Exploring the nonverbal facet of ethnic discrimination: A field experiment on anti-Roma racism in the Paris métro

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Abstract: A field experiment on the discrimination of Roma migrants from Eastern Europe was conducted in two stations of the Paris metro to explore the behaviors that may communicate misrecognition in everyday encounters. An actress asked for help to randomly chosen passengers on a metro platform, wearing a glaringly Romani skirt in the treatment condition but an unconspicuous middle-class style in the control condition. In interaction with the actress wearing the Romani skirt, passengers were found to enact the so-called "visual dominance pattern", and male passengers in particular were found to keep greater distances. Reverse discrimination also occurred as women kept shorter distances from the actress bearing the ethnic stigma. Last, passengers helped less the stigmatized actress, but only in one of the two metro stations where trials were conducted.

4 Tables included, provided at the end of the manuscript

Exploring the nonverbal facet of ethnic discrimination:

A field experiment on anti-Roma racism in the Paris métro

Introduction

We care about discrimination, i.e. unequal treatment on illegitimate grounds, because we

sense that it is incompatible with our ideals of social justice. But in relation to social justice, it

seems that research on discrimination has tended to be characteristically unilateral.

Since the end of the Cold War, there has been growing recognition in philosophical and

activist circles that claims for social justice afford a distinction between struggles that aspire

to a more fair distribution of material resources and struggles whose aim is to secure an

enhanced sense of personal identity and group membership through others' regard or respect.

The distinction has been interpreted in a number of ways (cf. Fraser & Honneth, 2003), but

the moral of the story is that we should not uncritically assume that respect is an

epiphenomenon of material resources.

Now, most research on discrimination implicitly presupposes this reduction of claims for

respect to the struggle over resources. Discrimination has been studied in domains such as the

job market, schooling, housing, or healthcare, namely the classical *loci* of socioeconomic

inequality (for a review, cf. Pager & Shepherd, 2008). While this research is valuable and

worth pursuing, unilateral attention to the socioeconomic effects of discrimination has

hindered consideration of the deletereous consequences that differential treatment may have

for the victim's sense of self-respect. There is no disputing that in some cases socioeconomic

disadvantage, when it results from discrimination, may be at the source of a flatttened self-

image. The argument is rather that in other cases, and we still ignore how large this

alternative category might be, socioeconomic inferiority may not be necessary to explain a

depressed sense of self-respect. In these other cases, an interactional mechanism, not a trans-situational position in society, could be sufficient to explain why some individuals feel better about themselves than others. The overall aim of this article is to begin an exploration of the harm that being discriminated inflicts on the victim's sense of self-respect, as a way of sensitizing the field of discrimination research to forms of unfair treatment that may be irreducible to (although probably correlated with) classical redistributive concerns.

What are the forms of unequal treatment on illegitimate grounds whereby varying degrees of respect or disrespect may be communicated? To address this general question, the present research combines three main inputs. First, Erving Goffman's (1967) sociology of face-to-face encounters, with its unique emphasis on the social organization of expressions of respect, provides the overall orientation. Second, the social psychology of prejudice contributes the field paradigm known as helping behavior experiment (cf. Saucier, Miller, & Doucet, 2005). Third, applied studies of nonverbal behavior within the area of intergroup relations (Fazio, Jackson, Dunton, & Williams, 1995; Dovidio, Kawakami, Johnson, Johnson, & Howard, 1997; McConnell & Leibold, 2001; Richeson & Shelton, 2005) feed the details of the methodology.

