INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIETY
ČLOVEK A SPOLOČNOSŤ

Individual and Society | Človek a spoločnosť
ISSUE 2, YEAR 2023, VOLUME 26
doi.org/10.31577/cas.2023.02.619 RECIEVED 31 August 2023 | PUBLISHED 15 December 2023

Solidarity with Ukrainian refugees in Slovakia: what motivates those who help?

—
Anna Novák Bobulová | bobulova11@uniba.sk
Faculty of Social and Economic Sciences, Comenius University in Bratislava, Slovakia
—
Xenia Daniela Poslon | xenia-daniela.poslon@savba.sk
Institute for Research in Social Communication, Slovak Academy of Sciences, Slovakia
—
Barbara Lášticová | barbara.lasticova@savba.sk
Institute for Research in Social Communication, Slovak Academy of Sciences, Slovakia

Abstract | Background: Since the Russian invasion of Ukraine in February 2022, a wave of solidarity has arisen in Slovakia with many people stepping up to help refugees from the neighbouring country. This welcoming attitude has strongly contrasted with the previous anti-refugee atmosphere in Slovakia. The current study builds on the theoretical models of collective action and allyship, focusing on the motivations of advantaged group members to engage in helping or social change oriented actions for disadvantaged groups. Objectives: The aim of the study was to explore the motivations of solidarity with Ukrainian refugees in Slovakia. In particular, it aimed to examine the motivations of people who had engaged in helping immigrants and refugees in the past as well as those who started only after the invasion of Ukraine. Methods: Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 9 participants who were involved in various forms of actively supporting Ukrainian refugees. Reflexive thematic analysis was used to develop and interpret the patterns of meaning around the key concepts described in the interviews. Results: The first theme was based on the events the participants described as triggers or significant moments that had elicited their need to support refugees. These moments were often accompanied by moral shock, leading to solidarity-based actions. Yet the urgency to help and actively show solidarity served different functions such as expressing a political opinion or coping with negative feelings. The second theme presented a broader perspective on helping a disadvantaged group. This was based on participants' constructions of their social identity that contributes to the level of inclusiveness of the moral circle. The extent to which different disadvantaged groups are morally excluded or included also shapes which experiences or events trigger moral shock, and lead to selective solidarity on behalf of Ukrainian refugees vs. refugees from other countries. Discussion and conclusions: As well as providing a basis for further research, the findings also invite us to reflect on how public discourse can shape the level of inclusiveness of the moral circle in society and subsequently facilitate or hinder solidarity-based collective action.

Keywords | Ukraine, solidarity, refugees, social identity, moral circle

Introduction

Most people leaving their home country out of fear for their life and arriving in a foreign country need help or support. NGOs and activists in Slovakia have long been working on the issue of refugee assistance although public attitudes towards refugees have changed in recent years. The so-called refugee crisis of 2015, largely the result of the war in Syria, caused many Slovaks to fear the arrival of refugees and have concerns for their own safety (Krivý, 2017; TASR, 2016). This was followed by the Taliban taking power in Afghanistan in 2021, forcing more people to flee. After the start of Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine in February 2022 however, there has been a large wave of solidarity in Slovakia. Indeed, attitudes of the general public towards refugees arriving from Ukraine have been significantly more positive compared to previous refugee crises (Ako sa máte, Slovensko?, 2022). In addition to the people that had already been involved in various forms of aid to refugees and immigrants in Slovakia, a number of short-term volunteers joined in to help, doing so at the expense of their free time and convenience.

Based on the different levels of public involvement in refugee assistance in the 2015, 2021 and 2022 migration crises, the question arises as to whether there are different types of motivation in engaging in acts of intergroup solidarity stemming from the context of migration. In particular, the country of origin of the refugees and their geographical and cultural proximity to Slovakia. The aim of the current study was to explore the motivations for solidarity towards refugees in Slovakia. The focus was on people who had been involved in helping refugees for a longer period of time as well as those who did so in the short term after the outbreak of the war in Ukraine.

Solidarity on the behalf of the outgroup

There is an ongoing debate in the literature as to how to define the various forms of helping in the context of intergroup relations. In their conceptualization of collective action, Van Zomeren et al. (2008) have built on the definition by Wright et al. (1990) who referred to it as the action of a member (or members) of a disadvantaged group for the benefit of the whole group. Louis et al. (2019) have described intergroup prosociality as acting for the benefit of an outgroup, which they divide into benevolence and activism. While benevolence is understood as direct support for members of the disadvantaged group, activism is aimed at changing the system and eliminating inequality. Louis et al. (2019) further make a distinction between allyship which is motivated by the values and needs of one's own group, and solidarity which is motivated by a shared superordinate identity that connects the disadvantaged and the advantaged group. In this context, Thomas and McGarty (2017) emphasise the difference between so-called 'collective giving' and 'collective acting'. In the case of 'collective giving', solidarity manifests itself as acts of charity or donation while 'collective acting' involves behaviours aimed at bringing about systemic change. Radke et al. (2020) use the aggregate term 'action for the disadvantaged group' although they exclusively focus on the actions of the advantaged group. While there is a range of definitions regarding these terms, in the present study we refer to the help of an advantaged group given to a disadvantaged group as an active expression of solidarity, and the motivations leading up to it as motivations for solidarity. In this context, the disadvantaged, outgroup or minority group are the refugees living in Slovakia while the advantaged, ingroup or majority group are the Slovak majority. All participants in the research are members of the advantaged group in this sense.

While collective action has been described in earlier work as a response to an objectively adverse condition, more recent studies have emphasised the role of subjective social and psychological factors in predicting collective action (van Zomeren et al., 2008; 2012; 2018). In particular, the Social Identity Model of Collective Action (SIMCA model), which describes three social-psychological factors influencing collective action: perceived injustice, group efficacy and social identity. First of all, when numbers of people experience deprivation as a group, the subsequent perceived or subjective injustice motivates collective action (e.g. Szóstakowski & Besta, 2023). This deprivation may be perceived as undeserved collective disadvantage or unfairness of practices while perceived individual injustice is much less likely to result in group action than group injustice. Secondly, people engage in collective action as long as they believe in the achievability of the group goals and perceive high group efficacy. Finally, social identity is based on the emotional

meaning that is attached to group membership, distinguishing between politicised and non-politicised identities. By this, a non-politicised identity refers to a person who identifies solely with a disadvantaged group while a politicised identity defines a person who identifies with a particular movement. It is this kind of social identity that predicts collective action more significantly than identity based on group membership only. Social identity is also central to the SIMCA model because it not only has a direct influence on collective action, but also has an indirect influence through perceived injustice and efficacy. Social identity is the basis for the perception of group injustice, and at the same time, the degree of social identification is the basis for perceiving group efficacy (van Zomeren et al., 2008). The original SIMCA model was later extended with a fourth predictor of collective action – moral motivations (van Zomeren et al., 2018). An individual's moral motivations represent their individual beliefs and attitudes which connect to social identity and thus encourage engagement in collective action. Moreover, moral motivations are more stable in comparison to the previous three motivations which are more situation and context dependent (van Zomeren et al., 2018).

