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The processes underlying the quality contact with the primary out-group and in-group importance on support for the Syrian resettlement in a post-accord context

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The processes underlying the quality contact with the primary out-group and in-group importance on support for the Syrian resettlement in a post-accord context

The current socio-political climate of Northern Ireland (NI) presents an intriguing setting to examine how, following a 30-year period of sectarian violence, individuals in a society of protracted intergroup conflict respond to other victimized groups. Syrian refugees were identified as the novel out-group due to the 2,000 Syrians refugees to be resettled in NI through the Syrian Vulnerable Persons Relocation Scheme. This paper was interested in understanding if the perceptions one has about the primary out-group in NI, generalize to a novel out-group entering the setting. It was hypothesized that higher quality of contact with the primary out-group would be positively related to support for Syrian resettlement in NI, whereas high in-group importance would be negatively related to this outcome. Moreover, the authors wanted to identify potential mechanisms through which the predictor variables influenced support for the Syrian resettlement. Participants (N=378, M=27.40, SD= 11.31 years; 70% female; 58% Catholic, 42% Protestant) were recruited from community groups, local businesses, and universities. The results of the chain mediation models indicated the quality of contact with the primary out-group and in-group importance were related (positively and negatively, respectively) with support for the Syrian resettlement via perspective taking and intergroup attitudes. These findings highlight that interventions to improve intergroup attitudes may facilitate support prior to and during resettlement. Application and relevance to social policies related to refugee resettlement are discussed.

Keywords: Northern Ireland, Syrian refugees, perspective taking, intergroup attitudes
The processes underlying the quality contact with the primary out-group and in-group importance on support for the Syrian resettlement in a post-accord context

The onset of the Syrian civil war in March 2011 served as a primary catalyst behind the 500% increase in asylum applications in the European Union. Consequently, the United Nations Refugee Agency (2016) estimates that there are currently 4.8 million Syrian refugees and, in Europe alone, an additional million asylum seekers. In response to this crisis, the former Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, David Cameron, launched the Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Program that pledged to resettle 20,000 Syrian refugees in the UK by 2020. Northern Ireland (NI) agreed to accept 2,000 displaced Syrians and as of April 2016, 108 Syrian nationals were resettled there (McNulty, 2016). The resettlement in NI presents an intriguing setting to investigate how a post-accord society that, in the past, has suffered from sectarian violence, respond to a novel out-group, from a war struck country, entering the region.

Secondly, Pettigrew (1997) proposes the “secondary transfer effect,” which postulates that the positive effects of contact with the primary out-group can generalize to novel out-groups, uninvolved in the existing paradigm, such as the Syrian refugees being resettled in NI. In a setting of protracted conflict, social identity theory (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) outlines how high in-group importance and positive intergroup attitudes may also play opposing roles in support for the new arrivals. Thus, this paper investigated the relation between the quality of contact with the primary out-group and in-group importance as factors underlying of support for the Syrian resettlement. Secondly, this paper investigated potential underlying processes of the predictor factors. Perspective taking was theorized as the first mediator in the chain mediation ($M_1$) that impacted the second mediator, intergroup attitudes ($M_2$). That is, can the ability to think about the intergroup context, from the perspective of the ‘other side,’ increase understanding and subsequently attitudes towards the out-group resulting in higher intergroup
attitudes? Additionally, can the chain mediation via perspective taking and intergroup attitudes help explain the link between primary out-group contact and high in-group importance on Syrian resettlement?

**Primary out-group Contact**

Pettigrew (1997) postulated that positive contact with one’s primary out-group may extend to novel out-groups that were not involved in the original conflict setting. That is, positive intergroup attitudes, referring to the primary out-group, may extend to new groups, such as the Syrian refugees in NI, through the secondary transfer effect (STE; Pettigrew, 2009). For example, in Italy, student’s attitudes towards immigrants were found to extend to novel out-groups, such as members of the disabled community (Vezzali & Giovannini, 2012). Likewise, positive orientations toward illegal immigrants extended to similar groups (i.e., legal immigrants and political refugees), but not towards unrelated groups (i.e., people who text and drive, terrorists; Harwood, Paolini, Joyce, Rubin, & Arroyo, 2011). Based on the similarity of experiences of civilians caught between state and rebel violence in the Syrian conflict, it was hypothesized that individuals who hold more positive intergroup attitudes toward the primary out-group in NI would be more likely to support the novel target out-group, Syrian refugees.

