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The Effect of a Majority Group's Perspective-Taking on Minority Helping

Ali Mashuri[1] · Esti Zaduqisti[2] · Fitri Sukmawati[3] · Halimatus Sakdiah[4]

Abstract The current study examines how perspective-taking impacts on a majority group's support for the governmental actions to help minority groups. The contextual background of the current study is tense relations between Sunnis representing a Muslim majority and Ahmadis and Shiites representing Muslim minorities in Indonesia, the world's largest Muslim population. The results ($N = 200$) demonstrated that strong perspective-taking than weak perspective-taking triggered a greater minority helping, but only among the majority who strongly identified with their nation, but not with Sunnis. Moreover, participants in the strong perspective-taking condition than those in the weak perspective-taking condition demonstrated a greater willingness to perceptually include minorities as a representative group of national citizens, but not as Muslims, and in turn this perceived inclusion mediated the effect of perspective-taking on minority helping. We also hypothesised and found that such a mediating role of perceived inclusion of minorities as national citizens was more pronounced when the national identification and not Sunni identification was high. Finally, the inclusion of Muslim minorities as national citizens and minority helping increased identity enhancement of national identity, but these effects were more pronounced when the majority strongly identified with their nation, but not with Sunnis. These findings suggest that the merits of perspective-taking in promoting help on behalf of minority groups is not generic, but limited to a specific domain of superordinate category to which these minority groups are included, and to the nature of group identification.

Keywords Perspective-taking · National identification · Minority inclusion · Minority helping

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Introduction

Rohingya Muslims in Myanmar, Coptic Christians in Egypt, adherents of Baha'i in Iran, Hindus in Pakistan, and Buddhists in China—these groups are religious minorities that similarly suffer from multifarious predicaments of living in a society. They are characterised as such due to discrimination and even persecution by a religious majority group (Preece, 2005). Even though such misdeeds are still widespread and a formidable challenge of our time, the majority should include and help minority groups to be an integral part of a society, which helps the first group adapt well to the current era in which interactions with vastly different groups are undeniable (Samovar, Porter, & McDaniel, 2015). The aim of this present study is to investigate the dynamics of outgroup helping by examining the attitudes of the majority group towards the governmental actions to help minority groups, as affected by

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perspective-taking. We demonstrate that only when it is combined with high national identification, but not ingroup identification can perspective-taking be beneficial to foster the majority's support for helping actions to minority groups.

The most important part of outgroup helping is a salience of social categories. This phenomenon occurs when ingroup members are willing to help outgroup members, although the first group and the latter group have different social categories, be they ethnicity, nationality, or religion (van Leeuwen & Täuber, 2010). A growing body of empirical evidence (Batson, Chang, Orr, & Rowland, 2002; Levy, Freitas, & Salovey, 2002; Mashuri, Hasanah, & Rahmawati, 2013) demonstrates that persuading ingroup to take the perspectives of outgroup (i.e. perspective-taking) has elicited ingroup's empathy towards outgroup, and this empathy ultimately results in the first group's willingness to help the latter group. Perspective-taking in intergroup conflicts has also been found to positively predict trust towards the adversaries (Andrighetto, Mari, Volpato, & Behluli, 2012). Perspective-taking thus broadens the horizon of empathy and trust, which ultimately bolsters ingroup members' prosocial attitudes towards the outgroup.

According to Galinsky, Ku, and Wang (2005, p. 10), perspective-taking refers to "the process of imagining the world from another's vantage point or imagining oneself in another's shoes". Coke, Batson, and McDavis (1978) have distinguished between strong perspective-taking and weak perspective-taking. Strong perspective-taking is activated by persuading people to feel and think about the other persons' misery. Weak perspective-taking is activated by persuading people to remain objective and detached towards the other persons' misery.

In the two-stage model, Coke et al. (1978) suggested that the effect of perspective-taking on helping behaviour is mediated by empathy. Some studies have indeed validated the truism of this model (e.g. Batson, Early, & Salvarini, 1997; Batson et al., 2002; Mashuri et al., 2013). However, there are few studies that examine the role of prosocial motives beyond empathy in mediating the effect of perspective-taking on helping behaviour in general and outgroup helping in particular. To fill this gap, we in this study propose another prosocial motive of perceived inclusion. According to ingroup projection model (IPM; Mummendey & Wenzel, 1999), perceived inclusion in the context of intergroup relations denotes the extent to which ingroup members consider the outgroup to be representative within a broader superordinate category encompassing both groups. This inclusion implies that the ingroup appreciates values, norms, and culture of the outgroup in colouring the characteristics of a superordinate category.

