Chapter 7
The SOUTH Model: On the Pros and Cons of Strategic Outgroup Helping

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At the time of writing this chapter (summer of 2016), European countries are faced with a large number of refugees from Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan. This raises some interesting moral questions: should these refugees be helped by offering not just food and shelter on a short-term basis, but also more permanently in the form of housing, financial subsistence, and access to education and employment opportunities? If so, whose job is it to offer these forms of help? Although the answer to the first question is often an unequivocal 'yes', the answer to the second question tends to come more hesitantly. People have an innate belief that groups 'should take care of their own'— a belief that is firmly rooted in our evolutionary background (van Vugt & Park, 2010). When the country of origin is incapacitated as a provider of help, a small battle ensues as to who should take on this task instead, resulting in countries closing their borders, and a general increase in negative sentiment towards refugees.

The example above illustrates the complicated nature of outgroup helping. Although ingroup helping (that is, helping someone within the same group) is often motivated by concerns for the other's wellbeing, prosocial concerns play a much smaller role with regard to outgroup helping (helping members of another group). Yet, given the diminished role of prosocial motives, it is at least remarkable that empirical research does not show convincing evidence of an ingroup favouring bias in helping (Saucier, Miller, & Doucet, 2005). The most likely reason for this is that outgroup helping is rooted in a different set of motives that are unique to the inter-group context (Stürmer & Snyder, 2010; van Leeuwen & Täuber, 2010). As I elaborate further in this chapter, the motives for outgroup helping are often strategic in nature, driven by the needs of the ingroup rather than those of the outgroup.

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Although various strategic motives for outgroup helping have been identified over the past decade (see Nadler, 2016; van Leeuwen & Täuber, 2010, for overviews), these motives appear to be discarded with regard to their potential worth for the promotion of outgroup helping. Strategic outgroup helping is typically referred to as something sinister, reflecting 'the dark side of helping', as opposed to non-strategic helping, which is seen as 'genuine' (Owuamalam & Rubin, 2014; Worchel, 1984; Wright & Richard, 2010). Even though I do not contest the value of non-strategic helping, in this chapter I question the notion that strategic outgroup helping should be discarded outright simply because it does not reflect a genuine concern for the outgroup's needs. At the core of this discussion lies a fundamental question: should we only support and promote outgroup helping when the helping party has nothing to gain from the interaction? Although the answer to this question is undoubtedly a subjective one—a judgement call that people need to make for themselves—I can provide information in this chapter that may facilitate the thought process.

To this end, after briefly discussing some core motives that drive ingroup helping, I provide an overview of research on what I have termed 'non-strategic outgroup helping' and 'strategic outgroup helping'. Although the distinction between these two types of outgroup helping may not always be clear cut, they can generally be distinguished from each other by the fact that strategic outgroup helping tends to focus on the needs and desires of the *ingroup*. Non-strategic helping, on the other hand, tends to focus on the needs of the *outgroup*. I then compare these two types of helping to shed more light on their relative pros and cons. Finally, I discuss the various motives behind strategic outgroup helping in more detail, focusing on their psychological consequences for recipients of help.

Ingroup Helping

Evolutionary psychologists have argued that it is an innate human trait to first take care of ingroup members (van Vugt & Park, 2010). Helping ingroup members increases the chances of survival because it enhances the likelihood of reciprocation and continuation of the gene pool. People tend to help kin over non-kin in life-and-death situations (Burnstein, Crandall, & Kitayama, 1994), members of the same ethnic group over other ethnic groups (Frey & Gaertner, 1986), and people who are culturally similar over people with a different cultural background (Stürmer, Snyder, Kropp, & Siem, 2006). The tendency to favour ingroup members in helping reflects a prescriptive norm that is already discernible in childhood. Indeed, studies among 8- to 13-year-old children showed that children evaluated not-helping a child from the same ethnic background more negatively than not-helping a child from a different ethnic background (Sierksma & Thijs, Chap. 4; Sierksma, Thijs, & Verkuyten, 2014).

One of the key factors that drive ingroup helping is a sense of empathy, or the ability to recognise and experience emotions in others (Batson, 1998; Dovidio, Allen, & Schroeder, 1990). However, research has shown that people find it more difficult to detect and recognise another's suffering when the victim is distant in

space, time, or kinship, or belongs to a different political, racial, or social group (Batson & Ahmad, 2009). As a consequence, they generally experience less empathy for outgroup members than for ingroup members (Čehajić, Brown, & Gonzalez, 2009; Cikara, Bruneau, & Saxe, 2011; Stürmer & Siem, Chap. 6; Tarrant, Dazeley, & Cottom, 2009).

Interestingly, the feeling of empathy appears to be governed by social norms, just like helping itself. For example, Tarrant et al. (2009) found that participants in one study reported stronger empathy and helping intentions for an ingroup member than for an outgroup member. In two subsequent studies, however, they were able to increase empathy for outgroup members by activating an ingroup norm that prescribed this emotion. Moreover, empathy fully mediated the subsequent expression of more positive attitudes towards the outgroup. Thus, it appears that people have evolved to focus their empathic concern and help on ingroup members rather than outgroup members, and that these feelings and actions are enforced by social norms.

Non-strategic Outgroup Helping

Intergroup Contact

The origin of research into outgroup helping is firmly rooted in studies on non-strategic motives. Perhaps the most extensive line of research on positive outgroup attitudes and behaviours revolves around the beneficial effects of intergroup contact. Contact with individual outgroup members reduces prejudice, and this effect tends to generalise to the entire outgroup (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Although most research on intergroup contact did not include measures of outgroup helping, the few studies that did include such measures found that intergroup contact also increased prosocial attitudes and actions directed at outgroup members (Bousfield & Hutchison, 2010; Dovidio, Gaertner, Validzic, Matoka, & Johnson, 1997).

One of the mechanisms underlying the contact effect is a reduction of anxiety. Research has shown that positive intergroup contact alleviates anxiety over interacting with outgroup members (Blascovich, Mendes, Hunter, Lickel, & Kowai-Bell, 2001). Bousfield and Hutchison (2010) found that university students who reported having high-quality contact with elderly people also reported a greater willingness to help the elderly. Moreover, this association was mediated by intergroup anxiety.

Empathy

Another mechanism by which intergroup contact is proposed to reduce prejudice and promote outgroup helping is via increased empathy. Through contact, people gain a sense of how outgroup members feel and how they view the world (Pettigrew, Tropp, Wagner, & Christ, 2011). For example, Swart, Hewstone, Christ, and Voci

(2011) found that empathy mediated the positive effect of intergroup contact on positive outgroup attitudes. However, empirical evidence to support the proposed positive effect of intergroup contact on empathy is scarce, as is evidence of the mediating effect of empathy in the association between intergroup contact and outgroup helping.