Rationale

The helping behavior field experiment is at the heart of much social psychological research on racism conducted in the wake of the African-American Civil Rights movement (cf. Saucier et al, 2005). Although the practice fell into desuetude after the first half of the 1980s, in the 1960s and 1970s social psychologists, primarily in the United States but also in Canada, used to conduct field experiments to assess whether and to what extent anti-Black racism had waned in the general population. In a typical helping behavior experiment, a person in need

requests assistance to strangers in a public place. The person in need is in fact a trained actor who plays a standardized role. The experiment involves at least two actors or two categories of actors, distinguishable as Black and White respectively, who replicate the self-same scenario. The replications of the scenario that involve the White actor(s) feed what in experimental jargon in known as the control group, whereas the replications with the Black actor(s) make up the treatment group. The dependent variable is some measure of the amount of help that the actor receives. By manipulating the variable "race" and (hopefully) neutralizing all others, the experiment seeks to measure the extent to which Blacks and Whites are treated differently in this kind of situation. If Whites receive more help on average, and the difference is statistically significant, the conclusion is that Blacks are discriminated against.

The study presented below relied on the helping experiment to examine whether differences in the supply of help, as a function of ethnic origin, were accompanied by differences in the nonverbal behaviors that potentially convey varying degrees of respect or disrespect. The thrust of the strategy employed was to put people to interact with members of a known stigmatized ethnic group and to observe their verbal and nonverbal behavior.

The field experiment reported in the pages that follow was conducted in the Paris metro and dealt with the discrimination that undergo invididuals recognized as Roma migrants from Eastern Europe. Indeed national and European public opinion surveys converge in the diagnose that the Roma are by far the most disparaged social category in contemporary France (CNCDH, 2016; Directorate-General for Justice and Consumers, 2015).

In order to introduce the hypotheses of this study, it is useful to provide before a short overview of the procedure (for the details, see the Method section below). On the platform of a Paris metro station, in the time window between the departure of the last train and the arrival of the next one, an actress approaches a standing, unoccupied, and unaccompanied

passenger and asks for help. The initial request concerns how to get from that point to another station. Once directions are given, after a smooth transition facilitated by an articulated explanation, the actress requests the passenger's mobile phone to inform a putative employer that she will be late for a job interview scheduled at that time that day. In the control condition, the actress is presented in a locally unconspicuous middle-class style. In the treatment condition, she wears a glaringly Romani skirt. The dependent variables are, on the one hand, the amount of help that the actress receives, and on the other, the nonverbal behaviors through which passengers may communicate varying degrees of respect or disrespect to and for the actress.

Regarding these silent evaluative cues, drawing on the field of nonverbal behavior the experiment addressed specifically gaze and interpersonal distancing. The number of factors or, more precisely, the factorial structure of the experimental design varied according to what is known about the behavior of each dependent variable. As will be further elaborated below, additional factors were added to the two-level experimental condition factor (i.e. the ethnic appearance of the actress) when the literature indicated that the dependent variable under examination was likely to interact with other factors for which we could control, such as the passenger's gender and the place where the encounter occurred.

Hypotheses

Helping: risk rationalizes ethnic animus

Studies on interethnic relations in the helping behavior paradigm tend to show that Whites, or the majoritarians more generally, receive more help than Blacks, or the minoritarians more generally. But not so in all circumstances and without qualification. Indeed some studies have failed to establish statistically significant differences in the amount of help that majoritarians

and minoritarians receive. This raises the question of the situational characteristics that facilitate or hinder differential allocations of help. In a meta-study based on over thirty studies on helping behavior between Blacks and Whites, Doucet and colleagues (2005) found that as the time it took to help increased, as the risk the helper would face increased, and as the physical distance between the help seeker and the help offerer increased, Blacks received a lesser amount of help as compared to Whites. The authors interpreted this finding in terms of the extent to which the objective structure of the situation allowed actors to rationalize (in the classical psychoanalytic sense) what would have been otherwise perceived as socially undesirable ethnic animus.

In the field experiment reported here, while time expenditure and physical distance can be assumed to remain constant across trials, objective risk does vary according to the station where the interaction takes place. Thus, trials were conducted in two Paris metro stations, Jaurès on line 2 and Quai de la gare on line 6, that markedly differ in terms of risk as it can be assessed from a comparison of the offense rates of the districts in which these stations are located. These figures indicate more specifically that the probability of being robbed at Jaurès (9.60/1000) is almost twice as high as the probability of being robbed at Quai de la gare (5.10/1000; Besson, 2015).