Radke et al. (2020) have extended the research on intergroup helping by describing four motivations an advantaged group member may experience in acting on behalf of a disadvantaged group. The four categories of motivations are: outgroup-focused motivation, ingroup-focused motivation, personal motivation and morality motivation. They describe the background of each type of motivation for solidarity through four antecedents, directly or indirectly based on the extended SIMCA model. Thus, an individual's motivations to act on behalf of a disadvantaged group are influenced by identification or identity, morals, beliefs and attitudes, including efficacy as well as emotions which also includes perceived injustice. While antecedents specifically influence solidarity motivations, different types of motivations may subsequently result in different behavioural expressions of solidarity. While certain types of behaviours are solely aimed at alleviating the symptoms, others have more potential to result in permanent social change (Louis et al., 2019; Thomas & McGarty, 2017). As such, it is important to examine the different types of motivations leading to these behaviours in more detail (Radke et al., 2020; van Zomeren et al., 2018).

Outgroup-focused motivation refers to members of the advantaged group acting in favour of the disadvantaged group because they want to improve the latter's position. This means focusing on the needs of the disadvantaged group rather than on their own. According to Radke et al. (2020), people that are predominantly motivated in this way identify little with their ingroup or completely disidentify with the ingroup. In some cases, a superordinate group may emerge with which members of both the disadvantaged and advantaged groups identify. Typically, people with an outgroup-focused motivation do not hold prejudiced attitudes, are aware of their social status and make use of their own privilege. They are often dominated by group anger based on injustice performed towards the minority.

In the case of ingroup-focused motivation, individuals may be primarily concerned with their own needs or interests. While they may be genuinely helping a disadvantaged group, they do so under the conditions of preserving the existing group hierarchy (Radke et al., 2020). The main predictor of this type of motivation is identifying strongly with one's own (advantaged) group. This may be coupled with experiencing group-based guilt and feeling responsible for the way in which the disadvantaged group has been or continues to be treated. In terms of beliefs and attitudes, Radke et al. (2020) emphasise the role of paternalistic beliefs or the zero-sum belief in ingroup-focused motivation. This is based on the belief that when one group receives something, the other group loses (Nash, 1950; Wilkins et al., 2015). This type of motivation is also often associated with greater social dominance orientation and thus any help or assistance often leads to a dependence of the disadvantaged group on the advantaged group (Halabi et al., 2008). An example of this is 'collective giving' (Thomas & McGarty, 2017) which may lead to such a dependence.

The third motivation that may predict solidarity is personal motivation. In contrast to the previous two, people motivated by personal reasons weakly identify with their own or a superordinate group and are mostly dominated by a personal or individual identity. They help the minority mainly to fulfil their own goals and needs as well as to gain appreciation. They often become involved in helping when they feel positive emotions such as joy or pride, from which they derive their concern for the social equality of others. In addition to individualism, narcissism can also

occur in personally motivated people (Carpenter, 2012).

Finally, when an individual is driven to help a disadvantaged group by their moral beliefs, Radke et al. (2020) describe it as moral motivation. This motivation is not predicted by the degree of identification with any group. Rather, values such as universalism, fairness, and harm prevention are predominant. The main emotion is moral outrage which can be shared by both the majority and the minority. As long as an individual's moral values are aligned with a particular politicised group, there is a possibility that identification with this group may increase over time. However, this is more of a consequence than a predictor of moral motivation (Radke et al., 2020; van Zomeren et al., 2018). It is important to emphasise that these motivations are not exclusive and multiple motivations may at times be present simultaneously (Radke et al. 2020).

Solidarity in the migration context

During the refugee crisis in 2015, Milan (2018) explored motivations of solidarity in Austria while Frykman and Mäkelä (2018) looked at Sweden. Their results are relevant for the current study as the number of refugees from Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq who applied for asylum in these countries in 2015 can be compared to the number of Ukrainians seeking refuge in Slovakia in 2022 (European Union, 2023; Eurostat, 2016; Ministry of the Interior of the Slovak Republic, 2023).

Milan (2018) explored the extent to which people's emotions, personal events and background influenced their decision to engage in assisting refugees. She acknowledges what Jasper (1998) has described as a moral shock. This is an event or information not in line with an individual's perceptions which acts as a possible trigger, mobilising them into action (Jasper & Poulsen 1995). The motivations for solidarity in their research also stemmed from the individual backgrounds of the volunteers such as their own experience of displacement, migration, relocation or living abroad where they were perceived as strangers. Although feelings of exhaustion and frustration emerged in the later stages of helping, the participants were not discouraged in the activity because they were motivated by the satisfaction of engaging in an act of solidarity.

The primary aim of the research conducted in Sweden (Frykman & Mäkelä, 2018) had been to explore the tensions between volunteers and public institutions during this crisis and the relationship between volunteering and political activism. However, the results also brought up information on motivations for solidarity. The participants often described feeling a strong need to act when they saw what was happening. This very feeling was also present among people helping in Austria (Milan, 2018), and thus may be a consequence of the moral shock described by Jasper (1998). Moral and humanitarian reasons were also strong motivations.

Social group membership and descriptive social norms also contribute to the willingness to engage in intergroup helping. Roblain et al. (2020) found that the more participants perceived their personal social networks to be positive towards migrants, the more self-defining their pro-migrant attitudes became and thus the higher their subsequent willingness to help and persist in helping.

Kende et al. (2017) conducted a survey in Hungary among people who supported and helped refugees. They focused on the participants' level of moral conviction, identification with the pro-refugee opinion-based group, anger at the situation, and belief in the effectiveness of bringing about change. In doing so, they assumed that the motivations of the volunteers to get involved in helping the refugees were similar to the motivations leading people to engage in political activism. The results of their study supported the SIMCA model and the corresponding motivations for engaging in collective action (van Zomeren, 2015; van Zomeren et al., 2008). The main motivations for volunteers engaging in aid during the humanitarian crisis in Hungary were moral convictions and opinion-based identity, i.e., identification with a pro-refugee opinion-based group. Both of these motivations were also significant for participants engaged in political activism although in contrast to volunteers, political activists also reported higher anger and efficacy.

Given the immediacy of the war in Ukraine in 2022, there has been little published research addressing the motivations underlying solidarity with Ukrainian refugees.[1] Politi et al. (2022) has shown that two motivations may have led the participants in Belgium into helping refugees from Ukraine: individual prosociality or a superordinate identity. Individual prosociality was correlated with empathy towards Ukrainians and thus mobilised people to help. People motivated by identifying with a superordinate group - as Europeans, an identity shared with the people of Ukraine, reported empathy as well. Prosociality was identified as being a strong solidarity motivation by Barkasi (2023) whose research population consisted of social work students. Although prosocial tendencies were present in all participating students, they were more pronounced in those who were active in helping refugees from Ukraine.

Recent theoretical work (De Coninck, 2022; Paré, 2022) points to a double standard or selective solidarity applied to different groups of refugees. This refers to refugees from Ukraine on one hand, and refugees from Afghanistan, Syria or Iraq on the other. In this case, De Conic (2022) points to the symbolic threat that refugees from the Middle East pose to European society. The symbolic threat could be described as fear of the unknown, i.e. fear of different values, religion or ideology (Stephan et al., 2009; Stephan & Stephan, 2013; see also Kanyicska Belán & Popper, 2023 for empirical evidence from Central Europe). In this context, it is thus evident that European societies experience greater solidarity with refugees from European countries (De Coninck, 2022) which is in line with the results of research by Politi et al. (2022).

Building on theoretical models of collective action and allyship that focus on the motivation of advantaged group members to engage in action for disadvantaged groups, the aim of the present study was to explore motivations of solidarity with refugees in Slovakia. The research was interested in examining the motivations of both the people that had been engaged in helping immigrants and refugees in the previous crises, as well as the volunteers that were specifically mobilised after the invasion of Ukraine.