In addition to the fact that people in general experience less empathy for outgroup members than for ingroup members (Cikara et al., 2011; Tarrant et al., 2009), a second possible explanation for the scarcity of empirical support for the contact–empathy–outgroup helping relationship may lie in the fact that empathy is a much weaker *predictor* of outgroup helping than of ingroup helping (Koschate, Oethinger, Kuchenbrandt, & van Dick, 2012; Stürmer et al., 2006). It is therefore not surprising that interventions focused on promoting outgroup helping by increasing empathy have met with mixed success (Cikara et al., 2011). One of the reasons for this may be that empathy for outgroup members in the context of an intergroup interaction can trigger concerns about how one (as a member of the ingroup) may be evaluated by the outgroup—and these concerns tend to debilitate empathic responses (Vorauer & Sasaki, 2009). As Cikara et al. (2011) conclude, until we know more about the limitations of empathy in intergroup contexts, we should be careful not to design intervention programmes that rely too heavily on empathy.

Common Ingroup

If people have biologically evolved to care more for ingroup members than for outgroup members, then promoting outgroup helping could be an uphill battle. The most promising avenue forward would be to induce people to view other outgroup members as part of their ingroup—or at least, not as part of an outgroup. This has been the main focus of a body of research conducted by Dovidio, Gaertner, and colleagues (e.g., Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio, Bachman, & Rust, 1993, see also Dovidio, Gaertner, & Abad-Merino, Chap. 1). For example, Dovidio et al. (1997) conducted an experiment in which they created two three-person task groups. In a second phase of the experiment, the two groups interacted under conditions designed to enhance a perception of one-ness—a more inclusive one-group representation. When asked to help a (former) outgroup member and an ingroup member, participants did not discriminate in their willingness to be of assistance to ingroup or outgroup members. However, in a control condition, in which the original two-group categorisation was maintained, participants showed clear ingroup favouritism in helping. These findings are echoed in research by Stürmer and colleagues, who demonstrated that perceptions of similarity (an indicator of one-ness) between the ingroup helper and the outgroup target of help positively predicted helping (Siem & Stürmer, 2012; Stürmer, Snyder, & Omoto, 2005).

Levine, Prosser, Evans, and Reicher (2005) later extended these findings to a more natural setting. Fans of the Manchester United football club were unobtrusively observed when they witnessed an unknown person (actually a research confederate)

slip and fall while wearing a shirt of the same football team that they supported (i.e. Manchester United), a shirt indicating a rival team (Liverpool), or a neutral shirt. When the confederate wore an ingroup shirt, he was helped more frequently than when he wore a rival shirt or a neutral shirt. In a follow-up study, Manchester United fans were first induced to think of football fans in terms of a more inclusive category. When confronted with the fallen confederate in a second phase of the experiment, the confederate was helped as often when wearing the Manchester United shirt as when wearing the Liverpool shirt, and in both conditions more frequently than when wearing a neutral shirt. Emphasising a more inclusive level of categorisation was thus proven to be an effective means of reducing ingroup favouritism in helping.

Subsequent research (e.g. Wakefield et al., 2011; see also Ryan, Reicher, & Haslam, Chap. 12) nicely illustrates how such findings are affected by the flexibility of social identities. Who we see as an ingroup member and who we see as an outgroup member is far from fixed. For example, Scottish participants seeing a young woman of Chinese appearance wearing a Scotland football shirt can view her as an outgroup member (Chinese) or as a fellow ingroup member (Scottish). What type of categorisation they apply can have important consequences for how they treat this person. As Wakefield et al. (2011) demonstrated, Scottish participants who were induced to see her as a fellow Scot helped her more often than participants who were induced to see her as part of a Chinese outgroup.

Although certainly effective, recategorising existing groups into a single, common group, or sustainably enhancing the salience of an existing shared identity, may not always be possible or even desirable. Social categories exist for a reason, and their salience is determined by their practical purpose and by the comparison context (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). We may be able to induce Manchester United fans to think of Liverpool fans as 'fellow football fans' for a while, but this feeling of we-ness will assuredly disappear when Manchester United is facing Liverpool on the football field. Likewise, a conflict between the production and sales department within an organisation may be temporarily forgotten and replaced with acts of prosociality and helping during a corporate outing filled with team-building exercises. However, when the employees return to the office the next day, they re-assume their roles of sales or production employees, and most of the interaction between the departments is rooted in these different identities rather than in the common organisational identity.

Self-Expansion

Wright and colleagues (Davies, Tropp, Aron, Pettigrew, & Wright, 2011; Wright & Richard, 2010) argue that people can include outgroups into their own identity by developing meaningful relationships with members of those outgroups. The beauty of this strategy is that it does not require a change to the actual or perceived two-group categorisation. The theory builds on the notion that self-expansion is a central human motivation. Self-expansion refers to enhancing one's efficacy by expanding

the self to include social and material resources, including other people and even entire groups (Aron et al., 2004). When people have a close relationship with a member of an outgroup, they not only include this person in their own extended identity, they also include this person's entire group into themselves. For example, if your best friend throughout childhood was Indonesian (and you are not), then you probably not only see this friend as part of your identity, but Indonesians in general are likely to occupy a special place in your perception of yourself. Consequently, your attitude towards Indonesians may be more positive than that of other ingroup members, and this positive orientation towards Indonesians can extend to acts of generosity and helping (Wright & Richard, 2010).

Strategic Outgroup Helping: Introducing the SOUTH Model

As opposed to non-strategic helping, strategic outgroup helping is guided by a concern for the ingroup, rather than the outgroup. That is, by helping (a member of) the outgroup, the ingroup somehow stands to gain as well. It is that ingroup gain, rather than (or in addition to) the outgroup's need, that motivates helping.

Although strategic outgroup helping has always been cast in a somewhat shady light, as discussed at the beginning of this chapter, it has been the focus of a small but growing body of research over the last two decades. In our 2010 chapter (van Leeuwen & Täuber, 2010), we provided an overview of some of these strategic motives, as identified in intergroup helping research to that point (see also Wakefield & Hopkins, Chap. 8). In the current chapter, I briefly summarise these motives and augment this list with additional motives taken from more recent helping research. This overview of strategic motives for outgroup helping is captured in the Strategic OUTgroup Helping (SOUTH) model, which is depicted in Fig. 7.1.

Central to the model is the notion that the desirability of strategic outgroup help revolves around the alignment of the ingroup's and the outgroup's needs. By alignment, I do not mean that their needs are identical—by definition, they are not. However, alignment may exist when the specific act of helping simultaneously fulfils a specific need on the part of the helper and a specific need on the part of the recipient. This alignment may depend on contextual factors, which are included as potential moderators in the SOUTH model. When the alignment of ingroup and outgroup needs is good, the act of helping is assumed to benefit both the ingroup and the outgroup (albeit for different reasons), and may therefore be considered desirable.