In spatial terms a metro station is not only part of a city area, but also part of a metro line. Lines 2 and 6 overarch the Northern and Southern halves of Paris, respectively. When, on the basis of the robbery rates for each station, the mean robbery rate for each line as a whole is computed, the relative and absolute results closely resemble those that arise from the comparison of the individual stations Jaurès and Quai de la gare. Thus the risk of being robbed on line 2 (8.98) doubles as compared to line 6 (4.54).

There is evidence, then, of negative attitudes toward the Roma among the French, and that the help offered to a negatively viewed minoritarian will decrease as situational risk increases,

because greater risk makes it easier to rationalize the refusal of help. From this, the following prediction can be derived:

H1: The actress in the treatement condition (i.e. wearing the Romani skirt) will receive less help overall, but she will receive relatively less help at the station where the risk of being robbed is higher.

Gaze: less warmth or more visual dominance?

According to whether the emphasis is put on warmth (or 'immediacy', cf. Mehrabian, 1972) or alternatively on hierarchy (cf. Hall, Coats, & Lebeau, 2005), one is led to conflicting hypotheses about how gaze should behave in interactions with members of stigmatized ethnic groups. In the immediacy framework, more gazing is strongly correlated with more liking, so that if an interactional partner is disliked because of his or her disparaged ethnic identity, that attitude should transpire in relatively lower gaze rates (e.g. Dovidio et al, 1997). Thus from this framework arises the prediction that

H2.1: The passenger's overall gaze rate will be lower in interaction with the actress wearing the Romani skirt.

The hierarchy framework, on the other hand, relies on the discovery of a peculiar behavior pattern. In conversation between equals, the time fraction spent looking at the speaker when one is in the role of the listener tends to be considerably higher than the time fraction spent looking at the listener when one is in the role of the speaker. In conversation between unequals, the pattern changes so that the status superior, but not the status inferior, tends to spend about the same time fraction looking at the speaker when listening as looking at the listener when speaking. The latter modification is known as "visual dominance." (Exline,

Ellyson, & Long, 1975) If interethnic relations involve, as sociologists have insisted they do, a hierarchical "sense of group position" (Blumer, 1958), the sense of superior group position should find its behavioral correlate in the visual dominance pattern. If passengers place themselves more often in a superior position when they interact with the actress wearing the Romani skirt, this is what we can predict:

> *H2.2: The visual dominance pattern (equal fraction of time spent gazing the partner when speaking and listening) should be more prevalent in the treatment group.*

Women less distant than men

Research on interpersonal distancing suggests that adults maintain distance from stigmatized individuals or more generally any individual who is perceived as a threat (Sommer, 2002). In this sense, it could be expected that the actress will be kept at greater distance when she wears the Romani skirt than when she is unconspicuously self-presented in the control condition. But research also suggests that stigma interacts with sex (or gender) to produce specific patterns of distancing. One robust observation seems to be that female-female dyads interact at closer distances than male-female dyads, which in turn interact at closer distances than male-male dyads (Bell, Kline, & Barnard, 1988). From this set of hypotheses the prediction can be derived that

> *H3: Passengers will interact at greater distances with the actress when she wears the Romani skirt. But because of the moderating effects of gender, male passengers are expected to keep greater absolute distances than female passengers in both conditions.*