Methods

The aim was to collect data on a sample of participants in Slovakia who had expressed solidarity towards Ukrainian refugees by actively engaging in direct help in the first few months of the crisis. Given the various forms of help that was provided, the study also aimed to have a sample reflecting the heterogeneity of the population including both people doing professional activities related to refugees as well as those who had volunteered to help in their free time, unconnected to their profession or previous activities.

Both purposive sampling and snowball sampling was used to recruit participants. The participants were asked if they could recommend other people whom they had met during their activities including short-term volunteers or those who had been involved in refugee assistance for longer. In total, the sample consisted of nine participants, four of whom had been helping refugees for a longer period of time and five who started after the war broke out in Ukraine (Table 1). Data collection took place from December 2022 to March 2023 in Bratislava. In order to preserve the anonymity of the participants, pseudonyms matching their gender have been used.

Those in the sample providing long-term assistance to refugees were all employees of NGOs or local governments whose activities involved working with this group. Some of them had already worked in more than one such organisation and had been working in this field from about two to eight years at the time of the interviews. In Slovakia, relatively few people work with refugees at a professional level and thus their specific job positions are not listed in order to preserve their anonymity. In general, it can be said that their work involved assistance with asylum and integration processes or working on systemic changes in favour of refugees. After the outbreak of war in Ukraine, these organisations were involved in assisting Ukrainians arriving in Slovakia. Some were only briefly involved in humanitarian aid in the first months when large numbers of refugees from Ukraine were arriving in Slovakia, while others expanded their focus to include assistance to Ukrainians in the long term.

The second group of participants became involved in assisting refugees from Ukraine after February 2022 and their assistance lasted for several days, weeks or even months when high numbers of refugees from Ukraine were arriving in Slovakia. These people engaged in helping at the expense of their free time. Participants who provided short-term assistance to refugees showed solidarity in different ways, mostly by helping at train stations, at the Slovak-Ukrainian border and through distance or in-person coordination of volunteers. Some volunteers stopped helping when the number of incoming refugees started decreasing while others gave up because they could no longer manage to work or study and help at the same time. One of these participants, who had already provided short-term humanitarian aid to refugees in the past, later returned to other forms of helping Ukrainian refugees.

Table 1 *Overview of basic information about the participants*

Pseudonym	Short-term/ Long-term [a]	Helping before 2022 [b]	Work/ study
Ema	Long-term	yes	work
Laura	Long-term	yes	work
Tomáš	Long-term	yes	work
Ján	Short-term	no	student
Hana	Short-term	yes	work
Juraj	Short-term	no	work
Klára	Long-term	yes	work
Pavol	Short-term	no	student
Mária	Short-term	no	work

[a] *Long-term assistance to refugees/ Short-term assistance to refugees from Ukraine*

[b] *Engaging in both active and short-term assistance to refugees before the start of the war in Ukraine in February 2022*

Data collection was conducted using semi-structured narrative interviews, drawing on the model of Radke et al. (2020) to develop an indicative interview script. All interviews were conducted in person and individually.

At the beginning of the interview, the participants were asked about their job, profession, studies and type of help they had provided. Following this, they were asked about what had led them to engage in helping and working with the refugees. In other words, their motivations to help. The study was also interested in how they imagined the person who needs their help the most, what people who help this target group should be like as well as their thoughts about the future of Slovakia with regard to refugees. The study also looked at participants' individual and social identity. The full interview script is available at the Open Science Framework (OSF) on the following link: https://osf.io/qymgw/?view_only=d06f17758ae542cab937b9f2787dd192.

The online tool Trint was used to speed up the interview transcription process and the reflexive thematic analysis by Braun and Clarke (2022) was used for the data analysis. The first step of the analysis was coding which involves reading the interviews and identifying the initial codes. Coding is a process of recognizing significant segments of the interviews and then assigning codes to them. This can be viewed as a concise summary of the meaning of that segment. The data was approached inductively without a prepared list of codes. As Braun and Clarke (2022) have pointed out however, a researcher is never fully detached from existing empirical studies and theoretical concepts. The current approach to the data analysis is thus a combination of both an inductive and deductive perspective. In the first round, the coding was done from the first to the last interview.

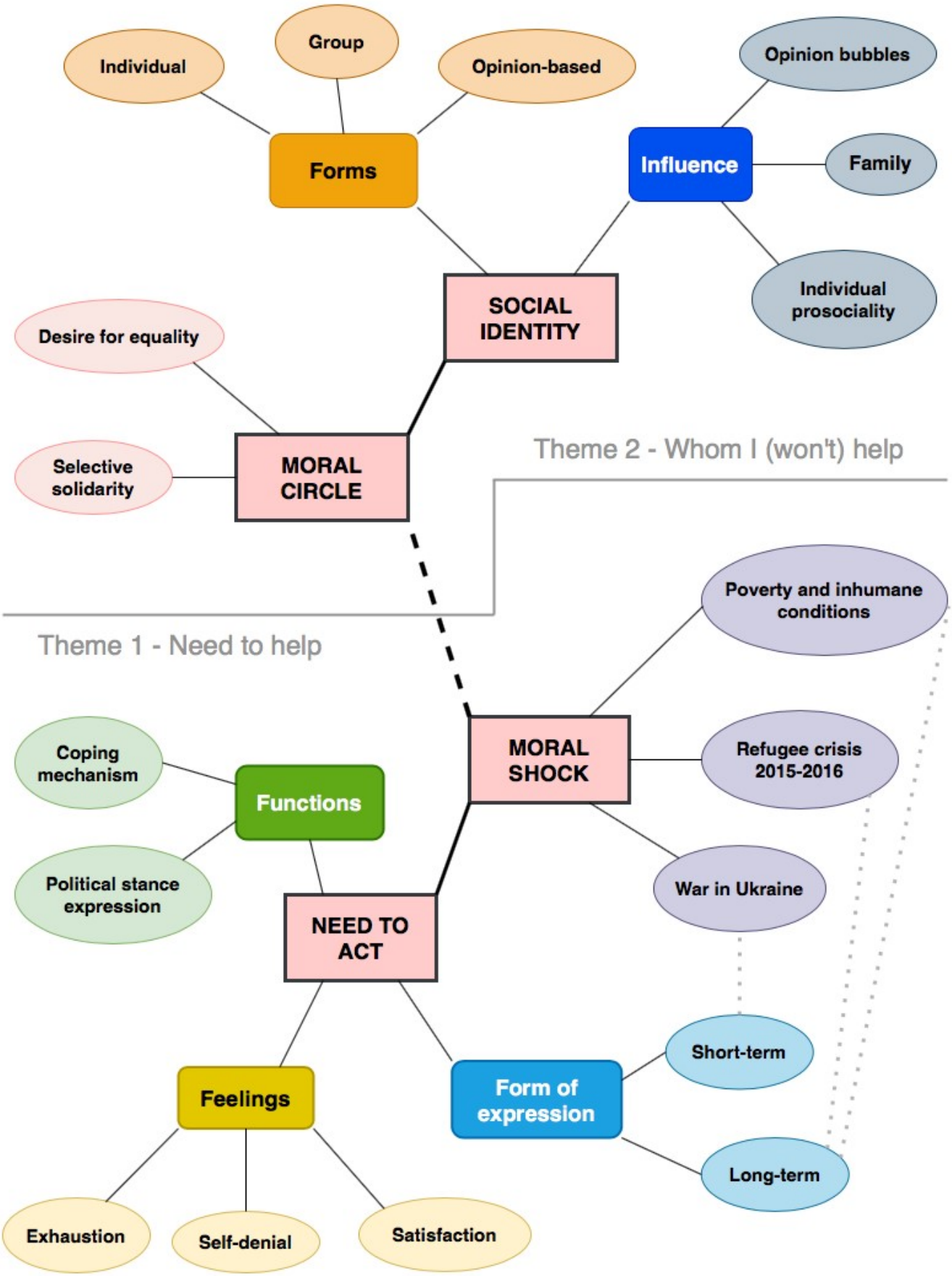
As recommended by Braun and Clarke (2022) however, the second round went from the fifth interview descending to the first and then from the last interview descending to the sixth. The second step involved searching for unifying patterns in the codes across the datasets and graphically creating maps, looking for connections between them. In doing so, it was necessary to be prepared to delete codes and patterns that were not related to the research topic, or to go back to the interview transcripts and look again at the parts that fit the recognized patterns. Braun and Clarke (2022) refer to these recognized patterns and connections as 'candidate themes'. These are clusters of codes that require deeper investigation to be considered as themes. The third step of the analysis was the refinement of the candidate themes into the final themes. A theme in reflexive thematic analysis is organised around a key concept and should be clearly defined, represent different perspectives on the concept, be relevant to the research aim, and be supported by sufficient data (Braun & Clarke, 2022).

