is mediated by the erosion of compatibility-based trust (the expectation that the police differ from them minority group) and compassion-based trust (the expectation that the police do not care about the well-being of the minority group members). Lastly, while the direct path was not significant, the total effect from perceived discrimination to overall trust, including all five mediators was

significant (β = -3.92, se = 1.8; p<.05; CI [-7.55; -.28]).

In analyzing both studies jointly, compatibility-based trust appears to play an instrumental role in the relationship between perceived discrimination, perceived bias, and trust. The findings indicate a strong need for compatibility-based trust for minority group members in the face of discrimination and bias.

Table 6. Study 2 OLS path analysis for the indirect effects of bias on overall trust

Predicator	Mediator	a	a_{se}	LCI	UCI	Outcome	b	b_{se}	LCI	UCI
Bias	Competence	-.18*	.08	4.1	5.67	Overall Trust in the Police	2.76	2.63	-2.44	4.57
	Integrity	-.38**	.07	-.52	-.24		4.74	3.41	-2.05	11.52
	Compassion	-.34**	.09	-.51	-.17		6.8*	2.9	1.35	9.5
	Compatibility	-.36**	.09	-.55	-.17		5.44*	2.05	1.35	9.54
	Security	-.37**	.09	-.55	-.19		-4.28	2.66	-9.59	1.03

** p < .001; * p < 0.05; 5000 Bootstraps, Seed=190323

DISCUSSION

Consistent with the current literature, we found a negative relationship between perceived discrimination and intergroup trust in the police such that the more an individual believes their group is discriminated against by the police, the less they trust the police. Our results suggest that this relationship is strongly mediated by compatibility-based trust, which indicates that when faced with discrimination and bias, minority members are less likely to report compatibility-based trust.

This exploratory finding provides further insight into how the treatment of minority groups in a society affects their relationships with majority groups and their institutions. Communities and institutions should focus on highlighting how the identities of all community members are compatible with one another. In order to productively acknowledge and appreciate diversity across groups, societies can create a foundation of shared similarities and a common sense of belonging. Such interventions have been proposed previously to mitigate bias and increase intergroup trust. For instance, Gaertner & Dovidio (2000) suggest that a common, superordinate identity can be created across groups using an alternative dimension of identity to reduce bias and foster trust. Kappmeier & Mercy (accepted for publication) propose that the creation of a Shared Collective Memory, which takes into account the different presentation between groups, contributes to social harmony and intergroup trust. Similarly, Hooghe, Reeskens, & Stolle (2007) found that individuals in countries where immigrants are given the most extensive voting rights were more trusting than countries where they were not integrated into the citizenry as smoothly.

While this research uses a unique, multidimensional approach to generate important insights into the relationship between perceived discrimination and bias and trust, there were several limitations:

First, the reported results are correlational. Accordingly, they do not provide insight into the causal relationship between perceived discrimination and bias and trust. Second, the items used to assess trust along the five dimensions of the Intergroup Trust Model in Study 2 slightly differed from those used in Study 1 and they possessed a slightly different focus. While we do not believe the differences affected the overall conclusions, other results may have been influenced.

Another limitation is that we only explored the relationship between perceived discrimination and bias and trust in one context: minority communities' relationships with the police. It is possible that different dimensions of the Intergroup Trust Model are important to the relationship between perceived discrimination and bias and trust in different contexts. For example, compassion-based trust may be as important to this relationship as compatibility-based trust in the relationship between minority communities and physicians. Similar research must be conducted across various intergroup settings in order to understand whether our findings can be generalized across all contexts where there exists an association between perceived discrimination and bias and trust. However, even if different dimensions prove to be useful in different settings, the results of this research are still noteworthy for two reasons. First, the Intergroup Trust model was used to generate a more nuanced understanding of the relationship between perceived discrimination and bias and trust. Second, even if the importance of compatibility-based trust to this relationship is limited to the context of police-community relations, it can still be used to guide future policing interventions and research.

Conclusion

This special issue article for the New Zealand Journal of Psychology responds to the senseless horror of the Christchurch mosque massacre. We are hopeful that this tragedy will pass into history as an extremist singularity in Aotearoa, however, as New Zealand society grows increasingly more diverse and shifts from a bicultural to a multicultural intergroup arrangement, issues of positive social integration, intergroup bias and/or discrimination, and reduction of 'otherness' will only grow in scope and importance.