Contact with primary out-group may be related to intergroup attitudes, depending on the quality of such contact (Allport, 1953; Pettigrew, Troop, Wagner, & Christ, 2011). That is, better quality of past contact can have a positive influence on the present attitudes towards the primary out-group (Paolini, Harwood, Rubin, Husnu, Joyce, & Hewstone, 2014). Likewise, positive contact with the primary out-group has been shown to promote primary and novel out-group helping (Johnston & Glasford, 2017).

**Social Identity Approach and Intergroup attitudes**
In a setting of protracted conflict however, perspective taking and out-group helping may also be influenced by other intergroup factors, for example the group’s social identities. Social identity theory (SIT) is identified by Tajfel and Turner (1979) as a “part of an individual’s self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership in a social group together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership” (p. 63). SIT developed as a way to understand the socio-psychological underpinnings of group membership and its functions (i.e., conflict between groups, the permeability of leaving the group, social hierarchy; Sindic & Condor, 2014). Within this framework, intergroup relations are composed of the in-group, a group with which one shares similar qualities, interests or political-social identities (i.e., Catholics or Protestants in NI) and with which one finds a meaningful connection with the group identity. The out-group, a group with which one does not identity, can be rival football teams, supporters of diverse opinions or those with a different religious or political-social identities, as is the case in NI. For the purposes of this paper, the primary out-group refers to the direct ‘other’ within the NI context (i.e., if in-group is referring to the Catholic community the primary out-group is the Protestant community). Additionally, out-groups outside the context of NI are referred to as the ‘novel out-group’ (i.e., Syrian refugees in NI).

Moreover, in regions that have experienced sectarian conflict the primary out-group can be shaped through disadvantages in social or political landscapes, violence, or skewed resources (i.e., Protestants and Catholics in NI; Palestinians and Israelis). These disadvantages can manifest into intergroup tension that can turn violent, as is the case with NI, a region in which the history of disadvantages in political and economic sectors lead to periods of violence, most recently the Troubles. In regards to the intergroup relations perspective, especially in areas of sectarian conflict, it can be helpful to look at different mechanisms that influence intergroup
relations such as in-group importance, contact with the primary out-group and intergroup attitudes.

**In-group Importance**

In particular, SIT underlies attitudes relating to in-group importance, or the tendency to favor one’s in-group over other groups (Crockett, Everett, & Faber, 2015), which can lead to ethnocentric inclinations that favor one’s in-group (Smith & Henry, 1996). For example, the inclination to act more favorably towards one’s in-group has been shown in post-conflict Bosnia (Whitt & Wilson, 2007) and in numerous economic game studies (Fehr, Bernhard, & Rochenbach, 2008; Crockett et al., 2015). Moreover, in-group importance may be strengthened under conditions of threat of perceived extinction (Wohl, Branscombe, & Reysen, 2010). For example, in NI, impact of the recent period of intergroup conflict, or the Troubles, was a predictor of stronger in-group identity, particularly among Catholic mothers (Goeke-Morey, Cairns, Taylor, Merrilee, Shirlow, & Cummings, 2015). These findings suggest that those with higher in-group importance, or stronger attachment to their own social group, may be less likely to help other groups in need.

SIT also shapes primary out-group attitudes, or the feelings and perspectives that a group member holds about the primary out-group (i.e., prejudice, stereotypes, feelings and behavior intentions; Sherif, 1988) within a context setting. That is in NI, for the Catholic community group, the Protestant community is the primary out-group and vice versa.

For example, stronger attachment to the in-group may lead to greater differentiation and thus lower attitudes toward out-group members (Ferguson, Muldoon, & McKeown, 2014); that is, those with higher in-group importance should have more negative primary out-group attitudes. Likewise, high in-group importance may also relate to lower support of a novel out-
group, even when the suffering is similar (i.e., Syrian refugees) due to a greater differentiation between groups.

Perspective taking, however, may counteract the negative role of in-group importance and past negative experiences with the primary out-group by promoting similarities between groups (Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000). That is, perspective taking can promote positive intergroup attitudes through positive evaluations of the out-group (Galinsky & Moskowitz 2000). Evidence for this positive association between perspective taking and intergroup attitudes has been found in in post-conflict settings (Vescio, Sechrist, & Paolucci, 2003; Ugarriza & Nussio, 2016).