Again, it was necessary to return to the previous stages of analysis, reflect on it and delete or rename codes or sets of codes if necessary. Finally, the final themes were identified, labelled, and defined. The candidate themes were

developed around the concept of selective solidarity towards refugees from Ukraine vs. the Middle East, sensitivity to social justice and the war in Ukraine as a moral shock eliciting the need for help. After re-reading the material, other instances were identified that had contributed to moral outrage in participants involved in long-term helping. This led us to rearrange the main categories resulting in two final themes. The first was framed around perceived injustice towards a disadvantaged group and the decision to act in favour of that group while the second focused on the context and form of the help.

Results

Figure 1 *Overview of the themes and key concepts*



The final result of the analysis came up with two broad themes (Table 2). The first theme is clustered around the events that the participants recalled as triggers for the need to help the refugees; the different functions that engaging in aid had for them; the forms helping took; and the subsequent feelings related to actively showing solidarity. The second theme moves from individual motivations for solidarity to broader social influences. It presents a broader view of intergroup helping based on social identity and the respective degree of inclusiveness of the moral circle. The concepts of moral circle (Laham, 2009) and moral shock (Jasper, 1998; Jasper & Poulsen 1995; Milan, 2018) interconnect the two themes (Figure 1). Moral circle determines the entities we consider worthy of moral regard (Laham, 2009), and those that fall behind the psychological boundaries in which moral values, justice, or fairness apply (Opotow, 1990). The need to actively show solidarity towards refugees was triggered by various events, i.e., moral shocks, which is addressed in the first theme as 'The Need to Help'. A type of event that triggers a moral shock in an individual may be related to the inclusiveness of their moral circle, shaped by the individual's social identity. The second theme 'Whom I (won't) help' underlies the first theme and precedes the actual moral shock and action on behalf of the refugees.

Table 2 *Overview of the themes*

Theme	Key concept	Definition
Need to help	Triggers of the need to help	In the context of solidarity, the participants mentioned significant moments or moral shocks that had triggered their need to act. The active display of solidarity took on different forms such as short or long-term, had different functions such as expressing a political stance or coping and was accompanied by different feelings.
Whom I (won't) help	Social identity and respective size of the moral circle	Family environment, opinion bubbles, and individual prosociality were identified as the main antecedents of different forms of social identity, namely group, individual or opinion-based. Participants' social identity was related to the degree of inclusiveness of their moral circle which led to selective solidarity or a desire for equality without distinction.

Theme 1 – Need to help

A key concept of this theme is grouped around the triggers for the need to actively show solidarity with refugees, as well as the form and function of expressing solidarity and the feelings that accompany them. The moments in the lives of the participants that triggered their need to engage in aid could be described as 'moral shocks' (Jasper, 1998; Jasper & Poulsen 1995; Milan, 2018). These are situations or events that do not conform to our perceptions and mobilise us to take action on behalf of a disadvantaged group. In this study, the moral shocks can be divided into three categories: (1) poverty and inhumane conditions, (2) personal experiences at the border during the 2015-2016 refugee crisis, and (3) the start of the war in Ukraine in February 2022.

Participants who had been involved in helping refugees for a greater length of time described particular moral shocks in their lives as being triggers for their long-term interest in refugees and foreigners as a vulnerable group. One of them was Tomáš who described a watershed moment from his early childhood when he was so taken by photographs of children from sub-Saharan Africa that he plastered them on the wall of his room. He added: '*... from that moment on, I always believed that whatever I was going to do, it was going to be about people who didn't have the most basic things...*' (Tomáš, l. 70-72). Similarly, Klára's interest was sparked during high school when she studied in Germany for a year:

And we had a conversation with a Chechen refugee who was telling us how he was actually living there, how he was having extreme problems. He was there with his sister at the time, he was just describing to us exactly the standard of his life, or the substandard of his life, what conditions they were actually functioning in, how they were having a problem with that status recognition, how his sister couldn't quite make it work in that school and so on. (Klára, l. 67-72)

Other types of moral shocks identified in the data were related to the refugee crisis in 2015-2016. Participants that had helped refugees at the borders described what they saw and experienced there as *'masses'* (Hana, l. 358), *'intense'* (Laura, l. 168), *'horrible'* (Klára, l. 144) and *'very vivid'* (Ema, l. 145). For Klára, this was her second such encounter with reality and confirmed her choice of career direction. Based on their experience at the borders during the refugee crisis in 2015-2016, Hana and Laura were able to imagine what the situation at the Slovak-Ukrainian border would be like after the full-scale invasion of Ukraine.

It was the beginning of the war in Ukraine that was the most common moral shock in the data:

... what hit me the most was that I woke up to my mom waking me up. And my mother was shaking me in bed that [...] and she was crying, crying, actually tears were flowing on me [...] that the Russians had started the war. And a chill ran down my back [...] because it was already brewing before. (Ján, l. 327-330; 331-332)

People who had been helping refugees for a longer period of time did not acknowledge this moral shock to the same extent as those involved in short-term assistance. In the former group, the shock had occurred earlier and thus influenced their choice of professionally working with refugees. The feelings triggered by learning that Ukraine had been invaded were shock, helplessness, fear, panic in addition to anger as Juraj said: *'... at Putin and their whole garrison, the dictatorship. And at the same time... at all those people who questioned it.'* (l. 779-780) When asked if she remembered the moment when she found out that war had started in Ukraine, Mária said: *'Well, I remember that moment, of course, as we always remember these moments'* (l. 208-209). Participants vividly recalled moments that disrupted their perception of the world and the feelings they evoked in them.

This brings us to the consequence of moral shock that was identified across all the interviews: the pressing need to act and the subsequent active expressions of solidarity. Ema, who had worked for an organisation helping refugees in Ukraine before the war, mentioned her feelings after the shock of finding out that a war had started in Ukraine: '*And then there was that terrible adrenaline rush, that I had to do something, that it couldn't stay like this.*' (l. 190-195). Subsequently, the organisation mobilised and went to the Slovak-Ukrainian border.

The same strong need was also identified in studies with volunteers helping in Sweden and Austria during the 2015-2016 refugee crisis (Frykman & Mäkelä, 2018; Milan, 2018). In the current study, active expressions of solidarity took on two main forms: short-term or humanitarian, and long-term assistance. For those providing long-term assistance to the refugees, their moral shocks led them to take action in the form of improving integration processes, participating in systemic changes or providing individual support. In the case of short-term helpers, the need manifested itself mainly in humanitarian aid aimed at alleviating the immediate crisis. Most of these participants stopped helping at the point where humanitarian solutions tipped over into long-term ones. Given that they were helping refugees in time outside employment or education, it was too time-consuming to continue in the long term. However, the prevailing attitude was that if a similar humanitarian crisis were to erupt again, they would certainly step in to help if they had the capacity to do so.