Method

The field experiment was conducted in the Paris métro between the end of March and the beginning of June 2015. The transportation authority RATP gave clearance to capture images in the premises of the Paris metro network. The procedure, which required to videotape passengers and therefore to collect identifying data, was certified to be in conformity with the standards of the French commission for the protection of confidentiality CNIL. Recording sessions unfolded in weekdays between 12pm and 2pm, when waiting times in the Paris metro network are longest after the morning and before the evening rush hours. They took place at Jaurès station (at the boundary between the 10th and the 19th *arrondissements* of Paris in the Northern part of the city, the *rive droite*) on line 2 and at Quai de la gare station (located in the 13th arrondissement in the *rive gauche*) on line 6. These stations were selected above all because of the marked difference in situational risk that characterize the interactions that take place in them, as measured by arrondissement robbery rates and by the aggregated mean of robbery rates for their respective lines. An additional criterion was the quality of light, which was enhanced by the fact that these stations are not underground but aerial and therefore benefit from natural lighting. The third criterion was to ensure roughly comparable levels of density, i.e. in the number of individuals that populate the platforms. This was achieved by avoiding central hub stations as well as peripheral ones. Over and above the mentioned differences in risk, which were known in advance, we also suspected differences in social class composition, which were not (although common knowledge has it that Jaurès station is more *populaire* and Quai de la gare more *bourgeois*).

On a metro platform, after the last train's departure and before the arrival of the next one, a trained confederate actor approached a randomly selected passenger and asked for help following a standardized scenario. Unbeknown to the passenger, a cameraperson, who pretended to be another passenger waiting for the next train, videotaped the dyad with a chest-mounted portable camera from a distance of about three meters. Passengers were selected

randomly by approaching the first person who, after the departure of the last train, appeared to wait for the next train standing, unoccupied, and unaccompanied.

The actor's scenario involved a foot-in-the-door technique consisting in three successive stages. In stage I (station search) the actor asked for directions to get to Émile Zola station. Located roughly 30 minutes far from Jaurès or Quai de la gare, Émile Zola station was selected because it is one of the least busy of the Paris metro (ranked 281/303)[i], and it was therefore predictable that passengers would not be able to locate it without the aid of a map. When the passenger provided evidence of inability to locate the station, which happened nearly always, the actor unfolded a small portable metro map. If the passenger suggested a route, the actor moved the scenario on to stage II (delay discovery) by aking for an estimation of the trip duration. No matter how long or short the estimated time period suggested by the passenger turned out to be, the actor expressed concerned surprise and told the passenger that he or she would be late for a job interview. The actor then added that he or she had no way to inform the job interviewer of the just-discovered delay. So, the actor asked to borrow the passenger's mobile phone to call the job interviewer, advancing the scenario to stage III (mobile request). The experimental interaction ended after the passenger's reply. The actor then informed the passenger that he or she was a confederate actor working for a research project. The cameraperson approached and debriefed the passenger, who also received a detailed leaflet with an explanation of the goals of the research and contact information. After this, the cameraperson asked the passenger for consent to use his or her covertly collected images in the project. If the passenger accepted, the passenger was invited to answer to a short questionnaire including questions on demographics and socioeconomic status. If the passenger happened to be in a rush and could not stay on the platform to answer to the questionnaire, the cameraperson, now in the role of the interviewer, accompanied the passenger for a few stations in his or her metro trip. At this point, a second cameraperson

replaced the first one and the procedure was replicated until the end of the recording session. After each trial the interviewer completed a form in which he or she described various aspects of the interaction, including the amount of help that the actor received. This means that helping behavior was measured in all trials and not only in those that involved passengers willing to have their image processed for the project.

The pilot phase of the study involved four actors, crossing gender and ethnic origin. Ten recording sessions were devoted to each actor. The French male and female confederates were professional theater actors, whereas the Roma male and female confederates self-identified as Roma migrants from Eastern Europe but were not professional actors. The French male professional actor, also a stage director, trained the Roma *amateur* actors in an effort to maximize stimulus equivalence across assays. The aims of the pilot study were to refine the data collection and behavioral measurement procedure and to test the basic hypothesis that the performance of the scenario would indeed produce differences in behavior according to the gender and origin of the actor. This hypothesis was confirmed, as the collected data revealed that overall the French received much more help than the Roma. The French male received the most help and the Roma male the least, with the French female and the Roma female in-between, in that order. It must be noted that neither the Roma male nor the Roma female carried any sign that would publicly identify them as Roma.