Our data reveals that the Maori community may have perceptions of dissimilarity between themselves and the police force. The importance of

compatibility-based trust formed a consistent pattern of 'otherness' displayed by minority difficulty to relate to the police and the belief that the police do not share the same culture or values. Further research can investigate whether police relationships with other minority groups (such as Muslims and/or Asians) are similar. Additionally, future research might also examine the importance of compatibility-based trust in the police from the Pakeha perspective, although prior research in the US did not reveal a similar need for compatibility-based trust among White Americans (Kappmeier, 2017).

Taken together, this and previous works highlights the necessity of strategies that improve intergroup relations and reduce institutional and systemic prejudice; these strategies will be particularly important for government institutions, whose mandate to treat all persons fairly and equally under the law is fundamental to the sense of belonging of a diverse citizenry. The police, as a government institution that reserves the right to use force in order to protect the safety and rights of citizens, must carry an extra burden of duty in the pursuit of social cohesion and equality. Because of this added burden, the police must consistently strive not to endorse or legitimize spheres of 'otherness' through differential treatment or attitudes toward minorities.

In Aotearoa, development of these strategies will require a recognition of historical and present spaces of social otherness and of those who have been forced to inhabit them (Sibley & Osbourne, 2016), whether those spaces be overtly endorsed by ideological extremists or latently maintained by unequal/unfair treatment from government institutions. Here lies the value of our research in intergroup trust, perceived bias and discrimination:

Despite the need for a lot of more research on this topic, our findings suggest that approaching intergroup trust via the multidimensionality of the Intergroup Trust Model may prove useful for intervention, particularly in creating a greater sense of compatibility between the police and the policed. Otherness is an ever-evolving social category. Overtime, what once was 'other' can become the new normative representation and, vice versa, what once was standard may fall from dominant grace, such as racist and oppressive views becoming 'othered'. However, this does not happen without intentional effort, and strategies to develop a common ingroup identity or shared sense of belonging across group lines need society-wide supported interventions.

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Parent talk about the wellbeing of others in disciplinary situations relates to younger children's empathy

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It has been argued that parent talk about the emotions/wellbeing of others correlates with children's empathy, at least up to the age of 6 years. The present study used a sticker sharing task to examine the empathy of 51 children (aged 5 to 12 years), and how children's empathy relates to parenting disciplinary strategies and parents' general attitudes (empathy, SDO). There was a significant effect indicating that participants feel more empathy for a victim who was seriously hurt than a victim who experienced a minor hurt. Also, there was a significant positive correlation between parent talk about the wellbeing of others and younger children's empathy, but not in the older age group. In contrast, parents' general attitudes (empathy, SDO) were not related to children's empathy.

Keywords: Empathy; Parenting disciplinary strategies; Parent emotion talk; Social dominance orientation (SDO).

New Zealand is a relatively peaceful country, with most inhabitants feeling far from the racial, religious and sectarian violence that has stained much of the world in recent years. Therefore, the shocking murders in two Christchurch mosques of so many helpless individuals by a single gunman raises many questions about the origins of such an extreme lack of empathy. While it is impossible to say with certainty why one individual acts in a particular manner, it is possible to explore such issues more generally. Allely, Minnis, Thompson, Wilson, and Gillberg (2014) provided a rare academic exploration of the risk factors for mass murderers or serial killers, arguing that a complex combination of neurochemical imbalance (e.g., neurotransmitters, testosterone, monoamine oxidase, hormones), genetics, and childhood experiences (psychological or physical abuse, rejection) are most likely at play.

In contrast to the dearth of research examining mass murderers, there is a great deal of research that has examined empathic versus unempathic behaviour more generally. This research might also shed light on the motivations of the Christchurch accused because some of the same explanations (e.g., adverse childhood experiences) again feature prominently. In the present study, we examined the way in which parenting behaviour and parent attitudes can affect the development of empathy. For this reason, we outline research on children's empathic development below.

Development of empathy

Empathy refers to the ability to understand and share others' emotion and plays a key role in social behaviour, affecting people's attitudes toward a target (Batson, 1991). It has previously been concluded that empathy is present at birth (Eisenberg et al., 1991) although such assumptions have recently come under scrutiny given newborns' uneven performance when listening to different crying stimuli (Ruffman, Lorimer, & Scarf, 2017). In toddlers, empathy is measured via helping behaviour, pupil dilation, or facial responses to the suffering of another. Yet positive findings can be interpreted as surprise or heightened attention (pupil dilation), desire for approval (helping), or aversion (negative affect when listening to suffering) (Ruffman, Then, Cheng, & Imuta, 2019). Consistent with the latter idea, Ruffman, et al. (2019) found that adults responded empathically (with more sadness) when watching a crying infant compared to when watching a neutral infant accompanied by white noise, whereas toddlers responded similarly. Toddlers' similar response to the two different kinds of stimuli is more parsimoniously interpreted as a response to an aversive stimulus rather than empathy. Moreover, even if empathy is present early in development, it is likely that it evolves throughout childhood. Thus, the aim of the present study was to investigate how children's empathy develops over age, and whether it is related to general parent attitudes (such as social dominance orientation) or, more specifically, to parent talk (e.g., the things parents say to children when the child transgresses).