Regardless of the form, the assistance to the refugees also had different functions. For Pavol, it was an expression of a political stance:

'And it's certainly more motivating when I know that I can say to some desolate [a far-right supporter] that yes, I was, I helped some of those Ukrainians, yeah. Does that piss you off a lot?' (l. 582-583). Several participants also spoke of constantly watching the news and feeling restless after the outbreak of the war, preventing them from functioning normally and concentrating on their work. In this case, engaging in helping refugees may have served as a kind of

coping mechanism to overcome the shock:

And that panic was also because I was reading an awful lot of information and an awful lot of articles and newspapers. Which I haven't really had time to do at all since I started helping [...] And it helped me tremendously to actually see these people in person. Seeing and asking them what they really need, how they feel. There were also difficult moments. But I mainly felt that I saw in them this incredible strength and determination and this kind of relentlessness and this kind of actually standing up for yourself, which actually motivated me tremendously to come again on that next day and just do everything I could to make them feel at least a little bit better and safer. (Hana, l. 591-599)

The last part of this theme are the feelings resulting from active expressions of solidarity. Fatigue and exhaustion, both physical and psychological, were mentioned in the data. When asked if she was exhausted from her work, Laura, who had worked with refugees for a long time, said: *'I am. Short answer.'* (l. 440). She later added that seeing that her work is needed discourages and motivates her at the same time. Selflessness and putting other people's needs before one's own could be observed in Laura and several other participants: *'I thought well, I've got a fever and I'm coughing, and I am feeling ill, and I can't speak properly on the phone, but those people are simply there with small children, they don't have a house or whatever and they're simply much worse off...'* (Mária, l. 333-335). Similarly, Tomáš talked about not showing emotion when offering professional aid because he primarily needs to be there for the client, *'I can process it [emotionally] in myself later.'* (l. 847).

Regardless of the difficulty, participants repeatedly thematized the satisfaction or joy of helping. Juraj said that even though he was very tired, he was energised by the new people who joined in to help and was surprised at how much he enjoyed it: *'But if you asked me to do it again, I would do it again.'* (l. 1212-1213). It is possible to see a parallel between the current results and those of Milan (2018) where volunteers also experienced exhaustion in addition to the satisfaction and joy of helping collectively.

The participants all had a common desire to alleviate suffering and improve the lives of the refugees.

On the other hand, I felt, shall I call it, satisfaction? That this gave me a little bit different energy [...] that I finally felt that I was actually doing something, and even though I was carrying maybe toilet paper from one place to another, I felt that finally I was actually contributing somehow to the situation and that I was actually, maybe not directly, but by doing it I will improve somebody's conditions and life. (Ján, l. 224-228)

Theme 2 – Whom I (won't) help

The key concept of the second theme is social identity and the related inclusiveness of the moral circle. Indeed, this could be interpreted as a possible precursor of the decision itself to actively participate in helping refugees. There were various forms of participants' social identities found that could have been associated with their prosociality, social circles including friends and family or opinion bubbles. These identities could have shaped the inclusiveness of the group towards which the participants felt empathy, motivating them to engage in acts of solidarity.

There were significant elements of individual prosociality recognized in most of the participants. This was not only found in the participants involved in helping refugees in the long-term, but also the short-term helpers pointed out that it was important for them to do work that '*has meaning*'. Those who helped refugees from Ukraine for a short period of time had jobs or studied in fields that had a societal focus such as medicine, municipal services, research or education.

I am dedicated to the field of contemporary art [...] where we focus on exhibitions, educational programs within the framework of contemporary art and on such interdisciplinary overlaps. In other words, we also work with social issues. [...] Within that, the topic, or rather the possibility of helping, is actually very close to me. (Hana, l. 13-16; 21-22)

It can therefore be assumed that it is those with prosocial feelings that are primarily involved in helping refugees. This has also been shown in studies carried out by Politi et al. (2022) and Barkasi (2023). However, there have also been cases in which helping was more based on a professional interest in refugees as a vulnerable group or on the need to position themselves against Russia's aggression (a politicised identity), rather than on prosocial feelings.

In their narratives, the participants talked about the essential role of the social environment, i.e., family and friends, in shaping their social identity. During college, Ema lived with students who had helped the Syrian community in Brno. She described this experience as triggering a greater interest in the topic of migration. Similarly, Roblain et al. (2020) have pointed out that the more the members of the privileged group perceived their social environment as positive towards migrants, the more they agreed with these attitudes and their willingness to help and continue to help grew. Indeed, the family is an important environment for the transmission of norms. This is not only in the context of intergroup attitudes (Gniewosz & Noack, 2015) but has also been shown that perceptions of parental engagement and their support play a role in collective action later in adulthood (González et al., 2021). Most of the participants shared similar views and attitudes with their families and their families had even supported them in their work. However, it was different in the case of Laura and Klára who had been working with refugees as a target group for several years: *'I guess I'd probably put it this way that they got used to it. And I certainly can't say that the initial moment was supportive or anything like that. At all. But over time, it's as if they accepted reality...'* (Laura, l. 746-748).

The case of Hana is also interesting. While her father encouraged her to help since childhood, his views changed due to the spread of misinformation related to refugees in Slovakia over the years. As a result, Hana stopped talking to him about certain topics in order to protect her mental health and maintain a good relationship with her father. Similarly, other participants described confrontations with anti-refugee opinions that were so hurtful to them over the time that they either stopped discussing controversial topics or stopped talking with the people in their close environment with extreme views altogether. The result was also the deliberate creation of opinion bubbles in which they shared opinions and attitudes and thus avoided unpleasant confrontations.

Even though all the participants are part of a privileged group - an ethnic majority that is not directly threatened by the conflict in Ukraine, not everyone identified with this privileged group in the same way. In addition, the participants could be part of other groups that contributed to their sense of social identity. For example, Juraj defined himself as a Central European, making him part of a larger group of Central Europeans. In addition, he is a Boy Scout and often spoke in the first-person plural about his assistance to refugees from Ukraine. Although he didn't say it directly, his expression as 'we' scouts indicates that this identity, which carries the values of helping others, is part of

him: '*... we had walkie-talkies, so we used this liaison-making, as the scouts did during the Second World War, we also made liaisons now.*' (l. 728-730). In this extract, he also points to the continuity of scouting and the fact that they continue the same activity in a similar situation as they did in the past.

For some participants, there was a superordinate identity of those working in the non-governmental sector, in organisations supporting foreigners and refugees. This type of group identity could be described as opinion-based (Bliuc et al., 2007) or politicised (van Zomeren et al., 2008) group identity, formed when people in a group are united by a social identity based on the same values, norms and beliefs, mobilising them for group action.