**Perspective taking**

Perspective taking can be defined as the ability to understand how a situation appears to another person and how that person is reacting cognitively and emotionally to the situation. In the face of adversity, a host of negative outcomes may develop within an individual such as anti-social behaviors or mental health concerns (i.e., violence or PTSD/depression; Gillman, 1996; Herman, 1992). Hardship, however, may also motivate individuals to take an alternative path of altruism and prosocial behaviors (i.e., Altruism born of suffering (ABS); Staub & Vollhardt, 2008). Likewise, perspective taking may develop from previous negative life events, including intergroup conflict, such as The Troubles in NI (Staub, 2003).

Perspective taking allows for constructive bystanders, or those who take “positive actions on behalf of individuals or groups” to improve society (Staub, 2016, p. 13), to envision the harm inflicted on someone, regardless of proximity, and inspire them to want to improve the welfare of the sufferer (Staub, 2016). Bystander responses to support those in need can be either physically or passive via support (Staub, 2016); the latter is the focus of the current paper. That
is, when an individual is capable of taking the perspective of a victim, it can motivate the individual to help (Staub, 2016). This process also works at the group-level (Mallett, Huntsinger, Sinclair, & Swim, 2008). For example, Vollhardt and Bilali (2015) found that acknowledging the suffering of another group requires perspective taking and empathy. Thus, in terms of support for the Syrian resettlement, it was predicted that higher perspective taking would predict more support for the Syrian resettlement.

Second, perspective taking may be related to an individual’s past suffering. Experiences of hardship and trauma may bestow within individuals heightened cognition; through a shared experience of distress, these individuals may be better equipped to understand the present condition of other victims (Vollhardt, 2009; Strumer & Snyder, 2010). Moreover, Hartman and Morse (2015) found that as a result of the violence in Ivorian refugee crisis in Liberia, individuals developed ‘altruistic behaviors’ that transcended in-group boundaries and were directed toward the out-group (p. 28). Thus, past trauma or experience with conflict-related violence may motivate individuals to act in a prosocial manner, even toward out-group members. Empirical evidence of this was found amongst survivors of a terrorist bus hijacking in Israel whom adopted prosocial and altruistic behaviors towards others who had suffered from a range of violence (i.e., children with birth defects, helping other victims gain compensation; Vollhardt, 2009).

NI Context

Traditionally, the dissension in NI is between Protestants, who want to remain a part of the United Kingdom, and Catholics, who desire of a unified Republic of Ireland. It is notable that this conflict is not one of religion, but rather ‘Protestant’ and ‘Catholic’ refer to political-ethnic identities (Bull, 2006) formed through other aspects of culture (Darby, 1997; Shirlow &
The Troubles, the most recent escalation of tensions, erupted in the 1960’s in the form of civil rights protests over the disadvantages faced by Catholics in employment, housing, education and political affairs (Ferguson et al., 2014; Hancock, 1998). The Troubles formally ended with the signing of the Good Friday Agreement in 1998 which established a power sharing executive that required cross-community support for major decisions (Darby, 2003; Sergie, 2014).

In the era following the peace accord, NI has been relatively calm; however, lingering tensions in politics, community relations, and education have the potential to undermine the peace process (Darby, 2003). Moreover, in NI today, the education and housing sectors are 90% segregated by community background (Catholic or Protestant; Torney, 2012). To the extent that these structural issues impede positive intergroup relations and subsequently reduce the quality of intergroup contact. Although, some elements of social segregation remain in NI, the quality of intergroup contact has been shown to increase out-group helping, in other cases (Johnston & Glasford, 2017; Tausch, Hewstone, Kenworthy, Psaltis, Schmid, Popan, Cairns, & Hughes, 2010; Kauff, Schmid, Lolliot, Al Ramiah, & Hewstone, 2016). Therefore, these structural barriers may partially have implications for offering support to novel out-group members in NI, such as the Syrian refugees.