In an intergroup context, inclusion can take form in inclusion of outgroup in the self (Turner, Hewstone, Voci, & Vonofakou, 2008) or inclusion of outgroup in a superordinate category (Waldzus & Mummendey, 2004; Wenzel, Mummendey, & Waldzus, 2007), both of which have been found to promote people's positive attitudes towards the outgroup. Likewise, the inclusion of an outgroup in the self encourages people to be willing to help that outgroup (Simon, Sturmer, & Steffens, 2000), so does inclusion of the outgroup in a superordinate category (van Leeuwen & Mashuri, 2013).

Perspective-taking has been found to have a promising role in increasing perceived inclusion. Studies by Davis, Conklin, Smith, and Luce (1996) for example demonstrated that perspective-taking indeed led participants to create a cognitive representation of targets that considerably overlaps with the participants' own representation, but this effect was obtained only when the targets were described as having positive traits instead of negative traits. These findings suggest that the effect of perspective-taking on perceived inclusion is contingent on a certain context. With reference to this notion, we argue in the current paper that the effect of Sunnis' perspective-taking on perceived inclusion towards minority groups of Ahmadis and Shiites will vary according to what kinds of a superordinate category the inclusion is projected to. More specifically, when Ahmadis and Shiites are included within a superordinate category of Indonesian citizens, Sunnis' perspective-taking may be beneficial to evoke this type of inclusion. The reason is that the inclusion of Ahmadis and Shiites as Indonesian citizens may generate Sunnis' positive evaluations because within an Indonesian context, major religions other than Islam as diverse as Christianity, Hinduism, Kong Hu Cu, Buddhism, and Baha'i are officially protected by the first principle of Indonesian ideology *Pancasila* (the Five Pillars; Nurish, 2014). In contrast, when these Muslim minorities are included within a superordinate category as Muslims, such a beneficial effect of perspective-taking may backfire. This can be the case because inclusion of Ahmadis and Shiites as Muslims can instead elicit Sunnis' negative evaluations, owing to the doctrines of these Muslim minorities that are perceived as deviant by Sunnis.

Prior studies have revealed that the effect of perspective-taking on outgroup helping is not only mediated but also moderated by other variables. For example, Mashuri, Zaduqisti, and Supriyono (2012) reported that perspective-taking effectively elicited outgroup helping more particularly when the ingroup as the helper was less motivated by warmth impression and when the outgroup as the recipient was portrayed as having a higher economic status. Bilewicz (2009) found that participants in the perspective-taking condition than those in the non-perspective-taking condition were more willing to help an outgroup, more strongly when the participants' own group was portrayed as being less powerful than the outgroup.

On the one hand, we suggest in the current paper that superordinate identification in terms of national identification might moderate the effect of perspective-taking on the majority's willingness to include and help minority groups. Recently, Mashuri et al. (2014) found that Sunnis' national identification indeed gave rise to this Muslim majority's support for multiculturalism and in turn, this multiculturalism positively predicted tolerance to the followers of Ahmadiyya and Shia. National identification thus can serve as a wider lens that broadens the majority's cognitive horizon in responding to an issue of minorities. With such an extended horizon, the majority may no longer see minorities as an outgroup but an ingroup, in which this re-categorisation promotes so-called common identity that generates a sense of "We-ness" (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). Common identity in and of itself has been cited as a factor substantially predictive to outgroup helping (Dovidio, Kawakami, Johnson, Johnson, & Howard, 1997; Levine, Prosser, Evans & Reicher, 2005). Through such a process, national identification implicatively paves the way for perspective-taking to alleviate the majority's tendency to extremely praise the norms and values of their own group and to downgrade those of minorities, which leads the former group to be willing to include and help the latter group. However, we point out within a specific context in our study that this moderating role of national identification is effective only when Muslim minorities of Ahmadis and Shiites are included as Indonesian citizens instead of Muslims. We build this argument on theoretical rationales elaborated above suggesting that Sunnis' perspective-taking may promote perceived inclusion of Ahmadis and Shiites as Indonesian citizens, but not as Muslims.

On another hand, we argue that ingroup identification in terms of Sunni identification in the current study can hamper the beneficial effect of the majority's perspective-taking on minority inclusion and helping. As argued by some scholars (e.g. Zebel, Doosje, & Spears, 2009; Tarrant, Calitri, & Weston, 2012), ingroup identification instead motivates people to do defensive actions to secure the interests of their own group rather than those of the outgroup.

