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**Understanding perception and prosocial dispositions:
A comparative study of support for Ukrainian and Afghan
refugees in Belgium**

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Abstract

“Why do we help?” This question has persistently occupied my thoughts, but it evolved into a profound curiosity after reading a research paper from Politi and colleagues (2023) exploring the complex dynamics of individual prosocial dispositions, superordinate European identity, and their predictive roles in intentions to help Ukrainian refugees. The two main psychological processes studied as the moderators of intergroup helping were empathy and identity fusion. As the Russian invasion of Ukraine in February 2022 has made salient the geopolitical borders and psychological boundaries of Europe, European identity as a superordinate entity emerges as a pertinent level of self-categorization to explain helping intentions (Politi et al., 2023). In fact, previous studies had shown that the role of European identification in intergroup relations varies depending on its level of inclusiveness in a given context (Green, & Sarrasin, 2018 as cited in Politi et al., 2023). Their findings, although subject to clear limitations, unveiled intriguing insights. The concept of a broader European identity emerged as a new category for Ukrainians (outgroup members) and Belgians (ingroup members), suggesting the possibility of a shared common group. These interesting findings appear to be a potential predictor of helping intentions through a combination of empathy and identity fusion with Ukrainians. It is worth observing, however, one of the limitations of this study related to the impossibility to ascertain whether individuals who exhibit a strong European identity as evidenced by their willingness to help Ukrainians, would extend similar intentions to help other outgroup members. These outgroup members, probably perceived as more distant both in geographical and psychological terms from European borders, and maybe even perceived as a possible threat to the “European” values and beliefs or even to their safety, politics and well-being, as could be the case with other

refugee populations, such as Afghans. It is on account of this limitation that I have chosen to direct my focus towards a comparative analysis of the empathy experienced and intentions to help Ukrainian refugees when compared with Afghan refugees. Additionally, the present study aims not only to answer the initial question of “why do we help?”, but also to explore whether certain groups receive more assistance than others, shedding light on the exclusivity and/or selectivity in intentions to help certain (out)groups. And if such disparities exist, this little research seeks to uncover the underlying reasons behind this difference of treatment. Employing a sample of 84 individuals from the French-speaking population in Belgium, our aim was to demonstrate that dispositional prosociality and European identification were both positively related to intentions to help Ukrainians. However, such a relationship is not expected in the case of Afghan refugees. The current thesis comprises five chapters. The first chapter introduces the Ukrainian and Afghan refugee situations in Belgium, focusing on the immediate responses taken by Belgium - and Europe- and the differences exhibited by those humanitarian responses to two refugee populations suffering from a remarkably similar and distressful situation. The second chapter provides a comprehensive review of literature on various theories rooted in the social identity perspective, with a specific emphasis on recategorization. Additionally, it explores how empathy and European identification could function as mediating factors in shaping intentions to help certain groups over others. The third chapter describes the current study, outlining the research questions, procedure, and analytic plan. Results will be presented in the fourth chapter and discussed in the last chapter together with the study limitations and implications for future research.

Keywords: Prosociality, Empathy, Afghan refugee, Ukrainian refugee, social identity

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Global perspective of the situation of refugees

This thesis and research project developed after the Russian invasion of Ukraine in February 2022, which has caused the fastest and largest movement of refugees (UNHCR, 2022) as well as unprecedented solidarity throughout Europe. The European Union' reaction highlighted the contradictory and discriminatory approach reserved for the millions of refugees coming from non-European countries (De Coninck, 2022).

As outlined in the UNHCR (2022) Global Trends Report there has been recurrent fluctuation over the years involving millions of people forced to flee their country globally. Furthermore, the global population of forcibly displaced people has witnessed a marked escalation in the past two decades, notably in 2014 coinciding with the beginning of the “Arab Spring” and the Syrian conflict as reported by the UNHCR in 2015. The 2022 year has witnessed a similar escalation, coinciding with the full-scale invasion of Ukraine along with on-going conflict, violences and insecurity in various regions worldwide.

At the end of 2022, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR, 2022) has registered 35.3 million refugees fleeing non-European countries, such as Afghanistan, the Syrian Arab Republic, Eritrea, Palestine, among others. Of these, the number of refugees hosted in European countries rose from 7 million at the end of 2021 to 12.4 million at the end of 2022 (UNHCR, 2022a). This dramatic increase was largely due to refugees from Ukraine fleeing the international armed conflict and refugees from Afghanistan seeking for protection. People displaced from Ukraine were welcomed with open-arms (European Commission, 2022) and important levels of solidarity, as

compared to people displaced from other countries, usually subjected to strict border controls, pushbacks, and institutional discrimination (Rosstalnyj, 2022).

This thesis and research project will focus on the Ukrainian and Afghan population displaced in Belgium, with special attention to the reception system implemented in both cases. This research will particularly address the potential existence of different prosocial attitudes towards these two displaced groups and the reasons behind this phenomenon.

1.2 Introduction to the Afghan and Ukrainian refugee situation in Belgium: context and statistics

In 2021, Afghanistan constituted the primary country of origin of asylum seekers in Belgium, comprising 25% of applicants for international protection (CGVS, 2022). Similarly, in 2022 out of a total of 36.871 individuals seeking international protection, 16,6% were from Afghanistan and most of half of their applications were denied (CGVS, 2023).

The deterioration of the situation in Afghanistan, precipitated by the sudden withdrawal of international armed forces in August 2021 and the subsequent takeover of the Taliban regime, resulted in disastrous security, humanitarian, and human rights conditions for the civilian population. The country struggled to cope with the aftershocks of the global pandemic, a devastating earthquake, crippling food insecurity, deepening economic instability, and the systematic erosion of women's and girls' rights and their gradual expulsion from public and political life (UNHCR, 2022).

In Belgium, right before the takeover of the Taliban and while millions of Afghans were fleeing their country seeking international protection, the Commissioner General in Belgium announced a temporary, partial suspension of refugee status decisions until 1st

March 2022 (CGVS, 2022). Additionally, Belgium initiated the so-called Red Kite evacuation operation, helping 1400 individuals escaping Kabul, including Belgian citizens, individuals with the right to stay in Belgium, and Afghan citizens who had collaborated with the Belgian Defence or other international organizations (CIRÉ, 2021).

Conversely, the 24 February 2022 Russia's invasion of Ukraine led to the largest forced displacement crisis in terms of magnitude and velocity in 2022 (UNHCR, 2023). Millions of Ukrainians fled their country and a third of the population was displaced (UNHCR, 2022). Subsequently, large numbers of Ukrainians fled directly to various European states. In fact, the European States coordinated, and generous policy response has been widely acknowledged as an unprecedented show of solidarity (Stünzi, 2022). This response included the immediate deployment of humanitarian corridors, a surge in solidarity across Europe (Politi, 2023) and the unanimous decision of EU members to activate the Temporary Protection Directive for the first time. This emergency mechanism offers immediate collective protection to displaced people who thus benefit from harmonized rights throughout the European Union (Centre de crise national, 2023). Specifically in Belgium, according to data from the Immigration Office at the end of 2022, 63,356 Ukrainian refugees were granted temporary protection (CGVS, 2023; Direction Générale Office des étrangers, 2023).

1.3 The European and Belgian response before Russian invasion

Before 2022, particularly following the 1980s, developed countries responded to escalating numbers of asylum seekers and refugees through the implementation of restrictive migration control policies. These policies, as identified by Gammeltoft and Tan (2017), constitute what is known as the deterrence paradigm. Within this paradigm, deterrence mechanisms encompass legal measures aimed at retroactively excluding

refugees who have already entered the territory (Gammeltoft & Tan, 2017), measures dissuading protection seekers from reaching the European territory and accessing their asylum system and the delegation of asylum processing of refugee protection to third states. Moreover, there exist other indirect deterrence measures designed to negatively impact rights under the 1951 Refugee Convention and making the host country look less attractive as a destination.

The existing Dublin Regulation, also referred to as Dublin III and adopted in June 2013, aims to establish which EU member state is responsible for examining an asylum application (AIDA, 2021). It requires that individuals seeking asylum must submit their application in the first member state they enter to the European territory. This regulation not only prevents asylum seekers from submitting multiple applications in different European countries and therefore limiting secondary movements (ECHR, 2022), but it also places a disproportionate burden on Member states most exposed to migratory flows, primarily the countries along the Mediterranean coast and in Eastern Europe (Costa Santos et al, 2022).

Another example of a non-admission measure is the agreement reached on March 18, 2016 between the European Council and Turkey with the objective of stopping the influx of irregular migration via Turkey to Europe (European Parliament, 2019). According to the agreement, a “voluntary” humanitarian scheme would be activated to transfer refugees from Türkiye to other European countries, once the number of irregular arrivals decreased (Amnesty International, 2016). However, this scenario never occurred. Despite international human rights and asylum right organizations refusing to recognize Türkiye as a safe third country, this new deal bestowed such status upon it, enabling Ankara to take back all refugees and migrants attempting to reach Greece (Weber, 2017). This arrangement was contingent on the disbursement of €6 billion and

the provision of visa-free travel to Turkish nationals. In essence, this deal represents an externalisation of European migration policies, delegating border management responsibilities to third countries, such as Turkey (Fruscione, 2018).

Additional security measures involve heightened border enforcement policies and the construction of fences on Greece's and Bulgaria's land borders with Türkiye as reported by Amnesty International. These efforts aimed at shutting down the so-called Balkan route. Despite numerous attempts, the physical closure of the Balkan route has not been achieved, leading refugees and migrants to find alternative, and often more dangerous, routes to reach Europe (Weber, 2017).

1.4 The European and Belgian response after the Russian invasion

Russia's invasion of Ukraine in February 2022 not only brought to light a perceived double standard applied to other refugee groups such as those from Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq or African countries (Nazeer, 2022; Bayoumi, 2022; El-Nawawy & Elmasry, 2024), but it also revealed a shift away from securitization and border closure tendencies in the European Union's asylum policymaking to unprecedented solidarity of European states and their people with refugees fleeing Ukraine. Notably, the Temporary Protection Directive (TPD), drafted 21 years ago in response to the Yugoslav crisis, was unanimously activated by the EU member states for the first time (Stünzi, 2022).

Many scholars, particularly in the field of migration studies, have debated about the factors contributing to this paradigm shift. For instance, Meltem Ineli-Ciger (2022) having previously studied five reasons for the non-implementation of the Temporary Protection Directive, has identified a singular prevailing factor: the Commission and the Council's political unwillingness (Ineli-Cigerm, 2022). Through this Directive, refugees are granted the right temporary protection for one year, with the possibility of extension

up to three years without the need to go through lengthy asylum procedures (European Union, 2022).