In this section, I focus on the left part of the SOUTH model and briefly introduce each strategic motive in the model, with an emphasis on the newly identified motives of collective guilt or pride, inclusion, and distinctiveness. Next, I attempt to shed more light on the desirability of non-strategic and strategic outgroup helping by comparing the two with regard to a number of important issues. I subsequently zoom in on strategic outgroup helping and examine in more detail how helping that is triggered by various strategic motives contributes to needs alignment or misalignment. This examination focuses on the middle and right-hand parts of the SOUTH model. Following
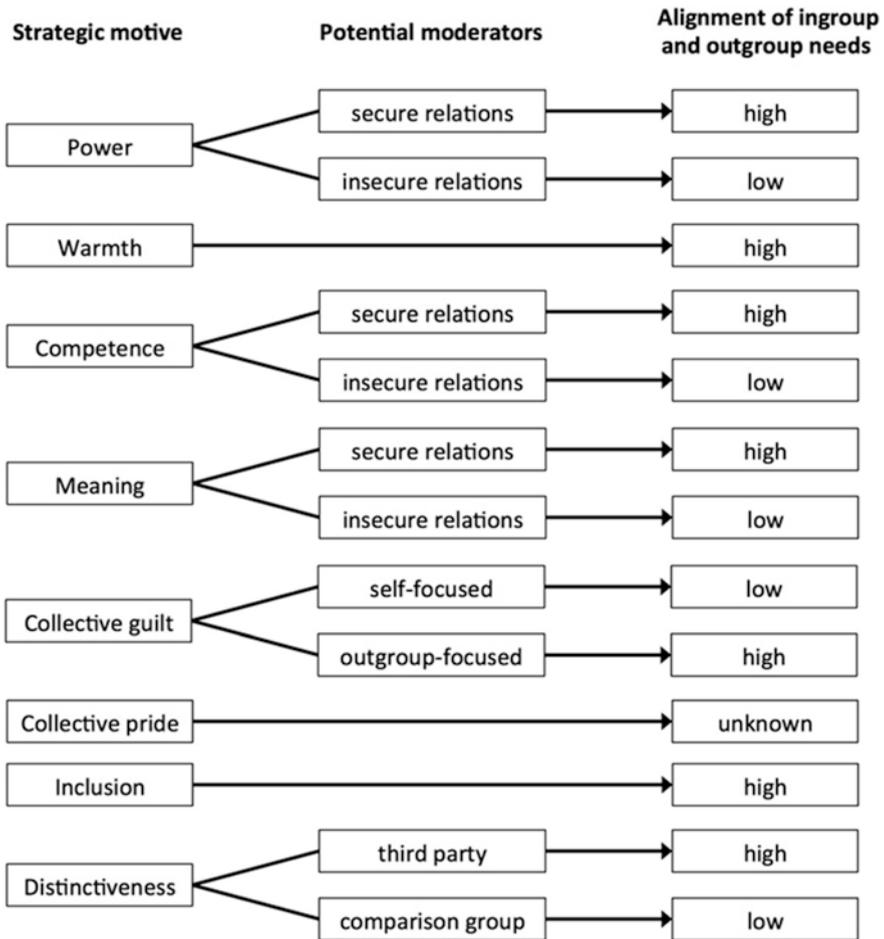
Fig. 7.1 The Strategic OUTgroup Helping (SOUTH) model

this, I briefly discuss some of the consequences of a misalignment of needs, not just for potential recipients of help but also for helpers. Finally, to end this chapter on a positive note, I highlight one promising strategy that recipients of help can employ to cope with the psychological threat of receiving outgroup help.

Power

The act of helping is typically associated with power and status differentials, as it implies an exchange between a party that is in possession of a valued resource and a party that is in need of this resource. The central tenet of intergroup helping

as a status relations model (ISHR; Halabi & Nadler, Chap. 10; Nadler, 2002) is that, when status and power relations are secure, help flows from the higher status group to the lower status group to both parties' satisfaction, even though the exchange subtly reinforces the power differential. However, when status and power relations are insecure and thus unstable, the exchange of help can be used to challenge or maintain the status quo. Under those circumstances, members of the higher status group increase the help they extend to the lower status outgroup to defend their group against the looming status downfall (Nadler, Harpaz-Gorodeisky, & Ben-David, 2009). Simultaneously, members of the lower status group reduce the amount of help they seek from the higher status group (Nadler & Halabi, 2006), especially when it involves a type of help that renders the recipient dependent on the help-giver (i.e. dependency-oriented help; Halabi, Dovidio, & Nadler, 2014).

Warmth and Competence

Helping is not just a powerful tool to challenge or maintain intergroup power differentials, it can also be used to boost the ingroup's image. The act of helping is typically associated with warmth and kindness, but can simultaneously demonstrate important qualities or resources on the part of the helping group. Helping, in other words, is in many respects the perfect impression management tool.

Research by Hopkins et al. (2007; see also Wakefield & Hopkins, Chap. 8) showed that people can use outgroup helping to demonstrate their group's warmth and generosity. Participants became more generous towards other groups when they were led to believe that the members of one specific outgroup viewed them as mean and stingy. Later research by van Leeuwen and Täuber (2012, see also van Leeuwen & Jongh, 2015) replicated these findings and demonstrated that concerns about the public image of the ingroup were the motivation for this behaviour. People care about what others think of them as members of their group. The belief that others see their group as uncaring, mean and cold, could trigger actions aimed at refuting this negative meta-stereotype. Helping other groups, even (or especially) the one group that holds these negative beliefs and expectations, can be a powerful means of creating a more favourable impression.

Of course, helping not only demonstrates kindness, it can also demonstrate important ingroup qualities that are related to the competence of a group. Across two experiments, we found that group members who deemed their low group status to be unjust and insecure used the opportunity to help another group in a knowledge quiz to display their own group's competence (van Leeuwen & Täuber, 2011). Through helping another group on a competence-related dimension, group members could challenge their ingroup's low status position.

Meaning

A third type of strategic motive involves the use of helping to reaffirm the meaningfulness of the ingroup identity. Strong dependency relations often shape our identity to the point where part of who we are is defined by the fact that others depend on us and need our help, for example, in the case of fire-fighters or nurses. Being able to help others provides meaning to our identity, and even to the very existence of our group. In support, I found that participants whose national identity was threatened expressed stronger preferences for helping the victims of a natural disaster, but only in a domain that was uniquely and positively related to their own (threatened) national identity (van Leeuwen, 2007). These findings showed that outgroup helping can be used strategically to reaffirm the meaningfulness and value of a threatened group identity.