The IPM suggests that insofar as a superordinate category within which the minorities are included is viewed as legitimate, perceived inclusion can promote the majority's positive evaluations towards an outgroup. In this regard, the values and norms of an outgroup are appreciated by the majority. This appreciation implies that the majority views the existence of the minorities along with their unique values and norms as beneficial to a superordinate category, with Sani (2005) capturing this phenomenon in the term "identity enhancement". However, the extent to which this inclusion gives rise to identity enhancement will be dependent upon national identification, but not ingroup identification. This is because superordinate identification (i.e. national identification), as explained earlier, can broaden the majority's cognitive perspectives in such a way that such an inclusive category can motivate an ingroup to behave on behalf of an outgroup. In contrast, ingroup identification (i.e. Sunni identification) can instead lead people to pay attention to the vested interests of their own group, which renders minority inclusion and helping to become no longer beneficial to elevate identity enhancement.

There are several motives that underlie why people are willing to support outgroup helping. One of these motives is a desire of ingroup members to strategically demonstrate their positive ingroup images such warmth (Mashuri et al., 2012; van Leeuwen &Täuber, 2012) and competence (van Leeuwen & Täuber, 2011) to the recipients. Recently, van Leeuwen and Mashuri (2013) revealed that outgroup helping can serve as a medium through which a majority group wants to communicate its desire to maintain good relationships with the minorities. We contend that the majority's perception that the existence of the minorities can enhance a superordinate identity reflects such a desire. As such, the majority's support for minority helping promotes perceived identity enhancement. However, with reference to the rationales stated above, this effect is effective only when the majority strongly identifies with their nation (i.e. Indonesia) instead of their ingroup (Sunnis).

The Current Study

Among the vast majority of Sunnis, Ahmadis and Shiites in Indonesia are two Islamic minority groups that have been reported as the most suffering victims of religious intolerance in terms of discrimination, violence, and persecution over the past decade (Mashuri, Akhrani, & Zaduqisti, 2016). The major factor causing such a tragedy is deeply ingrained beliefs among some Sunnis in Indonesia that Ahmadiyya and Shia are heretical and deviant Islamic denominations that deserve no tolerance (Fachruddin, 2015). To illustrate, Ahmadis believe that Mirzā Ghulām Ahmad is a prophet after Muhammad, whom Sunnis believe to be the last prophet. Shiites hail Ali bin Abi Thalib as the first and the only Caliphate, whom Sunnis believe to be the fourth Caliphate (Rayda, 2011). Ahmadis and Shiites are therefore in need of the Indonesian government actions to help them enjoy a safer future ("Govt must help Sampang Shiites and Ketapang Ahmadis return home: Komnas HAM", 2016).

Based on theoretical rationales and empirical findings discussed above, we generated some hypotheses. First, we hypothesised that perspective-taking significantly increased

minority helping, but only among participants who strongly identified with Indonesia and not with Sunnis (*Hypothesis 1*). Second, we hypothesised that perspective-taking significantly increased perceived inclusion of Ahmadis and Shiites as Indonesian citizens instead of Muslims, whereas this effect would be more pronounced when participants strongly identified with Indonesia and not with Sunnis (*Hypothesis 2*). Third, we hypothesised that perceived inclusion of Ahmadis and Shiites as Indonesian citizens instead of Muslims would mediate the effect of perspective-taking on participants' support for the governmental actions to help these minority groups (*Hypothesis 3*). Fourth, we hypothesised that the role of perceived inclusion of Ahmadis and Shiites as Indonesian citizens in mediating the effect of perspective-taking on minority helping would hold only when participants strongly identified with Indonesia and not with Sunnis (*Hypothesis 4*). Fifth, we hypothesised that inclusion of Ahmadis and Shiites as Indonesian citizens, but not as Muslims would significantly increase identity enhancement, more pronouncedly when participants strongly identified with Indonesia and not with Sunnis (*Hypothesis 5*). Sixth, we hypothesised that minority helping would significantly increase identity enhancement, more pronouncedly when participants strongly identified with Indonesia and not with Sunnis (*Hypothesis 6*).

Methods

Participants

Participants were 60 students from Islamic State University of Pontianak (IAIN Pontianak), East Kalimantan, 64 students from Islamic State University of Antasari (IAIN Antasari), South Kalimantan, and 76 students from Islamic State University of Pekalongan (STAIN Pekalongan), Central Java, all of which were located in Indonesia (84 were female, 115 were male, 1 student did not mention his/her gender; $M_{age} = 20.35$; $SD_{age} = 2.13$). All students self-reported as a Sunni Muslim. Participants were randomly assigned to one of two conditions: high perspective-taking ($n = 100$) or low perspective-taking ($n = 100$).