Recent empirical evidence suggests that the attitudes of the two groups towards newcomers to NI vary. Compared to Catholics, Protestants reported more prejudice towards migrant groups (McDermott, 2014). In addition, compared to 60% of Protestants, 76% of Catholics reported feeling very favorable/favorable towards ethnic groups (ARK, 2015). These findings suggest that Catholics may hold more favorable views of migrant/ethnic groups in NI in general. This study wants to add to the current research by assessing if elements of the intergroup
context, shaped through the history of sectarian violence in NI, may influence support for novel out-groups. That is, can current attitudes about migrant groups in NI be, in part, explained through intergroup relations? Moreover, the authors were interested in if the quality of contact with the primary out-group and in-group importance influence (positively and negatively, respectively) support for a novel out-group.

Current Study

The current study sought to understand how individuals in a society of protracted intergroup conflict respond to other victimized groups. It was hypothesized that higher quality of contact with the primary out-group would be positively related to support for Syrian resettlement in NI, whereas as high in-group importance would be negatively related to this outcome. Moreover, the authors wanted to identify potential mechanisms through which the predictor variables influenced support for the Syrian resettlement.

Method

Participants

This paper was part of a larger study on perceptions on social and political issues in NI. Participants \((N=378, M=27.40, SD=11.31\text{ years old}; 70\%\text{ female})\) over 18 years old were recruited from community groups, businesses, non-profits and universities\(^1\). The inclusion criteria specified that participants must be from one of the two primary community backgrounds \((n=218, 58\%, \text{ Catholic}; n=160, 42\%, \text{ Protestant})\) in Northern Ireland. Thus, participants who identified as having mixed backgrounds were excluded from the study.

\(^1\) 54\% of participants were university students. Independent t-test were performed on all variables in the model. Results indicated that there were no significant differences in: in-group importance \((t(351)=.294, p=.769)\); perspective taking \((t(345)=-1.399, p=.163)\); intergroup attitudes \((t(291)=1.538\ p=.125)\); support for Syria \((t(347)=-.113, p=.910)\). However, the independent t-test was significantly different for the quality of contact variable amongst the student and community sample \((t(359)=-2.446, p=.015)\) (university sample \(M=5.72, SD=1.31\); community sample \(M=6.04, S=1.16\)).
Procedure

The study was conducted under the approval of the ethics committee at *Anonymous University*. Data was collected using Qualtrics, an online survey program, over the course of eight months (October 2015 through April 2016). Participants were asked to provide consent before beginning the survey. Next, participants were asked to specify their age, gender and community background (Catholic or Protestant). After completing the survey, participants had the opportunity to enter a lottery for a chance to win one of three £30 Amazon gift vouchers. Lastly, the number of scale items, scale scoring and Cronbach alphas are reported in Table 1.

Measures

**Quality of contact with primary out-group.** This question was adapted from Tam, Hewstone, Kenworth, & Cairns, (2009). Tam et al., (2009) used this question was used to look at the ability for intergroup contact to built intergroup trust in NI. This was presented as a single item question, “In general, when you meet people from the Catholic/Protestant community, do you find the contact pleasant or unpleasant?” Higher scores on this question indicated that contact was more pleasant than lower scores.

**In-group importance.** This scale was modified from the Roccas, Yechiel and Liviatan’s (2006) in-group importance and glorification scale. This scale has been applied to trans-generational and endurance of in-group suffering (Kahn, Klar, & Roccas, 2016) and the relation between existential threat and intergroup conflict (Hirschberger, Ein-Dor, Leidner, & Saguy, 2016). The in-group importance scale included items such as, being Catholic/Protestant “is an important part of my identity,” “it is important to me to view myself/it is important that others see me as Catholic/Protestant,” etc.; higher scores indicated higher in-group importance.
**Perspective taking.** This construct was measured with a subscale of the Prosocial Personality Battery (PBS; Penner, Fritzsche, Craiger, & Freifeld, 1995). The perspective taking subscale included items such as “I sometimes try to understand my friends better by imagining how things look from their perspective” and “I believe that there are two sides to every question and try to look at them both.” On this scale, higher scores indicated higher perspective taking.

**Intergroup attitudes.** This scale was adapted from the social reconstruction and forgiveness scale (Ajdukovic & Biruski, 2008) used to assess nationalism in Croatia and Serbia (Biruski & Penic, 2014). The target of the questions was the primary out-group in Northern Ireland (i.e., Catholics or Protestants). The scale included statements such as “I do not trust people from the other group” (reverse coded) and “I think it is important for our children to cooperate.” Higher scores on this scale indicated higher intergroup attitudes.