The main field experiment involved a single actor, the Roma female, and compared the treatment she received when she self-presented in an unconspicuous middle-class style by Parisian standards (control condition) and when she wore a glaringly Romani skirt (treatment condition). The ten sessions recorded with the Roma actress during the pilot stage were reused to build the control sample. These sessions were the last of the pilot study, and by the time they were recorded the data collection procedure had already been standardized. Ten additional sessions were run with the same actress wearing the Romani skirt. As a stimulus

check, after being debriefed passengers were asked whether they had noticed any accent in the actress' manner of speaking, and when the answer was positive, to freely guess the origin of that accent. In the control condition, the mode was "Southern European," whereas in the control condition it was "Roma."

Results

Descriptive statistics and exploration of the dataset

[insert Table 1 here]

Out of 160 approached passengers 102 (64%) gave consent to have their image used for the project. To investigate possible patterns of self-selection, an exploratory log-linear analysis was computed on the variables helping, condition, station, and consent. The best-fitting model included the two-way "interactions" between helping and consent, and helping and condition, as well as the three-way "interaction" between condition, station, and helping (likelihood ratio χ^2=8.044, n=160,df=6, p=0.235). The last two "interactions" are part of what H1 predicts and will therefore be examined in the Statistical Analyses section. As for the first "interaction" between helping and consent, it can be interpreted to indicate that passengers who helped less were also significantly less likely to self-select than passengers who helped more, regardless of the experimental condition or the station. Thus, as a result of self-selection the whole sample can be said to overrepresent cooperative passengers. But this overrepresentation *does not differ between the treatment and the control groups*, or between the low-risk and the high-risk stations.

Regarding socioeconomic status, the mode at Jaurès was the residual category "others without activity" (43%), which excludes the retired but includes students and the unemployed. At Quai de la gare, the mode category was "managers and professionals" (*cadres*, 52%). An

exploratory chi-square statistic indicates that station and socioeconomic status are not independent (χ^2=13.472, n=102, df=3, p=0.004).

Data preparation and measurement details are available in a supplemental file.

Statistical analyses

All statistical tests relied on freely available software written in R language.

Helping behavior

Log-linear modeling was used to test H1[ii]. Ranks 1 and 2, on the one hand, and ranks 4 and 5, on the other, turned out to be about as frequent as rank 3 alone. The central rank was left intact and the lower and upper ones were merged, respectively, so as to recode the variable into three ranks of comparable frequency. Table 2 displays the resulting contingency tables. In the language of log-linear modeling, H1 predicts an "interaction" between experimental condition, level of helping, and the station where the actress encountered the passenger. In other words, the "best-fitting model" should be one in which this three-way interaction is present. At the same time, if this three-way interaction does provide the most parsimonious account of the data, then the best-fitting model should exclude the two-way interactions between condition&helping, condition&station, and helping&station.

Consistent with the expectations, the best-fitting model included the three-way interaction but excluded the two-way ones, likelihood ratio χ^2=0; df=0; p=1. However, contrary to the expectations, in the Roma condition passengers did *not* help the actress less at Jaurès (where the probability of being robbed is higher) than at Quai de la Gare. Interestingly, levels of helping did not differ at Jaurès across conditions but were markedly different at Quai de la gare. This can be conveniently expressed in an odds ratio after dichotomizing the variable helping into "lent the mobile" vs. "did not lend the mobile". While at Jaurès passengers turned out to be just as likely to lend their mobile in both conditions (odds ratio= 1.058), at

Quai de la gare they were *ten times* less likely to do so when the actress wore the Roma skirt (odds ratio=0.101). Shortly put, the results can be interpreted to indicate that the ethnic appearance of the actress and the station where she encountered the passenger interacted to produce different levels of helping, but the data also reveal that passengers helped less the actress in the Roma condition at the stations where the probability of being robbed is lower[iii].