Some studies that examine changes in empathy over middle childhood indicate general increases between the ages of 7 and 12 years (Litvack-Miller, McDougall, & Romney, 1997), or increases in neurological markers for empathy (Cheng, Chen, & Decety, 2014). On the other hand, Michalska, Kinzler, and Decety (2013) examined 65 children aged between 4 and 17 years of age, giving them a self-report measure of empathy and measuring their pupil dilation and arousal when viewing videos of another person being hurt either intentionally or unintentionally. Michalska et al.'s findings did *not* indicate an age-related increase in empathy. Indeed, they found a decrease in participants'

reports of their own sadness for both intentional (r = -.20) and unintentional (r = -.25) harm. Nevertheless, the sample was relatively small for such a broad age range, leaving few children of different ages. Given such considerations, it is important to examine age-related changes in empathy more carefully within the middle childhood period.

Other researchers have also examined empathy for those harmed intentionally versus unintentionally. Decety, Michalska, and Akisuki (2008) found that children aged 7-12 showed brain responses as if they were feeling pain when watching others come to harm. Likewise, Michalska, Zeffiro, and Decety (2016) found a similar pattern in 9- to 11-year-old children. Explicit ratings of sadness when viewing intentional versus unintentional harm also appear to indicate greater empathy when viewing intentional harm. Decety, Michalska, and Kinzler (2012) found that child (4 to 12 years) and adult participants tended to rate themselves as feeling more sad when viewing intentional than unintentional harm (see also, Michalska, Kinzler, & Decety, 2013).

These findings are important and interesting, and suggest that children are, by and large, more empathic toward intentionally harmed individuals than those who are accidentally harmed. However, individual differences in empathy remain of interest, such as whether certain kinds of parenting tend to be more clearly linked to empathy. Thus, the present study adopted the intentional/accidental harm paradigm to examine whether and when children feel empathy toward victims who have been hurt, while examining parents' general attitudes and specific strategies as a potential means for facilitating children's empathy.

Extent of Harm

Common sense suggests that empathy will vary positively with the degree of perceived harm. Indeed, when considering the New Zealand public's response to events in Christchurch, it might be that a combination of an intentional act (deliberately killing unarmed individuals) coupled with massive harm (50 dead, including children), led to the highly salient outpouring of grief and empathy for the Muslim community witnessed in New Zealand. Thus, in addition to examining intentional versus unintentional harm, in the present study we also examined how the severity of harm influenced children's empathy toward a victim.

Parent Contributions

Children tend to adopt the attitudes and cognitive styles of their parents. For example, mothers showing negativity early in their child's life tend to have less compliant children (Kochanska, Aksan, & Nichols, 2003). Davidov and Grusec (2006) found that maternal responsiveness to distress predicted children's empathy and prosocial behaviour toward distressed others, with measures of empathy and prosocial behaviour including behavioural assessment, child interview, as well as reports from mothers and teachers. Meta-analysis also sheds light on the effect of parenting style on children, indicating that positive parenting (warmth, firm control and clear standards of conduct) is associated with less relational aggression in children. Conversely, harsh parenting, uninvolved parenting and fathers' controlling parenting are associated with increased relational aggression (Kawabata, Alink, Tseng, van Ijzendoorn, & Crick, 2011).

Yet, children tend to be socialised not only by the general style of parenting, but also by modelling their parents' attitudes and cognitive styles. For instance, Allport (1954) argued that the home was the most important source of ethnic bias, with children adopting their parents' views to the extent that they desire affection and approval from their parents. According to a recent meta-analysis examining a broad range of parent and child prejudice, prejudice is learnt, with children's attitudes closely resembling those of their parents (Degner & Dalege, 2013). To this end, Sinclair, Dunn, and Lowery (2005) examined Allport's (1954) contention that the extent to which children like their parents, and wish to emulate their parents, would affect the intergenerational transmission of prejudice. Fourth- and fifth-grade children completed measures of implicit and explicit pro-white/anti-

black bias, and also filled out a survey about child-parent identification. Meanwhile, parents completed a survey that measured their attitudes toward blacks. As hypothesised, parents' racially prejudiced attitudes had a positive association with children's discrimination, with a more substantial correlation among children who were highly identified with their parents compared to less identified children.