**Support for Syrian refugee resettlement.** Participants responded to a modified version of the Syrian social distance scale (Bogardus, 1933). Social distance has been applied to social decisions (Akerlof, 1997) and attitudes towards ethnic minorities (Dyer, Vedlitz, & Worchel, 1989). In this study, the Syrian social distance scale assesses support for resettlement using three items: “I would support allowing more Syrian refugees into Northern Ireland/my city/my neighborhood and school district.”

**Data Analysis Plan**

This authors hypothesized that the quality of contact with the primary out-group in NI ($X_1$) would extend to a novel out-group, that had suffered in a similar way, entering the existing intergroup paradigm (Syrian refugees ($Y$)) through perspective taking ($M_1$) and intergroup attitudes ($M_2$). Secondly, it was hypothesized that high in-group importance ($X_2$) would reduce support for novel out-groups, such as the Syrian refugees ($Y$), through reduced perspective
taking \( M_1 \) and intergroup attitudes \( M_2 \). The correlations of the proposed predictor variables, mediators and support for Syrians were conducted using Pearson’s correlations. To assess the ability of perspective taking \( M_1 \) and intergroup attitudes \( M_2 \) to account for the variance within \( X_1 \) and \( X_2 \) in predicting support for the Syrian resettlement in NI, chain mediation was used. A chain mediation model allows for the testing of the effect of \( M_1 \) on \( M_2 \), the combined effect of \( M_1 \) and \( M_2 \) (i.e., the total indirect effect) and the effect of each individual mediator while controlling for the other mediator (VanderWeele & Vansteelandt, 2015). The direct and indirect effects of multiple mediator models can be estimated using regression analysis (VanderWeele & Vansteelandt, 2015; Kenny, 2016). The direct effect (‘c’ path) refers to the effect the independent variable on the outcome variable that is not accounted for by the chain mediation (i.e., or indirect effect of \( M_1 \) and \( M_2 \); Kenny, 2016). The indirect effect is the product of the ‘a’ paths (the relation of the independent variable on \( M_1 (a_1) \) and \( M_2 (a_2) \)) and the ‘b’ paths (the relation of the mediators on dependent variable; VanderWeele & Vansteelandt, 2015). Lastly the ‘c’ path controls mediators and represents the total effect of the independent variable on the outcome variable (Kenny, 2016).

VanderWeele and Vansteelandt (2015) suggest bootstrapping for calculating standard errors of indirect effects. Secondly, bootstrapping is preferred for smaller samples and is less vulnerable to type I errors. The data in the current sample was resampled 10,000 times per recommendation from Hayes (2013). Bootstrapping generates confidence intervals (CI), which provide a range of values and confidence level (usually 95%), within which, the ‘true value’ of a parameter exists (Flechner & Tseng, 2011). When the CI does not contain 0, the result is considered significant (Lane, 2013). Lastly, demographic data such as age and gender and community group background were controlled for in the chain mediation model.
Results

All analyses were conducted using IBM SPSS 24 (IBM, 2013). Table 1 includes means and standard deviations and Table 2 contains the bivariate correlations for all variables. Separate chain mediation analyses were conducted for testing the mediation of quality of primary out-group contact ($X_1$) and in-group importance ($X_2$) via perspective taking ($M_1$) and intergroup attitudes ($M_2$), using Model 6 in the SPSS macro PROCESS (Hayes, 2012). The path coefficients are reported as unstandardized regression coefficients.