Collective Guilt and Pride

Outgroup helping can also be rooted in the collective emotions of guilt and pride. Doosje, Branscombe, Spears, and Manstead (1998) demonstrated that people can feel guilty over harm inflicted by their group on another group, even if they themselves were not involved in this harm-doing. These feelings of collective guilt can motivate the willingness to make reparations in the form of helping the victimised outgroup (Brown & Cehajic, 2008). However, the relationship between collective guilt and helping is not as straightforward as one might expect. Because guilt is such an aversive emotion, members who identify highly with the group in particular tend to deny their group's harm-doing to avoid feeling guilty (Wohl, Branscombe, & Klar, 2006), which suppresses their willingness to make reparations (Doosje et al., 1998; van Leeuwen, van Dijk, & Kaynak, 2013). Group members who identify on a lower level, on the other hand, are still implicated by the actions of their group, even though they do not feel strong ties with their group. They therefore tend to be more supportive of helping the victimised outgroup to make amends.

In two studies, my colleagues and I investigated the relationship between feelings of collective guilt and feelings of collective pride with outgroup helping (van Leeuwen et al., 2013). Collective pride is the opposite of collective guilt in this context: although collective guilt is an aversive emotion that triggers defensive reactions among members who identify highly with the group and suppresses the desire to help the victimised outgroup, collective pride is a subjectively pleasant emotion that could lower defensive barriers and boost outgroup helping, particularly among people who identify on a high level. It may seem strange to speak of feelings of pride in the same context as guilt. However, the (historical) treatment of another group can be a source of ambiguity. For example, during World War II (WWII), the

Dutch collaborated with the Nazis in the persecution and exportation of Jews (a source of guilt), but also resisted this regime through acts of sabotage and by hiding victims in their homes (a source of pride). We used the context of WWII to investigate the effect of appeals to collective guilt and pride on the willingness to help the surviving victims and their relatives, who often still suffer the consequences of their persecution (van Leeuwen et al., 2013). As expected, non-Jewish, Dutch participants who identified highly with their group expressed greater willingness to help the Jewish victims of the war and their surviving relatives when they were focused on the positive acts of the Dutch during the war, compared with participants who identified highly and who focused on the negative acts of their country. These results were later replicated by Mashuri and Zaduqisti (2014) in an Indonesian context.

The findings discussed in this section on collective guilt and pride highlight the importance of overcoming or preventing defensive barriers. If we look at charity campaigns, for example, we see that appeals to collective guilt are common practice. Whether we are made to feel guilty over the fact that we wear low-cost fashionable clothing even though the people who fabricated these outfits live and work in horrible conditions, or over the suffering of animals at the hands of people, such campaigns are expected to elicit feelings of compassion and acts of generosity. They seem to overlook the fact, however, that for some people the confrontation with the suffering of others at the hands of ingroup members is so appalling that they back away from the message entirely. For these people, a different approach, for example, one in which they are made aware of many positive acts of their ingroup vis à vis the target of help, may be more promising.

Inclusion

Nadler (2012) argued that helping relations are affected by the need for belongingness and solidarity. We help others to express solidarity and tighten bonds. Indeed, if helping fellow ingroup members is a social norm (Tarrant et al., 2009), then the act of helping may very well be associated with perceptions of inclusion. It thus seems plausible that people can also use helping strategically to tighten their bond with a subgroup that threatens to leave the larger common ingroup. In this type of situation, the subgroup can be considered an outgroup at a lower level of categorisation, but part of the same common ingroup at a more inclusive level of categorisation.

This notion was at the core of two studies I conducted with Ali Mashuri in the context of separatism in Indonesia (van Leeuwen & Mashuri, 2013). Participants were Javanese students who were induced to believe that existing separatist movements in Aceh (study 1) or West-Papua (Study 2) were on the rise. This led participants to fear the continuation and integrity of their national identity, which would undoubtedly be affected by the secession of an entire province. We subsequently measured their support for a number of actions the government could take to help the separatist province. Compared with a control condition in which participants were reassured that the separatist movement remained dormant, participants who

feared its secession expressed more support for helping this province. Importantly, they did not wish their government to exert more control over the separatist province, which contradicts an explanation of regaining control and asserting dominance. Instead, results from the second study showed that participants' desire for the separatist province to be included within the nation predicted their support for helping this group.

Distinctiveness

Just as helping can be used to signal inclusiveness and solidarity, it can also be used to differentiate the ingroup from a comparison outgroup. The need to be distinct from other groups is universally recognised as vital to groups (Jetten & Spears, 2003). Since groups exist by virtue of their distinctiveness from other groups, groups that are different from other groups provide a stronger basis for identity and elicit greater identification from their members (Postmes, 2003). Group distinctiveness is often sought through some form of intergroup hostility or discrimination (Jetten & Spears, 2003). However, outgroup discrimination is not only harmful to the outgroup, it can also damage the reputation of the ingroup (Shnabel et al., 2008). Fieke Harinck and I therefore sought to investigate the effectiveness of an alternative, more benign strategy for achieving group distinctiveness: third party helping (van Leeuwen & Harinck, 2016).

Building on insights from classic balance theories (e.g. Heider, 1946), we reasoned that, when the ingroup seeks to increase its distinctiveness from a comparison outgroup, it may achieve this by helping another outgroup (i.e. the third party) that has a negative relationship with the comparison outgroup. As we have seen previously, helping can be used to signal solidarity and inclusiveness (van Leeuwen & Mashuri, 2013). Balance theories state that people are motivated to achieve an affectively uniform impression of people (Heider, 1946). By helping a third party that is known to have a negative or distant relationship with a comparison outgroup, ingroup members can achieve closeness with the third party, and, de facto, increase their distinctiveness from the comparison outgroup.

We investigated this notion in four studies (van Leeuwen & Harinck, 2016). The first three studies focused on how third-party helping affects group distinctiveness in the eyes of outside observers. The fourth study focused on the active use of third-party helping in response to a threat to group distinctiveness. Results from the first three studies showed that, compared with a control condition, third-party helping was just as effective as discrimination of the comparison group in promoting perceived group distinctiveness. However, third-party helping elicited a more positive public image than did discrimination.

Study 4 provided evidence of the spontaneous use of third-party helping in response to a threat to distinctiveness. Participants were white Americans who were induced to believe that the population of Hispanic Americans in the USA (already the biggest minority group) would continue to grow in the future, and that analysts

expected this to blur the boundaries between white and Hispanic Americans. In an ostensibly unrelated second part of the study, we asked participants to what extent they supported additional government aid to help underachieving black schools in the USA. Given the widely-held belief that negative tensions exist between black and Hispanic Americans, which was made salient in the study, helping black Americans would enable white Americans to increase their distinctiveness from Hispanic Americans. This was exactly what we found among participants who identified highly with their American nationality, and who could be expected to be most affected by a threat to their group's distinctiveness. Those who identified highly, but not those who identified on a low level, increased their support for a policy to help underachieving black schools when they were led to believe that the distinctiveness of their group of white Americans was threatened by the growing group of Hispanic Americans, but not when they were led to believe that the distinctiveness of their group was secure. Together, these findings demonstrate that helping a third party can contribute to the distinctiveness of the ingroup, and that people use it strategically in response to a threat to their group's distinctiveness.