For me, this is a very important part of the whole thing, and especially in this topic, that is, helping refugees, because we do not share a large number of clients and at the same time it is not a large number of organisations. And that cooperation is absolutely necessary there. So there I actually see myself as part of that. Or if I needed to say that what is that I do, it's that I work in an organisation that works with refugees... (Laura, l. 703-707)

As previously mentioned, the degree of inclusiveness of social identity is closely related to the concept of the so-called 'moral circle'. The moral circle delimits those entities in the world that we consider worthy of moral consideration (Laham, 2009). In this case, Opotow (1990) talks about moral exclusion which occurs when we perceive a certain group beyond the boundaries in which moral values, justice, or fairness apply. On the contrary, we speak of moral inclusion if our moral circle expands to include groups to which we previously did not apply the given parameters (Passini, 2016). Thus, the narrower a person's moral circle is, the smaller the group of people is towards whom they feel empathy, while a person with wider boundaries feels empathy and shows solidarity with a bigger group or groups of people. The moral circle is, together with the moral shock, an element that connects both central themes since the size of a person's moral circle can be related to what kind of situation will or will not trigger a moral shock in them.

The different strength of identification with social groups that are more or less inclusive or include group norms of helping vulnerable people was related to the size of the moral circle of the participants. It is important to note that the sample only consists of people who have actively shown solidarity with refugees and thus, it can be assumed that none of them has a negative attitude towards this group. Nevertheless, the inclusiveness of their moral circles varied to a certain extent. The perspectives of those participants whose moral circle included not only refugees, but all disadvantaged groups and minorities are presented first.

For me, it seems that solidarity... is something that is extremely natural, that should be simply... I don't understand how someone can't feel solidarity [...] I can't imagine that I would have it any other way, how I feel now. [...], As you asked at the beginning, whether it is important for me to help or work [in a helping profession], it is not, but the solidarity with the oppressed and with the disadvantaged, nothing is more natural to me. (Ema, l. 1088-1094)

This extract demonstrates a desire for a kind of universal equality for all. Some participants also presented a desire for equality and justice although their focus was much more strongly directed towards the refugees. While they also perceived injustice towards other groups, refugees were among those who were deemed to need help the most.

In the case of a moral circle, selective solidarity can also be mentioned (Paré, 2022). With regard to the latent meanings of the participants' statements, elements of significantly stronger empathy and solidarity towards the refugees from Ukraine could also be discerned in the narratives of the participants. Pavol commented on the conflicts in the Middle East as follows:

...that region is significantly different from ours, and the conflict that is going on there, and no offence to those like local residents, has been going on for several millennia. [...] those Ukrainians have somehow lived here for a longer time than those groups from the Middle East." (Pavol, l. 614-616; 646-647)

It can also be seen how moral circle and moral shock are related. If a person perceives the conflicts in the Middle East as something 'ordinary', the outbreak of a new conflict in this region will not cause them a moral shock. However, it

can be a trigger for a person with a wider moral range or degree of empathy:

When Russia attacked Ukraine, I received many messages from my friends [...] and many of them told me that they were crying. And now, at the risk of sounding too insensitive, the first thing that came to my mind at that moment was: Did you cry, I also wrote that to someone, in August 2021 [when Taliban movement retook power in Afghanistan]? [...] I don't understand the arguments that I encounter, such as that something is culturally closer to us, that the country is neighbouring to us, etc. [...] Just as I could sympathise with a malnourished child, I didn't even know which country he was from, the same way I sympathise with a child who comes from Mariupol or Kherson. [...] God forbid I don't want to help Ukrainians. Which is by no means true. I want to help them [...] But I cannot overlook the positive discrimination... (Tomáš, l. 1320-1323; 1325-1333)

As far as selective solidarity is concerned, two participants who had been working with refugees for a longer period of time expressed their regret that significant changes in government and society's assistance to refugees and immigrants only started to happen as a reaction to the war in Ukraine. Again, a wider moral circle and a desire for equality can be seen.

... I am pleased that the space actually happened there, that is, that it was created, [...] I am not pleased that it is based on the situation that occurred. As it is absolutely clear that the visibility came with the fact that an extremely large number of people from Ukraine came, [...] that it actually caused the fact that suddenly the topic is somehow very crucial and anchored...(Klára, l. 280-283; 285-286)

The '*double standard*' mentioned by Tomáš may be a consequence of the symbolic threat to one's values, religion, or ideology, posed by the refugees from Middle East (De Coninck, 2022). Mária ironically commented on the symbolic threat as follows:

What I think is behind this is that these people, who actually came here and live next to us, are as if our own, whom we know. Whereas there are some Arabs who simply have strange gods and completely, you know, crazy opinions and are actually all terrorists, so I guess we won't sympathise with them, right? (Mária, l. 443-446)

Discussion

The aim of this study was to examine the motivations of solidarity towards refugees in Slovakia. Two themes were identified after the data was analysed using reflexive thematic analysis. The first theme 'Need for help' is formed around the individual need of participants to help refugees. The second 'Whom I (won't) help' presents solidarity as arising from social identification of the participants and the respective inclusivity of the moral circle.

Across the data, it was possible to identify what Radke et al. (2020) described as an outgroup-focused motivation, focusing on the needs of the refugees. This type of motivation is characterised by low identification with one's ingroup, awareness of one's own privileges, as well as group-based anger. There were also elements of moral motivation characterised by universalism, the desire for justice and equality. The following part will discuss the latent – implied – meaning of the statements of the participants in further detail. In the second theme, both the desire for equality and selective solidarity in the context of the inclusiveness of the moral circle were identified. Selective solidarity was especially pronounced among those participants who engaged in helping the refugees in the short-term. Although semantic (explicit) meanings point to similar motivations of long-term and short-term helpers, the latent meanings indicate possible differences. In particular, there were elements of personal motivation identified in several participants who had helped refugees from Ukraine for a short time, i.e., a desire to improve their position in the eyes of others or experiencing the joy of helping a disadvantaged group. On the contrary, a moral motivation characterised by the desire for equality was more characteristic for long-term helpers as they generally had a highly inclusive moral circle.

Moreover, the implicit role of social identity was also identified in the inclusiveness of the moral circle. Social identity has been shown to be an important determinant of collective action in the context of war conflicts or natural disasters in many studies (Hasan-Aslih et al., 2020; Ntontis et al., 2020). In the current study, identifying with different social groups could be related to the decision to engage or not in helping a specific disadvantaged group such as refugees from Ukraine or Afghanistan. Thus, social identity can contribute to shaping the inclusiveness of the moral circle which further shapes what kind of situation will or will not trigger a moral shock for the individual.

Furthermore, Van Zomeren et al. (2008) have distinguished between non-politicised and politicised identity, claiming that politicised social identity is a stronger predictor of involvement in collective action. This was recognized in participants who had been engaged in helping over a longer period and in short-term helpers to a certain extent as well. In this case, helping a disadvantaged group could also be a means of expressing a political stance. In other words, supporting Ukraine and defining itself against Russia's aggression and against Vladimir Putin, who was often blamed for the situation, contributed to the emergence of group-based anger (Kende et al., 2017; Radke et al., 2020; van Zomeren et al., 2008).

The current findings suggest that social identity predicts actions for the disadvantaged group in both short-term or humanitarian and long-term aid. Consistent with the concepts described by Louis et al. (2019) and Thomas and McGarty (2017) that distinguish between 'collective giving' and 'collective acting', the motivation underlying one-time assistance or 'collective giving' is often ingroup-focused (Radke et al., 2020). Even though this form of help could theoretically be compared with the short-term helpers in the data, it would not be labelled as such because even the participants who assisted refugees in the short term expressed active solidarity, often at the expense of their free time. According to Thomas and McGarty (2017), aid in the form of charity or donations often leads to the dependence of the disadvantaged group on the advantaged group, thus perpetuating the social dominance of the majority and group hierarchy. However, it could be argued that in the context of an immediate crisis, this type of help is somewhat necessary while the differentiation between help leading to dependence and acts leading to systemic changes is more relevant in the context of long-term deprivation and group inequalities.