Figure 1\textsuperscript{2} depicts the chain mediation model for quality of contact with primary out-group ($X_1$). This model evaluated if the relation between the quality of contact with the primary out-group on support for a novel out-group (Syrian refugees) was mediated by perspective taking and intergroup attitudes. First, the ‘a’ paths ($a_1$ (to perspective taking): $t(340)=2.445 \ p=0.015$; $a_2$ (to intergroup attitudes): $t(339)= 6.150, \ p<0.001$) and the ‘b’ paths ($b_1$: $t(338) = 2.702, \ p=0.007$; $b_2$: $t(338)=3.655, \ p<0.001$) were significant. Secondly, the path from $M_1$ to $M_2$ was significant ($t(339)=5.098, \ p<0.001$). The direct effect (c’ path) was insignificant ($t(340)=.603, \ p=.547$); however, the total effect (c path) was significant ($t(340)=2.890, \ p=.020$). The total indirect effect of quality of primary out-group contact on support for the Syrian resettlement was also significant (.3844, CI=.1871, .6631). The total indirect effect was comprised of $M_1$ (.08, CI=.0103, .2304), $M_2$ (.27, CI=.1019, .5180) and the chain mediation of $M_1$ and $M_2$ (.03, CI=.0059, .0816). Moreover, perspective taking and intergroup attitudes are both, independently and collectively, significant mediators of the relation between the quality of primary out-group contact and support for the Syrian resettlement.

\textsuperscript{2} The mediational path from quality of contact through perspective taking and intergroup attitudes to support for the Syrian resettlement is not significant when quality of contact and perspective taking are reversed.
Figure 2 depicts the chain mediation model for in-group importance ($X_2$) on support for the Syrian resettlement. This model assessed if the relation between high in-group importance on reduced support for a novel out-group (Syrian refugees) was mediated by perspective taking and intergroup attitudes. First, the ‘a’ paths ($a_1$ to perspective taking): $t(341)=-4.208, p<.001$; $a_2$ (to intergroup attitudes): $t(340)=-7.950, p<.001$ and the ‘b’ paths ($b_1$: $t(339)=2.398, p=.01$; $b_2$: $t(338)=2.374, p=.01$) were significant. Secondly, the path from $M_1$ to $M_2$ was significant ($t(340)=4.228, p<.001$). The direct effect (c’ path; $t(339)= -3.449, p=.01$) and the total effect (c path; $t(339)=-6.479, p<.001$) were significant, suggesting partial mediation. The total indirect effect of in-group importance on support for the Syrian resettlement was significant (-.0860, CI=-.1466, -.0297). The total indirect effect was comprised of $M_1$ (-.03, CI=-.0631, -.0043), $M_2$ (-.05, CI=-.1075, -.0047) and the chain mediation of $M_1$ and $M_2$ (-.006, CI=-.0167, -.0007). That is in-group importance reduces support for the Syrian resettlement via perspective taking and intergroup attitudes. As with primary out-group contact, perspective taking and intergroup attitudes are independently and collectively mediators of the relation between in-group importance on support for the Syrian resettlement.

Discussion

The primary aim of this research was to identify and understand which factors may promote or reduce support for Syrian refugee resettlement in a post-accord setting. The current study found significant chain mediation through perspective taking and intergroup attitudes to mediate the relation of the quality of primary out-group contact on support for a novel out-group. Greater perspective taking and positive intergroup attitudes may motivate individuals to have greater support for wider victim groups. There may be a shared experience of suffering with the Syrian refugees that facilitates stronger relations, particularly with regards to perspective taking.
That is, state oppression can be seen as a common link between the historic context of NI and displaced Syrians from the al-Assad regime. This shared identity of being victims of state oppression may underlie a motivation to support the resettlement. Likewise, the positive link between intergroup attitudes and support for resettlement, suggests that the way one perceives their intergroup context can extend to a novel out-group. Secondly, the similarity of past suffering may enhance this link. Future research, could look at victimized groups whom had suffered in dissimilar ways to assess if support generalized to disparate suffering.

Strong in-group importance, however, was linked with lower perspective taking and subsequently intergroup attitudes, resulting in reduced support for the resettlement. Weisel and Böhm (2015) found that help-avoidance towards the out-group was seldom used when the intergroup dynamic was between natural groups (i.e., football team supporters; Weisel & Böhm, 2015). However, in a setting of protracted intergroup conflict, higher levels of in-group importance may exacerbate “social construction of difference” (Ferguson et al., 2014), or greater distinctions between “us” and “them,” leading to in-group favoritism; such in-group preference which may underpin the lower support for the Syrian resettlement. Likewise, Weisel and Böhm (2015) found that when there was enmity between the in-group and the primary out-group help-avoidance was employed.