A study by Ruffman O'Brien, Taumoepeau, Latner, and Hunter (2016) provided evidence that this link between parent and child attitudes begins earlier than was previously thought. They tested 70 mother-child dyads with the children aged between 6 and 34 months. Children were presented with 10 pairs of photos, each pair including an average-weight and an obese individual. Amongst the oldest group of children (aged 31 to 34 months, M = 2.67 years), there was a clear bias to look away from the obese individual and towards the average-weight person. Interestingly, they also found a positive association between the anti-fat attitudes of mothers and children; the more prejudiced parents were toward obese individuals, the more likely children were to look towards the average-weight people and away from the obese individuals. Thus it is important to examine how children's empathy relates to their parents' general attitudes.

One such general attitude measured in adults is social dominance orientation (SDO). SDO is a measure of endorsement for unequal social relationships (Pratto, Sidanius, Stalworth, & Malle, 1994), that is, the belief that inequalities are justified by virtue of advantaged individuals being more deserving (e.g., "Some groups of people are just more worthy than others"). SDO is inversely related to empathy in adults (Pratto et al., 1994). In the present study, we examined parents' SDO to determine whether it influenced *children's* empathy.

Besides basic parenting style and children's modelling of parent behaviours, different kinds of parental talk can more directly affect outcomes in children. For instance, parents who talk about the wellbeing

of a victim when a child transgresses have children with a more advanced theory of mind (Ruffman, Perner, & Parkin, 1999). Also, the degree to which parents discuss the mental states of others is predictive of children's behaviour. This includes their child's cooperation with other children, moral development, emotion understanding, and a greater inclination to help others in distress (Ruffman et al., 2006; Hoffman, 1975; Dunn, Brown & Beardsall, 1991; Zahn-Waxler, Radke-Yarrow & King, 1979). Denham, Zoller and Couchoud (1994) found that when mothers spontaneously discussed their own mental states, children had increased emotional understanding 15 months later, compared to mothers who did not. Thus, it is clear that maternal talk about mental states is beneficial for the development of emotion understanding, which in turn, likely facilitates empathy.

Brownell, Svetlova, Anderson, Nichols, and Drummond (2013) obtained more direct evidence for this idea. Parents read age-appropriate picture books to their children aged between 18- and 30-month-olds, and the content and structure of their emotion-related and internal state discourse were coded. Children who were better at helping in a task requiring complex emotion understanding, had parents who more often asked them to label and explain the emotions depicted in the books, providing evidence that parents' talk about emotions with their toddlers related to early prosocial behaviour. A similar study was conducted by Drummond, Paul, Waugh, Hammond and Brownell (2014). They assessed children's helping behaviour with two tasks: an instrumental helping task and an emotion-based helping task that differed in whether there was a need for children to understand the helpee's emotional state (emotion-based: yes; instrumental: no). Drummond et al. found that parents' emotion and mental state discourse only related to children's emotion-based helping behaviour but not to their instrumental, action-based helping behaviour (Drummond, Paul, Waugh, Hammond and Brownell, 2014). In a second study, a similar pattern of results was obtained with children with aged 3 to 6 years old (Rollo & Sulla, 2016). Nevertheless, what is unclear is whether such talk would be more helpful for children 6 years and under versus those older than 6 years. We examined this question in the present study.

Present Study

The current study aimed to determine whether: (a) children show more empathy towards a victim harmed intentionally than a victim hurt accidentally, (b) children show more empathy when the harm was severe versus mild, (c) children's empathy related to their parent's self-rated RWA, SDO and empathy, (d) children's empathy related to the things parents said to children when their child transgressed, and (e) children's empathy changed over time.

To this end, we varied harm (severe versus mild) and intention (intentional versus accidental), thus resulting in four stories for each child: severe intentional harm, mild intentional harm, severe accidental harm, or mild accidental harm. Four pictures accompanied each story, with the experimenter narrating the storyline. After each story, the experimenter then gave the participant five stickers and, as a measure of empathy, asked her/him to share them with the story character.

METHOD

Participants

Fifty-one mother-child dyads participated in this study. Children were between the ages of 5 and 12 years. Children were split into two age groups: 5- and 6-year-olds ($n = 29$, $M = 5.76$ years, 16 boys) and 7- to 12-year-olds ($n = 22$, $M = 8.73$ years, 9 boys). Children were healthy and typically-developing, and recruited from a medium-sized city in New Zealand. As a measure of socio-economic status, mother education was coded on a five-point scale: 1: less than high school, 2: high school or equivalent, 3: technical or vocational training, 4: university degree, and 5: postgraduate degree. Mean mother education in the younger age group was 3.26 ($SD = 1.10$) and 3.67 ($SD = 1.11$) in the older age group.