Procedure and Measures

A classroom was a setting in which all measures compiled in a questionnaire were handed to participants. All measures were assessed using a five-point *Likert* scale, which varied from 1 (*Strongly Agree*) to 5 (*Strongly Disagree*). We created each of the scales by averaging the items. The first part of the questionnaire was four items to assess *national identification* (e.g. "Being Indonesian is very important for me"; "I feel strong ties with other Indonesians"; $\alpha = .72$) and *Sunni identification* (e.g. "Being a Sunni Muslim is very important for me"; "I feel strong ties with other Sunni Muslims"; $\alpha = .83$) adapted from Sindic and Reicher (2009). The second part was an article about the recent increasing trend of violence and intolerance against Ahmadis and Shiites in Indonesia ostensibly published in an illustrious newspaper in Indonesia. This article was subsequently followed by a passage in the third part of the questionnaire with which to manipulate *perspective-taking*, using the paradigm in the study by Batson and Ahmad (2001), which was successfully replicated by Mashuri et al. (2012, 2013) in an Indonesian context. In the strong perspective-taking condition, the passage was verbal information with which participants were persuaded to be emphatic towards and deeply concerned with others' misery. On the contrary, in the weak perspective-taking condition the passage was verbal information with which participants were persuaded to be objective and detached as much as possible in responding to others' misery.

The fourth part of the questionnaire was two items to assess *article credibility* about the current predicaments experienced by Ahmadis and Shiites in Indonesia (i.e. "The article about Ahmadis and Shiites written above was credible enough"; "The article about Ahmadis and Shiites written above was realistic"; $\alpha = .79$). Following this section were three items to assess *measured perspective-taking* adapted from the study by Andrighetto et al. (2012; e.g. "I could imagine what Ahmadis and Shiites in Indonesia have gone through in their life"; "I find myself moved by the accounts of suffering by Ahmadis and Shiites in Indonesia"; $\alpha = .84$) and six emotions labels (i.e. sympathy, soft-heartedness, warmth, compassion, tenderness, and moving; $\alpha = .93$) to assess *empathy* adapted from the study by Batson et al. (1997). Then, outgroup trust was assessed with three items adapted from Andrighetto et al. (2012; e.g. "I believe that the majority of Ahmadis and Shiites are fair"; "The majority of Ahmadis and Shiites are well-intentioned people"; $\alpha = .85$). Measured perspective-taking, empathy, and trust served to examine the effectiveness of perspective-taking manipulation.

The final part of the questionnaire was four items to assess *perceived inclusion* of Ahmadis and Shiites as Indonesian citizens (e.g. "I think that the Ahmadis and Shiites are as typical as other Indonesian citizens"; "I think that Indonesian citizens are nothing without Ahmadis and Shiites"; $\alpha = .91$) and as Muslims (e.g. "I think that the Ahmadis and Shiites are as typical as other Muslims"; "I think that Muslims are nothing without Ahmadis and Shiites"; $\alpha = .86$) adapted from the study by van Leeuwen and

Mashuri ([2013](#)).[1] These scales were followed by five items to assess *minority helping* adapted from the study by Mashuri and Zaduqisti ([2014](#); e.g. "The Indonesian government should give legal permission for Ahmadis and Shiites in Indonesia to build and use their mosques"; "The Indonesian government should protect Ahmadis and Shiites to conduct their worships"; $\alpha = .92$). The final scale consisted of three items to assess *national identity enhancement* (e.g. "The norms and values of Ahmadis and Shiites are an important expression of the Indonesian national identity"; "The existence of Ahmadis and Shiites strengthens the Indonesian national identity"; $\alpha = .88$), adapted from Sani ([2005](#)). Before being thanked and debriefed, participants were asked to self-report their demographics including age, gender, ethnicity, university affiliation, and Islamic denomination (Sunni, Shia, Ahmadiyya, or others).

Results

Manipulation Checks

An analysis of one sample *t* test revealed that the article credibility was significantly above the midpoint of 3, ($M = 3.41$; SD $= 1.01$; $t = 5.65$, $p < .001$). This finding indicated that the article is highly credible. Inspection of an independent sample *t* test revealed that participants in the strong perspective-taking condition reported a significantly higher degree of measured perspective-taking ($M = 3.22$; SD $= 1.18$) than those in the weak perspective-taking condition ($M = 2.71$; SD $= .91$), $t(198) = 3.39$, $p = .001$. We subsequently found that participants' empathic concerns on Ahmadis and Shiites in the strong perspective-taking condition ($M = 3.26$; SD $= 1.16$) were significantly higher than in the weak perspective-taking condition ($M = 2.63$; SD $= .93$), $t(198) = 4.27$, $p < .001$. Strong perspective-taking also evoked a significantly higher degree of outgroup trust ($M = 2.82$; SD $= 1.05$) than weak perspective-taking ($M = 2.39$; SD $= .81$), $t(198) = 3.27$, $p = .001$.[2] These findings indicated that the paradigm used to manipulate perspective-taking is highly effective.