Furthermore, the exceptional activation of the TPD makes it possible for Ukrainians to automatically receive legal status within the EU after simple registration with the national authorities. This enables them to access the job market, health care and education for children (Costa Santos et al, 2022).

This mechanism reversed the existing logic of preventing “secondary movements.” In this exceptional situation, reception management became decentralised, placing the responsibility on Ukrainians to distribute themselves geographically by aligning themselves with countries where they already have family or social ties (Costa Santos et al, 2022). Moreover, in Belgium, this decentralised reception approach empowered regions with the legal authority and financial resources to adopt policy for granting residence and develop regional strategies for sustainable housing and integration.

In conclusion, the unprecedented solidarity across Europe in helping Ukrainians refugees can be attributed to various potential factors. The invasion by Russia was portrayed as a war against Europe and its liberal democratic values, fostering a sense of shared and common enemy between Ukraine and Europe (Stünzi, 2022). Additionally, although Syria or Afghanistan is not so far from Europe, numerous other potential host countries are much closer, however Ukraine mostly shares borders with the EU. Moreover, since 2017 Ukrainians have been exempted from visa requirements, allowing them to stay in EU countries up to 90 days upon arrival (European Council, 2017). In contrast, refugees from Afghanistan face more difficulties to reach European territory, due, among other reasons, to the absence of this visa exception.

Furthermore, it is widely believed that Ukraine's historical and political ties with European countries, particularly post-soviet states such as Poland and Hungary play a significant role in the reception process. This is crucial in the perceived identity, cultural and ethnic similarity, implicitly suggested by media coverage (Mazzola, 2022).

This study aims at exploring factors that could influence prosocial and empathetic attitudes towards specific groups of refugees over others. These factors included perceived shared identity, group membership as well as a superordinate European identity.

CHAPTER 2

SOCIAL IDENTITY AND EUROPEAN IDENTIFICATION

2.1 Social identity perspective.

While migration has historically been a constant phenomenon, European countries have seen a rising influx of forcibly displaced and stateless people in the last decade (UNHCR, 2022), primarily due to conflicts and wars. The current portrayal of these migration patterns as a significant humanitarian or migration crisis on the News

(Noor Haq et al., 2023) and in the media has exacerbated xenophobia and fostered negative perceptions of migrants. This situation underscores the importance of collaborative efforts to address intergroup and social biases, thereby mitigating prejudice, discrimination, and their subsequent outcomes.

Empirical research has identified potential strategies to help reduce adverse attitudes towards immigrants. These approaches involve emphasizing the fundamental shared humanity of all individuals while putting the dichotomous social categorization “us” and “them” aside. For instance, one possibility for fostering greater empathy is through episodic simulation (Mezzenzana F. & Peluso D. 2023). Another effective means is the promotion of intergroup contact, a strategy shown to reduce social biases by altering the way individuals perceive their intergroup relations, as initially proposed by Dovidio et al. (2000). Nonetheless, it is crucial to recognize that the effectiveness of intergroup contact depends on the meet of certain optimal conditions. These conditions encompass equal status of both groups, a cooperative intergroup interaction, shared common goals and supportive norms by authorities with and outside the contact situation (Pettigrew, 1998 as cited in Dovidio et al., 2000).

In line with the concept of recognizing a shared humanness, the recategorization of individuals from different groups as part of a superordinate one, characterized by a common identity, has been proposed as an effective mechanism for diminishing discrimination. This shift would automatically extend the pro-in-group bias (favoritism bias) to former out-group members (Dovidio et al., 2000).

To understand the process of recategorization, it is important to begin by exploring the notions of identity and identity formation. In the field of social psychology, identity is a multifactorial construct, with a particular focus on two dimensions that have gathered significant attention (Gómez & Vázquez, 2015). These dimensions include on one hand, the personal identity, including individuals' attitudes, memories, behaviors and emotions; and on the other hand, the social identity which emerges as a result of placing oneself in relation to others, a part of one's self-concept deriving from the social categories they belong to, along with the emotional and evaluative consequence of this group membership (Gaertner et al., 1993).

Furthermore, Turner and colleagues (1973), through their self-categorization theory propose three different levels of self-categorization essential to one's self-concept. These levels comprise the subordinate level of the self, based on interpersonal comparison (e.g., blond hair), the intermediate level of the self as a member of a social group (e.g.: Belgians), and the superordinate category of the self as a human being (e.g., humans).

The concept of self-categorization, along with social identity theory, integrates what Hogg and colleagues (2007) defined as the social identity perspective. One of its core tenets is how humans very spontaneously engage in the categorization of themselves into social groups, differentiating people based on ascribed categories, such as gender or ethnicity (Reimer et al., 2020), physical characteristics, or other salient attributes like

national identity, cultural background, or language (Bonache et al., 2016 as cited in Kang, Haiying. 2021).

Understanding social categorization as a psychological process employed to distinguish individuals as “us” versus “them” (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2010) and social identity as an integral part of the self-concept contingent upon group-memberships, a fundamental distinction emerges between the group containing the self (referred to as the ingroup) and other groups (referred to as the outgroups). Group identity not only describes what it is to be a group member, but also dictates the appropriate attitudes, emotions and behaviors in each context (Gaertner et al., 1993), comparable to implicit norms governing individuals’ attitudes and actions. The degree of conformity to these norms, increases individuals’ condition as prototypical members of that group (a process known as depersonalization), thereby becoming interchangeable exemplars of a particular social category (Brewer, 1993). This phenomenon contributes to the generation and perpetuation of stereotypes.

Empirical research indicates that the mere categorization of people into different groups is sufficient to generate intergroup bias. The classical minimal group paradigm (Ongur, 2010) in 1957 illustrated that even when the group assignments are overtly arbitrary and group labels are meaningless, ingroup members tend to favour their group over the others. However, Reimer and colleagues (2020) posit that mere categorization is insufficient to elicit discrimination directed to outgroups, it is the desire to establish a psychological distance from the outgroup and a pursuit of a positive and secure self-concept that underpin these behaviors. In this context, Hogg’s work suggests that the motivation for distinctiveness and self-definition has replaced the most studied motive for group dynamics which is self-esteem. Within this framework of social comparison, group members striving for a favourable social identity engage in cognitive and

behavioral strategies that uphold or maintain a positive distinctiveness between their own group and other relevant out-groups (Gaertner et al.,1993). Thus, ingroup-outgroup categorization not only initiates intergroup bias, but it also helps to perpetuate these biases.

It has been argued that the ability to reconfigure individuals' perceptions of their group memberships, transitioning from discrete group identities to a broader, more inclusive social identity, holds the potential to reduce intergroup biases. Such inclusiveness serves to reshape prior (possibly negative or hesitant) attitudes and behaviors towards former out-group members into more favourable dispositions, as evidenced in the research conducted by Gaertner and colleagues in 1993. Furthermore, this process of recategorization amplifies the perception of shared beliefs and heightened interpersonal similarity. Consequently, it may elicit empathy (Dovidio et al., 1997) and stimulate helping intentions beyond the mere effects of interpersonal similarity or attraction (Dovidio et al. 2000).

2.2 Common identity-group theory.

The Common Ingroup Identity Model (Gaertner et al., 1993) rooted in the social identity perspective, posits that intergroup bias would be ameliorated by forging a more inclusive re-interpretation of in-group boundaries and activating a sense of shared identity. Within this model, recategorization can occur either through the lens of a singular group or via dual identity representations. The former being focused on a common identity by downplaying different subgroups identities and the latter acknowledging the possibility that individuals feel part of the superordinate category while preserving their subgroup distinctions.

2.2.1 Recategorization and European superordinate identity.

Individual differences have been shown to correlate with prosocial dispositions. Several studies have revealed that individuals typically demonstrate a greater inclination to help those perceived as psychologically close as opposed to those perceived psychologically distant (Batson, 2015; Tarrant et al., 2009; Stürmer et al., 2006). Consequently, helping intentions are influenced by self-other similarity and group membership.

The concept of Europe as an identity has long been discussed predominantly in the realm of political science. Building upon Tajfel and Turner's Social Identity Theory (SIT), a social identity is regarded as a part of an individual's self-concept formed through membership in a social group to which certain emotional significance is attached (Ongur, 2010). European identification transcends political and economic agreements within the European Union, extending to non-EU member countries that feel of belonging and attached to Europe (Visintin et al., 2018).

Furthermore, past research has indicated that European identifiers exhibit reduced anti-immigration attitudes (Visintin et al, 2018), and attribute greater importance to values such as diversity and openness (Koning et al., 2023).

Within the same framework of the social identity or self-categorization approach (Hogg et al., 2007; Billig et al., 1973; Tajfel, 1978b) salient group membership plays a key role in how individuals perceive similarities between themselves and others (Stürmer et al., 2017). Therefore, in the middle of the ongoing humanitarian crisis, resulting from Russia's invasion of Ukraine, which has made salient the geopolitical and psychological borders of Europe, Politi and colleagues (2023) have found a significant correlation between European identification and helping intentions towards Ukrainians. This

positive relationship can be explained by the recategorization process, wherein Ukrainians are included in the superordinate identity of European based on their perceived similarity and proximity to other European-country members, fostering a fused common ingroup.

Given the shared post-soviet history between Ukraine and other European states, the perception of Russia as common enemy among Ukrainians and the European entity, coupled with the emphasis on the similarities between Ukrainian and European populations in the current public narrative, one can reasonably expect that European identification would predict intentions to help Ukrainians refugees. However, the same outcomes are not expected for Afghan refugees.

Notwithstanding the inclusive nature of European identity, Afghan refugees are unlikely to be assimilated into this superordinate identity due to perceived dissimilarity and geographical distance. Although identification with Europe has been associated with lower levels of prejudice against immigrants (Curtis, 2014), adhering to the classic ingroup favouritism - outgroup rejection tenet of Social Identity Theory, it is expected that European identification will not predict intentions to help Afghan refugees, perceived as outgroup members.

2.3 “Why do we help?” Role of empathy

Empathy is a complex and multifaceted concept widely recognized for its capacity to enhance one’s understanding of others and promote prosocial intentions. Experimental findings corroborate its important role as a motivating factor for prosocial behavior. (Lockwood et al., 2014; Xiao et al., 2021) Notably, In this chapter we focus on the diverse

dimensions of empathy, its influence on individuals' willingness to help others and the factors literature proposes as modulators of the degree of empathising with others.

Empathy has proven to be a challenging concept to define comprehensively, as various disciplines and fields have contributed to its definition. Cuff et al. (2016) as well as undertook a comprehensive review, gathering and synthesizing multiple definitions from different domains. Similarly, Jami et al. (2023) provided a comprehensive overview of empathy underscoring the importance of culture in shaping its definition. While their efforts resulted in a rich tapestry of definitions, the absence of a singularly agreed-upon definition persists. For example, Batson and colleagues (1987) suggested that empathy was an other-oriented emotional response elicited by and congruent with the perceived welfare of someone else”.