Gaze

To test H2.1, a Wilcoxon rank-sum test for independent samples was computed on overall gaze rates during stage II, yielding a close to statistically significant difference between the control and treatment groups, $W = 230$, n=51, p= 0.075. However, the difference did not go in the direction predicted by the immediacy framework, since the median was actually higher within the treatment group (0.31 vs 0.24 within the control group).

H2.2 was tested using a Wilcoxon paired-sample test. If, as predicted by the visual dominance hypothesis, passengers' gaze rates were sufficiently similar in the alternative roles of the listener and the speaker when interacting with the actress in the treatment condition (wearing the Romani skirt), the differences between those two paired distributions should be non significant within the treatment group. The paired-sample Wilcoxon test confirmed this prediction, $V=114$, n=25, p=0.200. In contrast, the same test yielded a significant difference between both measures within the control group, $V=83$, n=26, p=0.017. The difference went in the expected direction, with passengers looking substantially less at the actress when speaking (median=0.22, see Table 3) than when listening (median=0.30). In other words, visual dominance prevailed only when the actress was identifiable as a Roma person (see Table 3 for all medians).

Distancing

The variable was measured with counts of the steps that passengers made toward and away from the actress. As the usual cycle was for passengers to approach the actress in stage I (station search) and to make a few steps back in stage II (delay discovery), the observation period for the counts covered both stages. In order to test H3, a 2 (experimental condition) x 2 (gender) factorial ANOVA was computed separately on the variables steps-toward and steps-away to examine the main effect of the experimental manipulation as well as its potential interaction with gender. Contrary to expectations, all results were non significant for steps-toward. As regards steps-away, in constrast, the two-way ANOVA yielded a significant interaction between condition and gender, $F(1, 65)=6.58$, $p=0.012$. The means indicated that, as predicted, men make more steps away from the actress when she is identifiable as a Roma person. However, somewhat surprisingly, women turned out to make not more but *less* steps away when interacting with the actress wearing the Romani skirt (see Table 4).

Discussion

The results of this field experiment indicate that for Paris métro passengers interacting with a woman wearing a Romani skirt on a metro platform did have an effect on their explicit and nonverbal behavior. However, the results also indicate that the effect was often moderated by the gender of the passenger or the station where the interaction took place. An additional remark is that the differential treatment elicited by recognizing the ethnic stigma was not always of an unfavorable kind.

The experiment succeeded in detecting a statistically significant interaction between ethnic appearance and place on level of helping, but this is not the same as saying that it succeeded in offering a convincing interpretation of this interaction. It had been posited at the outset that place (i.e. the particular station where the assays were carried out) stood for different levels of

risk, but the exploration of the dataset revealed that the stations differed not only in terms of risk but also of social class composition. The inescapable conclusion is that, at least in this experiment, place is a confounded factor. Future experiments using the same procedure could benefit from this finding by "blocking" for place, e.g. by using a random list to select a larger number of stations were the same number of samples for both the treatment and control groups will be collected. This could help neutralizing the actual but confounded influence of the station where the trials are conducted.

As expected, men were found to make more steps back when they interacted with the actress self-presented as a Rom. Again as expected, as compared to men women made less steps away from the actress when she wore the Romani skirt. But unexpectedly, women made less steps away from the actress in the treatment condition than when she wore ethnically unconspicuous apparel. If women approach more, and withdraw less from, the actress carrying the ethnic stigma, assuming that more closeness expresses more liking or acceptance, women's interpersonal distancing behavior can be described in terms of "reverse discrimination." (Dutton & Lake, 1973)