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[1] Inspection of multiple mediation analysis using PROCESS Model 4 (Hayes, [2013](#)) revealed that empathy and outgroup trust separately mediated the effect of perspective-taking on minority helping—for the mediating effect of empathy, $b = .10$, $se = .05$, 95% LLCI $= .017$, 95% ULCI $= .230$; for the mediating effect of outgroup trust, $b = .24$, $se = .08$, 95% LLCI $= .096$, 95% ULCI $= .414$. These results ruled out a reverse causal effect, wherein minority helping replaced empathy, $b = .095$, $se = .06$, 95% LLCI $= -.015$, 95% ULCI $= .240$, or outgroup trust, $b = 12$, $se = 08$, 95% LLCI $= -.022$, 95% ULCI $= .282$

[2] An oblique exploratory factor analysis with PROMAX rotation revealed that perceived inclusion of Ahmadis and Shiites as Indonesian citizens and as Muslims yielded two factors as expected, which explained 73.90% of the total variance.

The Effect of Perspective-Taking on Minority Helping and Inclusion as Moderated by National Identification

A probing interaction procedure (MODPROB; Hayes and Matthes, [2009](#)) revealed that perspective-taking and national identification significantly interacted to affect minority helping, $b = .51$, se $= .21$, $t = 2.48$, $p = .014$. As shown in Fig. [1](#), among participants high in national identification, perspective-taking was positively related to minority helping, $b = .62$, $se = .21$, $t = 2.93$, $p = .004$. However, among participants who were low in national identification perspective-taking was unrelated to minority helping, $b = -.12$, $se = .21$, $t = -.58$, $p = .564$. The same MODPROB procedure by replacing national identification with Sunni identification revealed that the latter variable did not significantly interact with perspective-taking to affect minority helping, $b = -.30$, $se = .41$, $t = -.71$, $p = .478$. These findings overall corroborated Hypothesis 1.

The MODPROB procedure also revealed that perspective-taking and national identification significantly interacted to affect perceived inclusion of Ahmadis and Shiites as Indonesian citizens, $b = .47$, $se = .21$, $t = 2.25$, $p = .025$, but not as Muslims, $b = -.04$, $se = .17$, $t = -.25$, $p = .801$. As shown in Fig. [2](#), among participants high in national identification, perspective-taking significantly predicted inclusion of Ahmadis and Shiites as Indonesian citizens in an expected direction, $b = .70$, $se = .21$, $t = 3.24$, $p = .001$. However, among participants who were low in national identification, perspective-taking did not significantly predicted the said inclusion, $b = .01$, $se = .22$, $t = .05$, $p = .963$. When national identification was replaced by Sunni identification, such a moderating effect turned out to be no longer significant both on the first perceived inclusion, $b = -.15$, $se = .42$,
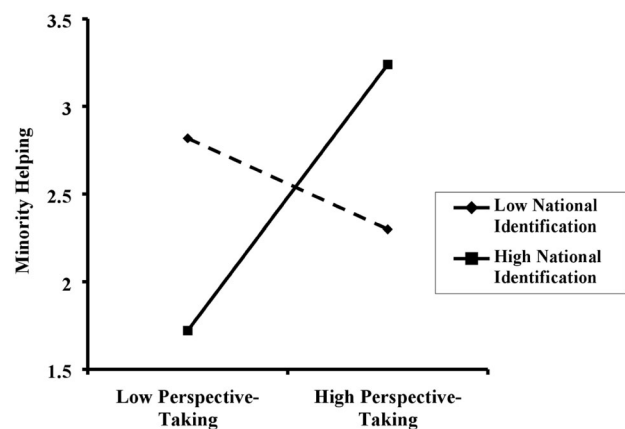
Fig. 1 Effect of perspective-taking on minority helping among the majority high in national identification and low in national identification
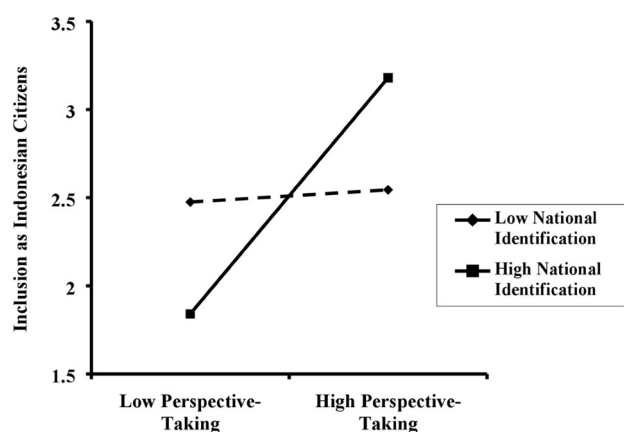
Fig. 2 Effect of perspective-taking on inclusion of Ahmadis and Shias as Indonesian citizens among the majority high in national identification and low in national identification

$t = -.35$, $p = .73$, and the second perceived inclusion $b = .08$, $se = .35$, $t = .24$, $p = .812$. These results overall were in line with Hypothesis 2.