Secondly, the negative relation of higher in-group importance to support for the resettlement may suggest that individuals who prioritized the in-group, in turn, had lower perspective taking and lower intergroup attitudes, which were related to weaker support for helping Syrian refugees coming to NI. Likewise, Pettigrew (1997, 1998) suggested that primary out-group contact can lead to positive out-group attitudes via reappraisal of the in-group, which can create distance from the in-group, through gaining knowledge about diverse cultures via out-
group contact (Tausch et al., 2010). This in turn can result in less provincial perspectives towards out-groups in general (Pettigrew, 1997). However, the current study was interested in the role of high in-group importance and it could be the case that high in-group importance inhibits introspection of the in-group, which when paired with reduced primary out-group contact may restrict primary out-group attitudes and perspective taking which may subsequently extend to novel out-groups, via the secondary transfer effect.

Evidence of the secondary transfer effect was supported, suggesting that the quality of contact with the primary out-group may extend to novel out-groups entering the existing intergroup context. However, strong in-group importance may reduce support for novel out-groups, potentially through greater differentiation between the in-group and primary out-group (Ferguson, Muldoon, & McKeown, 2014). Furthermore, building on the body of empirical work, these findings suggest that even individuals in a setting of protracted intergroup conflict may respond constructively and altruistically to help others in need (Staub, 2016).

Limitations

These findings should be interpreted in light of the study’s limitations. First, there was a significant difference in the quality of contact with the primary out-group between the university student sample and community sample. That is, university students reported slightly lower quality contact with the primary out-group, compared to the community sample. To have a fuller understanding of this difference, future research could include primary out-group friendships as a predictor variable in the mediation model. These friendships have been shown to reduce primary out-group prejudice, as a predictor of out-group attitudes (Pettigrew, 1997). More specifically, Cairns, Gallagher, and Dunn (1993) found attending university to be an opportunity for intergroup contact; however, the contact reported was more casual than intimate (Hewstone,
Moreover, intergroup contact in secondary schools was associated with contact at the next education level in NI (Hewstone, et al., 2005). Therefore, future research could ask participants if they attended integrated schools and assess the relation of this experience with attitudes towards the primary out-group and assess if these attitudes generalize to support for novel out-groups.

Second, response scales used on the questionnaire offered five to seven potential responses, which might not have fully reflected the participant’s opinion. To attempt to alleviate this concern, open-ended text boxes were provided, following each scale, although they were seldom used. Although the current study found that the relation of quality primary out-group contact and in-group importance on support for the resettlement were mediated through perspective taking and intergroup attitudes, future research should consider additional factors that facilitate support for victimized groups such as intergroup trust (Tam et al., 2009).

Conclusion

The results from this study could be used by those responsible for resettlement in NI; designing programs that help neighborhoods to support the resettlement is paramount to ease the stress of the transition for a refugee in a new country. For example, the findings highlight the importance of intergroup attitudes, suggesting that interventions to improve intergroup attitudes may have a secondary transfer effect that can facilitate support prior to and during resettlement. Past research has found, for example, that various types of contact may increase perspective taking (Wang, Kenneth, Ku & Galinsky, 2014) and prosocial attitudes towards the primary out-group members (Meleady & Seger, 2016). Thus, working with host communities, via improved intergroup attitudes, prior to integration may increase acceptance and capacity to welcome Syrian nationals into these neighborhoods. Over the next five years, 2,000 Syrian refugees will
make their way to NI. Studying public perceptions of the resettlement may provide insight for policy and law enforcement. These findings may have implications for how other societies with a history of intergroup violence may respond to the needs of a currently victimized group.
References


Table 1. *Means and standard deviations*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>27.47</td>
<td>11.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perspective taking (4, 1-7, .71)</td>
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<td>4.49</td>
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<td>Quality of contact with primary out-group (1, 1-7)</td>
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<td>Intergroup attitudes (7, 1-7, .83)</td>
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<td>Support for Syrians (3, 1-7, .99)</td>
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Beneath the construct, in *parenthesis*, are the number of scale items, scoring of the scale and Cronbach's alpha.
Table 2. *Bivariate correlations*

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* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001
Figure 1. Unstandardized regression coefficients for the chain mediation model via perspective taking and intergroup attitudes for the effect of quality of contact with primary out-group on support for Syrian refugee resettlement. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$
Figure 2. Unstandardized regression coefficients for the chain mediation model via perspective taking and intergroup attitudes for the effect of in-group importance on support for Syrian refugee resettlement. *p<.05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001