In conclusion, the social identity formed by the social environment of the participants and the subsequent inclusiveness of their moral circle could therefore be related to the situation or event that triggered a moral shock.

Together, these antecedents lead to the need to act with this action taking different forms. In the current sample, it was possible to recognize a combination of several types of motivations for solidarity often present simultaneously. This is the advantage of the model by Radke et al. (2020) who have separated the antecedents and behavioural manifestations of motivations, making it possible to recognize diverse motivations present in the same individual, subject to change over time (Kutlaca et al., 2020; Radke et al. al., 2020).

Limitations

The sample consisted of people involved in both short-term help that were mobilised by the war in Ukraine, as well as those who had been involved in helping refugees and immigrants for a longer period. Even though this heterogeneity indicates differences in solidarity motivations, it does not allow a deeper examination into what differentiates the people who endure in helping and devoting their professional lives to this cause.

The data collection took place from December 2022 to March 2023 when the war in Ukraine had already lasted for about a year. As such, it could have been more difficult for the participants to reconstruct their experiences than it would have been if the data had been collected at the time when they had been involved.

The results may also have been influenced by the fact that all the long-term helpers worked in Bratislava, where the overall social norms may be more supportive of refugees. Even though the public unanimously supported Ukraine at the beginning of the war (Ako sa máte, Slovensko?, 2022) and did not question helping the victims of direct violence, the acceptance of refugees was still conditional upon meeting the criteria for deservingness of help (Poslon & Lášticová, forthcoming). It is therefore questionable whether the motivations of solidarity among people who work in this field would differ in other parts of Slovakia where the public may be less supportive of these forms of solidarity.

Implications

The accounts of the participants have demonstrated the importance of the inclusiveness of the moral circle and of situations that cause moral shock as being possible antecedents of solidarity with a vulnerable group. The interviews repeatedly touched on the role and influence of the media on the formation of attitudes towards refugees. The way specific events are presented by the media could affect which situations are perceived as 'normal' or ordinary, thus shaping our moral circle and overall solidarity towards the disadvantaged group. It is strongly believed that dispelling myths about refugees should be part of the public discussion and while NGOs put great effort in, they are not given enough space for it.

Future research

Since this study was exploratory qualitative research, it is not possible to generalise the results. Therefore, it would be necessary to explore the motivations of solidarity towards refugees in Slovakia in the future from a quantitative point of view as well. Since social identity was shown to be a possible significant antecedent of solidarity motivations in the research, it would be valuable to investigate which social groups are salient for people who did not show solidarity towards refugees. While the inclusiveness of the moral circle was recognised as an important element, the next step would be to examine the moral circles of people in Slovakia to determine which vulnerable groups tend to be included, and thus with whom and on what basis society is generally more empathetic.

The present results are limited to describing initial motivations in helping refugees and yet the question of persisting in help is of equal importance and should be further examined in future research. Given the difference in attitudes towards refugees in Slovakia before and after the start of the war in Ukraine (Ako sa máte Slovensko?, 2022; Krivý, 2017; TASR, 2016) and thus the different perception of various groups of refugees based on their country of origin, future research could focus on the motivations for solidarity in people who continued to help refugees even after the initial solidarity wave had declined. Indeed, surveys conducted after one year of war in Ukraine showed that solidarity with refugees from Ukraine has significantly decreased, despite the fact that the war in this territory is still ongoing

(Papcunová, 2023).

Acknowledgement:

This work was supported by the grant VEGA 2/0102/22 awarded to the second and third authors.

Participants were made aware of the potential risks and were given time to read and sign the informed consent.

The research was approved by the Ethical review board of the Institute for Research in Social Communication of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, following the ethical principles stated in the Declaration of Helsinki.

Because of the sensitive nature of the data collected for this study, requests to access the source data from qualified researchers trained in human subject may be sent to the author.

The authors have no conflict of interest to declare.

CRediT statement

Author 1: data collection, data analysis, writing the first draft, writing – review & editing

Author 2: supervision, data analysis consultation, writing – review & editing

Author 3: supervision, data analysis consultation, writing – review & editing

All authors contributed to the conceptualisation and design of the study, as well as final manuscript preparation and approved it for publication.

[1] There is also not enough empirical work looking at the needs of the Ukrainian refugees themselves in Slovakia, for a notable exception, see Papcunová et al. (2023).

References

Ako sa ma e, Slovensko? (2022, March 2). *Verejnosť podporuje reakciu štátu na vojnu na Ukrajine.* Slovenská akadémia vied. https://www.sav.sk/?lang=sk&doc=services-news&source_no=20&news_no=10202

American Psychological Association. (2020). *Publication manual of the American Psychological Association* (7th ed.). American Psychological Association. https://doi.org/10.1037/0000165-000

Barkasi, D. (2023). Prosociálne tendencie ľudí v kontexte pomoci Ukrajine. In P. Vansac & P. Czarnecki (Eds.), *Zborník z IX. Medzinárodnej vedeckej konferencie, Humanitárna pomoc pre Ukrajinu a intervencie (skúsenosti) profesionálnych a dobrovoľníckych tímov s utečencami z Ukrajiny, Michalovce 11. november 2022* (pp. 64–77). Warszawa: Collegium Humanum.

Bliuc, A., McGarty, C., Reynolds, K. J., & Muntele, D. (2007). Opinion-based group membership as a predictor of commitment to political action. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 37*(1), 19–32. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.334

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2022). *Thematic Analysis: A Practical Guide*. Sage Publications Limited.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2020). One size fits all? What counts as quality practice in (reflexive) thematic analysis? *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, *18*(3), 328–352. https://doi.org/10.1080/14780887.2020.1769238

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2013). *Successful Qualitative Research: A Practical Guide for Beginners.* Sage Publications Limited.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, *3*(2), 77–101. https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa

De Coninck, D. (2022). The Refugee Paradox During Wartime in Europe: How Ukrainian and Afghan Refugees are (not) Alike. *International Migration Review.* https://doi.org/10.1177/01979183221116874

European Union. (2023, January 20). *Slovakia: Temporary protection period extended for those displaced from Ukraine.* European Website on Integration. https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/news/slovakia-temporary-protection-period-extended-those-displaced-ukraine_en

Eurostat. (2016). Asylum in the EU Member States: Record Number of Over 1.2 million First Time Asylum Seekers Registered in 2015: Syrians, Afghans and Iraqis: Top Citizenships. *News Release*, *44,* 2016 March 16. http://ec.europa.eu/ eurostat/documents/2995521/7203832/3-04032016-AP-EN.pdf/

Frykman, M. P., & Mäkelä, F. (2018). 'Only Volunteers'? Personal Motivations and Political Ambiguities Within the Refugees Welcome to Malmö Civil Initiative. *Refugee Protection and Civil Society in Europe*, 291–318. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-92741-1_11

Gniewosz, B., & Noack, P. (2015). Parental influences on adolescents' negative attitudes toward immigrants. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *44*, 1787-1802.

González, R., Alvarez, B., Manzi, J., Varela, M., Frigolett, C., Livingstone, A. G., ... & Valdenegro, D. (2021). The role of family in the intergenerational transmission of collective action. *Social Psychological and Personality Science, 12*(6), 856–867.