The Role of Inclusion in Mediating the Effect of Perspective-Taking on Minority Helping as Moderated by National Identification

Our next hypotheses were examined by means of PRO-CESS Model 8 (Hayes, 2013) by specifying minority helping as dependent variable (Y), perspective-taking as independent variable (X), perceived inclusion of Ahmadis and Shiites as Indonesian citizens and Muslims as mediators (Ms), and national identification as moderator (W). By resampling the data 5000 times, this analysis revealed that the effect of perspective-taking on minority helping was significantly mediated by inclusion of Ahmadis and Shiites as Indonesian citizens [booth indirect effect = .38, SE = .17, 95% lower limit for confidence interval (LLCI) = .055, 95% upper limit for confidence interval (ULCI) = .713] and not as Muslims (booth indirect effect = −.003, SE = .01, 95% LLCI = −042, 95% ULCI = .015).[3] These findings confirmed that perceived inclusion of Muslim minorities as Indonesian citizens and not as Muslims mediated the effect of perspective-taking on minority helping, in line with Hypothesis 3.

The same PROCESS Model 8 also revealed that the role of perceived inclusion of Ahmadis and Shiites as Indonesian citizens in mediating the effect of perspective-taking on minority helping turned out to be conditional on the level of national identification. More specifically, as shown in Fig. 3a, this inclusion significantly mediated the effect

[3] Following a recommendation by Hayes (2013), the data were split into two categories: −1SD above the *Mean* (low national identification) and +1SD above the *Mean* (high national identification)

of perspective-taking on minority helping only among participants high in national identification (booth indirect effect = .56, SE = .18, 95% LLCI = .225, 95% ULCI = .906).

However, as shown in Fig. 3b, among participants who were low in national identification, this inclusion no longer significantly mediated the effect of perspective-taking on minority helping (booth indirect effect = .01, *se* = .17, 95% LLCI = −.341, 95% ULCI = .327).

When Ahmadis and Shiites were included as Muslims, the role of this perceived inclusion in mediating the effect of perspective-taking on minority helping was not significant both among high national identifiers (booth indirect effect = −.01, SE = .02, 95% LLCI = −.066, 95% ULCI = .008) and low national identifiers (booth indirect effect = −.004, SE = .01, 95% LLCI = −.047, 95% ULCI = .014). Finally, the mediating effect of inclusion of Ahmadis as Indonesian citizens was not significantly moderated by Sunni identification—for high Sunni identifiers, booth indirect effect = .25, SE = .13, 95% LLCI = −.018, 95% ULCI = .508; for low Sunni identifiers, booth indirect effect = .32, SE = .20, 95% LLCI = −.109, 95% ULCI = .677. The same non-significant moderation effect was observed for inclusion of Ahmadis and Shiites as Muslims—for high Sunni identifiers, booth indirect effect = −.01, SE = .01, 95% LLCI = −.045, 95% ULCI = .007; for low Sunni identifiers, booth indirect effect = −.01, SE = .02, 95% LLCI = −.081, 95% ULCI = .018. These findings thus were in line with Hypothesis 4.

The Effect of Inclusion and Minority Helping on Identity Enhancement as Moderated by National Identification

The MODPROB analysis revealed that inclusion of the minorities as Indonesian citizens and national identification significantly interacted to affect identity enhancement, $b = .34$, $se = .10$, $t = 3.33$, $p = .001$. Among high national identifiers, this inclusion significantly increased identity enhancement, $b = .60$, $se = .10$, $t = 6.14$, $p < .001$, but among low national identifiers, this effect was no longer significant, $b = .10$, $se = .11$, $t = .94$, $p = .347$. However, national identification did not significantly interact with inclusion of the minorities as Muslims to affect identity enhancement, $b = -.01$, $se = .14$, $t = -.07$, $p = .947$. Sunni identification did not significantly interact with either the first inclusion, $b = -.21$, $se = .21$, $t = -1.01$, $p = .314$, or the second inclusion, $b = .16$, $se = .19$, $t = .87$, $p = .383$, to affect identity enhancement. These results were in line with Hypothesis 5.