Comparing Strategic and Non-strategic Outgroup Helping

The overview of strategic and non-strategic motives provided above illustrates how far we have come in identifying factors that affect and promote outgroup helping. At this point, however, we need to take a step back and take a critical look at each of these motives to see if, and under what conditions, they can or should be used to stimulate people to help members of other groups. This inspection begins with a general assessment of the desirability of strategic and non-strategic forms of outgroup helping. To this end, I start by comparing the two categories of strategic and non-strategic motives.

When comparing strategic and non-strategic outgroup helping, it is important to realise that the origin of research into both types of helping is different, and so is their focus. The research discussed in the non-strategic section of this chapter was typically designed to find ways in which the negative effects of group membership on prosocial behaviour and altruism directed at other groups could be overcome. For example, the common ingroup identity model (Gaertner, Mann, Murrell, & Dovidio, 1989) was originally developed to examine the notion that intergroup contact, in conjunction with factors that promote the perception of a common group identity, can reduce ingroup bias and discrimination. Later research demonstrated that the beneficial effects of a common identity extend to helping as well (e.g. Dovidio et al., 1997; Levine et al., 2005). Crucially, all this research focuses on the reduction or elimination of discrimination, such that the same level of prosociality is extended to (former) outgroup members as to ingroup members. The motives for outgroup helping, then, are often the same as the motives originally identified as those driving ingroup helping.

The research described in the strategic outgroup helping section of this chapter, in contrast, has a different focus. Rather than helping as an expression of prosociality or altruism, this research studied helping as an act in and of itself, analysing the provision of aid in various situations, and for various motives. As Nadler (2012, p. 395) wrote: "Helping does not imply self-sacrifice or totality in the correspondence of behavior with emotion and motivation." The research described in the strategic helping section was therefore not (primarily) driven by the desire to reduce discrimination or improve intergroup relations, it was merely aimed at investigating the factors that drive the exchange of help between groups. As a consequence, this research identified a range of motives that are specific to outgroup helping, now summarised in the SOUTH model. This difference in origin and focus of research on strategic and non-strategic helping has a number of implications. I discuss three of these in more detail in the following.

Equal Treatment or Outgroup Favouritism?

Because research into non-strategic outgroup helping is aimed at reducing discrimination, the most ideal outcome of strategies appealing to these motives is perhaps that, all else being equal, outgroup members in need are extended the same level of help as ingroup members in need. Theoretically, this means that a higher level of outgroup helping, i.e. outgroup favouritism, cannot be obtained. In contrast, research into strategic motives has focused on factors that drive outgroup helping, irrespective of what drives ingroup helping. This research identified a number of factors that are unique to outgroup helping, such as the desire to create a positive impression of the ingroup. In theory, an appeal to strategic motives could therefore motivate people to an extent where they help outgroup members more than ingroup members, because the psychological gain of helping the outgroup exceeds the psychological or instrumental gain of helping the ingroup. Some support for this assumption can be found in existing studies. For example, Dutton and Lake (1973) found that white participants donated more money to a black panhandler than to a white panhandler to refute the impression of being prejudiced. My colleagues and I (van Leeuwen, Oostenbrink, & Twilt, 2014, Study 2) found that participants were more willing to give directions to an outgroup member than an ingroup member to present the ingroup as being warm and caring.

The Consequences of a Shared Identity

A second implication of the distinction between strategic and non-strategic outgroup helping involves the consequences of introducing or emphasising a shared, superordinate identity. Emphasising a shared identity is a commonly used tool to promote more favourable intergroup attitudes and behaviours, as we saw earlier in

this chapter. Those who are outgroup members at a lower level of categorisation become ingroup members at a higher level—and are treated accordingly. However, a salient superordinate identity can impede outgroup helping when the motive for helping is a strategic one. This is because many strategic motives are acts of communication (van Leeuwen & Täuber, 2010), in which group members deliberately try to portray their own group as warm, competent, or distinct, or through which they signal their solidarity with or dominance over the outgroup. This means that the exchange should occur in a salient intergroup context, where the recipient can recognise the origin of the help. By focusing group members on a shared, superordinate identity, the communicative nature of help is attenuated.

We investigated the effects of a salient shared identity on strategic outgroup helping in two studies (van Leeuwen & Mashuri, 2012). Building on earlier research (Hopkins et al., 2007; van Leeuwen & Täuber, 2012), we activated ingroup impression management concerns as the strategic motive for outgroup helping. We then assessed outgroup helping in either a salient intergroup context or in the context of a salient shared identity. In both studies, a salient shared identity (compared with a salient ingroup identity) attenuated outgroup helping when impression management concerns were activated, but increased outgroup helping when these concerns were not activated. In fact, when impression management concerns were active, participants were *more* helpful towards the outgroup when their own ingroup identity was salient compared with when the shared superordinate identity was salient. As strategic motives find their origin in the salient intergroup context, diverting attention away from this context by emphasising a shared superordinate identity suppresses strategic outgroup helping.

Psychological Consequences for Help Recipients

A third implication of the different foci of strategic and non-strategic motives pertains to their consequences for help recipients. Because non-strategic helping is driven by a concern for the outgroup, one could expect this type of help to have mostly positive consequences for the recipient. Having said that, the right intentions do not always guarantee the best outcome. Help is sometimes offered because the recipient's group membership leads the provider to *assume* that help is needed when in fact it is not. Given the partially unconscious nature of prejudice, the help provider may not even be aware that the offer is driven by stereotypic expectations. However, research into this type of assumptive help leaves no doubt as to the detrimental consequences for help recipients, whose mood and self-esteem are depressed by receiving unsolicited help (Schneider, Major, Luhtanen, & Crocker, 1996; Halabi, Nadler, & Dovidio, 2011). Non-strategic help, therefore, may have some unintended negative consequences for recipients, even though the provider has good intentions.

Strategic outgroup helping, on the other hand, is driven by the ingroup's needs. The primary intent is not to benefit the outgroup, but to benefit the ingroup. That is not the same as concluding that the intention is to *harm* the outgroup. On the contrary, many

strategic motives are benign in nature. However, the outgroup's needs are secondary to the ingroup's needs, and when the needs of both groups clash, the ingroup's needs are likely to prevail. Whether or not the needs of the ingroup and the outgroup clash depends on the type of strategic motive involved, in addition to contextual factors. In the following section, I take a closer look at the alignment or misalignment of ingroup and outgroup needs.