Recent research, such as the one mentioned above conducted by Jami and colleagues (2023) have critiqued previous definitions as overlooking collective and social aspects as well as individual cultural orientation. These critics claimed that conventional definitions tended to portray empathy as possessed or inherent “quality” rather than achieved and influenced by a given social and cultural context.

Empathy, a multidimensional construct recognized in the literature, consists of three core components: personal distress, empathic concern, and perspective-taking (Jami et al., 2022). Personal distress refers to the emotional response an individual experiences when witnessing the suffering of others, whereas empathic concern refers to the genuine care and compassion for another person's well-being. Perspective-taking denotes the cognitive capacity to understand the perspective of others. Scholars generally concur that empathy constitutes a multidimensional construct, a biological and psychological concept encompassing affective and cognitive processes (Jami et al., 2022). Other researchers approach empathy as a multi-faceted construct combining both cognitive and affective

dimensions. Affective empathy involves the firsthand experience of another person's emotion, whereas cognitive empathy is the ability to understand and differentiate another individual's feelings from one's own emotional state (Cuff et al., 2016).

The question of "why do we help" has been a long-standing subject of inquiry in the field of social psychology. Important scholars have suggested that prosocial processes, encompassing emotions, thoughts, and behaviors, may be part of a broader motivational process associated with personality. This perspective contributes to the existing literature on the influence of individual differences in intergroup helping (Habashi et al., 2016; Politi et al., 2021). Notably, agreeableness (Habashi et al., 2016) and empathy (Politi et al., 2023) have been identified as crucial factors associated with prosocial behaviors. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that the attempt to induce empathy in individuals with low levels of prosocial motivation in situations where the cost of helping is high, has been found to potentially undermine prosocial behavior (Graziano et al., 2007).

Additionally, the contributions of C. Daniel Batson and Laura L. Shaw, in their work of 1991, provided more valuable insights into the underlying motivations for prosocial behavior. Their findings challenged the predominant notion of prosocial motivation merely driven by egoism, defending instead a more nuanced model encompassing both egoistic and altruistic motivations. This new framework, known as the Empathy-Altruism hypothesis, posits that empathy can induce motivations directed towards the ultimate goal of alleviating the suffering experienced by the individuals in need. This hypothesis was supported by the results of one study carried out by Xiao et al. (2021). In this study, individuals exhibiting greater levels of empathy decided to spend more time helping a person in need, in contrast to those with lower empathy. Conversely,

egoistic motivations are primarily oriented towards the ultimate goal of reducing one's own suffering and personal distress.

Consequently, help intentions can be attributed to various factors, including shame, fear of punishment, guilt (Prinz, Jesse. 2011 as cited in Persson and Savulescu, 2017), normative expectations, self-interest, and altruistic inclinations (Batson and Shaw, 1991).

2.3.1 Selective empathy

Extensive research studies have been conducted to the investigation of empathy, recognizing its diverse manifestations across various situations or even among diverse individuals facing the same situation. Scholars have been particularly intrigued by the multifaceted nature of the possible factors underlying the experience of empathy.

Empathic responses to others may depend upon many different factors, such as fairness perceived of the target person or group (Persson & Savulescu, 2018; Zagefka, 2022), historic differences in power and status asymmetry (Cikara et al, 2011), cultural background (Jami & Walker, 2022), nurturance (Batson, 2005), agreeableness (Batson, 2015), political, racial and social group membership (Hornstein, 1978; Stürmer, 2006; Tarrant et al., 2009; Miklikowska, 2018), conformity to implicit or explicit in-group norms (Tarrant et al., 2009), and similarity between the observer and the person in need (Batson, 1981; Jami & Walker, 2022; Mezzenzana et al., 2023) which has been one of the most studied.

2.3.1.1 Cultural background

Geert Hofstede stands as a prominent figure in the field of cultural studies, particularly in the exploration of dimensions of cultural diversity based on shared values

and beliefs within a country/society and how those values relate to behavioral patterns. According to Hofstede's cultural model, there would be six dimensions: masculinity/femininity, uncertainty avoidance, power distance, individualism/collectivism, long-term/short-term orientation, indulgence-restraint. Among these dimensions, power distance and individualism/collectivism have emerged as two of the most correlated factors with empathy in recent decades of research.

On one hand, individualism refers to the integration of an individual into a group, focusing more on his/her personal needs, own decisions and ways of living, whereas on collectivistic societies, on the other hand, people more strongly value the group, putting more emphasis on the importance of relationships and loyalty (Hofstede, 2011). Moreover, power distance refers to the extent to which individuals in a society prefer social hierarchies or more egalitarian relations between individuals and groups (Cheon et al., 2011).

As Jami and colleagues (2023) highlighted in his scoping review of empathy, empathy represents a personality trait profoundly influenced by culture and societies' norms. Neuroscience evidence, specifically studies examining intergroup biases and preference of social hierarchies on empathic responses, have shed light on this phenomenon. For instance, a study by Cheon et al., (2011) comparing neural activities between Koreans and American participants revealed important distinctions. Koreans, who reported higher preference for social hierarchy compared to their American counterparts, exhibited higher levels of empathy not only towards the outgroup members in pain, but especially, towards ingroup members' suffering. These results underscore the phenomenon known as "ingroup empathy bias".

In line with the previous study, Jami and Walker (2022) have found a strong association between collectivism and intergroup empathy bias. Iranians, who reported higher tolerance and acceptance for hierarchical and unequal power distribution compared to US citizens, exhibit higher levels of empathy for their in-group members. It is worth noting that historically, Iranians have been part of a, even if constantly evolving, but more collectivistic society where the holds greater significance than the individual, whereas the US is known by its individualistic culture.

2.3.1.2 Fairness perceived.

Humans, like other animals, tend to respond to harm with anger and punishment, and to rewards with gratitude. This instinctive response is part of our sense of justice or fairness which is influenced by our evolutionary history, societal norms and culture. Furthermore, this sense guides how we perceive unfairness, and it ultimately drives us to take action against perceived injustices, although to varying degrees depending on individual empathy levels and cultural influences (Persson & Savulescu, 2017).

In line with this, a study conducted by Xiao et al (2021) showed that before an individual makes a decision to help someone in need, that individual engages in a deliberative process. This process entails a comprehensive assessment of whether to help or not, analyzing the situation of the recipient and estimating the impact on the recipient if the individual refused to help.

The notion of habituation fallacy (Zagefka, 2022) supports this literature, as it underscores that empathic response to someone else's suffering is one of the strongest motivations to help (Batson et al., 1981). Numerous factors have been demonstrated to impact helping intentions in a context of humanitarian disasters, including attributions regarding the root cause of the problem, and habituation beliefs (Chapman & Lickel, 2006

as cited in Zagefka 2022). Despite robust evidence highlighting the negative effects of repeated trauma on survivor's coping skills, a common misconception exists. This belief posits that individuals who have been repeatedly victimized, in contrast to first-time victims, are perceived as less traumatized, better equipped to cope with adversity and consequently, less reliant on external help. Consequently, disaster victims encountering recurrent adversities were found to receive less assistance as they were thought to need it less (Zagefka, 2022), than those who, put in other words, were not habituated to such a traumatic event.

2.3.1.3 Conformity to the norm:

In a study conducted by Tarrant (2009), the finding corroborated the positive correlation between heightened intentions to help and elevated empathic responses when considering the needs of ingroup members as compared to their counterparts in the outgroup. This observation underscores the presence of empathy bias, according to which individuals showed greater intentions to help those within their ingroup rather than individuals belonging to an outgroup. Additionally, the same study revealed that when individuals activate ingroup norms that prescribe experiencing empathy and other emotions for others, they are more likely to empathize with outgroup members. This observation aligns with an important tenet of social identity theory, positing that an individual's self-esteem is influenced by the status of their respective social groups. This implies that adherence to norms, whether they are implicit or explicitly endorsed, within a group to which individuals belong and with which they identify, enables individuals to validate and reinforce their social identity in a positive manner.

2.3.1.4 Similarity

Batson and other scholars have uncovered that perceived self-other similarity, oneness, and valuing play an important role in increasing empathy-motivated helping (Batson, 1981 as cited in Stürmer et al., 2006). Furthermore, in situations where ingroup/outgroup differences are salient, the perception of self-other similarities operates as a regulatory mechanism in the empathy-helping dynamic. When others share similar features, personality traits and/or beliefs it is more likely for observers to perceive a kinship or shared identity, leading to a heightened concern for their well-being, as it becomes intertwined with one's own welfare.

Cialdini and colleagues (1997) posited, through experimental studies, that as interpersonal closeness intensifies, the easier it is to engage in perspective taking with the other person. Consequently, as relationship closeness increases, so does the sense of commonality with the other person. It is important to highlight that perspective taking is a well-established component of empathy, and the impact of relationship closeness is comparably influential on both empathic concern and the sense of oneness.

Moreover, numerous studies provided support for a robust correlation between similarity and empathic behavior (Jami et al., 2023). Empathizing with an individual who has undergone a similar adverse experience as oneself is facilitated by the shared understanding of the pain and of what could alleviate the suffering. In line with this, Jami et al. (2022) also observed higher empathic concern for people suffering from the similar psychological pain the observer had overcome before.

While it is evident that similarity significantly shapes the manifestation of empathy and promotes prosocial behaviors, it remains a challenge to disentangle whether empathic concern is primarily evoked by similarities or by the agreeableness of the person's suffering.

2.3.1.5 Group membership

As an other-focused emotion, empathy is most likely to be experienced when another person is perceived to be in need (Batson, 1991). However, empathy is affected by group membership of the person perceived in need. Consequently, individuals are usually more prompted to help those belonging to the same group than those from the outgroup. Stürmer and colleagues (2006) found evidence that social categorization was an important moderator between empathy and helping.

In a world shaped by self-categorization, an unseeable division exists between “us” and “them”. This division persists even when the groups are formed based on random criteria as seen in the minimal group paradigm, where individuals within the same group may share little more than their membership. (Billing & Tajfel, 1973)

According to social identity theory, individuals consider their group membership as part of the self-concept, leading them to uphold a positive social identity. To achieve this positive identity, individuals emphasize the positive and distinctive qualities of their ingroups while often evaluating outgroups more negatively (Brewer, 2010).