Halabi, S., Dovidio, J. F., & Nadler, A. (2008). When and How Do High Status Group Members Offer Help: Effects of Social Dominance Orientation and Status Threat. *Political Psychology*, *29*(6), 841–858. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9221.2008.00669.x

Hasan-Aslih, S., Shuman, E., Pliskin, R., Van Zomeren, M., Saguy, T., & Halperin, E. (2020). With or without you: The paradoxical role of identification in predicting joint and ingroup collective action in intergroup conflict. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 50*(6), 1334–1343. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2677

Jasper, J. M. (1998). The emotions of protest: Affective and reactive emotions in and around social movements. *Sociological Forum, 13*(3), 397–424. https://doi.org/10.1023/a:1022175308081

Jasper, J. M., & Poulsen, J. D. (1995). Recruiting Strangers and Friends: Moral Shocks and Social Networks in Animal Rights and Anti-Nuclear Protests. *Social Problems*, *42*(4), 493–512. https://doi.org/10.2307/3097043

Kanyicska Belán, D., & Popper, M. (2023). Different Minority Groups Elicit Different Safety, Economic, Power, and Symbolic Threats. *Human Affairs* 33, 51–66.

Kende, A., Lantos, N. A., Belinszky, A., Csaba, S., & Lukács, Z. A. (2017). The politicized motivations of volunteers in the refugee crisis: Intergroup helping as the means to achieve social change. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*, *5*(1), 260–281. https://doi.org/10.5964/jspp.v5i1.642

Krivý, V. (2017). *Postoje slovenskej verejnosti k utečencom a k zjednocujúcim snahám EU*. Sociologicky ústav SAV. http://www.sociologia.sav.sk/cms/uploaded/2543_attach_TB_Krivy_utecenci_EU.pdf

Kutlaca, M., Radke, H. R., Iyer, A., & Becker, J. C. (2020). Understanding allies' participation in social change: A multiple perspectives approach. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 50*, 1248–1258. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2720

Laham, S. M. (2009). Expanding the moral circle: Inclusion and exclusion mindsets and the circle of moral regard. Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 45(1), 250–253. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2008.08.012

Louis, W. R., Thomas, E., Chapman, C. M., Achia, T., Wibisono, S., Mirnajafi, Z., & Droogendyk, L. (2019). Emerging research on intergroup prosociality: Group members' charitable giving, positive contact, allyship, and solidarity with others. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, *13*(3). https://doi.org/10.1111/spc3.12436

Milan, C. (2018). Emotions that Mobilise: The Emotional Basis of Pro-asylum Seeker Activism in Austria. *Solidarity Mobilizations in the 'Refugee Crisis,'* 183–208. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-71752-4_7

Ministerstvo vnútra SR. (2023, January 3). *Situácia na slovensko-ukrajinskej hranici je stabilizovaná.* Ministerstvo Vnútra Slovenskej Republiky. https://www.minv.sk/?tlacove-spravy-6&sprava=situacia-na-slovensko-ukrajinskej-hranici-je-stabilizovana

Nash, J. H. E. (1950). The Bargaining Problem. *Econometrica*, *18*(2), 155. https://doi.org/10.2307/1907266

Ntontis, E., Drury, J., Amlôt, R., Rubin, G. J., Williams, R. A., & Saavedra, P. (2020). Collective resilience in the disaster recovery period: Emergent social identity and observed social support are associated with collective efficacy, well being, and the provision of social support. *British Journal of Social Psychology*. https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12434

Papcunová, J. (2023, February 24). *Aktuality – Podpora Slovákov a Sloveniek k prijatiu odídencov z Ukrajiny postupne klesá*. Slovenská Akadémia Vied. https://www.sav.sk/index.php?lang=sk&doc=services-news&source_no=20&news_no=11059

Papcunová, J., Ďurbisová, S. & Mukhina, A. (2023). *Exploring Labour Integration Challenges for Ukrainians in Slovakia*. Unpublished work. (https://osf.io/preprints/psyarxiv/9ypsj)

Pare C. (2022). Selective Solidarity? Racialised Othering in European Immigration Politics. *Amsterdam Review of European Affairs*, *1*(1), 42–61.

Passini, S. (2016). Concern for close or distant others: The distinction between moral identity and moral inclusion. *Journal of Moral Education, 45*(1), 74–86. https://doi.org/10.1080/03057240.2016.1156522

Politi, E., Gale, J., Roblain, A., Bobowik, M., & Green, E. G. T. (2022). Who is willing to help Ukrainian refugees and why? Individual prosocial dispositions and superordinate European identity related to intergroup helping intentions. https://doi.org/10.31234/osf.io/ydv3h

Poslon, X.D., & Lášticová, B. (forthcoming). Navigating Normative Sources: How Adolescents Talk About Refugees from Ukraine and the Roma. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology.*

Radke, H., Kutlaca, M., Siem, B., Wright, S., & Becker, J. (2020). Beyond Allyship: Motivations for Advantaged Group Members to Engage in Action for Disadvantaged Groups. *Personality And Social Psychology Review, 24*(4), 291–315. https://doi.org/10.1177/1088868320918698

Roblain, A., Hanioti, M., Paulis, E., Van Haute, E., & Green, E. G. T. (2020). The social network of solidarity with migrants: The role of perceived injunctive norms on intergroup helping behaviors. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 50*(6), 1306–1317. https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2700

Stephan, W. G., & Stephan, C. W. (2013). An Integrated threat Theory of prejudice. In *Psychology Press eBooks* (pp. 33–56). https://doi.org/10.4324/9781410605634-7

Stephan, W. G., Ybarra, O., & Morrison, K. R. (2009). Intergroup threat theory. In T. D. Nelson (Ed.), *Handbook of prejudice, stereotyping, and discrimination* (pp. 43–59). Psychology Press

Szóstakowski, D., & Besta, T. (2023). Perceived threat, injustice appraisal and willingness to join progressive collective action. *Current Psychology*. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12144-023-04926-1

TASR (2016, March 8). *Prieskum: Slováci sa stále obávajú migrantov a ich kultúry.* domov.sme.sk. https://domov.sme.sk/c/20113185/prieskum-slovaci-sa-stale-obavaju-migrantov-a-ich-kultury.html

Thomas, E., & McGarty, C. (2017). Giving versus acting: Using latent profile analysis to distinguish between benevolent and activist support for global poverty reduction. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 57*(1), 189–209. https://doi.org/10.1111/bjso.12228

van Zomeren, M. (2015). Collective action as relational interaction: A new relational hypothesis on how non-activists become activists. *New Ideas in Psychology, 39*, 1–11. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.newideapsych.2015.04.001

van Zomeren, M., Kutlaca, M., & Turner-Zwinkels, F. (2018). Integrating who "we" are with what "we" (will not) stand for: A further extension of the *Social Identity Model of Collective Action*. *European Review of Social Psychology*, *29*(1), 122–160. https://doi.org/10.1080/10463283.2018.1479347

van Zomeren, M., Postmes, T., & Spears, R. (2008). Toward an integrative social identity model of collective action: A quantitative research synthesis of three socio-psychological perspectives. *Psychological Bulletin*, *134*(4), 504–535. https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.134.4.504

van Zomeren, M., Postmes, T., & Spears, R. (2012). On conviction's collective consequences: Integrating moral conviction with the social identity model of collective action. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 51*(1), 52–71. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2044-8309.2010.02000.x

Wilkins, C. L., Wellman, J. D., Babbitt, L. G., Toosi, N. R., & Schad, K. D. (2015). You can win but I can't lose: Bias against high-status groups increases their zero-sum beliefs about discrimination. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *57*, 1–14. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2014.10.008

Wright, S. J., Taylor, D. S., & Moghaddam, F. M. (1990). Responding to membership in a disadvantaged group: From acceptance to collective protest. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *58*(6), 994–1003. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.58.6.994