A Closer Look at the Different Motives Behind Strategic Outgroup Helping

Central to the SOUTH model is the notion of the alignment of needs. When the ingroup's needs and the outgroup's needs are aligned, the act of helping may benefit both groups. In this section, I present a more detailed discussion of the pros and cons of strategic outgroup helping by examining how various strategic motives and contextual factors affect the alignment of those needs, and how alignment may depend on contextual moderators. Although research into outgroup helping is steadily increasing, very little of this attention has been devoted to the degree to which intergroup help meets the recipient outgroup's needs. Much of what is described in this section, therefore, remains theoretical and in need of empirical substantiation.

Power

Perhaps the most elaborately investigated strategic motive for outgroup helping is that of asserting power and dominance. More importantly, thanks to the systematic research of Halabi, Nadler and their colleagues (see Halabi & Nadler, Chap. 10, for an overview), we now have some knowledge of the psychological consequences of this type of help for recipients. According to the intergroup helping as a status relations model (Nadler, 2002), group members are more accepting of intergroup power differentials and expressions thereof when these are secure (i.e. stable and legitimate) compared with when they are insecure (Halabi & Nadler, 2010; Nadler & Halabi, 2006). When power relations are secure, the provider's strategic motive of expressing dominance through helping is aligned with the recipient's need for help, as well as the recipient's own perception of the intergroup power differential. However, when power relations are insecure, the powerful group's need to provide help to maintain its powerful position clashes with the recipient's need to appear strong and independent to challenge the power differential. Evidence for the moderating role of the security of power differentials can be found in the help-seeking literature, which shows that the willingness to seek and receive help from a powerful, higher status outgroup goes down when intergroup power differentials are insecure (e.g. van Leeuwen, Täuber, & Sassenberg, 2011; Täuber, Chap. 11; Täuber & van Leeuwen, 2012).

Warmth and Competence

When the motive driving outgroup helping is the desire to make a good impression on the ingroup, a distinction should be made between appearing competent, and appearing warm. According to the stereotype content model (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002), perceived competence follows from relative group status. In a salient intergroup context, the desire to present the ingroup as competent is therefore likely to trigger a competition over the *relative* competence of the ingroup vis à vis the outgroup. Indeed, groups that offer help to another group are seen as more competent than groups that seek outgroup help (Täuber & van Leeuwen, 2017). But here, too, the intergroup helping as status relations (IHSR) model (Nadler, 2002) should apply, predicting that acceptance of outgroup help depends on the security of the intergroup status relations.

When impression management concerns focus on the desire to appear warm and friendly, however, the needs of the ingroup and those of the outgroup are perhaps more aligned. Although it is definitely possible to fight over which group is the warmest, perceptions of warmth are generally less relative or competitive than perceptions of competence. Perceived warmth is derived from the nature of the interdependency relations (Fiske et al., 2002). If these are cooperative (e.g. through helping), both groups should be seen as warm, regardless of their role as provider or recipient. Indeed, we observed, in two studies, that recipients of outgroup help were seen to be equally as warm as the providers of this help (Täuber & van Leeuwen, 2016). I therefore expect that the desire to present the ingroup as being warm through outgroup helping could benefit both the ingroup's psychological needs and the outgroup's instrumental needs for assistance.

Meaningful Existence

The desire to reaffirm the meaningfulness of a group is associated with dependency relations. For example, the meaningfulness of fire-fighters is contingent on the fact that others need this group for tasks they are unable to accomplish themselves. If the police force extended its range of activities to extinguishing fires and rescuing people from tight situations, fire departments might suddenly find their very existence under threat. This threat could motivate these departments to increase their own helpful activities as a means of reaffirming their usefulness. This increase in help in and of itself is not problematic, if not for the fact that it is often accompanied by the desire to maintain and strengthen dependency relations. In my own research, for example, the desire to reaffirm the meaningfulness of a threatened national identity, through helping victims of a natural disaster, was accompanied by an increased desire for control (van Leeuwen, 2007). Given the association with power, and based on the IHSR model (Nadler, 2002), the security of the power differential can be expected to affect the extent to which the helper's needs are aligned with those of

the recipient. For example, the fire department's superiority with regard to fighting fire, compared with the average home-owner's, is uncontested. Consequently, the former could freely reaffirm its meaningful existence by taking control over a domestic fire without harming the home-owner's feelings of autonomy or competence. However, if one fire department is called in to fight a fire at another fire station, the desire of the fire-fighters to assume full control over the operation may clash with the fire-fighters of the recipient fire station's own perception of the relative power and status differentials.

Collective Guilt and Pride

The collective guilt literature paints a somewhat mixed picture of the consequences of expressions of guilt for the outgroup. For example, some studies have found that collective guilt is positively associated with empathy for the outgroup, which suggests an attentiveness to the outgroup's needs (Brown & Cehajic, 2008). However, other research failed to find this link, demonstrating instead that guilt was associated with the more self-focused emotion of distress over the suffering of the outgroup (Miron, Branscombe, & Schmitt, 2006). If helping in response to feelings of collective guilt serves the primary purpose of alleviating distress over a suffering outgroup, then it may be contingent on the strength and duration of the outgroup's suffering and on the extent to which it is willing to express its suffering to the ingroup. In other words, when the outgroup ceases to publicly ventilate its suffering, help efforts may quickly dry out. Moreover, both collective guilt and distress over the consequences of harmful ingroup actions are associated with infrahumanisation, that is, a reduced tendency to ascribe uniquely human emotions to the outgroup (Castano & Giner-Sorolla, 2006). Needless to say, the ingroup's need to alleviate distress in this case clashes with the outgroup's need to be respected as a worthy (human) group.

On the bright side, feelings of collective guilt have also been found to predict support for a collective apology to the outgroup (McGarty et al., 2005). In conflict situations where both parties have committed transgressions, collective guilt predicted forgiveness of the other party (Myers, Hewstone, & Cairns, 2009). Moreover, when a wronged party *believed* that the harm-doer felt guilty over his or her actions, he or she was more likely to forgive this party (Wohl & Branscombe, 2005). These findings suggest that, to the extent that an offer of help to an outgroup following some type of harm-doing is believed to be a sincere expression of remorse, it is welcomed by the recipient. In those situations where collective guilt is focused on the outgroup, the helper's and the recipient's needs are aligned. Indirect empirical support for this reasoning can be found in two studies by Halabi, Nadler, and Dovidio (2012). They found that participants responded most positively to help from an outgroup when they trusted the outgroup and when the help was accompanied by an explicit apology. The moderating effects of trust and apologies suggest that help offers rooted in feelings of collective guilt are best received when they are viewed as sincere expressions of remorse.

Given the scarcity of research in the domain of collective pride, it is more difficult to predict how outgroup help as an expression of ingroup pride would be received. In our own research, feelings of collective pride increased empathy for the outgroup among those who identify highly (van Leeuwen et al., 2013). However, collective pride is generally associated with relative group advantage and competition (Harth, Kessler, & Leach, 2008; Leach, Snider, & Iyer, 2002), suggesting that expressions of pride through helping could psychologically harm the recipient outgroup. More research on collective pride and helping is therefore needed before advancing any predictions here.