Given the multitude of factors that influence empathic responses, such as perceptions of geographical proximity, perceived similarity, and group membership dynamics, alongside the prevalent double standard observed in media coverage following Russia’s invasion of Ukraine- wherein there is an emphasis on highlighting similarities and a shared identity with Ukrainians, while simultaneously delineating differences and categorizing Afghans, among other group of refugees, as belonging to a different group - one can reasonably expect an important difference in how empathy would mediate intentions to help Ukrainians compared to Afghans.

CHAPTER 3 - THE CURRENT STUDY

3.1 Present study

The present study is an attempt to follow-up a research study conducted by Politi and colleagues (2023) whose main objective was to address commonalities and specificities in the social-psychological processes related to intergroup helping. In particular, this new study attempts to study individual prosocial dispositions and superordinate identities related to intergroup helping by comparing intentions to help two different social groups: Afghan and Ukrainian refugees. It involves 84 citizens living in the French-speaking part of Belgium.

This study collected numerous measures to assess superordinate identity, empathy, prosociality and intentions to help both Ukrainian and Afghan refugees. We will analyze the data collected in the French-speaking part of Belgium (November, 2023).

3.2 Study design and research questions.

This study used an online questionnaire data from a total of 84 citizens living in Belgium.

More precisely, two research questions guided the study with the general aim of addressing the potential differences and similarities between the perception and the intentions to help towards refugees from Ukraine and from Afghanistan.

R.Q. 1: Do individuals who exhibit higher levels of dispositional prosociality and identify more strongly with Europeans demonstrate a greater tendency to help Ukrainian refugees in comparison to Afghan refugees?

- In relation to the first research question, we expect to find a positive and significant relationship between dispositional prosociality and European identification with intentions to help Ukrainian refugees, while not expecting the same association with intentions to help Afghan refugees. According to Politi and colleagues (2023) the propensity among high European identifiers to help Ukrainians will not extend to other outgroup members perceived as more distant, geographically, and psychologically.

R.Q. 2 : Does empathy act as a mediator between intentions to help a specific refugee group and prosociality and/or European identification?

- Regarding the second research question, we anticipate a significant and positive indirect influence of empathy on prosocial behavior, European identification, and intentions to help Ukrainians. However, we do not expect to find a similar mediation effect concerning intentions to help Afghan refugees. These expectations are grounded in the understanding that empathic responses to others may be influenced by various factors, including agreeableness (Batson, 2015), perceived similarity between the observer and the person in need as well the sense of belonging to a shared group (Stürmer, 2006; Tarrant et al., 2010). Consequently, Ukrainian refugees may be easily perceived as members of a shared group (Europeans) appearing more similar and closer to Belgian citizens compared to Afghan refugees.

3.3 Participants

A total of 84 participants from the French-speaking Belgian part (Wallonia) took part in the online survey (34.5% female, 61.9% male and 2.4 % others). 85.7% of whom were Belgian citizens.

Furthermore, 10.7% report experiencing an asylum procedure and almost half of them (44.1%) reported not so much or even not at all interest in politics. Finally, 17.9% of the participants reported support refugees and migrants to some extent.

Table 1. *Summary table of participants' socio-demographic characteristics*

| | % | M | SD | Range |
|---------------------------|----------|----------|-----------|--------------|
| Gender | | 1.67 | .521 | |
| Age | | 35.77 | 16.867 | 16-79 |
| Currently helping | 17.9% | | | |
| Political interest | 26.2 % | | | |
| Asylum procedure | 10.7% | | | |
| Belgium citizens | 85.7% | | | |
| European citizens | 97.6% | | | |

3.4. Procedure

After a review of the study conducted by Politi and colleagues (2023), the next step was to get in contact with them to discuss the variables and define the research questions. Prior to data collection and after validation, we adapted their questionnaire to include additional inquiries relevant to our second target group, Afghan Refugees, with the aim of conducting a comparative study. Collaboratively, we established scales and prepared the questionnaire in French using the Qualtrics Platform.

Initially, we considered the option of a between-subject study design deploying two separate questionnaires or conditions to different groups of people: one focusing on intentions to help Ukrainian refugees and the other on intentions to help Afghans. However, for practical reasons within our limited sample size, we opted for a consolidated survey and a within-subject study design.

To gather our sample, we distributed QR codes containing the questionnaire across various locations in French-speaking cities of Belgium, including universities, train stations and public spaces and transports. Additionally, we used online platforms such as Facebook or other social media groups to widen participation among diverse individuals.

3.5 Measures

Dispositional prosociality was measured using the French validation of the adults' prosocialness scale (Caprara, Steca, Zelli, & Capanna, [2005](#); Carrizales, Perchec, & Lannegrand-Willems, [2019](#)). As Politi and colleagues (2023) did in the study we try to replicate, one of the original 16 items was not included in the questionnaire (“I am available for volunteer activities to help those who are in need”) due to a conceptual overlap with helping intentions. Participants indicated on a five-point Likert scale whether each of the 15 statements was *Never true* (1), *Occasionally true* (2), *Sometimes true* (3), *Often true* (4), and *Almost always true* (5), for instance: “I try to be close to and take care of those who are in need”.

European identification was adapted from the original scale proposed by McFarland, Webb, and Brown ([2012](#)). The scale measures to what extent participants identified with social groups at different levels of abstraction, ranging from one's own

local community, Belgians, Europeans, and humanity all over the world. Participants indicated their degree of identification with each of the four groups on a five-point Likert scale with options *Not at all* (1), *Not really* (2), *Moderately* (3) *Fairly* (4), and *Strongly* (5). Although our hypotheses concerned European identification only, we included the other levels of self-categorization in the questionnaire to assess whether the effects of European identification held above and beyond the effects of other levels of self-categorization.

Intentions to help Ukrainians and Intentions to help Afghans were adapted from the scale used by Roblain, Hanioti, Paulis, Van Haute, and Green (2020), who assessed intention to engage in helping asylum seekers and undocumented migrants. Participants indicated their motivation to undertake a number of actions to help Ukrainians in Belgium (e.g., “provide temporary accommodation for one or more Ukrainians arriving in Belgium” or “help to collect signatures to ask the Belgian authorities to give more rights to Ukrainians arriving in Belgium.) on a five-point Likert scale including options Not at all motivated (1), Not really motivated (2), *Moderately motivated* (3) *Fairly motivated* (4), and *Strongly motivated* (5).

- **Intentions to help Afghans** were adapted from the scale used by Politi and colleagues (2023), who assessed intentions to engage in helping Ukrainians while arriving in Belgium. Therefore, participants indicated their motivation to undertake a number of actions to help Afghans in Belgium (e.g., “provide temporary accommodation for one or more Afghans arriving in Belgium” or “help to collect signatures to ask the Belgian authorities to give more rights to Afghans arriving in Belgium.) on a five-point Likert scale including

options Not at all motivated (1), Not really motivated (2), *Moderately motivated* (3) *Fairly motivated* (4), and *Strongly motivated* (5).

Empathy with Ukrainians was assessed using a 9-item Measure of State Empathy scale ($\alpha = .88$, Powell & Roberts, [2017](#)). Participants responded on a 7-point Likert scale (0 = *not at all*, 6 = *entirely*) to what extent they experienced cognitive (e.g., “I understand what Ukrainians are feeling”), affective (e.g., “I have feelings of empathy with Ukrainians”), and compassionate empathy with Ukrainians (e.g., “I feel the same way as Ukrainians”).

- **Empathy with Afghans** was adapted from the 9-item Measure of State Empathy Scale used by Politi and colleagues (2023) in their study. Participants responded on a 7-point Likert scale (0 = *not at all*, 6 = *entirely*) to what extent they experienced cognitive (e.g., “I understand what Afghans are feeling”), affective (e.g., “I have feelings of empathy with Afghans”), and compassionate empathy with Afghans (e.g., “I feel the same way as Afghans”).

Identity fusion with Ukrainians was measured with a single classic, pictorial item commonly named “Inclusion-of-the-other-in-the-self-scale” (Aron et al., [1992](#); Gómez et al., [2011](#)) assessing, on a 7-point scale, the extent to which participants viewed a *complete separation* (1) versus *complete overlap* (7) *between themselves and Ukrainians*.

- **Identity fusion with Afghans** was adapted from the pictorial item commonly named “Inclusion-of-the-other-in-the-self-scale” (Aron et al., [1992](#); Gómez et al., [2011](#)) used by Politi and colleagues (2023) assessing, on a 7-point scale, the extent to which participants viewed a *complete separation* (1) versus *complete overlap* (7) *between themselves and Afghans*.

3.6 Data analyses plan

Data analysis started with an initial examination, involving the calculation of descriptive statistics for each study variable. Subsequently, specific analyses were conducted to address the two research questions:

1) To assess the association between prosocial dispositions and intentions to help both Ukrainians and Afghans; as well as the association between European identification and intentions to help both Ukrainians and Afghans, therefore a correlation analysis first and a multiple regression analysis after were performed.

2) Similarly, a correlation analysis was carried out to investigate the relationship between empathy towards the specific group and intentions to help both Ukrainians and Afghans separately.

3) To study the mediator role of empathy a mediation analysis was performed using the Sobel Online program, after conducting several multiple regression analyses.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

4.1 Descriptive statistics

First, a correlation study was conducted to assess if there was a relationship between the main variables.

Pearson product correlation of empathy and intentions to help Ukrainians was found to be moderately positive and statistically significant ($r=.601$, $p<.001$). This shows that an increase in empathy would lead to higher intentions to help Afghans. Furthermore, the same correlation analysis was conducted between empathy and intentions to help Afghans and it was found to be moderately positive and statistically significant ($r=.653$, $p<.001$). As expected, these two correlation studies show that empathy would lead to intentions to help both Ukrainians and Afghan refugees.

Table 2: *Descriptive statistics and bivariate correlations between main variables on intentions to help Afghans.*

| | M (SD) | 2. | 3. | 4. |
|-------------------------------|-------------|------|---------|---------|
| 1. Dispositional prosociality | 3.66 (0.51) | 0,48 | 0.489** | 0.437** |
| 2. European identification | 3.48 (1.05) | | 0.326** | 0.126 |
| 3. Intentions to help Afghans | 2.62 (0.89) | | | 0.653** |
| 4. Empathy towards Afghans | 2.69 (0.74) | | | |

** $P<0.01$ * $P<0.05$

Table 3: *Descriptive statistics and bivariate correlations between main variables on intentions to help Ukrainians.*

| | M (SD) | 2. | 3. | 4. |
|----------------------------------|-------------|------|---------|---------|
| 1. Dispositional prosociality | 3.66 (0.51) | 0.48 | 0.425** | 0.287* |
| 2. European identification | 3.48 (1.05) | | 0.304** | 0.249* |
| 3. Intentions to help Ukrainians | 2.54 (0.83) | | | 0.601** |
| 4. Empathy towards Ukrainians | 2.84 (0.65) | | | |

**P<0.01 * P<0.05

4.2 Comparison between dispositional prosociality and European identity on helping intentions. Afghan and Ukrainian refugees

R.Q. 1 We expected that participants who scored higher in dispositional prosociality and who scored higher in European Identification would express stronger intentions to help Ukrainians, compared to their intentions to help Afghans.