Materials

Participants were tested at a table in a small experimental room. The stories were given within subjects. Besides differing in intent and damage severity, each story had a different narrative, varying the way the character was hurt (either by a bat, being kicked, by a bowling ball, or being pushed off a swing). The order in which these four narratives were presented followed the same order, whereas the intention and damage severity were counterbalanced. Each story was accompanied by four pictures, with a text printed below that the experimenter read aloud. For instance, the first drawing showed two story characters pre-event (e.g., two kids playing baseball and looking happy), the second and the third drawings showed the mishap (e.g., showed whether one child pushed the victim (child) on purpose or by accident), and the last drawing showed the victim post-event, that is, showed whether the resulting harm was severe (broken arm/leg) or minor (sore arm/leg but okay).

There were five red floral stickers on the table, and after each story, the experimenter asked participants to share stickers with the story victim. According to Moberly, Waddle and Duff (2005), sticker sharing is one of the most common ways for teachers to provide positive rewards in early childhood classrooms, and is regularly used to measure empathy/prosocial behavior in experiments with children (e.g., Williams, O'Driscoll, & Moore, 2014).

We tested parents on their self-rated level of SDO and empathy, and also, on their disciplinary strategies in four hypothetical situations. SDO was measured using the SDO7, a short, 8-item scale, as found in Ho et al. (2015) ($M = 5.62$, $SD = 0.84$, $\alpha = .733$). Responses to the SDO7 were on a 7-point likert scale, ranging from 1 (strongly oppose) to 7 (strongly favour). Empathy was

measured using the Toronto Empathy Questionnaire (TEQ), which consists of 16 questions (Kourmousi et al., 2017), each rated on a five-point scale ("never", "rarely", "sometimes", "often" and "always") ($M = 5.66$, $SD = 0.57$, $\alpha = .632$).

Parent disciplinary strategies were measured by four questions obtained from Ruffman et al. (1999) asking how parents would respond to situations in which their child transgressed. Their responses were coded into three response types: wellbeing talk (e.g., "How would you feel if he did that to you?"; "That makes me feel sad"), discipline (e.g., "I'd say we don't do that"; "I'd send her to her room"), and discussion (e.g., "I'd talk about it and try to find out what happened"). There were too few discussion responses to be

meaningful so this category was not analysed further. One coder coded all of the parent responses and the second coded 25%. Inter-rater reliability for the two categories was good – wellbeing: $\alpha = 914$; general reprimand: $\alpha = 843$.

Procedure

Parents were given an information sheet describing the experiment and a consent form to sign. After parents signed the consent form, the experimenter gave parents the questionnaires on a laptop. The experimenter then explained the task to the child, explaining that they would read a story and then ask the child to give the character stickers. They explained that the stickers would make the character feel better, and the more stickers they gave, the

better the character would feel. The experimenter said to the child, "First, I'll show you four pictures and tell you a story about the pictures. Then, we will play a sharing game after each story". After each story, the experimenter said, "As you can see, (victim character's name) is very sad. Now, you have five stickers, I'm wondering if you want to give some of the stickers to (name of the character). The more you like him/her, the more stickers you can give him/her". The experimenter then placed five floral stickers on the table in front of the child, along with the last picture (e.g., the character's broken arm/leg). Ethics approval for the study was granted by the University Human Ethics Committee (#F17/008), "Interactions Within a Virtual Reality Environment".

RESULTS

Descriptive statistics for the main variables are displayed in Table 1. The data were analysed with a 2 (Age Group: young, older) x 2 (Damage: severe, mild) x 2 (Intention: intentional, accidental) mixed analysis of variance. Age Group was a between-subjects variable, whereas Damage and Intention were within-subjects variables. The dependent variable was the number of stickers children gave to the story character. Only one effect was significant, the main effect for Damage, $F(1, 49) = 16.72$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .254$. The interaction between Damage and Age Group approached significance, $F(1, 49) = 2.77$, $p = .102$, $\eta_p^2 = .053$. All other effects were not significant (all Fs < 1.14, all ps > .29).