Inclusion

When the motive for outgroup helping is rooted in the desire to express solidarity and signal inclusion, I expect that the help is well suited to meeting the recipient outgroup's needs. The desire to separate from a larger group or parent nation is often rooted in feelings of rejection: the separatist group feels that its identity is subverted by the larger group (Sani, 2008; van Leeuwen & Mashuri, 2013). Such feelings of rejection are aversive, and thwart a number of very fundamental needs, such as the need for collective self-esteem (Mashuri, van Leeuwen, & Hanurawan, 2016). If help is offered as a sign of solidarity (i.e. a means of communicating a desire for inclusion), then this message may be very welcome to the recipient group. However, even though, in our own research (van Leeuwen & Mashuri, 2013), outgroup helping as a signal of inclusion was seen as genuine and not associated with a perceived expression of power or control, this does not mean that the recipient outgroup always interprets the help in the manner in which it was intended. Separatist tendencies are often associated with conflict, and the willingness to receive outgroup help dramatically declines in such situations (van Leeuwen et al., 2011). It is therefore possible for the recipient to interpret an offer of help intended to express solidarity as a sign of dominance, and reject it accordingly.

Distinctiveness

Group members can strategically use the provision of help to a second outgroup (the "third party") to increase their group's distinctiveness from a first outgroup (the "comparison outgroup"). But increasing group distinctiveness from a comparison outgroup through third party helping is fully contingent on the existence of a negative relationship between the third party and the comparison outgroup (van Leeuwen & Harinck, 2016). Therein lies a potential problem: without this negative relationship, this particular form of strategic helping becomes ineffective. In fact, if the third party and the comparison outgroup have a *positive* relationship instead of a negative relationship, then helping the third party positions the ingroup *closer* to, instead of more distinct from, the comparison outgroup.

When third-party helping is used to take advantage of an existing negative relationship between the third party and the comparison outgroup, thereby increasing the ingroup's distinctiveness from the comparison outgroup, there is no reason to assume that the recipient of help (i.e. the third party) is harmed in any way by the interaction. In fact, the third-party group may acquire a powerful ally in its conflict with the comparison outgroup. However, this could also be a problem, as the ingroup, through helping the third party, not only benefits from but also contributes to this conflict between the comparison group and the third party. Given the three groups involved here, the consequences of third party helping as a means of asserting group distinctiveness are mixed. The ingroup and the recipient outgroup (the third party) both stand to benefit from the exchange. The party that is most likely to suffer is the party that is not directly involved in the exchange of help: the comparison outgroup.

When Needs Are Not Aligned

The SOUTH model captures a number of predictions about the alignment of the helping ingroup's needs and those of the recipient outgroup. When these needs are aligned, it could be expected that both groups stand to gain from the helping interaction. However, what happens when these needs are not aligned? If the helper's motivation is strong enough, help may be offered or enforced without solicitation, or even against the recipient's wishes. Research has shown that recipients of unsolicited help are perceived as lower in ability than their counterparts who have not received help (Grahan & Barker, 1990). Moreover, offers of unsolicited help result in lower self-esteem and more negative affect among recipients (Deelstra et al., 2003), especially when such offers originate from an outgroup (Halabi et al., 2011; Schneider et al., 1996).

Of course, potential recipients are not innocent bystanders, but active participants who have a number of options to deflect the threat of help offers that are not aligned with their own needs. First, groups can simply avoid seeking help. Rather than construing this as a *lack* of action, refusing to seek help should be interpreted as an *active* attempt to challenge a provider's strategic motives (see Täuber, Chap. 11). Indeed, across several studies we observed that group members refrained from seeking outgroup help even when they clearly needed it (Täuber & van Leeuwen, 2012; van Leeuwen et al., 2011).

A second option that groups can pursue to avert an offer of help that is not aligned with their own needs is to simply reject such help offers. However, the rejection of help offers comes at a cost. People who reject an offer of help are evaluated more negatively than those who accept the offer, especially when the offer is given by a distant person (e.g. a stranger or an outgroup member) as opposed to someone close (a friend or ingroup member; Cheuk & Rosen, 1992). Wang, Silverman, Gwinn, and Dovidio (2015) showed that this even applies to obviously patronising offers of help. Participants who rejected such offers and explained why they did so were still

liked less than participants who accepted these offers of help. However, those who offer help in such circumstances often do not come out unscathed either. People whose offer of help is rejected tend to experience more negative affect and a lower willingness to associate informally with the rejecter than those whose offer of help is accepted (Cheuk & Rosen, 1993). Moreover, a study among nurses showed that nurses who reported frequent rejection of their help offers by patients experienced more burnout symptoms than nurses who reported less frequent rejection (Cheuk, Swearse, Wong, & Rosen, 1998). Rejecting an offer of help can thus be very costly to both parties.

A third option in dealing with threatening help is perhaps an option that groups only resort to when they cannot afford the luxury of rejecting help. Victims of natural or human disasters, for example, often need even the most basic forms of help, such as food, medicine, and shelter (see James & Zagefka, Chap. 13; Thomas & McGarty, Chap. 18). Their material needs may exceed their psychological needs for autonomy and respect, but that does not mean that their self-esteem and identity cannot be threatened by receiving help. One way of negating this threat is through psychological resistance. Psychological resistance is a form of opposition that protects a group from psychological damage without openly challenging the situation (Haslam & Reicher, 2012). Such resistance could take many forms. In a study among recipients of poverty aid in Panama, we compared a group of Spanish Panamanians with a group of indigenous Panamanians (Alvarez, van Leeuwen, & van Vugt, 2017). Compared with the former, the latter group was more dependent on poverty aid and had fewer prospects of escaping from their position of extreme poverty. We found evidence that this group of indigenous Panamanians attempted to deflect the psychological threat of being reliant on poverty aid by proclaiming greater entitlement to aid compared with Spanish Panamanians. When reasoning that the government "owed them" as a result of historical mistreatment of their group, they may be able to regain a sense of control by construing the aid as a form of compensation.

Overcoming the Downside of Receiving Help: Paying It Forward

To end this chapter on a positive note, I highlight one strategy that has particular promise in alleviating or overcoming some of the aforementioned negative psychological consequences of receiving outgroup help: paying help forward. This strategy builds on the notion that, whereas receiving help can make one feel dependent and incompetent, *providing* help can do the exact opposite and boost feelings of self-efficacy. If help recipients are given an opportunity to pass the help they received on to others, they may feel less threatened by their reliance on help. As such, paying help forward could negate the psychological threat associated with receiving help.