But why do only women exhibit reverse or positive discrimination through interpersonal distancing, while men's discrimination remains negative? The psychological literature does not seem to offer a ready-made interpretation for this interactive effect of ethnicity and gender on interpersonal distancing. In fact, existing research leads to predict additive (not interactive) effects of ethnicity and gender on discrimination, as suggested by the hypothesis that multiple categorization reduces (not reverses) intergroup bias (Crisp, Hewstone, & Rubin, 2001). Testing this hypothesis, in a meta-analysis of dyadic interactions essentially involving Blacks and Whites (70% of sample) in the US, Toosi, Babbitt, Ambady, and Sommers (2012) confirmed that interacting with a person of the same sex minimized the difference in negative emotion between interracial and same-race interactions. If the results of the present study are

replicated in future work, a revision of this hypothesis could be attempted to accommodate, besides the traditional additive effects, the less analyzed interactive effects of ethnicity and gender on various dimensions of behavior.

Conclusion

The aim of this field experiment was to identify some of the behavior patterns whereby disrespect may be communicated in everyday interethnic encounters. In interaction with the actress wearing the Romani skirt, passengers were found to enact the "visual dominance pattern", and male passengers in particular were found to keep greater distances. Reverse discrimination also occurred as women kept shorter distances from the actress bearing the ethnic stigma. Last, passengers helped less the ethnically stigmatized actress, but only in one of the two surveyed metro stations. Overall, the recognizable ethnic identity of the actress did elicit discriminatory effects in passengers, but the effects were often moderated by gender and place.

A significant limitation of the present field experiment is that it was solely devoted to the *production* of discriminatory behaviors and did not address the question of their *perception*. Do the targets of discriminatory behaviors perceive the hierarchical meaning of the visual dominance pattern, the apprehension behind greater distances, or even the irony of reverse discrimination? One strategy to investigate how these behaviors are perceived could be to have the actor perform then and then invite passengers to rate their emotional experience. The present study constitutes a necessary but still insufficient step toward the identification of the behaviors that communicate regard or disregard and thus enhance or undermine the target's positive sense of personal identity and group membership. More research in the production paradigm should extend this palette whose exploration has just begun. But also

future work in the perception paradigm should investigate whether and to what extent discriminatory behaviors such as the "visual dominance" pattern, now shown to be at work in interethnic encounters, do communicate disregard to and for their addressees.

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Tables

	n			% males	age		
	Quai de la gare station	Jaurès station	Total		range	mean	SD
control	29	15	44	64%	15-70	39	15
treatment	29	29	58	64%	17-68	36	14

Table 1: Descriptive statistics

Jaurès station (high-risk station)

	mobile not requested	mobile requested but not lent	mobile lent	observations
control	1	8	6	15
treatment	2	15	12	29

Quai de la gare station (low-risk station)

	mobile not requested	mobile requested but not lent	mobile lent	observations
control	1	6	22	29
treatment	7	15	7	29

Table 2: Levels of helping as a function of experimental condition and station

	passenger listens	passenger speaks	observations
control	0.30	0.22	26
treatment	0.37	0.39	25

Table 3: Passenger gaze rates when listening and speaking (medians)

	women			men		
	mean	SD	observations	mean	SD	observations
control	3.1	2.2	10	1.9	2.4	21
treament	1.3	1.4	14	3.4	2.9	28

Table 4: Number of steps that passengers made away from the actress

Endnotes

[i] http://data.ratp.fr/explore/dataset/trafic-annuel-entrant-par-station-du-reseau-ferre-2015-test/table/?disjunctive.reseau&disjunctive.ville&disjunctive.arrondissement_pour_paris&sort=-rang

[ii] In the original manuscript, I reported the same results computing the chi-square statistic on separate contingency tables for each station. I thank Ilja van Beest for having suggested to me the possibility of expressing the results in a more convincing manner using log-linear analysis.

[iii] Helping (as much as condition and station) was not only measured using the videos, but also from direct observation. When the log-linear model is tested on the full sample (and not only on the measurements derived from the passengers who gave consent to use their videtaped images) the results remain the same. Self-selection does not explain away what appears to be the combined effect of condition and place on level of helping.