Given a priori interest in whether parent talk would be beneficial for

both young and older children, we then split the children into two age groups (young and older) and examined correlations between the main variables in each age group. Tables 2 and 3 include this information. Given the main effect for Damage in the analysis of variance above, we created a sticker difference score (stickers given after severe damage minus stickers given after mild damage). As hypothesised, the correlation between parent talk about the victim's wellbeing (wellbeing talk) and the sticker difference score was significant in the younger age group, $r = .382$, $p = .041$. In contrast, it was not significant (and was negative rather than positive) in the older age group, $r = -.199$, $p = .387$. These two correlation coefficients were significantly different from each other, $p = .046$, and are illustrated in

Figures 1 and 2. The only other significant correlations in both age groups were between the parent wellbeing talk variable and the parent discipline variable (uninteresting because these are logically intertwined). In addition, in the older age group, there were two significant correlations. First, the parent discipline variable correlated with and parents' self-ratings of their empathy, $r = -.461$, $p = .035$, such that parents who said they would discipline their child or tell their child not to do it when the child transgressed, rated themselves as having lower empathy. Second, parent self-ratings of empathy and SDO correlated, $r = .473$, $p = .026$. We discuss this latter correlation further in the Discussion.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics for main variables in the study

	Younger Children	Older Children
	Mean (*SD*)	Mean (*SD*)
Child Transgressions: Wellbeing	0.43 (0.37)	0.34 (0.33)
Child Transgressions: Discipline	0.43 (0.38)	0.55 (0.36)
Stickers Unintentional Severe	2.97 (1.68)	3.77 (1.23)
Stickers Unintentional Mild	2.69 (1.61)	2.55 (1.34)
Stickers Intentional Severe	3.03 (1.61)	3.59 (1.40)
Stickers Intentional Mild	2.28 (1.60)	2.36 (1.79)
Parent Empathy	5.65 (0.56)	5.68 (0.60)
Parent SDO	5.53 (0.82)	5.74 (0.87)

Table 2. Correlations between the sticker difference score and main variables in the younger age group

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Parent Education	-					
2. Child Sex	.282	-				
3. Parent SDO	.085	.066	-			
4. Parent Empathy	.091	.041	.220	-		
5. Child Transgressions: Wellbeing	.198	-.177	-.132	.011	-	
6. Child Transgressions: Discipline	-.319	.073	.050	-.181	-.819**	-
7. Sticker Difference Score	-.088	-.037	-.097	-.044	.382*	-.386*

*Note. *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$.

Table 3. Correlations between the sticker difference score and main variables in the older age group

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Parent Education	-					
2. Child Sex	.533*	-				
3. Parent SDO	.356	.487*	-			
4. Parent Empathy	.023	.262	.473*	-		
5. Child Transgressions: Wellbeing	.219	.160	.039	.432	-	
6. Child Transgressions: Discipline	-.389	-.320	-.132	-.461*	-.886**	-
7. Sticker Difference Score	.087	.149	-.175	-.157	-.199	.140

*Note. *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$.

Given that the sticker difference score and the parent emotion talk variables correlated differently in the two age groups, we then used linear regression to explore the data further. The dependent variable was the sticker difference score and the predictors were age group, parent wellbeing talk, and the interaction between age group and parent wellbeing talk. Given the a priori prediction that parent emotion talk would never be more highly related to empathy in the older age group than the younger age group, we used one-tail when evaluating the interaction. With all variables in the prediction equation, age group, $t = 2.83$, $p = .007$, $pr = .385$, and parent wellbeing talk, $t = 2.03$, $p = .048$, $pr = .287$, predicted unique variance in the sticker difference score. Thus, after controlling for parent wellbeing talk, older children showed more empathy by giving more stickers to the severely hurt character than the mildly hurt character. In addition, after controlling for child age, parents who gave more wellbeing talk had more empathic children. In addition, the interaction between child age group and parent wellbeing talk predicted unique variance in the sticker difference score, $t = -1.98$, $p = .027$, $pr = -.28$, in older age group. The interaction shows that the relation between parents' talk about the wellbeing of the victim and the child's empathy was significantly larger in the younger than the older age group.
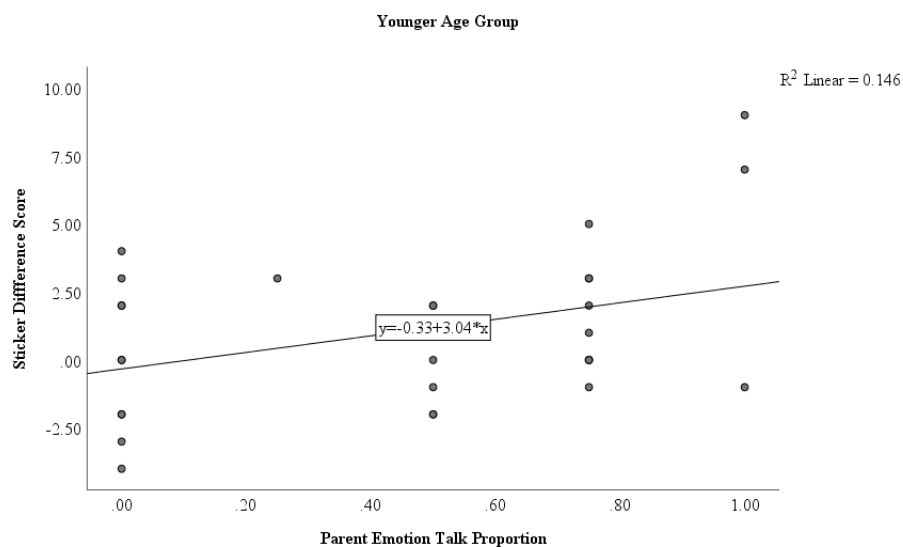