To test our first hypothesis, dispositional prosociality (DP) and European identification (EI) were included as predictors of intentions to help Ukrainians (IHU) in a multiple regression model using SPSS (version 24). In order to compare the results and test our first hypothesis, dispositional prosociality (DP) and European Identification (EI)

were also included as predictors of intentions to help Afghans (IHA) in a multiple regression model.

Intentions to help Ukrainians:

The dependent variable “Intentions to help Ukrainians” was regressed on predicting European identity to contribute to testing the hypothesis H1. The results indicated that European identity significantly predicted IHU, $F(2,75) = 13,462$, $p < 0.001$, which suggests that European identity and dispositional prosociality play a significant role in shaping Intentions to help Ukrainians. Moreover, the $R^2 = .264$ depicts that the model accounts for 26.4% of the variance in intentions to help Ukrainians.

Further examination of the coefficients demonstrate that European identification had a significant and positive impact on Intentions to help Ukrainians ($B = .234$, $t = 2.978$, $p = .004$), partially confirming the support for H1.

Additionally, this analysis evaluates whether prosociality has a significant and positive impact on intentions to help Ukrainians. The results show that it has a significant and positive impact on intentions to help Ukrainians ($B = .688$, $t = 4.187$, $p = .000$). The results are presented in Table 1.

Intentions to help Afghans:

To completely test our first hypothesis, European identification (EI) and dispositional prosociality (DP) were also included as predictors on intentions to help Afghan refugees in a multiple regression model using SPSS. Overall the model provided a good fit to the data, $F(2,73) = 17,073$, $p < 0.001$, with a total variance explained of $R^2 = .319$, meaning that the model accounts for 31.9% of the variance in intentions to help Afghans.

Both dispositional prosociality, ($b = .854$, $t = 4.788$, $p = .000$), and European identification ($B = .243$, $t = 2.912$, $p = .005$) were positively related to intentions to help Afghans, and contrary to what was expected, no differences were found between helping intentions towards Ukrainians and Afghans.

Table 4: *Hypothesis results*

| Hypotheses | Regression Weights | β | t-value | p-value | Results |
|------------|----------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------------|
| H1_1 | EI \rightarrow IHU | .234 | 2.978 | .004 | Supported |
| H1_2 | EI \rightarrow IHA | .243 | 2.912 | .005 | Not Supported |
| H1_3 | DP \rightarrow IHU | .688 | 4.187 | .000 | Supported |
| H1_4 | DP \rightarrow IHA | .854 | 4.788 | .000 | Not Supported |

4.3 Empathy as a mediator on helping intentions: Afghan and Ukrainian refugees.

R.Q. 2: *Does empathy act as a mediator between intentions to help a specific refugee group and prosociality and/or European identification? And if so, is its mediation role the same for both groups?*

Following the positively significant outcomes obtained from the multiple regression analysis in the first part of the study, which examined the main effects of dispositional prosociality and European identification in intentions to help Ukrainians (F

(2,75) = 13,462, $p < 0.001$, $R^2 = .264$) and intentions to help Afghans ($F(2,73) = 17,073$, $p < 0.001$, $R^2 = .319$), the subsequent analytical step involved a mediation analysis conducted with Sobel test. This mediation aimed to assess, on one hand, the indirect effects of dispositional prosociality and European identification on intentions to help Ukrainians, mediated through empathy, and on the other hand, the corresponding indirect effects of dispositional prosociality and European identification on intentions to help Afghans via empathy (see figures 1 and 2)

Mediation of empathy on Intentions to help Ukrainian refugees.

Based on the results reported in table above, we tested and found a significant indirect effect of dispositional prosociality on intentions to help Ukrainians via empathy. Initially, results of simple linear regression revealed that prosociality was a statistically significant predictor of intentions to help Ukrainians ($b = .704$, $\beta = .425$, $t = 4.119$, $p < .001$). Then, when the mediator, empathy, was entered in the regression analysis, prosociality was still a significant predictor of intentions to help Ukrainians ($b = .488$, $\beta = .296$, $t = 3.281$, $p < .01$). Moreover, the mediator, empathy, emerged as a significant predictor of intentions to help Ukrainians ($b = .665$, $\beta = .519$, $t = 5.749$, $p < .001$). To further investigate the mediation, the Sobel test was utilised to examine if empathy significantly mediated the relationship between prosociality and intentions to help Ukrainians. The results confirmed that empathy significantly mediates the relationship between prosociality and intentions to help Ukrainians ($Z = 2.37$, $p < .05$).

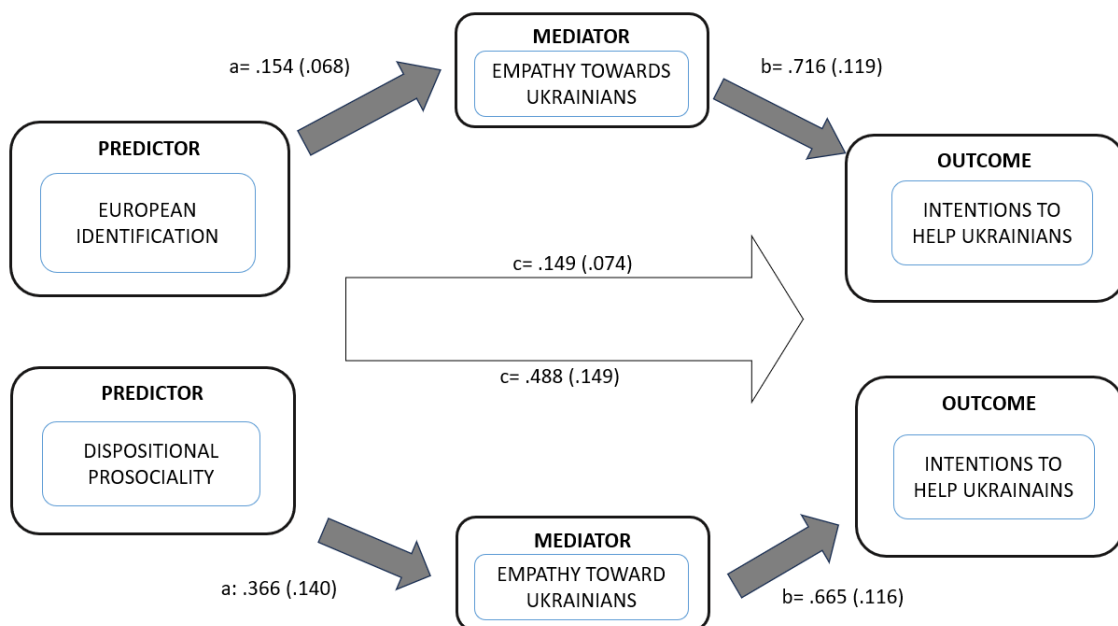
To determine the point estimate of the indirect effect at which the p-value in the Sobel Test is statistically significant, we simply calculate the Unstandardized Coefficient Beta for $A * B$.

Indirect effect $a*b = .243$

Therefore, 0.243 is the estimate of the indirect effect between prosociality and intentions to help Ukrainians via empathy at the p-value of 0.01737712 as shown in the Sobel Test. That means that participants who scored higher on dispositional prosociality reported more empathy with Ukrainians, which in turn bridged the relationship between dispositional prosociality and helping intentions.

Furthermore, using the Sobel test to examine the mediation role of empathy between European identification and intentions to help Ukrainians. The estimate of the indirect effect between European identification and intentions to help Ukrainians through empathy is .110 at the p-value of 0.03404525, significant as shown in the Sobel Test, which means that participants who scored higher in European identification reported more empathy with Ukrainians, which bridged the relationship between European identification on helping intentions.

Figure 1: *Empathy as a mediator on intentions to help Ukrainians*



Mediation of empathy on intentions to help Afghan refugees

The Sobel test was utilised to examine if empathy mediated the relationship between prosociality and intentions to help Afghans. First, results of simple linear regression show that prosociality was a statistically significant predictor of intentions to help Afghans ($b = .900$, $\beta = .186$, $t = 4.828$, $p < .01$). Next, when the mediator, empathy, was entered in the regression analysis, prosociality was still a significant predictor of intentions to help Afghans ($b = .446$, $\beta = .242$, $t = 2.607$, $p > .05$). On the other hand, the mediator, empathy, emerged as a significant predictor of intentions to help Afghans ($b = .670$, $\beta = .561$, $t = 6.049$, $p < .001$). To further investigate the mediation role of empathy, the Sobel test was utilised to examine if empathy significantly mediated the relationship between prosociality and intentions to help Afghans. The results confirmed that empathy significantly mediates the relationship between prosociality and intentions to help Afghans ($Z = 3.43$, $p < .001$). The estimate of the indirect effect ($a * b$) between prosociality and intentions to help Afghans via empathy was 0.432 at the p-value of 0.0005986, which means that participants who exhibit greeted dispositional prosociality tend to express higher levels of empathy towards Afghans, which in turn facilitates the relationship between dispositional prosociality and helping intentions.

However, conducting the Sobel test to assess the mediation role of empathy between European identification and intentions to help Ukrainians, results showed the estimated indirect effect was 0.065 at the p-value of 0.26552546. As expected these results confirmed that empathy does not mediate the relationship between European identification and intentions to help Afghans ($Z = 1.11$, $p > .05$).