We investigated this notion in an experimental setup, where participants received dependency- or autonomy-oriented help while trying to solve a set of complicated puzzles (Alvarez & van Leeuwen, 2015). Dependency-oriented help involves a full solution to the problem without input from the helpee, and is particularly threatening. Autonomy-oriented help, on the other hand, is more educational, and allows recipients to solve their problems with just a "nudge" from the helper, e.g. in the form of a hint. Compared with recipients of autonomy-oriented help, recipients of dependency-oriented help reported lower levels of self-competence, and evaluated the helper more negatively, which is in line with earlier findings (Alvarez & van Leeuwen, 2011). However, half of the participants were aware of the fact that, in the next phase of the study, they would assume the role of helper and provide help to other participants with similar puzzles. This mere awareness of future helping already made participants more receptive to the help they received, and increased their liking for and evaluation of the helper, compared with participants who would not be assuming a future role in helping. Moreover, after paying help forward, participants felt more self-confident than before helping, and this effect was particularly pronounced among previous recipients of dependency-oriented help.

What is so promising about the strategy of paying help forward is that it can negate the psychological threat of receiving help and simultaneously build sustainable peer-to-peer helping networks. People may receive some type of training, and, once the knowledge or skills are acquired, pass it on to others. Whereas the initial training may have been delivered by an outside expert (an outgroup member in many respects), the knowledge and skills could be passed on to other family members or members of the same community, i.e. ingroup members. As research has shown that receiving help from an ingroup member is less threatening than receiving help from an outgroup member (Halabi et al., 2011), recipients further down the chain may respond more positively to the help they receive. These "peer-to-peer helping networks", in which people receive help and subsequently help others in a recursive process, may thus be a promising strategy for empowering recipients and multiplying the help. However, more research is needed to determine which variables encourage chains of forward helping in the long run.

Discussion

I started this chapter with the question whether strategic outgroup helping should be discarded simply because it does not reflect a genuine concern for the outgroup's needs. To answer this question, it was important to take a closer look at the various motives that underlie strategic helping, and consider the degree to which help that stems from each of these motives is beneficial or harmful to recipients. To this end, I attempted to provide an overview of all strategic motives for outgroup helping as currently identified in helping research, and discuss their potential psychological effects on recipients. As very little is known about the psychological consequences

of receiving help, much of this overview remained theoretical. However, even though empirical support is badly needed, the overview does suggest that certainly not all strategic motives for outgroup helping have detrimental consequences for help recipients.

Summary of Predictions

To be clear, there are definite circumstances under which help extended to an outgroup with the main purpose of benefitting the ingroup can be harmful for outgroup recipients. Following the SOUTH model, it seems that help given to an outgroup to strengthen power, competence, or meaningful existence may be damaging to the recipient when the status or power differential is insecure. Help that is given with the purpose of alleviating self-focused collective guilt appears to be similarly harmful, as are the consequences for a comparison group when help is given to a third party to increase distinctiveness from the comparison group. Help that is not aligned with the recipient's needs may have detrimental consequences for the recipient's wellbeing, and can result in depressed self-esteem, negative affect, and negative evaluations of the helper and the helper's group (Halabi et al., 2012; Schneider et al., 1996). Although potential help recipients can refuse to seek help or reject an offer of help, they do so at often considerable instrumental and psychological cost (Cheuk & Rosen, 1993; Wang et al., 2015).

There may be other circumstances under which potential recipients might benefit from outgroup help however, even when it is given with a strategic purpose in mind. Outgroup help that is given to demonstrate the ingroup's warmth, or to signal solidarity and inclusiveness, appears not to be psychologically harmful to recipients. The ingroup's needs that drive helping in these instances are aligned with the outgroup's instrumental needs for help. Similarly, the psychological effects of help driven by the need to alleviate feelings of collective guilt appear to be benign when the guilt is focussed outwards. Third-party helping to increase distinctiveness from a comparison group may also benefit the third party, both instrumentally and psychologically. Moreover, outgroup help that is given to reaffirm the ingroup's power, competence, or meaningfulness, may be well received as long as both parties agree on the help provider's superior position in that context. I return to the implications of this finding later.

Limitation

One important caveat in the reasoning above is that it assumes that recipients are aware of the provider's motive for offering help. Although no research has been conducted to examine this, it remains to be seen whether help recipients are always aware of the provider's intentions, whether strategic or non-strategic. For example, outgroup help

offered in the context of intergroup conflict can be interpreted as stemming from malignant intentions, even when this is not the case (Halabi et al., 2012). More research is therefore needed to investigate how capable recipients of help are in discerning the motives underlying an offer of help. Equally important, research is needed to get a better grip on the contextual conditions that affect recipients' interpretation of help offers—irrespective of the underlying motive. Such research could also identify factors that might affect the outgroup's receptivity to help. For example, Halabi et al. (2012) observed that an offer of help to the outgroup in the context of conflictual intergroup relations stood a better chance of being accepted when it was accompanied by an official apology for past transgressions, and when the recipient trusted the helper.

Practical Implications

Strategic outgroup help may vary in the extent to which it benefits or harms recipients, depending on both the underlying motive and contextual factors, but its strategic nature implies that it generally benefits the provider of help. This means that, in those cases in which the provider and the recipient's needs are aligned, both parties benefit from the exchange of help. As such, strategic outgroup helping has two interesting practical implications. The first one is that outgroup helping could, in theory, surpass ingroup helping. The strategic motives listed in the SOUTH model have in common that they can only be fulfilled by helping (members of) another group, not by helping the ingroup. For example, the motive to present the ingroup as being warm promotes outgroup helping, but not ingroup helping (van Leeuwen & Täuber, 2012). Strategic outgroup helping may thus be particularly useful in situations where the outgroup is in dire need of help, more so than ingroup members. Natural and humanitarian disasters are examples of such situations. When violent conflict drives people to seek refuge in other countries, they are often seen as impinging upon the host society's economic position (Burhan & van Leeuwen, 2016; Esses, Jackson, & Armstrong, 1998). Tensions may become particularly strong when refugees are seen to obtain scarce resources (e.g. housing) of which members of the ingroup are also in need. If members of the host society are strategically motivated to help such refugees, they may be more willing to endorse help, even when this appears to favour the outgroup over the ingroup.

The second practical implication of strategic outgroup helping is that it may result in sustainable helping relations. A well-recognised problem with helping is that the helper's motivation tends to decrease as time passes. This is particularly noticeable when the rewards for helpers are limited, as is often the case with volunteer work (Boezeman & Ellemers, 2007). However, if providing help is rewarding for the helper, then the motivation to continue helping should increase. Strategic outgroup helping has the potential to result in a win/win scenario, in which both the provider and the recipient stand to gain from the interaction. When help providers are motivated to help because the provision of help is in itself rewarding, then they may be more likely to continue doing so.

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