The same analytic procedure also revealed that national identification and minority helping significantly interacted
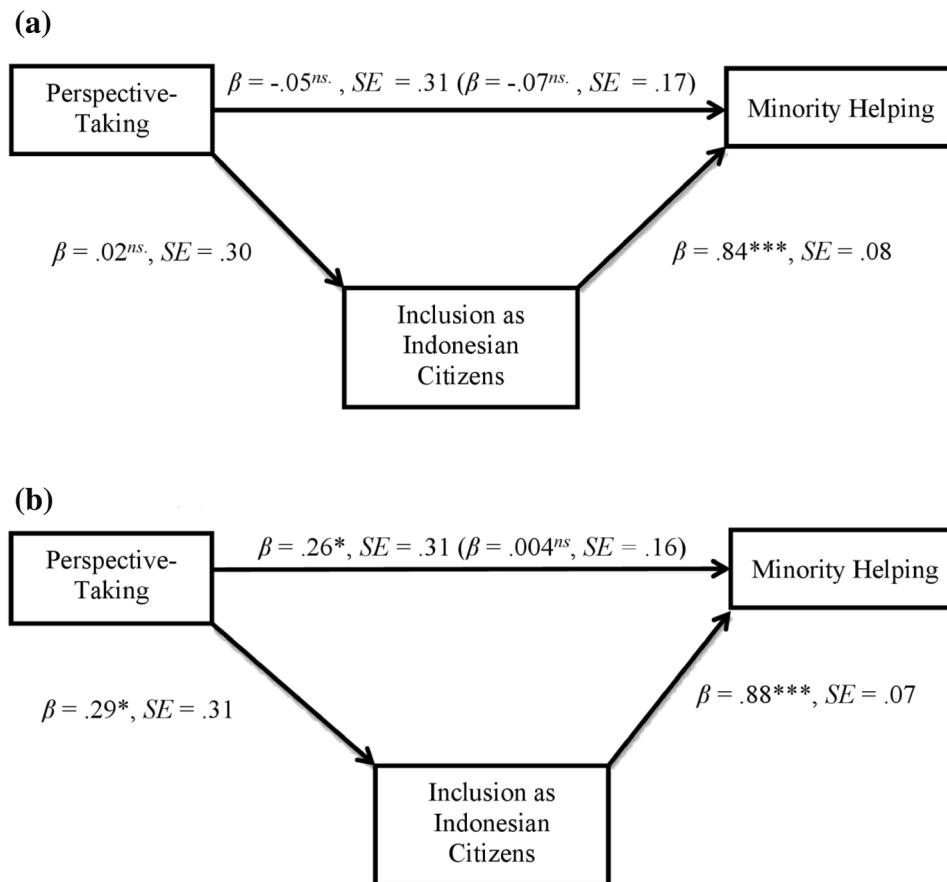
(a)

(b)

Fig. 3 a Effect of perspective-taking on minority helping as mediated by inclusion of minority groups as Indonesian citizens among the majority low in national identification. *Note*: *B* is an unstandardised regression coefficient, *SE* is a standard error. The path from inclusion as Indonesian citizens to minority helping is the effect of the inclusion on minority helping by controlling for perspective-taking. The number in parenthesis is the effect of perspective-taking on minority helping while controlling for inclusion as Indonesian citizens. ***$p < .001$; $^{ns.}$ = not significant. **b** The effect of perspective-taking on minority helping as mediated by inclusion of minority groups as Indonesian citizens among the majority high in national identification. *Note*: *B* is an unstandardised regression coefficient, *SE* is a standard error. The path from inclusion as Indonesian citizens to minority helping is the effect of the Inclusion on minority helping by controlling for perspective-taking. The number in parenthesis is the effect of perspective-taking on minority helping while controlling for inclusion as Indonesian citizens. *$p < .05$; ***$p < .001$

to affect identity enhancement, $b = .30$, $se = .09$, $t = 3.21$, $p = .002$. Among high national identifiers, minority helping significantly increased identity enhancement, $b = .63$, $se = .10$, $t = 6.61$, $p < .001$. However, this effect was no longer significant among low national identifiers, $b = .20$, $se = .10$, $t = 1.87$, $p = .062$. Sunni identification did not significantly interact with minority helping to affect identity enhancement, $b = -.05$, $se = .17$, $t = -.28$, $p = .777$. These results overall supported Hypothesis 6.

Discussion

The current globalisation era is characterised with massive and rapid migrations of people around the globe. Consequently, people nowadays are required to be well adapted

to contacts and interactions with diverse social groups (Moghaddam, 2009). Despite this pressing need, ironically intergroup tensions and conflicts between majority groups and minority groups are still common. How these conflicts can be prospectively resolved in part depends on the extent to which the majority as a dominant and powerful group has positive orientations towards minorities (Liwerant, 2008). In line with this vision, the current study sought to examine the role of the majority's national identification in moderating the effect of perspective-taking on this group's perception to include and help minorities. We found that strong perspective-taking more than weak perspective-taking triggered a higher degree of minority inclusion and minority helping, but only when the majority strongly identified with their nation instead of their ingroup. Furthermore, perceived inclusion turned out to mediate the effect of perspective-taking on minority helping. However,

these effects, as predicted, were supported only when the minorities were included as national citizens, but not as Muslims, and when the majority strongly identified with their nation, but not with their ingroup. Finally, we found that inclusion of Ahmadis and Shiites as Indonesian citizens and supports to help these minority groups by a religious majority group promoted the enhancement of a superordinate identity, signalling the Muslim majority's desire to maintain a good relationship with Muslim minorities.