Figure 2: *Empathy as a mediator on intentions to help Afghans*

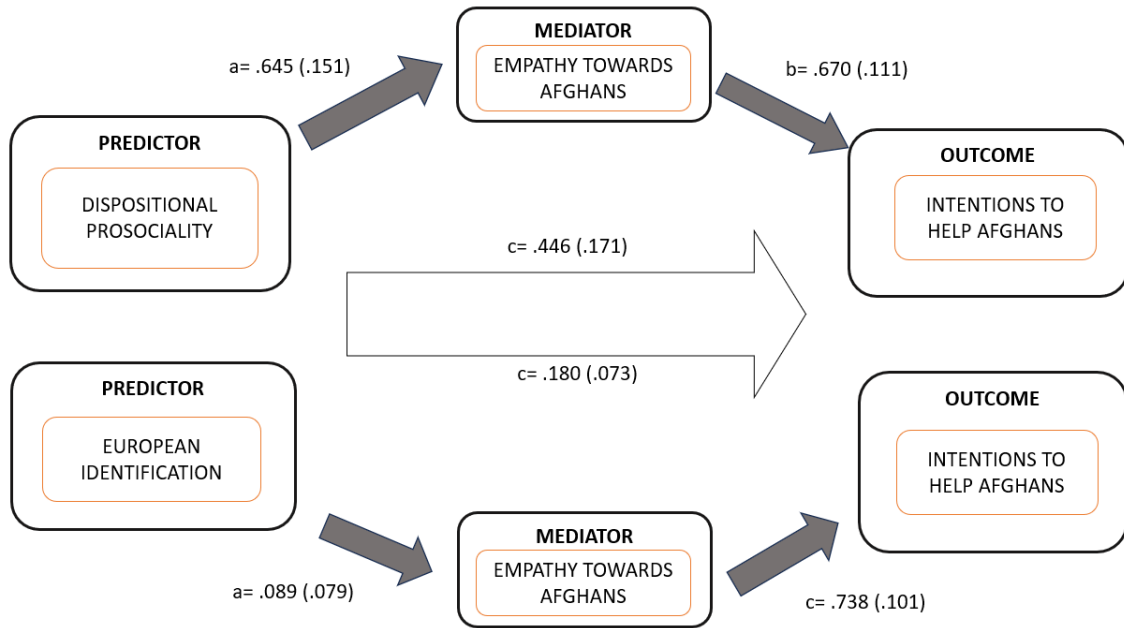
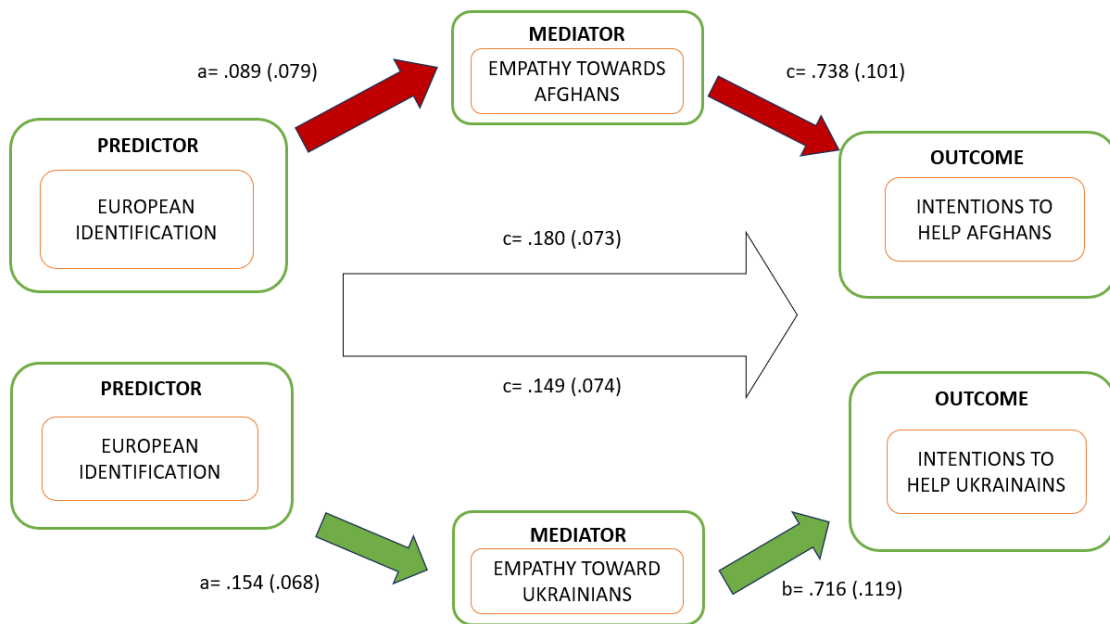
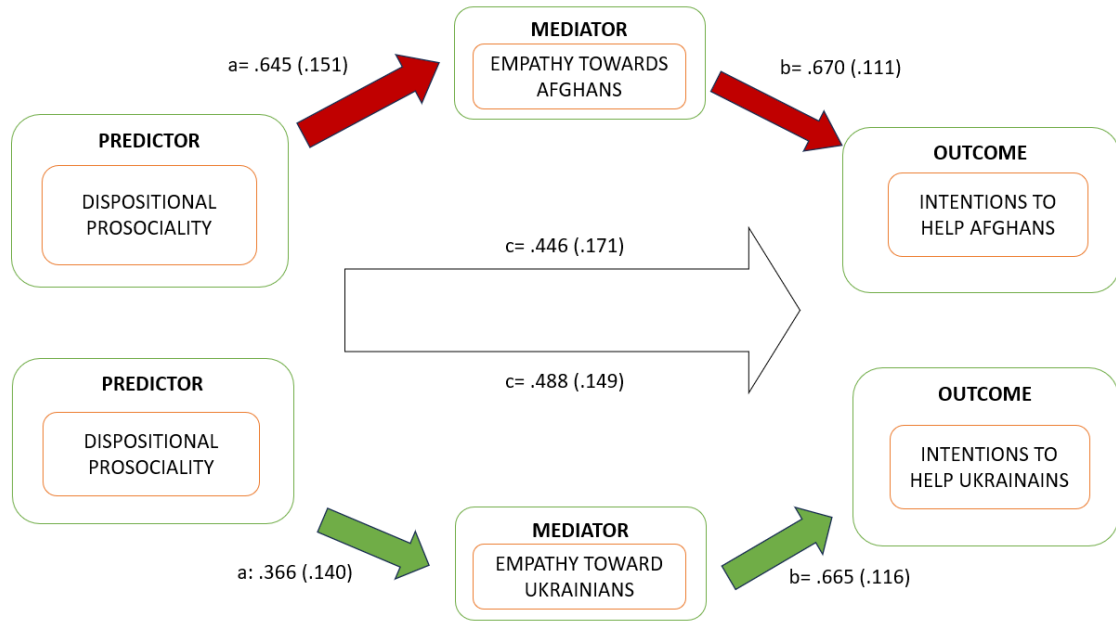


Figure 3 & 4: *Comparisons of mediations*





CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Study findings

This study aims at understanding the main differences and similarities between the impact of dispositional prosociality and European identification on intentions to help two different refugee groups: Ukrainians and Afghans. To do so, first we designed a correlational study in French-speaking Belgium as well as a mediation analysis. In part 1 we compare the relationship of dispositional prosociality and European identification with intentions to help Ukrainians and Afghans, separately. In part 2, we estimated indirect effects of dispositional prosociality and European identification in intentions to help both groups of refugees via empathy.

5.1.1 Impact of prosociality and European identification on intentions to help both Ukrainians and Afghan refugees.

The first research question asked whether dispositional prosociality and a superordinate identity - that is, European identification - equally predict intentions to help Ukrainian refugees and Afghan refugees, or if there are significant differences. Prior research suggested that European identification could be perceived as a superordinate identity (Koning, 2023) and therefore had a positive impact on helping intentions (Politi et al., 2022), but it was uncertain if this would apply equally to Afghan refugees given their perceived differences and distance from European countries. Therefore, it was expected that individuals who identified more strongly with Europeans and reported stronger prosocial dispositions would show significant differences in intentions to help Ukrainians and Afghan refugees. Surprisingly, the results showed that both prosociality

and European identification were consistently linked to intentions to help both refugee groups.

In this first part we explore two different lines of research on intergroup helping. The first one being the effect of dispositional prosociality on intentions to help and the second one the recategorization process into a European superordinate identity and its impact on helping intentions.

Dispositional prosociality has long been studied before (Politi et al., 2022; Lockwood et al., 2014; Xiao et al., 2021). Consistent with our findings, previous research corroborated the existence of stable individual differences in prosocial personality. For instance, a study conducted by Habashi and colleagues (2016) found that prosocial behaviors and other related emotions constitute a broader motivational process associated with an individual's personality. Similarly, during the COVID-19 pandemic, Politi and colleagues (2021) found that collective and cooperative orientations were fundamental motivators for prosociality. In line with these findings, our outcomes found that prosociality is a key factor on intentions to help other groups.

The second line of research, contrary to what was expected, adds a situational explanation by finding that individuals who identify more strongly with Europe as a superordinate identity were equally willing to help both Ukrainians and Afghans. While some studies (Curtis, 2014; Quintelier & Dejaeghere 2008; Visintin et al., 2018;) directly explore the association between European identification and positive attitudes towards immigrants, the spontaneous categorization of individuals into social groups (Reimer et al., 2020), a phenomenon underscored by the process of social identity formation, plays a fundamental role. Social identity theory posits that individuals' affinity and preferences towards their ingroup are often accompanied with rejections of outgroups (Ongur, 2010). Nevertheless, as posted by the common ingroup identity model (Gaertner et al., 1993),

the intergroup bias could be reduced by a process of recategorization in a more inclusive category, fostering a sense of shared identity and similarity among individuals. Visintin and colleagues (2018), in line with our studies, suggest that identification with Europe is a form of superordinate identity that transcends national boundaries (Koning, 2023) and involves individual's attachment to the broader European continent, encompassing both EU and non-EU member countries. Therefore, Ukrainians, often depicted as similar to other European countries in media portrayals and perceived as such may be assimilated within this broader European identity, thereby fostering a sense of same group membership. Politi and colleagues (2022), in line with our results, found support for the direct relationship between European identification and helping intentions towards Ukrainians.

Conversely, Afghans, based on their geographical distance and their perceived dissimilarities from Europe, were not expected to be included in the superordinate identity of Europeans. However, our findings suggest that there is a positive association between European identification and intentions to help Afghan refugees.

It is important to note that this positive relationship could also be attributed to the fact that European identifiers tend to attach greater importance to more inclusive and universalistic values such as social democracy, freedom, openness, and tolerance towards immigrants (Koning, 2023; Visintin et al., 2018).

An alternative explanation of this positive relationship could be found in the influence of implicit norms within a group, as described by Gaertner and colleagues (1993). These norms prescribe how individuals of a certain group should think, feel, and act in various situations. According to this framework, it is plausible that individuals who strongly identify with Europeans and its values have also internalized a norm emphasizing the importance of helping others. Consequently, adhering to this group norm enables

individuals to validate and strengthen their social identity in a positive manner (Tarrant et al., 2010). However further research is needed to explore these options.

5.1.2 Empathy as a mediator between dispositional prosociality and European identification on helping intentions.

In this second part, the research question asked whether empathy was associated with intentions to help Afghan and Ukrainian refugees as two distinct groups. We tested indirect effects of both predictors (prosociality and European identification) via empathy on intentions to help. On one hand, it is shown that dispositional prosociality correlates with intentions to help both Afghans and Ukrainians via empathy. On the other hand, European identification correlates with intentions to help Ukrainians via empathy, but not with intentions to help Afghans (via empathy).