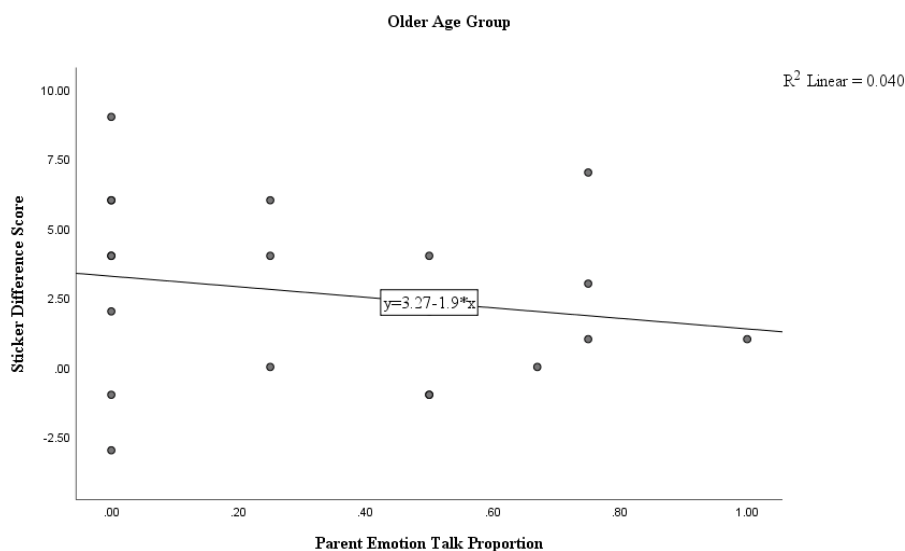**Figure 1.** Scatterplot showing sticker difference score for younger age group.

Older Age Group

Figure 2. Scatterplot showing sticker difference score for older age group

DISCUSSION

Previous research indicated that parent talk about the emotions/wellbeing of others correlated with children's empathy, at least up to the age of 6 years. The present study aimed to investigate the way in which empathy develops in middle childhood in an attempt to fill these gaps in the literature. Empathy was investigated by measuring sticker sharing behaviour in response to a character in a story being hurt, with manipulations of damage and intent. We also examined the relation between children's empathy and their parent's self-rated SDO and empathy, as well as parenting disciplinary strategies. Our interest was in whether parent talk about the wellbeing/emotions of others correlated with children's empathy, or whether more general parental attitudes (SDO, empathy) took precedence.

We obtained three major findings. First, on the basis of common sense, we expected that participants would feel more empathy for the victim who was seriously hurt than the victim who experienced a minor hurt. The results supported this idea, as participants gave more stickers with greater damage.

Second, based on research by Decety et al. (2012) and Michalska et al. (2013), we predicted that participants would show more empathy for a victim who was hurt intentionally than unintentionally. However, children did not distinguish between intentional and unintentional harm. A reasonable explanation for this finding is that the stickers were given after the last picture, which focused solely on the extent of damage caused. Thus, the intent, which was expressed in the first three pictures, was less salient and may have been forgotten. Future research could aim to investigate empathy for intentional and unintentional harm, without manipulation of other factors to directly examine the role of intent in children's empathy.