Our study is the first to investigate the effect of perspective-taking on perceived inclusion within an intergroup context. Prior studies thus far have focused on the examination of perspective-taking within interpersonal contexts. Well-documented findings within these domains are that perspective-taking can induce the inclusion of the self to others or the inclusion of other to the self (Galinsky et al., 2005). Inclusion within an intergroup context has been elaborated in ingroup projection model (Mummendey & Wenzel, 1999). This model basically posits that the inclusion of an outgroup within a superordinate category can enhance an ingroup's positive attitudes towards an outgroup. However, this effect applies only when an ingroup perceives that the superordinate category in which an outgroup is included is acceptable. In support of this notion, Waldzus and Mummendey (2004) found that Germans (an ingroup) demonstrated positive attitudes towards Poles (an outgroup), only when the latter group was included as Europeans and not as West Europeans. This rationale of ingroup projection model can be a logical fundament to explain why the majority's perspective-taking in our study is effective to boost the inclusion of minority groups as national citizens, but not as Muslims. This differential effect, as discussed earlier, is likely attributable to the majority's perception that the first inclusion more than the second inclusion is evaluated to be more acceptable.

Our finding that inclusion of minorities mediated the effect of perspective-taking on minority helping may reflect a new venue within group helping literature that distinguishes between outgroup helping and ingroup helping. More specifically, group helping may also manifest in between outgroup helping and ingroup helping, which is captured in the term 'inter-subgroup helping'. Inter-subgroup helping can be defined as help provision by ingroup towards outgroup that shares the same superordinate identity. In fact, it is sometimes very tricky to separate an ingroup from an outgroup as a distinct social category since social identities in and of themselves are multiple and nested to one another (Crips, 2011). For example, Sunnis may share commonality with Ahmadis as Shiites within a superordinate category of Indonesian citizens or Muslims, although it is equally logical to distinguish them on the

basis of their particular values and norms. The key point to make this social category differentiation to be more explicit is to create the salience of each of these categories. Thus, it will be intriguing in future studies to create different salience conditions, in which Muslim minorities are described as an ingroup (Sunnis), an outgroup (Ahmadis or Shiites), or a common or superordinate group (Indonesian citizens or Muslims). The evidence of inter-subgroup helping may be obtained if Sunni Muslims demonstrate the greatest inclusion and support for helping Ahmadis and Shiites when these minorities groups are described as Indonesian citizens rather than an ingroup or an outgroup. However, when these minorities are described within another superordinate category as Muslims, the effect of perspective-taking on minority inclusion and inter-subgroup helping is arguably attenuated since Sunnis may view such an inclusion as illegitimate. The common or superordinate identity under a certain condition indeed suppresses outgroup helping as found, for example, in the study by van Leeuwen and Mashuri (2012).

This study also reflects the bright side of national identification. However, Roccas, Klar, and Liviatan (2006) differentiated two modes of national identification that have contradictive effects on outgroup attitudes and emotions: general attachment to a nation and national glorification. National identification in terms of general attachment to a nation elevates people's positive emotions and attitudes towards outgroup, but in contrast, national identification in terms of national glorification attenuates them. Given its exclusive characteristics as a blind, uncritical love to a nation, national glorification presumably hinders the role of perspective-taking in promoting minority inclusion and helping as Sunni identification did in our study. To empirically prove this argumentation, future studies could also measure national glorification, in order to verify that its role is indeed the same as Sunni identification.

Based on empirical findings in this study, we propose one practical implication. This has to do with carrying out the best strategy to enhance perspective-taking, given its beneficial role in giving rise to the majority's perception to include minorities, the inclusion of which in turn increases the first group's support in helping the latter groups. One factor that has empirically enhanced perspective-taking is an intergroup dialogue between parties in conflict (Nagda & Zúñiga, 2003). With these dialogues, the majority and minorities can share views and experiences, and be trained to be well prepared in accepting disagreements and differences. This dialogue could be carried out through mass media such as radio (Paluck, 2009; Bilali & Vollhartd, 2013), or through other settings such as local communities and academia with the aim of enhancing interfaith tolerance and understanding (Dessel, Rogge, & Garlington,

2006). However, the challenge is that some members of the majority who are anti-minorities in the first place may oppose such a dialogue. To overcome this hurdle, the national authorities should put much effort to implement strict laws to tackle intolerance against minorities. With this policy, the implementation of the dialogue can be feasible and not merely rhetorical.

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