The effect of empathy on prosocial behavior has long been studied and literature suggests that individuals with higher levels of empathy are more motivated to engage in prosocial behaviors and intentions to help others (Lockwood et al., 2014; Xiao et al., 2021; Politi et al., 2023). For instance, Xiao and colleagues (2021) found that high empathy individuals displayed greater willingness to help than those with lower levels of empathy, suggesting that emotion (specifically sadness) and empathy play crucial roles in motivating prosocial helping decisions. Similarly, Baston and colleagues (1991) developed a new framework known as Empathy-Altruism hypothesis suggesting that empathy could induce motivations directed towards alleviating the suffering of individuals in need. In addition, Politi and colleagues (2022), in line with our results, found that individual prosocial dispositions were related to intentions to help Ukrainians via empathy. Therefore, our results resonate with existing literature on empathy and prosocial behavior, supporting the notion that heightened empathy correlates with

increased willingness to help others and therefore, no matter where the group of refugees come from, higher empathy correlates with higher intentions to help.

Additionally, extensive research studies have been conducted in the investigation of empathy and the possible factors underlying its experience (Batson, 2005; Jami & Walker, 2022; Tarrant et al., 2010) as well as the existence of empathy biases. For example, Politi and colleagues (2022) have shown that recategorization of Ukrainians into a superordinate European shared identity could stimulate empathic responses. Similarly, Stürmer and colleagues (2006), in line with social identity theory, found evidence that social categorization was an important moderator between empathy and helping, therefore understanding membership as part of an individual's self-concept, heightened empathy towards in-group members would lead them to uphold a positive social identity.

Furthermore, other researchers have found that along with group membership, self-other similarity could play an important role in increasing empathy-motivated helping (Batson, 1991; Stürmer et al., 2006) because similar features or even undergoing a similar adverse experience (Jami et al., 2023) lead to a perceived shared identity and a heightened concern for their well-being.

Building on existing literature, our findings indicate that highly prosocial individuals exhibited similarly high levels of empathy towards Ukrainians and Afghans, thereby mediating the relationship between dispositional prosociality and helping intentions. This aligns with observations made by Politi and colleagues (2022), suggesting that those predisposed to helping others are more likely to empathize with individuals regardless of whether they are perceived as similar or close.

Furthermore, our analysis revealed distinct associations between empathy, European identification, and intentions to help Afghans and Ukrainian refugees. As anticipated, a significant relationship was observed between European identification on intentions to help Ukrainians mediated by empathy. That means that participants who identified more strongly with Europe reported greater empathy with Ukrainians, influencing their willingness to help. However, we did not find a similar indirect effect via empathy on European identification and intentions to help Afghans. This discrepancy could explain why European societies have been particularly supportive to Ukrainian refugees compared to other refugee groups, such as Afghans or Syrians.

Lastly, after the Russian-Ukrainians conflict made salient the geopolitical borders and psychological boundaries of Europe (Politi et al., 2023), a superordinate European identity seemed to stimulate empathic reactions only towards Ukrainian refugees, among the two studied groups. It is not unsurprising that Ukrainian refugees may be perceived as closer, either geographically or psychologically, fostering a sense of sharing fate or common enemy (Stünzi, 2022). It is important to acknowledge that diverse factors contribute to the experience of empathy, and any biases observed might be due to different psychological processes that were not included in this research study. Therefore causality cannot be claimed and further and detailed exploration in the future is needed.

5.3 Limitations & implications for the future.

While the present study provides valuable insights into European identification as a superordinate identity impacting intentions to help refugees via empathy, several limitations need to be considered when interpreting the results.

First, the data collection faced significant challenges. The lack of direct contact with educational institutions such as Universities made it complicated to ensure enough responses to conduct the study. Attempting to carry out this process only remotely resulted in a slow data collection and in time wasted. This experience highlights the importance of considering an agreement with some University or other institutions for future research, which could save time from the beginning.

Secondly, the small sample size, comprising less than 100 participants, poses a challenge to the generalizability and external validity of the findings. This limitation is not exclusively due to the time limitations in data collection, but also because a certain amount of data was excluded due to incompleteness. The length of the questionnaire may also have been a factor contributing to the incomplete responses by the participants.

Furthermore, the study was structured as an exploratory study of civil society engagement in refugee reception, potentially inducing participants to consider this specific context while answering questions on general prosocial dispositions and self-categorization dynamics. To overcome these limitations, longitudinal designs would be better at separating general processes from reactions to specific groups and understanding dynamic fluctuations in public opinion more effectively (Górska & Tausch, 2022 as cited in Politi et al., 2022). Additionally, the study is correlational, and all focal variables were endogenous, meaning the causality cannot be claimed.

Moreover, as a methodological limitation, although the use of within-subject design offers advantages such as increasing statistical power, they are susceptible to threats to internal validity. Factors such as time-related effects and carryover effects could alter the outcomes. The specific order in which participants are exposed to the different questions can introduce variability that may obscure the true nature of the relationships

under investigation. In order to reduce these carryover effects, randomization of the questions was set. Yet, the possibility of social desirability effect cannot be ruled out.

Sixth, the absence of a focus group in the data collection process is a significant limitation. While surveys provide valuable insights, a focus group could have provided richer qualitative data, potentially mitigating issues related to social desirability biases inherent in open-closed surveys. Focus groups offer a dynamic platform for participants to engage in collective discussions, allowing for the exploration of shared experiences, diverse opinions, and the emergence of nuanced insights. Future research should delve beyond the mere quantification of complex concepts such as identity and European identification, as well as perceived threat in order to get a more deep and contextualized understanding of those phenomena.

Seventh, the Sobel test was conducted for a mediation analysis to its accessibility and easier functioning, but its application is not without limitations. The Sobel Test relies on the normal distribution of coefficients a and b , potentially introducing bias into the estimation of indirect effects, especially when working with smaller sample sizes as ours. Considering these challenges, an alternative worth considering for future research is the bootstrap method, which offers a more robust approach to mediation analysis.

Taking into account what has been mentioned until now, another limitation emerges concerning the complexity of one of the main variables studied: empathy. While this study acknowledges the intricate nature of empathy, it does not extensively explore the different mechanisms underlying its experience. Originally, the intention was to investigate the impact of perceived threat on empathy towards the target groups studied. However, due to constraints such as the survey's length, the missing data, and a relatively small sample size, we were unable to pursue that path of research. A more nuanced

exploration of these mechanisms could contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of the outcomes of the study.

In conclusion, while this study offers valuable insights, these limitations highlight areas for improvement and suggest avenues for future research that could help us understand better the processes behind intergroup helping and selective empathy. Our findings offer a starting point for further research in this field, offering opportunities to deepen our understanding of the underlying mechanisms at play and implementing more inclusive policies promoting indiscriminate prosocial behavior towards all vulnerable groups regardless of their origin.

CHAPTER 6 - CONCLUSIONS

Following the arrival of Ukrainian refugees into Europe, numerous studies have focused their attention either on the double standards applied to Ukrainian refugees compared to other non-western refugee groups, or on the impact of these perceived disparities on helping intentions and potential strategies to reduce them (Dahinden, 2022; El-Nawawy & Elmasry, 2024). Among these studies, Politi and colleagues (2022) conducted one of the first scholarly attempts to understand the social and psychological processes involved in intergroup helping during the Ukrainian humanitarian crisis. Given the fact that their study uniquely focused on intentions to help Ukrainians as a target group, we decided to broaden the scope by exploring reactions to different target groups.

This study has examined the relationship between individual prosocial dispositions and superordinate identity related to intergroup helping, specifically comparing the intentions to help Ukrainian and Afghan refugees. Additionally, the study investigates the role of empathy as a mediator in helping intentions of those two social groups. Surprisingly, the findings indicate a similar and positive relationship of European identification, prosociality and intentions to help both refugee groups. Nevertheless, this association did not hold significance when empathy acted as a mediator with intentions to help Afghans. This suggests that a superordinate European identity can stimulate empathic reactions and promote the recategorization of outgroup members into a common ingroup when those individuals are within the European continent and its borders. In other words, this propensity to help through empathy was not extended to Afghan refugees who most likely were not perceived as part of the shared ingroup (Europeans).

All the information provided here underscores the importance of examining recategorization processes as potential mechanisms to enhance empathy and leaves space

for future research on the underlying mechanisms shaping empathic experiences. However, due to limitations such as the sample size and missing data, this study had limited statistical power and consequently, further research is needed to expand upon these findings.

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ANNEXES

1. Questionnaire

Enquête d'opinion sur l'aide aux personnes Ukrainiennes et Afghanes

INTRODUCTION

Q23 Bonjour,

Je vous invite à participer à une enquête d'opinion sur la mobilisation en Belgique en faveur des Ukrainien·nes et des Afghan·es à raison de mon mémoire. Il n'y a ni bonnes ni mauvaises réponses. C'est votre opinion qui m'intéresse.

Merci de suivre les indications et de répondre individuellement à chaque question. Nous vous demandons d'y répondre le plus spontanément possible, dans l'ordre de présentation. Veuillez noter qu'une fois que vous serez passé à la page suivante, vous ne pourrez plus revenir en arrière.

Participation et retrait

Votre participation à cette recherche est volontaire. Vous pouvez choisir de ne pas participer et si vous décidez de participer vous pouvez cesser de répondre aux questions ou la tâche à tout moment et fermer la fenêtre de votre navigateur sans aucun préjudice.

Confidentialité et sécurité des données

Toutes les données recueillies dans cette étude sont anonymes et seront stockées en toute confidentialité. Les données qui seront utilisées et éventuellement partagées à des fins de recherche ne sont pas identifiables, de telle sorte que personne ne saura quelles données sont les vôtres ni même si vous avez participé·e.

Consentement

En acceptant de cliquer sur la flèche noire en bas à droite pour commencer, vous convenez que:

1. Vous avez lu et compris les informations fournies ci-dessus.
 2. Vous consentez à la gestion et au traitement des données acquises telles que décrites ci-dessus.
 3. Vous avez 16 ans ou plus.
 4. Vous donnez votre consentement libre et éclairé pour participer à cette recherche.
-

INFOS PERSONNELLES

Tout d'abord, merci Quel est votre genre?

Masculin (1)

Feminin (2)

Autre (3)

Q2 Quel âge avez-vous?

Q3 Dans quel pays êtes-vous né·e?

Q4 Quelle est votre nationalité? (vous pouvez en indiquer plusieurs)

Belge (1)

Autre (2) _____

Q6 Êtes-vous ou des membres de votre famille passé·e·s par une procédure d'asile?