Although it might be that children in our study would have differentiated between intentional and unintentional behaviour had we not also manipulated the severity of damage, it nevertheless remains the case that they did not do so. It is also the case that once we controlled for parent wellbeing talk (in the regression), older children had a larger sticker difference score than younger children (i.e., gave more stickers to the severely hurt character than the mildly hurt character). This suggests that there might be development in empathy over middle childhood and it might be too soon to say that children fully understand empathy, even in middle childhood. Perhaps empathy is a more complex phenomenon than previously hypothesised. The observed effects highlight that children may not yet understand the social and moral processes behind the distinction of intentional and unintentional harm in that they do not integrate intention with damage severity. It is possible that empathy develops gradually, with empathy for physical hurt developing before, and taking precedence over, empathy for moral transgressions such as intentional hurt. Therefore, the present findings provide opportunity for future research in some of the more specific mechanisms of empathy, rather than regarding it as an all-or-none phenomenon.

The third major finding concerns how parent emotion talk relates to children's empathy. The results (Tables 2 and 3) indicated that the correlation between parent wellbeing talk and empathy (sticker sharing difference score) was significantly larger in the younger age group than the older age group. As such, it can be concluded that younger children's empathy is more likely to be linked to parents' talk about a victim's feelings (Figure 1). Nevertheless, our results are correlational rather than longitudinal or stemming from an intervention. On the face of it, then, it is difficult to discern causality. Does parent talk about the wellbeing of others facilitate children's empathy, do more empathic children encourage parents to talk about the

wellbeing of others, or is a third variable involved?

One result consistent with the idea that parent talk *facilitates* children's empathy is that the correlation amongst older children was significantly less than that for younger children. If parents' wellbeing talk was simply a response to child characteristics, then it should have related to empathy in the older age group too. The results suggest that parent wellbeing talk might have helped younger children to be empathic because they could learn from such talk, but that it wasn't helpful for older children because they should have known better already. Wellbeing talk (e.g., "How would you feel if he did that to you?") encourages simulation and follows the golden rule, 'treat others as you wish to be treated'. Knowing oneself and the way that you normally respond, in conjunction with an understanding of others' mental states, may aid in simulating how someone else might feel. Thus, introspection contributes to theory of mind understanding, and is related to empathy (Gonzales, Fabricius, & Kupfer, 2018). In addition, longitudinal results are also consistent with the idea that parent wellbeing talk facilitates children's empathy because such talk at an early time point is related to children's subsequent cooperation with others (Ruffman et al., 2006).

Finally, a fourth finding was that in the older age group, parent empathy was related to parent SDO. This result is perhaps surprising at first because SDO is inversely related to empathy (Pratto et al., 1994). However, we note that parents' empathy was measured by self-ratings, so it may not be the true empathy (i.e., empathy toward others). Instead, parents' SDO could be accompanied by grandiosity in which they have an inflated view of themselves. Consistent with our hypothesis, Chichocka, Dhont, and Makwana (2017) found a relation between narcissistic self-evaluation and SDO, even after controlling for self-esteem.

Limitations

We acknowledge some limitations in the current study. First, as mentioned above, the last frame in which the damage was made clear could have overshadowed the intent in the story. This is particularly likely because the participant could have been able to detect the pattern that was arising, as the last pictures of each of the stories were all very similar. They could have noticed that they were asked if they wanted to give any stickers straight after they found out the extent of the damage, and only focused on that aspect of the story.

Further, the sample size was relatively small. We had 51 parent-child pairs in total in this study. Also, the study tested only one ethnic group (Caucasian). It will thus be necessary to extend the results to children from other ethnic groups to assess whether these findings can be generalised across all ethnic groups.

Conclusion

The present study investigated empathy development in middle childhood and aimed to determine the way in which it developed over age, as well as its relationship to parent disciplinary strategies. The results suggest that there were connections between parenting disciplinary strategies and younger children's empathy. In contrast, parents' general attitudes (empathy, SDO) were not related to children's empathy. If parents' emotion talk about a victim's feelings facilitates children's empathy, there is an opportunity for future research to examine both how these processes develop, and how we can encourage children to employ them when confronted with a person who has been hurt. For instance, parents could be trained to employ wellbeing responses and children's empathy could be monitored over time. This possibility opens up a promising area of research into what developmental mechanisms may contribute to the progression of empathy development.

Our results are also important in that they set the standard for future studies with children who exhibit social cognitive disorders (e.g., antisocial personality disorder, conduct disorder) who are often deficient in experiencing empathy or guilt. Intervening to encourage parents to discuss the wellbeing of others (rather than employing more punishment-oriented strategies) is a relatively simple means of potentially facilitating empathy. Parents helping children to put themselves in the position of another may encourage them to feel more empathy for those who are at the bottom of a hierarchy. The present results suggest that if we want our children to grow into adults who are empathic and treat others as equals, then we should encourage them to think about the feelings of others, and put themselves in their position.

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