Oui (1)

Non (2)

Q7 Êtes-vous actuellement en train d'apporter une quelconque aide à des personnes migrantes?

- Oui (1)
 - Non (2)
-

Q8 Quel intérêt portez-vous en général à la politique?

- Aucun intérêt (1)
 - Peu d'intérêt (2)
 - Assez d'intérêt (3)
 - Beaucoup d'intérêt (4)
 - Énormément d'intérêt (5)
-

Q11 En pensant à vos propres opinions politiques et indépendamment de tout parti actuel en Belgique, où vous placeriez-vous?

- Gauche (1)
- Centre (2)
- Droite (3)

PROSOCIALNESS

Q12 Les affirmations suivantes décrivent un grand nombre de situations courantes.
Lisez attentivement chaque phrase et cochez la réponse qui correspond à votre première réaction

| | Jamais vrai (1) | Occasionnellement vrai (2) | Parfois vrai (3) | Souvent vrai (4) | Presque toujours vrai (5) |
|--|-----------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|
| Je suis heureux·se d'aider mes ami·es et collègues dans leurs activités. (1) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Je partage les choses que j'ai avec mes ami·es. (2) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| J'essaie d'aider les autres. (3) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Je suis empathique avec ceux·lles qui sont dans le besoin. (4) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| J'aide sans hésiter ceux·lles qui sont dans le besoin. (5) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Q13 Les affirmations suivantes décrivent un grand nombre de situations courantes.
Lisez attentivement chaque phrase et cochez la réponse qui correspond à votre première réaction

| | Jamais vrai (1) | Occasionnellement vrai (2) | Parfois vrai (3) | Souvent vrai (4) | Presque toujours vrai (5) |
|--|-----------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|
| Je fais ce que je peux pour éviter que les autres se trouvent en difficulté. (1) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Je ressens intensément ce que les autres ressentent (2) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Je mets mes connaissances et mes capacités au service des autres. (3) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| J'essaie de consoler ceux·lles qui sont tristes. (4) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Je prête facilement de l'argent ou d'autres choses. (5) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Fin del bloque: PROSOCIALNESS

Inicio del bloque: AUTO-IDENTIFICATION

Q22 Les gens ont différentes façons de se percevoir eux-mêmes et la relation qu'ils ont avec les autres. Sur l'échelle suivante, dans quelle mesure vous identifiez-vous aux* ...

* c'est-à-dire vous sentez appartenir, vous vous préoccupez pour, vous ressentez un

lien fort avec

| | Pas du tout (1) | Pas vraiment (2) | Moyennement (3) | Plutôt (4) | Fortement (5) |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Personnes de votre village, localité ou ville de résidence (spécifier) (1) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Les Belges (2) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Les Européen·nes (3) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Tous les humains, partout dans le monde (4) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Fin del bloque: AUTO-IDENTIFICATION

Inicio del bloque: EMPATHIE SPÉCIFIQUE

Q14 Les affirmations suivantes décrivent un grand nombre de situations courantes.
Lisez attentivement chaque phrase et cochez la réponse qui correspond à votre première réaction.

| | Jamais vrai (1) | Occasionnellement vrai (2) | Parfois vrai (3) | Souvent vrai (4) | Presque toujours vrai (5) |
|--|-----------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|
| Je me mets facilement à la place de ceux·lles qui sont dans l'inconfort. (1) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| J'essaie d'être proche de ceux·lles qui sont dans le besoin et de prendre soin d'eux. (2) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Je partage facilement avec mes ami·es toute bonne opportunité qui s'offre à moi. (3) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Je passe du temps avec les ami·es qui se sentent seul·es (4) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Je ressens immédiatement le malaise de mes ami·es, même s'ils·elles ne me le disent pas. (5) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Q16 Dans le courant des dernières années, l'Europe et la Belgique font face à une crise humanitaire exceptionnelle, avec l'arrivée de nombreuses personnes provenant d'Afghanistan fuyant leur pays pour échapper à la guerre.

| | Pas du tout (1) | Pas vraiment (2) | Moyennement (3) | Plutôt (4) | Entièrement (5) |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Je comprend ce que les Afghan·es sont en train de ressentir (1) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Je sais ce que ressentent les Afghan·es en ce moment (2) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Je comprends les ressentis des Afghan·es (3) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Je me sens concerné·e par la situation des Afghan·es. (4) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Je sympathise avec les Afghan·es. (5) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Je ressens de la compassion pour les Afghan·es (6) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Ce que les Afghan·es ressentent se reflète dans la manière dont je me sens. (7) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Je me sens
dans le
même état
que les
Afghan·es.
(8)

Je ressens en
ce moment
les mêmes
émotions
que les
Afghan·es.
(9)

Je ne ressens
pas en ce
moment les
mêmes
émotions
que les
Afghan·es.
(10)



Q29 Pourriez-vous maintenant nous indiquer en quelle mesure seriez-vous motivé·e à entreprendre les actions suivantes pour soutenir les Afghan·es arrivant en Belgique?

| | Pas du tout motivé·e (1) | Pas vraiment motivé·e (2) | Moyennement motivé·e (3) | Plutôt motivé·e (4) | Tout à fait motivé·e (5) |
|---|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Participer à une manifestation pour demander aux autorités d'octroyer des permis de séjour illimité aux Afghan·es arrivant en Belgique. (1) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Aider à collecter des signatures pour demander aux autorités belges de donner plus de droits aux Afghan·es arrivant en Belgique. (2) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Rejoindre un collectif pour organiser des actions politiques en faveur des Afghan·es arrivant en Belgique. (3) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Participer à une occupation pour revendiquer le droit au logement des Afghan·es arrivant en Belgique. (4) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Faire des dons
de vêtements
ou autres biens
de première
nécessité à des
Afghan·es
arrivant en
Belgique. (5)

Donner de mon
temps pour
participer aux
activités d'une
association qui
aide les
Afghan·es
arrivant en
Belgique. (6)

Verser de
l'argent à une
association qui
aide les
Afghan·es
arrivant en
Belgique. (7)

Apporter mon
aide en
hébergeant
temporairement
chez moi un·e
ou plusieurs
Afghan·es
arrivant en
Belgique. (8)



Q28 Dans le courant des dernières années, l'Europe et la Belgique font face à une crise humanitaire exceptionnelle, avec l'arrivée de nombreuses personnes provenant d'Ukraine fuyant leur pays pour échapper à la guerre.

| | Pas du tout (1) | Pas vraiment (2) | Moyennement (3) | Plutôt (4) | Entièrement (5) |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Je comprend ce que les Ukrainien·nes sont en train de ressentir (1) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Je sais ce que ressentent les Ukrainien·nes en ce moment (2) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Je comprends les ressentis des Ukrainien·nes. (3) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Je me sens concerné·e par la situation des Ukrainien·nes. (4) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Je sympathise avec les Ukrainien·nes. (5) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Je ressens de la compassion pour les Ukrainien·nes. (6) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Ce que les Ukrainien·nes ressentent se reflète dans la manière dont je me sens. (7) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Je me sens dans le même état que les Ukrainien·nes. (8) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Je ressens en ce moment les mêmes émotions que les Ukrainien·nes.
(9)

Je ne ressens pas en ce moment les mêmes émotions que les Ukrainien·nes.
(10)

30 Pourriez-vous maintenant nous indiquer en quelle mesure seriez-vous motivé·e à entreprendre les actions suivantes pour soutenir les Ukrainien·ne·s arrivant en Belgique?

| | Pas du tout motivé·e (1) | Pas vraiment motivé·e (2) | Moyennement motivé·e (3) | Plutôt motivé·e (4) | Tout à fait motivé·e (5) |
|---|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Participer à une manifestation pour demander aux autorités d'octroyer des permis de séjour illimité aux Ukrainien·nes arrivant en Belgique. (1) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Aider à collecter des signatures pour demander aux autorités belges de donner plus de droits aux Ukrainien·nes arrivant en Belgique. (2) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Rejoindre un collectif pour organiser des actions politiques en faveur des Ukrainien·nes arrivant en Belgique. (3) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Participer à une occupation pour revendiquer le droit au logement des Ukrainien·nes arrivant en Belgique. (4) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Faire des dons
de vêtements
ou autres biens
de première
nécessité à des
Ukrainien·nes
arrivant en
Belgique. (5)

Donner de mon
temps pour
participer aux
activités d'une
association qui
aide les
Ukrainien·nes
arrivant en
Belgique. (6)

Verser de
l'argent à une
association qui
aide les
Ukrainien·nes
arrivant en
Belgique. (7)

Apporter mon
aide en
hébergeant
temporairement
chez moi un·e
ou plusieurs
Ukrainien·nes
arrivant en
Belgique. (8)

IDENTIFICATION

Q27 En utilisant la représentation graphique suivante, choisissez l'image qui représente dans quelle mesure vous vous considérez proche des personnes afghanes, A signifiant une séparation totale et E un chevauchement total entre vous-même et les Afghan·es.

A (1)

B (2)

C (3)

D (4)

E (5)

Q26 En utilisant la représentation graphique suivante, choisissez l'image qui représente dans quelle mesure vous vous considérez proche des personnes ukrainiennes, A signifiant une séparation totale et E un chevauchement total entre vous-même et les Ukrainien·es.

A (1)

B (2)

C (3)

D (4)

E (5)

MENACE PERÇUE

Menace/danger Quelle importance acordez-vous à ... ?

| | 1=Extremement (1) | 2=Beaucoup (2) | 3= Assez (3) | 4=Pas beaucoup (4) | 5= Pas du tout (5) |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| L'avènement de la 3ème guerre mondiale? (1) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| L'invasion de la Russie? (2) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| L'invasion d'un pays européen, et par conséquent, son entrée en guerre. (3) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| L'avènement du fondamentalisme islamique en Europe (4) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| La crise climatique (5) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| L'afflux excessif de migrants (6) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

MÉCONNAISSANCE

Q22 Lisez attentivement chaque question et cochez la réponse qui correspond à votre première réaction.

| | Oui (1) | Non (2) |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Êtes-vous déjà allé·e en Ukraine? (1) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Êtes-vous déjà allé·e en Afghanistan? (2) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Pourriez-vous expliquer à un·e ami·e ce qui se passe en Ukraine en ce moment? (3) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Pourriez-vous expliquer à un·e ami·e ce qui se passe en Afghanistan en ce moment? (4) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Pourriez-vous me dire quel a été le début de la situation en Ukraine? (5) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Pourriez-vous me dire quel a été le début de la situation en Afghanistan? (6) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Connaissez-vous ou avez-vous des ami·es d'Ukraine? (7) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Connaissez-vous ou avez-vous des ami·es d'Afghanistan? (8) | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |