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INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS AND GROUP PROCESSES

Empathetic Collective Angst Predicts Perpetrator Group Members' Support for the Empowerment of the Victimized Group

Michael J. A. Wohl, Nassim Tabri, and Samantha J. Hollingshead
Carleton University

Darcy R. Dupuis
Carleton University and Seneca College

Julie Caouette
Carleton University and John Abbott College

Although victimized groups have a need to recover diminished power, perpetrator groups are often reluctant to support actions that may undermine their own systemic advantages. We hypothesized that perpetrator group members' experience of empathetic collective angst—a group-based emotion focused on concern for the future vitality of an outgroup—mediates the relation between the perception of threat to the future of the victimized group and support for policies that may satisfy the group's empowerment. Across 5 studies and 3 distinct intergroup contexts (victimization of Aboriginal Canadians by non-Aboriginal Canadians, Native Americans by non-Native Americans, and French Canadians by Anglophone Canadians), we showed that perpetrator group members who perceive (Study 1) or are manipulated to perceive (Studies 2–5) that the victimized group is under existential threat (vs. secure) experience greater empathetic collective angst for the victimized group. In no study did perceived existential threat to the victimized group influence collective guilt—a group-based emotion focused on illegitimate harms committed against an outgroup. Empathetic collective angst mediated the relation between perceived existential threat and support for victimized group empowerment (e.g., self-determination). Study 4 found that the relation between empathetic collective angst and support for victimized group empowerment was stronger among perpetrator group members than bystander group members. A synthesis of the findings showed that the indirect effect was statistically significant across studies. Results suggest that, in the aftermath of victimization, empathetic collective angst motivates perpetrator group members to support policies that may satisfy victims' power needs.

Keywords: collective angst, empathy, empowerment, existential threat, victimization

Intergroup harmdoing leaves the victimized group with a diminished sense of power (i.e., reduced efficacy, status, control, and autonomy; Kachanoff, Caouette, Wohl, & Taylor, 2017; Kachanoff, Taylor, Caouette, Khullar, & Wohl, in press; Shnabel & Nadler, 2008). Reconciliation is partly a product of messages sent by the perpetrator group that satisfy the victimized group's need for power (for reviews, see Nadler & Shnabel, 2015; Shnabel & Nadler, 2015). However, instead of sending conciliatory messages, perpetrator groups typically respond in ways that protect perceptions of their own group's morality (Shnabel & Nadler, 2008; Tavuchis, 1991). Perpetrator groups may, for instance, minimize or deny the harmful consequences of their actions (Schönbach, 1990; Wohl, Branscombe, & Klar, 2006). Members of perpetrator groups may also distance themselves from past harms by drawing a thick line between the present and the past—a sentiment Germans call *Schlusstrich* (see Ahlheim & Heger, 2002; Imhoff, Wohl, & Erb, 2013; Peetz, Gunn, & Wilson, 2010). In doing so, the harm once inflicted on a victimized group is psychologically separated from the current, lived experience of vic-

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Michael J. A. Wohl, Nassim Tabri, and Samantha J. Hollingshead, Department of Psychology, Carleton University; Darcy R. Dupuis, Department of Psychology, Carleton University, and School of English and Liberal Studies, Seneca College; Julie Caouette, Department of Psychology, Carleton University, and Department of Psychology, John Abbott College.

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Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Michael J. A. Wohl, Department of Psychology, Carleton University, 1125 Colonel By Drive, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada, K1S 5B6. E-mail: michael.wohl@carleton.ca

timized group members. Even when perpetrator group members accept that their harmful behavior has led to injustices, focus is typically placed on the lack of power associated with membership in the victimized group as opposed to ingroup power and the privileges it affords (see Bandura, 1999; Leach, Zeineddine, & Cehajic-Clancy, 2013). The net effect is reduced motivation among perpetrator group members to satisfy the victimized group's empowerment needs (see Shnabel & Nadler, 2008; Shnabel, Nadler, Ullrich, Dovidio, & Carmi, 2009).

Of course, some perpetrator group members can and do support the empowerment of the victimized group. Unfortunately, the literature has been relatively silent on the factors that motivate perpetrator group members to support the victimized group's empowerment needs (see Vollhardt & Bilewicz, 2013). An exception that once held promise as a route to improved intergroup attitudes and increased pro-social behavior is intergroup empathy (see Vescio, Sechrist, & Paolucci, 2003; Stephan & Finlay, 1999). However, intergroup empathy is difficult to induce and thus is an inadequate motivator of collective action among perpetrator group members (Cikara, Bruneau, & Saxe, 2011; Porat, Halperin, & Tamir, 2016; Saguy, Tausch, Dovidio, & Pratto, 2009). In fact, thinking an outgroup member is in pain often elicits *schadenfreude*, not empathy (Cikara, Bruneau, Van Bavel, & Saxe, 2014; Smith, Powell, Combs, & Schurtz, 2009). Another exception is research on collective guilt, an emotional state that tends to increase perpetrator group members' support for reconciliatory action (Brown & Čehajić, 2008; Zebel, Zimmermann, Viki, & Doosje, 2008). However, perpetrator group members are often motivated to avoid feeling this ingroup-focused, social identity threatening emotion, and thus its experience is rare (for reviews see Ferguson & Branscombe, 2014; Wohl et al., 2006).

In the current research, we examined a novel route to perpetrator group members' support for the empowerment of victim groups that avoids the potential pitfalls of focus on the ingroup's misdeeds. We hypothesized that perpetrator group members will be more likely to support the victimized group's empowerment when the historic harms the victimized group experienced are in focus and positioned as undermining the victimized group's future vitality. Moreover, we contend that support for the empowerment of the victimized group is heightened because a salient existent threat to the victimized group elicits *empathetic collective angst*—a group-based emotion that reflects concern for the future vitality of the victimized group.

The Needs of Victims and Perpetrator Responses

Members of victimized groups are typically oppressed, treated inhumanly, and stripped of their rights to self-determination. For example, Canada has a history of attempted cultural genocide against its Aboriginal population (Frideres, 1998; George, Kuhn, & Sweetman, 1996; Jankowski & Moazzami, 1994; Mako, 2012). Among other harmdoings, Aboriginal children were forcibly removed from their homes in attempts to assimilate them into Euro-Canadian culture (Mako, 2012). Although this attempt at cultural genocide has ceased, the Aboriginal population still suffers the effects of disempowerment (e.g., high rates of health problems; see Currie, Wild, Schopflocher, & Laing, 2015)—a stark reality for many victimized groups, including Aboriginal populations in Australia, New Zealand, and the United States (see Evans-Campbell, 2008; Paradies, 2016), African Americans (Fields, 1990), and formerly colonized peoples in Africa (Mandela, 1995).

Given that a loss of power is at the heart of victimization, we contend, like others (Kachanoff et al., 2017; Shnabel & Nadler, 2008), that a primary need of victimized group members is the power to determine the course of their future. However, perpetrator group members may perceive that supporting the victimized group's power needs necessitates that the ingroup secede some of their power. The view that power is zero-sum reduces motivation for perpetrator groups to support policies that empower the victimized group. Shnabel, Dovidio, and Levin (2016), for example, found that Israeli Jews expressed reduced support for policies intended to empower Israeli Arabs when the inequality experienced by Israeli-Arabs in Israeli society was framed as violating their basic rights. This effect was mediated by zero-sum perceptions of the relations between Israeli Jews and Arabs. In short, situational factors that challenge the existing power structure may result in strategic attempts to maintain ingroup power among members of the perpetrator group (see Dovidio, Saguy, & Shnabel, 2009; Esses, Jackson, & Armstrong, 1998).

Of course, some perpetrator group members accept responsibility for morally deficient actions of the ingroup, which can manifest in feelings of collective guilt (for reviews see Ferguson & Branscombe, 2014; Wohl et al., 2006). Collective guilt is functional in that it fosters positive attitudes toward the victimized group (Powell, Branscombe, & Schmitt, 2005; Stewart, Latu, Branscombe, & Denney, 2010) and increases support for reconciliatory action (Brown & Čehajić, 2008; Zebel et al., 2008), including apologizing for the harm the ingroup perpetrated (McGarty et al., 2005; Wohl, Matheson, Branscombe, & Anisman, 2013). In fact, Wohl, Hornsey, and Philpot (2011) argued that collective guilt-induced collective apologies are central to the reconciliation process. However, collective guilt is not a panacea following intergroup harmdoing (Ferguson & Branscombe, 2014). Group members have a natural motivation to see their own group in a positive light (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), and collective guilt is an ingroup-critical emotion. It is often experienced, for example, when perpetrator group members are focused on advantages the ingroup experiences or the harm committed by the ingroup rather than the disadvantages or distress experienced by the victimized group (Powell et al., 2005; Shnabel et al., 2016). Unfortunately, in the aftermath of mass victimization, ingroup-critical responses are scarce (see Bandura, 1999; Leach et al., 2013). It may therefore be important to find ways to motivate perpetrator group members to advance the needs of the victimized group with the negative experiences of the victimized group in focus rather than the harms done by the perpetrator group.

Existential Threat–Induced Empathetic Collective Angst and Victim Group Empowerment

> "We know all too well how residential schools and other decisions by governments were used as a deliberate tool to eliminate Indigenous languages and cultures. If we are to truly advance reconciliation, we must undo the lasting damage that resulted." —Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau (2016)

Although human history is rife with attempts by one social group to conquer, enslave, and impose their views on other social groups, modern states have pledged not to destroy one another or perpetrate genocide (see Linklater, 2002; Wight, 1977). That is, a

central part of a modern global ethic, and a core element of modern state systems, is that harmdoing should be constrained—outgroups' existence should not be undermined (Hart, 1961; Jackson, 2000). Indeed, Article 2b of the 1948 Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide and Article 2a (ii) of the 1973 International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid created national obligations not to cause serious harm to ethnic and other groups. These international prohibitions of harm, among other prohibitions (e.g., The United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights), suggest that certain forms of harm should be eliminated from international society (see Linklater, 2006). Such prohibitions are a giant step forward for human coexistence. Unfortunately, not all modern states have ceased inflicting group-based harm.

As noted by the philosopher Warnock (1971), and empirically demonstrated by a large body of work in social psychology stemming from social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), empathy for the pain experienced by the ingroup's victims is limited (see Cikara et al., 2011; Porat et al., 2016; Saguy et al., 2009). Even when the victimized outgroup's pain is in focus, an empathy bias is often present—people feel less empathy for outgroup members compared with those who belong to the ingroup (Batson & Ahmad, 2009; Davis, 1996). And when intergroup empathy *is* experienced, it may not predict willingness to support the empowerment of the victimized group (see de Rivera, Gerstmann, & Maisels, 2002; Montada & Schneider, 1989; but also see Čehajić-Clancy, 2011; Iyer, Leach, & Crosby, 2003). Even when attempts to induce intergroup empathy are successful, a backlash effect may result. For example, in a field experiment conducted in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Paluck (2010) found that people who were exposed to an outgroup's perspective (compared with those who were not so exposed) reported less tolerance of that outgroup and were less likely to help them. Counterproductively, a focus on the victimized group's pain may elicit positive emotions (i.e., *schadenfreude*; Cikara et al., 2014; Smith et al., 2009).

Given the limitations of intergroup empathy, under what circumstances will perpetrator groups take the suffering of their victims into consideration and support policies that address their need for empowerment? We contend that one answer lies in the recognition that the ingroup's harmful actions have given rise to an existential threat in the victimized group. Preliminary evidence for this idea comes from Imhoff and colleagues (2013) who showed that Germans who perceive Jews as experiencing ongoing consequences from the Holocaust (i.e., transgenerational transmission of trauma) are more willing to provide monetary reparations. Providing reparations, however, is low-risk collective action. In fact, monetary reparations and collective apologies do more to help the perpetrator group close the book on the past (e.g., apology, financial compensation) and restore their moral image (see Barlow et al., 2015) than to yield systemic changes that improve the lived experience of victimized group members (see Wohl et al., 2013).

Moving beyond support for low-cost collective action necessitates acknowledgment of the existential threat experienced by the victimized group because of the ingroup's action—acknowledgment akin to that expressed by Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau. However, simple recognition of the existential nature of the threat to the victimized group is insufficient to motivate perpetrator group members to support the empowerment needs of the victimized group. We argue that support of the victimized group's need for empowerment stems from feelings of empathetic collective angst—a group-based emotion that reflects feelings of concern for the future vitality of the victimized group.

A plethora of empirical work has shown that existential threat can induce collective angst among victimized group members (for reviews see Wohl, Squires, & Caouette, 2012 and Dupuis, Porat, & Wohl, 2015; also see Tabri, Wohl, & Caouette, 2018). This group-based emotion, in turn, motivates victimized group members to engage in efforts or support policies that empower their group to avoid its disappearance. For example, Wohl et al. (2011) showed that French Canadians who feel that French Canadian culture and language are under existential threat become more supportive of Québec sovereignty from Canada to the extent that they feel collective angst. We argue that empathetic collective angst works in a similar manner—via the experience of empathetic collective angst, perpetrator group members who recognize the victimized group is under existential threat will become supportive of efforts by the victimized group to protect and empower their group.

We situate empathetic collective angst within the larger field of study on the potential benefits of intergroup empathy for reconciliation. Specifically, we see empathetic collective angst as a special case of intergroup empathy—one that plays on the modern global ethic to increase support for the empowerment of a victimized group. When the victimized group is framed as being under existential threat because of perpetration of harm by the ingroup, the result should be support for policies that protect the future vitality of the victimized group. A focus on the victimized group's existential concerns (as opposed to how the ingroup benefited from the harm that elicited those concerns) should allow perpetrator group members to avoid feeling collective guilt. In its stead, however, there should be an increase in empathetic collective angst, which should motivate the support for policies that empower the victimized group to strengthen their vitality.

Overview

In five studies conducted in three different contexts, we tested the idea that perceiving the victimized group as being under existential threat (relative to existential security) would heighten empathetic collective angst (an outgroup-focused group-based emotion), but not collective guilt (an ingroup-focused group-based emotion). Critically, we hypothesized that existential threat–induced empathetic collective angst would predict perpetrator group support for policies that empower the victimized group to protect its future vitality. Study 1 provided an initial test using a correlational design in the context of non-Aboriginal Canadians' support for policies that would empower the Aboriginal population. Study 2 examined the causal relations between the variables by framing the culture and language of Aboriginals in Canada as either under existential threat or secure. In both Studies 1 and 2, we harnessed the Mohawk Council of Kahnawake's ruling that bans non-Aboriginals from residing in the Mohawk community to protect Mohawk culture and traditions. In question was whether empathetic collective angst among non-Aboriginal Canadians would be related to support for this ruling. Study 3 sought to replicate the relations among the variables of interest by framing Native American culture as either under existential threat or secure. In this study, we tested whether existential threat-induced empathetic collective angst would lead to support for action to be taken against the Dakota Access Pipeline. In Study 4, we extended the previous

studies by addressing whether the observed effects were stronger among perpetrator group members than bystander group members. We did so within the context of Québec's French language laws—laws enacted to protect the vitality of French Canadian culture and language. To this end, we assessed the measures of interest among Anglophone Canadians (historical perpetrator group) and Americans (bystander group). Study 5 served as a high-power, internal replication of our general hypothesis using the Dakota Access Pipeline context from Study 3. Finally, we conducted a synthesis of the findings across Studies 1–5.

Statistical power considerations for Studies 1, 2, and 3, in which a simple mediation model was tested, were based on Fritz and MacKinnon's (2007) power table for a simple mediation model. According to this table, a minimum of 71 participants is needed to detect a moderate indirect effect with 80% power using the bias-corrected bootstrap confidence interval method with 2000 resamples. In Study 4, a moderated-mediation model was tested; thus, power considerations were based on Preacher, Rucker, and Hayes' (2007) power table for moderated-mediation analyses. According to this table, a minimum of 100 participants is needed to detect a moderate conditional indirect effect with 96% power using the 95% bias-corrected bootstrap confidence interval method with 1000 resamples. Thus, the current research was adequately powered. For Study 5 (the higher power, internal replication), we used the smallest standardized indirect effect of interest observed in Studies 1–4 ($\beta = .084$) to determine the sample size needed to detect that effect at 100% power.

All materials and data from the presented research (including items and scales collected, but not considered in the present research) as well as post hoc power analyses using Monte Carlo simulations and the a priori power analysis used to determine sample size in Study 5 are publicly available via the Open Science Framework (OSF): https://osf.io/w2r5y/?view_only=eeb9d65f3efd43f8a1c5b9b5980b5bd4.

Study 1: Do Perpetrator Groups Feel Empathetic Collective Angst?

The purpose of Study 1 was to explore whether perceiving that a victimized group feels existential threat is associated with empathetic collective angst and support for the empowerment of the victimized group. We also tested the proposed mediation model (i.e., perceiving that the victimized group feels existential threat increases support for the empowerment of the victimized group via empathetic collective angst). We did so within the context of Canada's victimization of its Aboriginal peoples.

Canadian history is replete with accounts of Aboriginal Canadians being murdered, tortured, and forcibly sterilized, among other crimes against humanity (Frideres, 1998; George et al., 1996; Jankowski & Moazzami, 1994). Canada also has a history of attempted cultural genocide against Aboriginals. For example, to assimilate Aboriginal children into Euro-Canadian culture, the Canadian government forcibly removed them from their homes and sent them to residential schools (Mako, 2012). This victimization experienced by Aboriginals in Canada provides the context for Study 1. Participants read about the Mohawk Council of Kahnawake ruling that non-Aboriginals cannot reside in their community and that a Mohawk person who marries out will lose their right to live on the reserve. This is a ruling made with the expressed purpose of protecting Aboriginal culture and traditions (CTVnews.ca, 2014). We assessed the extent to which non-Aboriginal Canadians felt empathetic collective angst for the Kahnawake Mohawk community and whether it is predicted by recognition that the victimized group feels existential threat. We also assessed whether empathetic collective angst heightens support for the ruling and Aboriginal people's right to self-determination.

Lastly, we assessed collective guilt as a possible alternative group-based emotional driver of support for the victimized group's needs. Group members feel collective guilt when they accept ingroup responsibility for illegitimately harming another group (for reviews see Ferguson & Branscombe, 2014 and Wohl et al., 2006). Feeling collective guilt often spurs perpetrator group members to repair the wrongs their group has inflicted. We tested whether perceiving the victimized group to be under existential threat was associated with collective guilt among perpetrator group members and, in turn, support for actions to help overcome the existential threat. However, because collective guilt is an ingroup-focused emotion (i.e., it is induced when the perpetrator group's advantages rather than the victimized group's disadvantages are salient; see Powell et al., 2005), we did not anticipate that perceiving the victimized group to be under existential threat (which is outgroup-focused) would predict collective guilt.

Method

Participants. Participants were 257 undergraduate students (52 men, 193 women, 12 unreported) from a large Eastern Canadian university. Participants ranged in age from 17 to 52 years ($M = 20.25$, $SD = 4.12$). The study was described as assessing "Contemporary Issues in Canadian Society." Participation was restricted to Canadian citizens who were not members of an Aboriginal Canadian group (First Nations, Métis, & Inuit) and not of Aboriginal descent. Participants received course credit for participating.

Procedure and measured variables.[1] After signing the consent form, participants read a short article about the Kahnawake Mohawk and their Council's ruling that, "non-Natives cannot reside in the community and that a Mohawk person who marries out will lose their right to live on the reserve." They were also informed that, according to the Grand Chief, the purpose of the ruling was to, "preserve, not only culture and language and identity, but who we are as a people." After reading, participants completed two multiple-choice items that assessed comprehension of the article. The first item asked participants to identify the ruling passed by the Mohawk Council of Kahnawake. The only correct answer was that, "non-Natives cannot reside in the Kahnawake community and [a] Mohawk person who marries a non-Native person will lose their right to live on the reserve." The second item asked participants to identify the issue faced by the Kahnawake community. The only correct answer was that the community is, "worried about several threats to its survival."

[1] We use the term Native in Study 1's materials because it was the term used by the Kahnawake Mohawk. Currently, the preferred term at the authors' institutions is Aboriginal or Indigenous. As such, we use the term Aboriginal elsewhere in the manuscript (as well as in the materials for Study 2). However, we return to the term Native American in Study 3 because it is the vernacular used in the United States.

Thereafter, participants completed a battery of questionnaires. All items were anchored at 1 (*strongly disagree*) and 7 (*strongly agree*). Demographic information (age, sex, citizenship, ethnicity) was collected after the central measured variables.

Perceiving the victimized group feels existential threat. Participants completed a five-item ($\alpha = .78$) measure constructed to assess the extent to which perpetrator group members recognize that Kahnawake Mohawk believed their community was under existential threat. The stem, "Members of the Kahnawake Mohawk community. . ." was provided for the following items: "are concerned that their group will not always thrive," "are confident that their group will survive" (reverse-scored), "feel uneasy about the future of their group," "feel that the future of their group is secure" (reverse-scored), and "are concerned that the future existence of their group is in jeopardy." Higher average scores represent greater perceived existential threat.

Empathetic collective angst. Participants completed a five-item ($\alpha = .80$) measure of empathetic collective angst (adapted from the collective angst scale used in Wohl, Branscombe, & Reysen, 2010). These items were: "I am worried that the Kahnawake Mohawk community will not always thrive," "I am confident that the Kahnawake Mohawk community will survive" (reverse-scored), "I feel uneasy about the future of the Kahnawake Mohawk community," "I feel that the future of the Kahnawake Mohawk community is secure" (reverse-scored), and "I am concerned that the future existence of Kahnawake Mohawk community is in jeopardy." Higher average scores represent greater empathetic collective angst.

Collective guilt. Four items ($\alpha = .85$) assessed participants collective guilt for the historical victimization of Aboriginal Canadians. These items were: "As a Canadian, I feel guilty for the negative things my group did to Aboriginal Canadians in the past," "As a Canadian, I feel guilty for my group's harmful past actions toward Aboriginal Canadians," "As a Canadian, I do not feel guilty for the things my group did to Aboriginal Canadians in the past" (reverse-scored), and "As a Canadian, I feel guilt for negative experience of Aboriginal Canadians brought about by past members of my group."

Support for non-Aboriginal ban. We developed a six-item measure ($\alpha = .90$) to assess whether participants believed the Kahnawake Mohawk have the right to ban non-Aboriginals from their community. These items were: "The Kahnawake community has the right to prohibit non-indigenous people from residing on Mohawk territory," "The Kahnawake community should be able to block non-natives from living on the reserve," "The Mohawk council of Kahnawake should have the final say in whether a person who is not of Mohawk decent is evicted from the community," "It is not okay for the Kahnawake Mohawk community to determine which groups of people are and are not allowed to live on Mohawk land" (reverse-scored), "If deemed necessary to ensure the survival of its people, it is justifiable to ban non-natives from living on Kahnawake Mohawk land," and "The Mohawk Council of Kahnawake's law that forbids non-natives from living in the community is inherently racist and unacceptable" (reverse-scored). Higher average scores represent perceived right to ban non-Aboriginals.

Support for mixed-race relationship ban. We created a three-item measure ($\alpha = .73$) to assess whether participants believed the Kahnawake Mohawk have the right to ban mixed-race relationships from their community. These items were: "If a member of the Kahnawake community marries an outsider while being fully aware of the law, it is fair that they be evicted from the reserve," "The Kahnawake Community's policy to evict mixed-race couples is discriminatory in nature and should be deemed unacceptable" (reverse-scored), and "The Kahnawake Mohawk community should have the right to suspend the benefits and services of its own people who are in relationships with outsiders." Higher average scores represent perceived right to ban mixed-race relationships.

Support for self-determination. We created a three-item measure ($\alpha = .84$) to assess belief that the Kahnawake Mohawk have the right to self-determination (i.e., create laws that contravene those of the Canadian government). These items were: "The Kahnawake Mohawk government should be able to adopt policies it deems necessary to ensure the survival of its people," "It would be an injustice for the Canadian government to interfere with the laws created by the Mohawk Council of Kahnawake," and "The Mohawk Council of Kahnawake should have the legal authority to make and enforce laws within the Kahnawake territory." Higher average scores represent perceived right to self-determination.

We collected responses on several other measures for exploratory purposes (i.e., as a basis for new lines of research). Before participants read the article about the Kahnawake Mohawk community, they received items assessing trait empathy (e.g., "When someone else is feeling excited, I tend to get excited too") and identification with Canada (e.g., "I feel strong ties to other Canadians"). After the article, participants received items assessing legitimacy of collective angst (e.g., "It seems sensible for members of the Kahnawake Mohawk community to be concerned about the future existence of their group") and importance of Aboriginal culture to the Canadian identity (e.g., "Canadian identity is strongly tied to Aboriginal cultures"). We also assessed religion and political orientation.

Results

Preliminary analysis. From the original sample of 257 participants, 12 participants did not indicate their citizenship and thus were excluded from subsequent analyses. Additionally, 68 participants failed one of the two comprehension check items. The final sample consisted of 177 non-Aboriginal Canadian citizens (40 men, 137 women) who ranged in age from 17 to 52 years ($M = 20.69$, $SD = 4.70$).[2]

Prior to conducting the main analyses, we tested whether the predictor (perceiving the victimized group feels existential threat) was distinct from the mediator (empathetic collective angst). Doing so examines whether the relation between the two variables is the result of shared method variance (i.e., similar wording of the items). To accomplish this, a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was used within the framework of structural equation modeling (SEM; see Kline, 2016). In the CFA model, we hypothesized a two-factor model (one factor for perceiving the victimized group feels existential threat and the other for empathetic collective

[2] Results remained the same for all studies (Studies 1–5) when no participants were excluded from the analyses, with the following two exceptions: (a) in Study 1, there was a statistically significant indirect effect of perceiving the victimized group feels existential threat on support for mixed-race relationship ban via empathetic collective angst, and (b) in Study 4, the index of moderated mediation was not statistically significant when right to self-determination was the outcome variable.

angst) and tested whether it fits the data. In the model, we statistically controlled for two sources of method variance that may obscure the true relation between perceived existential threat and empathetic collective angst. First, we included correlations between pairs of similarly worded items across both measures in the hypothesized model to control for variance due to similar items across measures (see correlated uniqueness model in Podsakoff et al., 2003). Second, we included a method factor in the hypothesized model to account for variance related to the valence of the items. This was accomplished by having all the negatively worded items load onto an additional third factor in the hypothesized two-factor model. For model identification purposes, the method factor was not allowed to correlate with the two substantive factors (perceived existential threat and empathetic collective angst). As well, all factor loadings were freely estimated by standardizing the variances of the method factor and two substantive factors (i.e., the variances of the latent variables, which include the two substantive factors and the method factor, were fixed to 1 for model identification purposes).

In terms of testing strategy, we examined whether the hypothesized two-factor model (that includes correlations between similarly worded items and the method factor for the negatively worded items) provides a better fit to the data relative to a more parsimonious single-factor model (that includes correlations between similarly worded items and the method factor for the negatively worded items; see Table 1s on OSF for a summary of the factor loadings for the two-factor model). We used Mplus v.8.0 (Muthén & Muthén, 2017) and maximum likelihood estimation for all analyses. The χ^2 test of model fit, comparative fit index (CFI), and root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) were used to adjudicate fit in the CFA analyses. In line with Kline (2016), an excellent model fit would be reflected by a statistically nonsignificant χ^2, a CFI close to 1, an RMSEA of .05 or less, and corresponding 95% confidence interval (CI) that includes zero. Models were compared using chi-square difference tests ($\Delta\chi^2$).

The hypothesized model provided a marginal fit to the data, $\chi^2(23) = 54.58$, $p < .001$, CFI = .95, and RMSEA = .09. Modification indices suggested that including two residual correlations would improve model fit. The first residual correlation was for two items on the empathetic collective angst measure. Specifically, "I feel uneasy about the future of the Kahnawake Mohawk community" with "I am confident that the Kahnawake Mohawk community will survive" (reversed-scored). The second residual correlation was for two items on the perceived existential threat measure. Specifically, "Members of the Kahnawake Mohawk community feel uneasy about the future of their group" with "Members of the Kahnawake Mohawk community are confident that their group will survive" (reverse-scored). We included these two residual correlations in the model. Notably, the hypothesized model with the residual correlations provided an excellent fit to the data, $\chi^2(21) = 29.16$, $p = .11$, CFI = .99, and RMSEA = .05; 95% CI [.00, .08]. Indeed, including the two residual correlations improved model fit, $\Delta\chi^2(2) = 27.90$, $p < .001$. Magnitudes of the residual correlations were small-to-moderate between the two empathetic collective angst items, $r = .37$, $z = 4.49$, $p < .001$ and between the two perceived threat items ($r = -.35$, $z = -2.71$, $p = .007$). Moreover, the magnitudes of the correlations between the error variances of similarly worded items across both measures were small-to-moderate (*r*s ranged from .00 to .33 in absolute value). The latent variables for perceived threat and empathetic collective angst were moderately and positively correlated, $r = .32$, $z = 3.85$, $p < .001$.

Next, we tested whether an alternative single-factor model in which one latent variable would underlie all items on the perceived existential threat and empathetic collective angst measures. In this alternative model, we again controlled for method variance by including correlations between similarly worded items across both measures and by including a factor to account for variance among the negatively worded items. In addition, we included the same two residual correlations. This model provided a poor fit to the data, $\chi^2(22) = 120.57$, $p < .001$, CFI = .84, and RMSEA = .16; 95% CI [.13, .19]. Furthermore, the single-factor alternative model provided a worse fit to the data relative to the hypothesized model, $\Delta\chi^2(1) = 91.42$, $p < .001$. Thus, the hypothesized two-factor model provided the best absolute fit and relative fit to the data. Standardized factor loadings for the hypothesized model are reported on OSF (see Table 1s).

In sum, the results indicate that perceived existential threat and empathetic collective angst are distinct but related constructs, and that the relation between both constructs is not due to shared method variance (i.e., similarities in item wording and variance attributable to negatively worded items).

Main analysis. In Table 1, we present the mean (*M*) and standard deviation (*SD*) for each measured variable as well as the correlations between all measured variables.[3]

We tested the hypothesized mediation model in which perceiving that the Kahnawake Mohawk believe their group is under existential threat predicts support for their expressed need to ban non-Aboriginals from living on their reserve via empathetic collective angst (see Figure 1a). We also assessed whether empathetic collective angst mediated the relationship between perceiving the Kahnawake Mohawk believe they are under existential threat and support for Kahnawake Mohawk self-determination (see Figure 1b). Mediation was tested using Hayes' (2013) PROCESS macro V.3 (Model 4) for SPSS Version 21 with 5000 resamples. Both indirect effects, $B = .13$, 95% CI [.04, .25] and $B = .16$, 95% CI [.05, .33] were statistically significant.

We did not test whether empathetic collective angst served as a mediator for the need to ban mixed-race relationships because the two variables (i.e., the mediator and outcome variables) were not significantly associated, $t(175)$, $r = .12$, $p = .11$. We also did not test models in which collective guilt served as a mediator because it was not significantly associated with the predictor (perceiving the Kahnawake Mohawk believe their group is under existential threat), $t(174)$, $r = .03$, $p = .70$.

Discussion

Study 1 confirmed our hypotheses about the relations among the measured variables. We found evidence that a perpetrator group is willing to support the empowerment of a group it victimized when members perceive that the group they victimized believes it is

[3] To facilitate independent verification of the analyses for all studies, we provide a text-based summary of the correlation between variables that includes the *t* value and degrees of freedom in the supplemental analyses file posted on OSF.

Table 1
Descriptive Statistics and Correlations Between Variables in Study 1

Variable	*M*	*SD*	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Perceiving the victimized group feels existential threat	5.53	0.76	—					
2. Empathetic collective angst	4.39	0.95	.22*	—				
3. Collective guilt	5.12	1.58	.03	.49**	—			
4. Support for non-Aboriginal ban	4.16	1.27	.003	.34**	.36**	—		
5. Support for mixed-race relationship ban	3.17	1.27	−.09	.12	.09	.43**	—	
6. Support for self-determination	4.57	1.37	.03	.41**	.42**	.70**	.31**	—

* $p < .01$. ** $p < .001$.

under existential threat. This association was mediated by empathetic collective angst. That is, not only was it established that perpetrator group members can and do feel empathetic collective angst when the victimized group appears to be under existential threat, but this group-based emotion also positively related to support for the empowerment of the victimized group. When non-Aboriginal Canadians perceived that the Kahnawake Mohawk community believes it is under existential threat, they showed greater support for their expressed desire (a) for self-determination and (b) to ban non-Aboriginal Canadians from their community. This association was indirect—perceiving the victimized group believes it is under existential threat predicted the desire to satisfy the victimized group's empowerment needs via empathetic collective angst.

Particularly striking is that perpetrator group members who feel empathetic collective angst are more willing to support policies that discriminate against their ingroup. To our knowledge, this is the first study to examine whether concern for an outgroup relates to willingness to accept discriminatory actions by the victimized group. Interestingly, support for the Kahnawake Mohawk's decision to ban mixed-race relationships was negatively associated with perceiving the community was under existential threat and not associated with empathetic collective angst. This suggests that empathetic collective angst may be limited to certain domains, but future research is required to examine this possibility.

Importantly, we also showed that perceiving that the victimized group is experiencing existential threat did not relate to collective guilt. Previous research (Powell et al., 2005) has shown that collective guilt is an ingroup-focused emotion—it is elicited when outgroup victimization is framed as resulting in ingroup advantage, but not when it is framed as resulting in outgroup disadvantage. The possible disappearance of Aboriginal culture and language focuses attention on harms the outgroup may experience rather than harms that were committed by the ingroup. Given this outgroup focus, it makes sense that collective guilt would not be elicited.

Study 2: Can Empathetic Collective Angst Be Elicited via Manipulation?

Because Study 1 was correlational, the causal nature of the relations remains unclear. Thus, the purpose of Study 2 was to assess whether perpetrator group members can be induced to feel empathetic collective angst by manipulating their perception of existential threat experienced by the victimized group. As noted by Halperin (2016), although empathetic concern provides the moti-

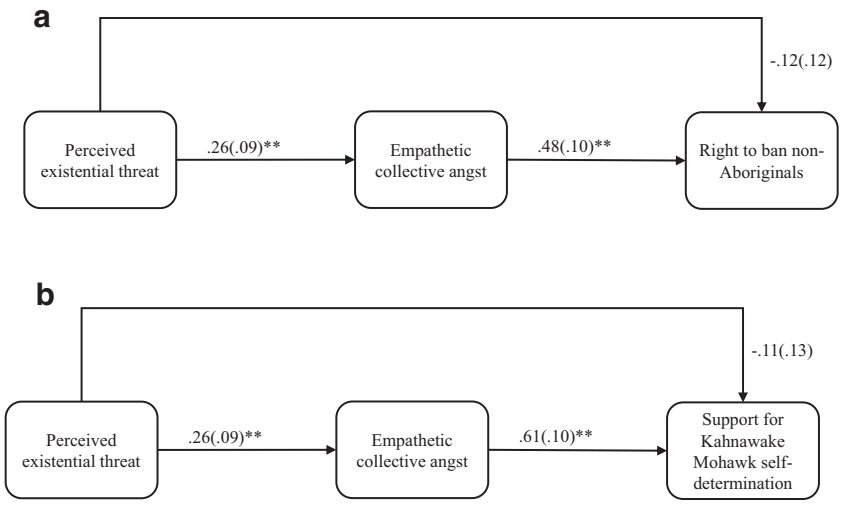

Figure 1. Results of the mediation analyses in Study 1. Perceived existential threat is the independent variable, empathetic collective angst is the mediator variable, right to ban non-Aboriginals is the dependent variable in panel (a), and support for Kahnawake Mohawk self-determination the dependent variable in panel (b). Parameter estimates are unstandardized regression coefficients with *SE*s in parentheses. ** $p < .01$.

vation to help the target of empathy, reliably inducing it among perpetrator group members has proven difficult. Based on the results of Study 1, we suggest one way to elicit empathetic collective angst is to manipulate salience of existential threat to a historically victimized group. Specifically, whereas some participants read that the victimized group's future was in jeopardy (i.e., the existential threat condition), others read that the future of the victimized group was full of promise (i.e., the existential security condition). As in Study 1, we tested our ideas within the context of the victimization of Aboriginal Canadians.

Method

Participants. Participants were 150 undergraduate students (40 men, 109 women, one unreported) from a large Eastern Canadian university. Participants ranged in age from 18 to 47 years ($M = 20.57$, $SD = 4.70$). As in Study 1, Study 2 was described as assessing, "Contemporary Issues in Canadian Society." Participation was restricted to Canadian citizens who were not members of an Aboriginal group (First Nations, Métis, & Inuit) and not of Aboriginal descent. Participants received course credit for participating.

Procedure and measured variables. The procedure and measures for Study 2 were identical to Study 1 with a few exceptions. First, we refer to the victimized group as Aboriginal Canadians as opposed to Native Canadians in all study materials. Second, we manipulated perception of whether the victimized group was experiencing existential threat. After signing the consent form, participants were randomly assigned to read one of two ostensible newspaper articles titled "The State of Aboriginal Culture in Canada." In the existential threat condition, participants were told that a newly released report by the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada suggests that "the future of the Aboriginal people is at risk" and that young Aboriginals have a "rocky relationship" with their Aboriginal identity. They also read that the "Aboriginal Conservation Authority" believes that the future of the Aboriginal people "is being eroded as a result" of the noted concerns. By contrast, in the existential security condition, participants read that the report suggests that "the future of the Aboriginal people holds much promise" and that young Aboriginals have a good relationship with their Aboriginal identity. They also read that "Aboriginal Conservation Authority" believes that in the future, Aboriginal people "will thrive as a result" of the noted factors.

Thereafter, participants completed a measure of empathetic collective angst ($\alpha = .84$), with items reflecting concern about "Aboriginal culture and identity." They then also completed the previously used measure of collective guilt ($\alpha = .95$). Participants then read the short article about the Kahnawake Mohawk ruling used in Study 1 and completed the two reading compression items as well as the measure that assessed their perceived right to ban non-Aboriginals ($\alpha = .89$), right to ban mixed-race relationships ($\alpha = .75$), and the right to self-determination ($\alpha = .83$).

Given deception was used, after participants were fully debriefed, they were asked for permission to use their data.

We collected several other measures for exploratory purposes (i.e., as a basis for new lines of research). As in Study 1, we assessed identification with Canada and legitimacy of collective angst. We also assessed support for former Canadian Prime Minister Harper's 2008 official apology for the Residential School System and the victimization that occurred there (e.g., "I think apologizing was the right thing to do"), support for compensation (e.g., "I think that the Canadian government should compensate Aboriginal Canadians financially for all the maltreatment and deprivation that White Canadians have caused them"), minimization of harm experienced by Aboriginals (e.g., "How many Aboriginal Canadians were affected by the Residential School System?"), desire to cover-up the harms committed (e.g., "I think that we Canadians should make it less clear what has happened to Aboriginal people in the Aboriginal School System"), and support for affirmative action ("I believe Canadian policies that assist Aboriginals [free tuition, facilitating the representation of Aboriginals in the workplace] should be implemented even if they take positions away from non-Aboriginals").

Results

Preliminary analysis. From the original sample of 150 participants, 10 failed an attention check item that asked them not to provide a response, 10 failed to provide a response to the consent to use their data when asked, six participants declined consent to the use of their data, 30 participants failed one of the comprehension check items, and 10 withdrew prior to completing the survey and thus could not provide consent to use their data. Thus, the final sample consisted of 84 non-Aboriginal, Canadian citizens (22 men, 62 women) who ranged in age from 18 to 47 years ($M = 20.80$, $SD = 5.68$).

Main analysis. In Table 2, we present the correlations between all measured variables and display the *M* and *SD* for each measured variable by condition. To assess whether the manipulation significantly influenced participants' responses on the measured variables, a one-way ANOVA was conducted on each mea-

Table 2
Descriptive Statistics of Each Variable per Condition and Correlations Between Variables Collapsed Across Condition for Study 2

Variable	Existential security		Existential threat						
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	1	2	3	4	5
1. Empathetic collective angst	4.06[a]	0.79	4.69[b]	1.02	—				
2. Collective guilt	5.27[a]	1.69	5.13[a]	1.88	.44***	—			
3. Support for non-Aboriginal ban	4.25[a]	1.33	4.36[a]	1.35	.23*	.35**	—		
4. Support for mixed-race relationship ban	3.18[a]	1.42	3.36[a]	1.23	.07	−.07	.55***	—	
5. Support for self-determination	4.43[a]	1.41	4.76[a]	1.31	.33**	.38***	.64***	.21	—

Note. Means in a row with differing superscripts denote significant group differences at $p < .01$.
* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

sured variable with the manipulation as the predictor (coded 0 = existential security, 1 = existential threat).

Empathetic collective angst. As predicted, the manipulation significantly influenced perpetrator group members' reported empathetic collective angst, $F(1, 81) = 9.51$, $p = .003$, $\eta_p^2 = .10$. Participants in the existential threat condition ($M = 4.69$, $SD = 1.02$) reported more empathetic collective angst than those in the existential security condition ($M = 4.06$, $SD = .79$).

Collective guilt. The existential threat manipulation did not significantly influence collective guilt, $F(1, 80) = .12$, $p = .73$, $\eta_p^2 = .002$.

Perceived rights of the victimized group. The manipulation did not influence any of the outcome variables, Fs < 1.24, ps $> .27$, η_p^2s $< .01$. However, as in Study 1, empathetic collective angst was moderately correlated with the perceived right of Aboriginals to ban non-Aboriginals, $r = .23$, $p = .03$, and the perceived right to self-determination, $r = .33$, $p = .003$, but not with the perceived right to ban mixed-race relationships, $r = .07$, $p = .55$.

Mediation. We tested the hypothesized mediation model in which the existential threat to Aboriginal culture and identity (the manipulated independent variable; 0 = existential security, 1 = existential threat) predicted non-Aboriginals' belief that the Kahnawake Mohawk have the right to ban non-Aboriginals from living on their reserve via empathetic collective angst (see Figure 2a). We also assessed whether the manipulation indirectly predicted the perceived right to self-determination via empathetic collective angst (see Figure 2b). We did not test whether collective guilt served as a mediator because empathetic collective angst did not relate to this variable.

As in Study 1, we tested the proposed mediation model using Hayes' (2013) PROCESS macro V.3 (Model 4) for SPSS Version 21 with 5000 resamples. The CIs for the indirect effects on support to ban non-Aboriginals, $B = .21$, 95% CI [.01, .53], and support for Aboriginal self-determination, $B = .28$, 95% CI [.09, .60], did not contain 0 and thus were statistically significant.

Discussion

Study 2 provided support for our hypothesis that empathetic collective angst is higher when the future of a victimized group is framed for perpetrator group members as being under threat. Further, with increased empathetic collective angst among non-Aboriginal Canadians there was increased support of the Kahnawake Mohawk decision to ban non-Aboriginals from their reserve in the name of protecting Kahnawake Mohawk culture and identity. Empathetic collective angst also predicted greater support for Aboriginal self-determination. As in Study 1, neither the existential threat manipulation nor empathetic collective angst predicted support for banning mix-raced relationships. Unfortunately, data were not collected to probe participants feelings about mix-raced relationships. It is, however, informative that mean support for this particular policy was more than one full point lower than support for the ban of non-Aboriginals as well as support for self-determination. The issue of banning mix-raced relationships may have moral and practical features that make it a poor strategy for dealing with group-based existential threat. For instance, the policy may be seen by participants as infringing on the rights of individual members of the victimized group.

Of note, the existential threat manipulation did not influence collective guilt, which is similar to the correlational result observed in Study 1. As argued previously, this may occur because collective guilt is an ingroup-focused emotion (i.e., to feel collective guilt the advantages experienced by the ingroup that stemmed from their harmdoing needs to be in focus), whereas the current research focuses on the experience of the victimized outgroup.

Study 3: Empathetic Collective Angst and Standing Rock

We sought to replicate and extend the results of Studies 1 and 2 by assessing the implication of empathetic collective angst in a

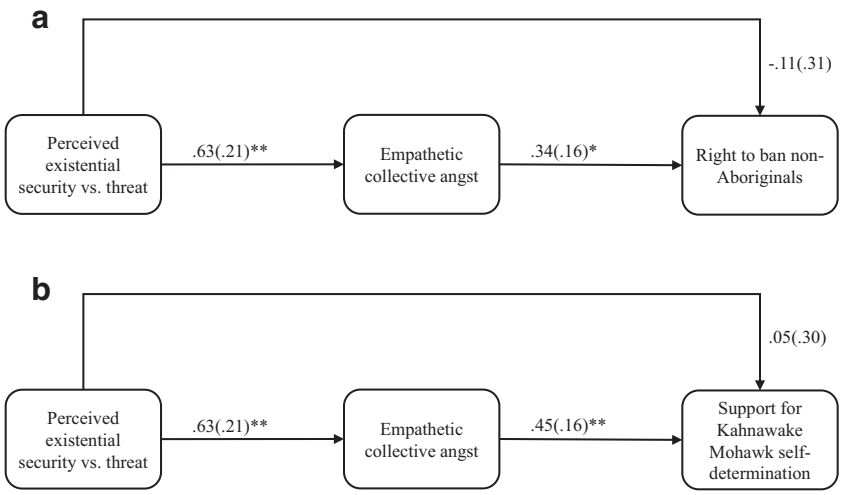

Figure 2. Results of the mediation analyses in Study 2. Manipulated perceived existential threat versus security is the independent variable, empathetic collective angst is the mediator variable, right to ban non-Aboriginals is the dependent variable in panel (a), and support for Kahnawake Mohawk self-determination is the dependent variable in panel (b). Parameter estimates are unstandardized regression coefficients with *SE*s in parentheses. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

different perpetrator-victim intergroup context. In Study 3, we assessed whether empathetic collective angst among Americans who are not of Native American descent (non-Native Americans) influences support for the Standing Rock tribe's fight against the US Government's decision to permit the Dakota Access Pipeline. This oil pipeline constitutes a threat to the region's clean water, ancient Native burial grounds, and culturally significant artifacts. On the other hand, the $3.7 billion project will be an economic boon for the United States and significantly decrease its reliance on foreign oil, thus enhancing national security (see Yan, 2016). We predicted that framing Native American culture and identity as under existential threat (as opposed to existentially secure) would result in heightened empathetic collective angst among non-Native Americans and have an indirect negative effect on support for the Dakota Access Pipeline and indirect positive effect on support for Native American self-determination.

Method

Participants. Participants were 220 Americans (107 men, 113 women) recruited from Amazon.com's Mechanical Turk (MTurk) for a study described as assessing, "non-Native American's perception of Native American issues." They ranged in age from 21 to 81 (M = 35.38, SD = 11.04), and received US $1.00 as compensation for their time. Participation was restricted to American citizens who were not of Native American descent.

Procedure and materials. The procedure and measures for Study 3 were similar to Study 2 with the exception of the following details. First, all references to Aboriginal Canadians were changed to Native Americans in the questionnaire items. Second, in a manner similar to Study 2, the manipulation was implemented via a news article entitled, "The State of Native American Culture in the U.S." Participants read that the future of Native American culture was under existential threat (i.e., the existential threat condition) or was secure (existential security condition). Third, the short article about the Kahnawake Mohawk was replaced with an article pertaining to Native Americans and the Dakota Access Pipeline. Specifically, participants read that although construction of the pipeline will "create jobs" and "make America more self-sufficient for its energy needs," it will also "disrupt sites of historical and cultural importance to the Native American people" and "threaten the Standing Rock and Cheyenne River Sioux tribes' water supply."

After participants read the news article about Native Americans that served as the manipulation, they completed the measure of empathetic collective angst (α = .94) and collective guilt (α = .96). Following the short article about the Dakota Access Pipeline, participants completed a five-item (α = .96) measure that assessed support for legal action to stop the pipeline. These items were: "I support legal action to stop the construction of the Dakota Access Pipeline," "I support the Native American people's protests against the construction of the Dakota Access Pipeline," "I would sign a petition against the construction of the Dakota Access Pipeline," "I do not support legal efforts to stop the building of the Dakota Access Pipeline" (reverse-scored), and "I support the building of the Dakota Access Pipeline" (reverse-scored). They also completed a seven-item (α = .92) measure that assessed support for Native American compensation for harm. These items were: "Native Americans should not be financially compensated for the damage that White Americans have caused them" (reverse-scored), "I think that the American government should compensate Native Americans financially for all the maltreatment and deprivation that White Americans have caused them," "Native Americans should be given financial compensation for the harms endured at the hands of White Americans," "I would donate money for the creation of a memorial recognizing the suffering endured by Native Americans," "I think that the American government should use tax dollars to create a memorial to Native American suffering," "The American government should not fund a memorial to Native American suffering" (reverse-scored), and "The United States should provide additional funding to help support Native American youth." Participants also completed the scale that assessed right to self-determination (α = .83).

As a manipulation check, participants were then asked to indicate the main point of the article about the state of Native American culture. Response options were: "Native American culture is in jeopardy," "Native American culture is thriving," "The article was not related to Native American culture," and "I don't remember what the article was about." Given that deception was used, after participants were fully debriefed, they were asked for permission to use their data.

We collected several other measures for exploratory purposes (i.e., as a basis for new lines of research). As in Study 2, we assessed legitimacy of collective angst, minimization of harm, and support for affirmative action.

Results

Preliminary analysis. From the original sample of 220 participants, eight failed at least one of four attention check items that asked them not to provide a response, 24 indicated they were not American citizens, and 19 failed a manipulation check item that asked participants to indicate "the main point of the article." In the existential security condition, the correct response was "Native American culture is thriving." In the existential threat condition, the correct response was "Native American culture is in jeopardy." Additionally, two participants indicated they were of Native American descent and were excluded from all analyses. The final sample consisted of 167 non-Native American citizens (82 men, 85 women) who ranged in age from 21 to 81 years (M = 36.26, SD = 11.04).

Main analysis. In Table 3, we present the correlations between measured variables as well as the mean and SD for each measured variable by condition.

To assess whether the manipulation significantly influenced participants' responses on the measured variable, a one-way ANOVA was conducted on each measured variable with the manipulation as the predictor (coded 0 = existential security, 1 = existential threat). As expected, the manipulation influenced perpetrator group members' reported empathetic collective angst, $F(1, 165) = 17.49$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .10$. Participants in the existential threat condition (M = 4.90, SD = 1.29) reported more empathetic collective angst than those in the existential security condition (M = 3.95, SD = 1.65). As in Study 2, the manipulation did not influence collective guilt, $F(1, 165) = .02$, $p = .89$, $\eta_p^2 < .001$. Additionally, the manipulation did not influence any of the outcome variables that assessed support for action to protect the future of Native American people, $F < .18$, $ps > .67$, $\eta_p^2 s < .001$.

Table 3
Descriptive Statistics of Each Variable per Condition and Correlations Between Variables Collapsed Across Condition for Study 3

Variable	Existential security		Existential threat						
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	1	2	3	4	5
1. Empathetic collective angst	3.95[a]	1.65	4.90[b]	1.29	—				
2. Collective guilt	4.40[a]	1.98	4.35[a]	2.06	.38*	—			
3. Support for legal action to stop pipeline	5.38[a]	1.85	5.44[a]	1.62	.46*	.48*	—		
4. Support for Native American compensation	4.86[a]	1.43	4.89[a]	1.61	.47*	.68*	.71*	—	
5. Support for self-determination	5.38[a]	1.37	5.29[a]	1.21	.38*	.43*	.60*	.62*	—

Note. Means in a row with differing superscripts denote significant group differences at $p < .001$.
* $p < .001$.

Importantly, empathetic collective angst was significantly correlated with support for legal action to stop the Dakota Pipeline, $r = .46$, $p < .001$, support for compensation to Native Americans for the victimization they experienced throughout the course of American history, $r = .47$, $p < .001$, and perceived right to self-determination, $r = .38$, $p < .001$.

Mediation. Next, we tested whether the existential threat to Native American culture and identity manipulation (the manipulated independent variable; 0 = existential security, 1 = existential threat) indirectly predicted support for legal action to stop the Dakota Access Pipeline (see Figure 3a), support for compensation to Native Americans for their history of victimization (see Figure 3b), as well as support for the Native Americans' right to self-determination (see Figure 3c) via empathetic collective angst. As in Studies 1 and 3, we used Hayes' (2013) PROCESS macro V.3 (Model 4) for SPSS Version 21 with 5000 resamples. All three indirect effects were statistically significant: support for action to stop the Dakota Access Pipeline, $B = .54$, 95% CI [.30, .85];

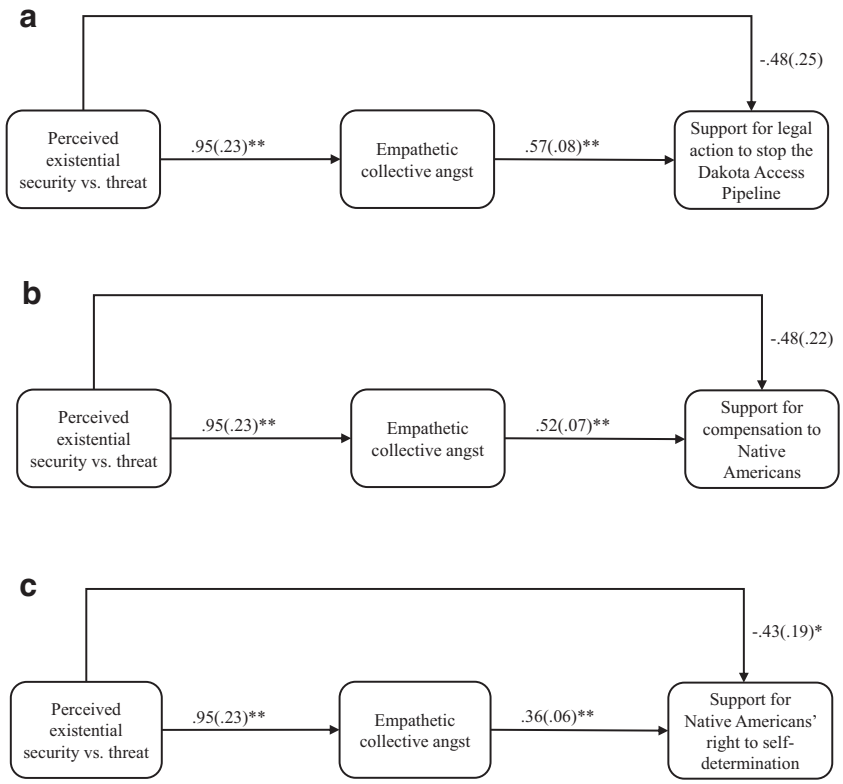

Figure 3. Results of the mediation analyses in Study 2. Manipulated perceived existential threat versus security is the independent variable, empathetic collective angst is the mediator variable, support for legal action to stop the Dakota Access Pipeline is the dependent variable in panel (a), support for compensation to Native Americans is the dependent variable in panel (b), and support for Native American's right to self-determination is the dependent variable in panel (c). Parameter estimates are unstandardized regression coefficients with *SE*s in parentheses. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

support for compensation to Native Americans, $B = .49$, 95% CI [.26, .79]; and support for Native Americans' right to self-determination, $B = .34$, 95% CI [.18, .58].

Discussion

Results from Study 3 suggest generalizability of the empathetic collective angst effect. Empathetic collective angst among Americans predicted support for Native Americans—a group that has experienced a great deal of victimization over the course of American history. In particular, existential threat (relative to existential security) increased empathetic collective angst, which predicted support for the empowerment of Native Americans in general (i.e., support for Native American self-determination), as well as empowerment in the context of a targeted issue (the Dakota Access Pipeline). The relation between empathetic collective angst and opposition to the Dakota Access Pipeline among non-Native Americans provides additional support for the idea that empathetic collective angst leads perpetrator group members to oppose policies and actions that could benefit the ingroup to the detriment of the victimized group. Lastly, as in Studies 1 and 2, the manipulation did not influence collective guilt. However, collective guilt was positively associated with all three outcome variables.

Study 4

We wondered whether the results of Studies 1–3 extend to bystander groups. On the world stage, there are countless examples of bystander groups coming to the assistance of groups experiencing (existential) harm. To test this possibility, we used the context of French Canadians' sensitivity to the vitality of its culture and language—a concern that positions Anglophone Canadian culture and the English language as the source of threat (Bouchard & Taylor, 2008; Bourhis, 1994). Specifically, not only did we assess whether an extinction threat manipulation would influence Anglophone Canadians empathetic collective angst and support for actions that could empower French Canadians, we also assessed these relations among bystander group members (Americans).

A theme in Québec (the predominantly francophone province in Canada) politics is a desire for political power that allows for self-determination within, if not sovereignty from, Canada. Additionally, in 1977, Québec passed the Charter of the French Language (also known as Bill 101, which is no longer a bill, but law) that mandated the supremacy of French over English in the province. Among other things, this has resulted in reduced rights to use English at work (e.g., the law stipulates that French should be the main language at work; the law requires that business signs should be predominantly in French). We hypothesized that the extinction threat manipulation would induce empathetic collective angst among both Anglophone Canadian and American participants, but that empathetic collective angst would predict support for the empowerment of Québec among Anglophone Canadians to a greater extent than it would among Americans (i.e., moderation of path b in a moderated mediation model). This is because support for Canadian policies among Americans (a bystander group) would have little efficacy to help French Canadians protect the future vitality of their language and culture, which should result in a weaker or nonexisting connection between empathetic collective angst and support for empowering the group.

Method

Participants. Two samples of participants—170 Anglophone Canadians (59 men, 111 women) from a large Eastern Canadian University and 220 Americans (109 men, 111 women) from MTurk—completed Study 4. Participation in both samples was restricted to those who were citizens of their country of residence (Canada or United Stated of America, respectively), and people who did not have French Canadian ancestry. Anglophone Canadian participants ranged in age from 17 to 66 ($M = 20.42$, $SD = 4.92$), whereas American participants ranged in age from 19 to 68 ($M = 35.60$, $SD = 11.10$). Participants from Canada received .25% course credit, whereas MTurk participants received US $0.70 as compensation for their time.

Procedure. The procedure and measures for Study 4 were similar to Studies 2 and 3 with the exception of the following details. First, the news article that served as the manipulation discussed French Canadian culture as being under existential threat (e.g., "The culture and language of their ancestors is in peril") or as being secure (e.g., "The culture and language of their ancestors is being preserved"). A second news article discussed Bill 101. Specifically, participants read, "Bill 101 states that the French language must be the language of Government and the Law, as well as the normal and everyday language of work, instruction, communication, commerce and business." They were told that the purpose of the Bill was to "make French the commonly used language of Québec" and help the francophone population to thrive in English dominated management position. They were also told that, "Bill 101 requires, among other things, that all signs be in French and that all children attend French school." To test reading comprehension, participants were given two multiple choice items that asked participants to provide the correct response about Bill 101. In item 1, the correct response option was that the bill "passed into law to make French the commonly used language of Quebec." The correct response option for item 2 was that Bill 101 is known as "The Charter of the French Language."

After the reading the article about the state of the French Canadian culture and language that served as the manipulation, participants completed the measure of empathetic collective angst (referencing the future of French Canadian culture and language; $\alpha = .88$) and collective guilt (referencing past harms experienced by French Canadians; $\alpha = .93$). After reading the article about Bill 101, participants completed a six-item scale ($\alpha = .87$) that assessed support for Bill 101. These items were: "I support Bill 101," "The Québec government should be able to block children from attending English schools (with the exception of those whose parents attended English school in Canada)," "The Québec government should have the final say about how English is used in the Province," "It is not okay for the Québec government to push French at the expense of English" (reverse-scored), "If deemed necessary to ensure the survival of its people, it is justifiable to ban or restrict the use of English in Québec," and "Bill 101 is inherently discriminatory and unacceptable" (reverse-scored). They also completed the previously used self-determination scale ($\alpha = .83$) adapted for the current context (e.g., "The Québec government should be able to adopt policies it deems necessary to ensure the survival of the French Canadian culture").

We included other measures for exploratory purposes: legitimacy of collective angst, exposure to Québec and discrimination

against Anglophones by Francophones, and support for affirmative action for French Canadians.

Results

Preliminary analysis. From the Anglophone Canadian sample, 12 participants withdrew prior to completing the survey, 59 participants failed one of the two comprehension check items about Bill 101 (see supplemental materials), and three participants did not consent to the use of their data. The final sample of Anglophone Canadians consisted of 96 participants (34 men, 62 women) who ranged in age from 17 to 66 years ($M = 20.69$, $SD = 5.93$). From the American sample, three withdrew, five failed at least one of the attention check items, and 60 failed one of the two comprehension check items about Bill 101. The final sample of Americans consisted of 152 participants (68 men, 84 women) who ranged in age from 19 to 68 years ($M = 35.76$, $SD = 10.92$).

Main analysis. In Table 4, we display the *M* and *SD* for each measured variable by condition and sample. In Table 5, we report the correlations between the measured variables per condition.

To test our hypothesized moderated mediation model, we used Hayes' (2013) PROCESS macro V.3 (Model 14) for SPSS Version 21 with 5000 iterations. The overall statistical significance of moderated mediation was evaluated using the Index of Moderated Mediation (products were mean-centered; Hayes, 2013). The existential threat manipulation was coded 0 (existential security) and 1 (existential threat), and group membership was coded 0 (American) and 1 (Anglophone Canadian). Empathetic collective angst and group membership were mean-centered in the moderated mediation analyses and thus results are unstandardized.

First, we tested a moderated mediation model in which the existential threat manipulation was entered as the independent variable, empathetic collective angst as the mediator, support for Bill 101 as the dependent variable, and group membership as the moderator of the relation between empathetic collective angst and support for Bill 101 (see Figure 4a). Results revealed that the direct effect of the manipulation on support for Bill 101 was not significant when the other variables were included in the model, $B = -.28$, $SE = .17$, $p = .09$, 95% CI [−.62, 05]. Additionally, empathetic collective angst interacted with the group membership to predict support for Bill 101 (with the manipulation in the model), $B = .32$, $SE = .13$, $p = .01$, 95% CI [.06, .59]. Although mediation was significant in both groups, it was stronger in the Anglophone Canadian sample, $B = .59$, $SE = .15$, 95% CI [.32, .93], compared with the American sample, $B = .23$, $SE = .11$, 95% CI [.09, .47]. Notably, the Index of Moderated Mediation was statistically significant, index = .37, $SE = .17$, 95% CI [.06, .72], confirming our indirect effect hypothesis.

Table 5
Correlations Between All Variables for Both Samples in Study 4, Collapsing Across Condition

Variable	1	2	3	4
1. Empathetic collective angst	—	.14	.15	.06
2. Collective guilt	.53**	—	.23*	.30**
3. Support for Bill 101	.45**	.59**	—	.73**
4. Support for self-determination	.30*	.55**	.78**	—

Note. Correlations for Anglo-Canadians appear below the diagonal and for Americans above the diagonal.
* $p < .01$. ** $p < .001$.

Next, we tested a moderated mediation model with support for Québec self-determination as the dependent variable (see Figure 4b). The direct effect of the manipulation on support for Québec self-determination was not statistically significant when the other variables were included in the model, $B = -.07$, $SE = .18$, $p = .67$, 95% CI [−.43, .28]. Additionally, empathetic collective angst interacted with group membership to predict support for Québec self-determination, $B = .29$, $SE = .14$, $p = .04$, 95% CI [.009, .58]. This is because mediation was statistically significant in the Anglophone Canadian sample, $B = .40$, $SE = .15$, 95% CI [.12, .72], but not in the American sample, $B = .08$, $SE = .11$, 95% CI [−.13, .28]. The Index of Moderated Mediation was statistically significant, index = .32, $SE = .17$, 95% CI [.007, .68].

Discussion

Consistent with our previous results, but in a different intergroup context, Study 4 showed that existential threat-induced empathetic collective angst predicts support for the empowerment of French Canadians. However, this effect was stronger (when the outcome was support for Bill 101) or only present (when the outcome was Quebec self-determination) among Anglophone Canadians compared with members of a bystander group (Americans). One possible reason is that Americans may have felt they have little efficacy to help French Canadians (i.e., there is little Americans can do to intervene in Canadian politics; see Staub, 1996). Such perceptions may weaken the link between empathetic collective angst and support for empowerment efforts.

Table 4
Descriptive Statistics of Each Variable per Condition for Both Samples Used in Study 4

	Anglo-Canadians				Americans			
	Existential security		Existential threat		Existential security		Existential threat	
Variable	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
1. Empathetic collective angst	2.85[a]	1.03	3.54[b]	1.06	2.46[c]	0.98	3.80[b]	1.26
2. Collective guilt	3.39[a]	1.42	3.52[a]	1.59	2.63[c]	1.35	3.02[a]	1.71
3. Support for Bill 101	3.19[a]	1.12	3.16[a]	1.23	3.64[c]	1.21	3.69[c]	1.26
4. Support for self-determination	3.88[a]	1.37	3.92[a]	1.27	4.24[a]	1.23	4.31[a]	1.33

Note. Means in a row with differing superscripts denote significant group differences at $p < .01$.

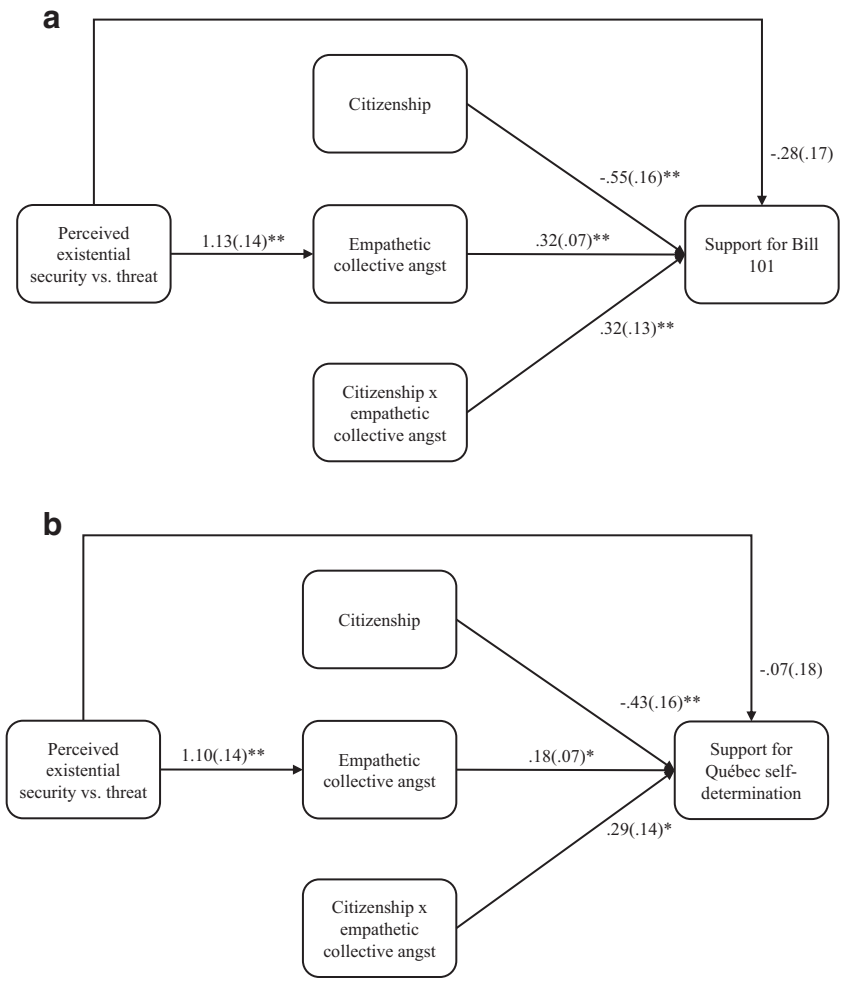

Figure 4. Results of the moderated mediation analyses in Study 4. Manipulated perceived existential threat versus security is the independent variable, empathetic collective angst is the mediator variable, citizenship is the moderator, support for Bill 101 is the dependent variable in panel (a), and support for Québec self-determination is the dependent variable in panel (b). Parameter estimates are unstandardized regression coefficients with *SE*s in parentheses. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Study 5: High-Power Internal Replication

The purpose of Study 5 was threefold. First, we wanted to conduct a high-power, internal replication of the theoretical mediation model. Second, we wanted to run the most robust test of our theoretical mediation model, in which empathetic collective angst and collective guilt are treated as parallel mediators and all outcome variables are assessed at the same time, with covariance allowed between them. Because of sample size, this larger model could not be run in Studies 1–4. Study 5 was conducted with sufficient power to properly specify the full mediation model with collective angst and collective guilt simultaneously assessed as pathways to support the empowerment of the victimized group. Additionally, we ran a series of parallel mediation models for dependent variables that are moderately correlated, which inflates family-wise Type I error by not accounting for the potential covariance between the dependent variables. To determine the sample size for Study 5, we reanalyzed the data for Studies 1–4 with path analyses (see supplemental analyses on OSF). The smallest indirect effect observed was in Study 3 ($\beta = .084$), for the indirect effect of condition on Native American compensation for harm via empathetic collective angst. Using this effect size, it was determined that a sample size of 500 would detect the hypothesized indirect effect with 100% power as being statistically significant at $p < .05$.

Lastly, conducting a fifth study allowed us to slightly modify the questionnaire to eliminate method variance. Specially, in the previous studies, the empathetic collective angst items included a stem ("After reading the information on the previous page") that was not included for the collective guilt items. As such, an alternative explanation for the statistically significant indirect effects with empathetic collective angst (and the lack of statistically significant indirect effects with collective guilt) is that the empathetic collective angst measures were explicitly anchored to the manipulation, which was not the case for collective guilt. Addi-

tionally, in the previous studies, each collective guilt item was anchored to the participant's group membership ("As an American . . ."), which was not the case for the empathetic collective angst items. Thus, it could be argued that participants were responding to the empathetic collective angst items as individuals as opposed to as perpetrator group members. In Study 5, participants were asked to respond to all empathetic collective angst and collective guilt items as Americans.

Method

Participants. Participants were 647 Americans (288 men, 359 women) recruited from MTurk for a study described as assessing "non-Native American's perception of Native American issues." The sample size was 30% greater than the sample size ($N = 500$) determined based on the a priori power analysis we conducted to power the smallest, previously observed, indirect effect at 100% ($\beta = .084$ for the indirect effect of condition on Native American compensation for harm via empathetic collective angst in Study 3). This was done to account for the possibility of problematic cases (e.g., failed manipulation check).

Participants ranged in age from 19 to 72 ($M = 33.53$, $SD = 10.58$), and received US$1.00 as compensation for their time. Participation was restricted to American citizens who were not of Native American descent.

Procedure and materials. The procedure and measures for Study 5 were similar to Study 3 with two exceptions. First, to more closely match the collective guilt items, all empathetic collective angst items began with "As an American . . . ." Second, akin to the empathetic collective angst items, the collective guilt items included the stem, "After reading the information on the previous page." As in the previous studies, the internal reliability of all measures was high: empathetic collective angst ($\alpha = .91$), collective guilt ($\alpha = .94$), support for legal action to stop the pipeline ($\alpha = .93$), support for Native American compensation for harm ($\alpha = .91$), and right to self-determination ($\alpha = .81$). All additional (exploratory) measures collected in Study 3 were collected in Study 5.

Results

Preliminary analysis. From the original sample, 37 participants failed at least one of four attention check items that asked them not to provide a response, nine indicated they were not American citizens, and 106 failed a manipulation check item that asked them to indicate "the main point of the article." In the existential security condition, the correct response was "Native American culture is thriving." In the existential threat condition, the correct response was "Native American culture is in jeopardy." Additionally, six participants did not provide consent to use their data and 21 participants indicated they were of Native American descent and were excluded from all analyses. The final sample consisted of 470 non-Native American citizens (202 men, 268 women) who ranged in age from 19 to 70 years ($M = 34.03$, $SD = 10.86$). In Table 6, we present the correlations between measured variables as well as the mean and *SD* for each measured variable by condition.

To assess whether the manipulation significantly influenced participants' responses on the measured variable, a one-way ANOVA was conducted on each measured variable with the manipulation as the predictor (coded 0 = existential security, 1 = existential threat). As hypothesized, the existential threat to the victimized group manipulation influenced perpetrator group members' reported empathetic collective angst, $F(1, 456) = 24.19$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$. Participants in the existential threat condition ($M = 5.02$, $SD = 1.21$) reported more empathetic collective angst than those in the existential security condition ($M = 4.43$, $SD = 1.31$). Like in Studies 2 and 3, however, the manipulation did not influence collective guilt, $F(1, 456) = .62$, $p = .43$, $\eta_p^2 = .001$. Additionally, the manipulation did not influence any of the outcome variables that assessed support for action to protect the future of Native American people, Fs $< .38$, ps $> .54$, η_p^2s $< .001$.

Importantly, empathetic collective angst was significantly correlated with support for legal action to stop the Dakota Pipeline, $r = .47$, $p < .001$, support for compensation to Native Americans for the victimization they experienced throughout the course of American history, $r = .56$, $p < .001$, and perceived right to self-determination, $r = .42$, $p < .001$.

Mediation. Next, we tested a model in which existential threat to Native American culture and identity manipulation (the manipulated independent variable; 0 = existential security, 1 = existential threat) predicted support for legal action to stop the Dakota Access Pipeline, support for compensation to Native Americans for their history of victimization, and support for Native Americans' right to self-determination via empathetic collective angst and collective guilt (see Figure 5). We used Mplus Version 8 (Muthén & Muthén, 2017) to estimate this model with 5000 resamples for 95% bias-corrected bootstrapped CI for the indirect effects. The unstandardized path coefficients for this model are reported in Figure 5. Of note, all indirect effects via empathetic collective angst were statistically significant: support for action to

Table 6
Descriptive Statistics of Each Variable per Condition and Correlations Between Variables Collapsed Across Condition for Study 5

Variable	Existential threat		Existential security						
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	1	2	3	4	5
1. Empathetic collective angst	5.02[a]	1.21	4.43[b]	1.31	—				
2. Collective guilt	4.43[a]	1.85	4.56[a]	1.76	.39*	—			
3. Support for legal action to stop pipeline	5.45[a]	1.51	5.52[a]	1.49	.47*	.47*	—		
4. Support for Native American compensation	4.79[a]	1.48	4.85[a]	1.45	.56*	.57*	.67*	—	
5. Support for self-determination	5.34[a]	1.20	5.26[a]	1.31	.42*	.42*	.52*	.62*	—

Note. Means in a row with differing superscripts denote significant group differences at $p < .001$.
* $p < .001$.

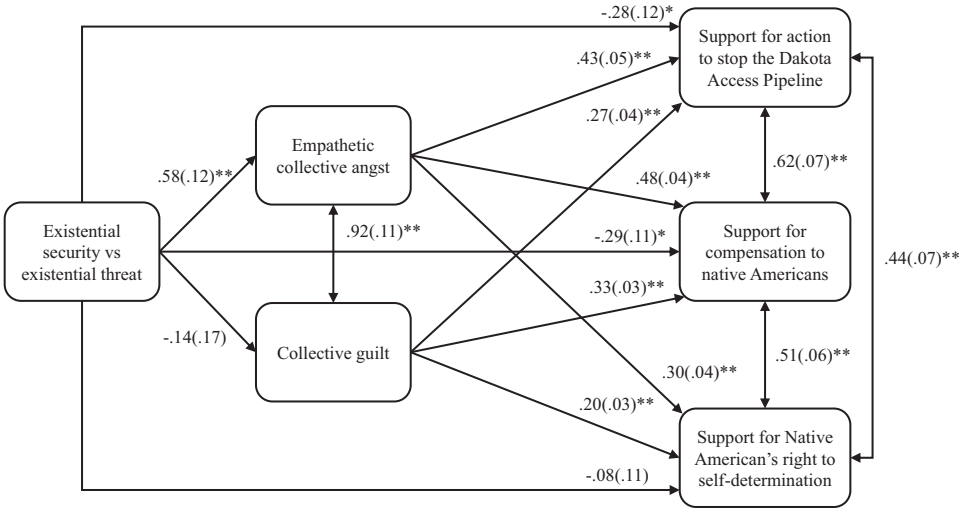

Figure 5. Results from the parallel mediator model with multiple outcomes in Study 5. Manipulated perceived existential threat versus security is the independent variable, empathetic collective angst and collective guilt are the parallel mediator variables, and support for action to stop the Dakota Access Pipeline, support for compensation to Native Americans, and support for Native American' right to self-determination are the dependent variables. All parameter estimates are unstandardized with *SE*s in parentheses. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

stop the Dakota Access Pipeline, $B = .25$, 95% CI [.14, .39]; support for compensation to Native Americans, $B = .28$, 95% CI [.17, .42]; and support for Native Americans' right to self-determination, $B = .18$, 95% CI [.10, .29]. By contrast, all indirect effects via collective guilt were not statistically significant: support for action to stop the Dakota Access Pipeline, $B = -.03$, 95% CI [−.13, .06]; support for compensation to Native Americans, $B = -.04$, 95% CI [−.15, .07]; and support for Native Americans' right to self-determination, $B = -.03$, 95% CI [−.10, .04].

Discussion

Study 5 was a high-power, internal replication that accounted for method variance present in the previous studies. Consistent with the previous four studies, when perpetrator group members perceived a victimized group to be under existential threat, compared to when they perceive them to be high in vitality, they were more willing to support the empowerment of a victimized group. Importantly, the power provided by Study 5 allowed us to sufficiently test the model specified in Figure 5. Specifically, empathetic collective angst and collective guilt were treated as parallel mediators, and all outcome variables were included simultaneously, with covariance allowed between the dependent variables. This model supports our view that empathetic collective angst, not collective guilt, is the key mediating variable at play.

Synthesis of Indirect Effects Across Studies 1–5

The goal of Study 5 was to test a more comprehensive model in which a manipulation of perceived existential threat versus existential security was the independent variable, empathetic collective angst and collective guilt were parallel mediators, and support for action to stop the Dakota Access Pipeline, support for compensation to Native Americans, and support for Native Americans' right to self-determination were the three simultaneous dependent variables (see Figure 5). This model provided the most robust test of our theoretical mediation hypothesis involving empathetic collective angst. Next, we sought to estimate the same model in Studies 1–4 (in Study 4 only for the Quebec sample) and then synthesize the indirect effects across all five studies. Because support for the right to self-determination of the victimized group was measured in all 5 studies, the indirect effects synthesized across all five studies were for (a) the effect of perceived existential threat on support for the right to self-determination of the victimized group via empathetic collective angst and (b) the effect of perceived existential threat on support for the right to self-determination of the victimized group via collective guilt. A key advantage of pooling the indirect effects across studies is that it helps address the low statistical power (see Huang et al., 2016) for the estimates in the parallel mediator model with all dependent variables in Studies 1–4 (see OSF for these results).

Method

We used Huang and colleagues' (2016) method of synthesizing the indirect effect based on a random effects model. The inputs for this analysis are unstandardized regression coefficients *a* (independent variable → mediator variable) and *b* (mediator variable → dependent variable) of the mediation pathway and their corresponding *SE*s in each study. The synthesis involves estimating marginal means for the unstandardized mediation path coefficients *a* and *b* across studies and the between-study variance-covariance matrix, based on a bivariate normal distribution. The point estimate and 95% bootstrapped CI for the synthesized indirect effect is based on the product of the averaged *a* and *b* coefficients (each study coefficient is weighted by its inverse variance; i.e., $1/SE^2$).

Results

Table 7 reports the unstandardized *a* and *b* regression coefficients and their corresponding *SE*s from the parallel mediator model in Studies 1–5. The synthesized point estimate for perceived existential threat as a predictor of empathetic collective angst was statistically significant. Likewise, the synthesized point estimate for empathetic collective angst as a predictor of support for the victimized group's right to self-determination was statistically significant. As well, the synthesized point estimate for the indirect effect of perceived existential threat on support for victimized group's right to self-determination via empathetic collective angst was .16. The 95% bootstrapped CI based on 5000 resamples for the synthesized mediated effect did not include zero [.13, .20].

For collective guilt, the synthesized point estimate for perceived existential threat as a predictor of collective guilt was not statistically significant. However, the synthesized point estimate for collective guilt as a predictor of support for the victimized group's right to self-determination was statistically significant. The synthesized point estimate for the indirect effect of perceived existential threat on support for the right of the victimized group to self-determination via collective guilt was −.002. The 95% bootstrapped CI based on 5000 resamples for the synthesized indirect effect included zero [−0.03, .03].

In sum, the results of the mediation syntheses from the parallel mediator model indicate that there was a statistically significant indirect effect of perceived existential threat on support for the right of the victimized group to self-determination via empathetic collective angst, but not via collective guilt.

General Discussion

Collective victimization can have significant and potentially disastrous effects on the health and well-being of group members (Klein-Parker, 1988; Wohl & Van Bavel, 2011; Yehuda, Bierer, Schmeidler, Aferiat, Breslau, & Dolan, 2000) and the vitality of the group as a whole (Wohl et al., 2012). This is partly because victimization is inherently disempowering (see Shnabel & Nadler, 2008). Thus, empowerment is a fundamental need among victimized groups (Kachanoff et al., 2017, in press; Nadler & Saguy, 2004; Shnabel & Nadler, 2008). However, perpetrator groups are often reluctant to empower the victimized group. This reluctance is common for several reasons, chief among them is that doing so is typically perceived as coming at a cost to the ingroup (see Chomsky & Foucault, 2011; Moscovici & Pérez, 2009). For instance, there are often social identity costs to accepting that the ingroup has illegitimately harmed another group (Wohl et al., 2006). Furthermore, forfeiting power to the victimized group places the ingroup at a disadvantage relative to their current position. Herein, we examined whether perpetrator group recognition that the victimized group is experiencing an existential threat is associated with feeling empathetic collective angst, and whether empathetic collective angst predicts a desire to support the victimized group in its efforts to protect its future vitality.

Empirical support for our hypotheses was provided from three different sociopolitical intergroup contexts and five independent samples of perpetrator group members. In Study 1, among non-Aboriginal Canadians (the perpetrator group), perceiving Aboriginal Canadians (the victimized group) as being under existential threat was indirectly associated with support for Aboriginal Canadian self-determination (i.e., empowerment). The critical mediating variable was the extent to which non-Aboriginal Canadians felt empathetic collective angst. A similar indirect effect was also found for support of Aboriginal Canadian politics that discriminate against non-Aboriginal Canadians (i.e., banning them from living in an Aboriginal Canadian community).

In Study 2, we showed that empathetic collective angst is higher when the victimized group is framed as being under existential threat compared with a framing that suggests the future of the victimized group is secure. In Study 3 and 5 (a high power, internal replication), we showed that non-Native Americans who were exposed to information that depicted Native American culture and identity to be under existential threat reported higher empathetic collective angst relative to an existential security condition. Feeling empathetic collective angst, in turn, predicted opposition to the Dakota Access Pipeline—a hotly debated oil project that would lay a pipeline in North Dakota (among other states). Although the project would be an economic boon for the United States and help reduce American reliance on foreign energy (a national security risk), the pipeline also threatens the sacred lands of the residing Native population. Thus, we were able to show that perpetrator group members who feel empathetic collective angst are more willing to empower a group it has victimized, even if it potentially comes at a cost (in this case, economic) to the ingroup.

Study 4 replicated and extended the previous studies in an important way. We showed that the link between empathetic collective angst and empowerment is weaker (or not present) among bystander group members. When Anglophone Canadians—members of a group that are positioned as the sources of existential threat to French Canadians—were exposed to information about an existential threat to French Canadians, they experienced greater empathetic collective angst. In turn, empathetic collect angst predicted willingness to support the empowerment of Québec to help protect the future vitality of the French Canadian culture. In contrast, among American participants (the bystander group), the indirect effect was either significantly weaker (support for a bill to protect the culture of the victimized group) or nonex-

Table 7
Descriptive Statistics and Synthesis of Unstandardized Regression Coefficients for the a and b Paths in the Empathetic Collective Angst and Collective Guilt Mediation Pathways for Studies 1–5 in the Parallel Mediator Model Predicting Support for the Right to Self-Determination

		ECA mediation pathway				CG mediation pathway			
		Path *a*		Path *b*		Path *a*		Path *b*	
Study	*N*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*
Study 1	176	.26	.09	.39	.11	.07	.16	.25	.07
Study 2	83	.63	.20	.23	.17	−.15	.40	.24	.09
Study 3	167	.95	.23	.25	.06	−.04	.31	.20	.05
Study 4 (QC sample)	96	.67	.21	.02	.13	.14	.31	.46	.09
Study 5	472	.58	.12	.30	.04	−.14	.17	.20	.03
Random effects average	—	.58	.12	.28	.04	−.01	.11	.25	.04

Note. ECA = empathetic collective angst; CG = collective guilt; QC = Quebec. The dependent variable is support for the right to self-determination in each study.

istent (support for Québec self-determination). These results speak to what Staub (1996) refers to as the *passivity of bystanders*. The Canadian context of the intergroup conflict—a context that may not be seen as personally relevant to Americans—may have rendered Americans innocent bystanders. The net effect would be ambivalence toward strategies to empower Québec to protect the future of French Canadian culture and language.

Lastly, an empirical synthesis of the results of the current research provided support for our hypothesized mediation model. Specifically, the synthesized mediation effect suggests that empathetic collective angst is a powerful mediator of the relation between recognizing that the ingroup's harmful actions have resulted in the victimized group experiencing existential threat and willingness to support policies that empower the victimized group to protect its future vitality.

Implications

According to the needs-based model of reconciliation (Shnabel & Nadler, 2008; Shnabel & Nadler, 2015), a central aspect of collective victimhood is a threatened sense of power. As such, the victimized group has a need for power reaffirmation (Nadler & Saguy, 2004; Shnabel et al., 2009; SimanTov-Nachlieli & Shnabel, 2014). Collective apology can temporarily restore the victim's sense of power (Shnabel & Nadler, 2008), but does not result in systemic changes that improve intergroup relations or restore the power imbalance that is at the heart of most perpetrator-victim relations (see Wohl et al., 2013). In fact, Barlow and colleagues (2015) showed that collective apologies can be self-serving—they help meet the perpetrator group's need for moral reaffirmation (see Shnabel & Nadler, 2008; Shnabel & Nadler, 2015). Collective apologies are often a way for the perpetrator group to close the proverbial book on the past, which undermines support for action that yields systemic changes that truly empower the victimized group (see Hornsey & Wohl, 2013; Wohl et al., 2011).

Intergroup empathy is often viewed as central to conflict resolution that empowers the victimized group (see Kelman, 1998). As such, research has sought to find new ways to increase intergroup empathy (e.g., teach perspective-taking or provide contexts in which the perpetrator group can come to know the victimized group more deeply; for a review see Hameiri, Bar-Tal, & Halperin, 2014). However, as outlined by Halperin (2016), inducing group-based empathy has proved to be difficult. Our studies suggest that empathetic concern with an existential component can be relatively easy to heighten (see Studies 2–5). In fact, experimentally contrasting existential threat with existential security of the victimized group appears to result in stronger indirect effects than when measured naturally. This suggests that perceiving that the victimized group is under existential threat may not be the default. When induced to perceive that their harmdoing is having existential consequences for the victimized group, empathetic collective angst can be heightened, which predicts greater support for the empowerment of the victimized group (relative to when the victimized group is framed as being existentially secure). It is also possible that the existential security condition muted feelings of empathetic collective angst or that both processes were at play (i.e., the existential threat condition heightened empathetic collective angst, whereas the existential security condition dampened feeling this group-based emotion).

It remains unknown whether empathetic collective angst is elicited only from recognition of existential threat stemming from ongoing consequences of historical harmdoing or whether it would also be elicited via recognition of existential threat stemming from contemporary harmdoing. It could be argued that the target victimized groups experience ongoing consequences of historical harm as well as contemporary unfair treatment by the perpetrator groups. These may simultaneously influence experiences of existential threat. We contend, however, that the key element in all studies was whether perpetrator group members perceived the actions of their group, regardless of when they occur, as illegitimately undermining the future vitality of the victimized group.

The current research also showed the relative importance of empathetic collective angst compared with collective guilt (an emotion that is typically positioned as a primary antecedent of reparative action; see Wohl et al., 2006) when the focus is the harm experienced by the outgroup. A growing body of literature shows that, whereas collective guilt may be strongly related to low-risk reparative action (e.g., collective apology), it is often unrelated to high-risk reparative action (e.g., behaviors that empower the victimized group; see Allpress, Barlow, Brown, & Louis, 2010; Leach, Iyer, & Pedersen, 2006). Additionally, research on group-based empathy has shown that its experience motivates people to offer humanitarian aid or to restrain intergroup aggression (Kaukiainen et al., 1999; Richardson, Hammock, Smith, Gardner, & Signo, 1994), but not necessarily to support political compromises or policies that empower the outgroup (see Rosler, Cohen-Chen, & Halperin, 2017). By contrast, in the current research, empathetic collective angst (i.e., empathy with an existential component) not only predicted support for low-risk reparative action, but also high-risk reparative action. In fact, empathetic collective angst predicted support for reparative action that not only empowered the victimized group to forestall existential threat, it also led to support for policies and actions set out by the victimized group that discriminate against the ingroup (Studies 1, 2, and 4) and could harm their economic prospects (Studies 3 and 5). To our knowledge, the current work is the first to demonstrate such a willingness among perpetrator group members.

Limitations

Some limitations of the current work should be noted. First, we did not assess empathetic collective angst in the context of ongoing, intractable conflicts—a context in which it is notoriously difficult, if not impossible, to induce group-based empathy (Halperin, 2016). In such contexts, group members tend to justify their group's actions by engaging in competitive victimhood (Noor, Shnabel, Halabi, & Nadler, 2012). In so doing, they turn their group from the perpetrator into the victim. The outcome is often a reluctance to feel empathy for the outgroup. Thus, it is possible that current manipulations of empathetic collective angst may not be as strong in the context of intractable conflicts. At the same time, empathetic collective angst is unlikely to be completely absent in such contexts—insofar as it is present, it may still predict willingness to concede outgroup empowerment. However, further research in the context of intractable conflicts is needed to draw clear inferences about the relevant effects of empathetic collective angst.

Second, although we examined a moderator (perpetrator group vs. bystander group) of empathetic collective angst's effect on outcomes of interest, there are other moderators that likely affect whether and how strongly perceived existential threats affect the experience of empathetic collective angst. As shown by Cameron and Payne (2011), some people are motivated to avoid undesirable personal consequences of feeling intense emotions in response to mass suffering. Such people initiate emotion regulation in an attempt to reduce the intensity of their emotional experiences. As a result, these people may be less responsive to the existential threat manipulation used in the current research. Additionally, Hornsey and colleagues (2017) found that conservatives (compared to liberals) are less likely to apologize and less likely to forgive after receiving an apology. They argued that apologies are a rhetorical vehicle for removing power inequities in relationships following transgressions. Conservatives tend to be more reluctant to engage in power restructuring (i.e., empowering the victimized group) due to lower commitment to equality (e.g., high in social dominance orientation). As such, conservatives may sometimes be motivated to minimize or legitimize the existential threat experienced by outgroups, which could undermine empathetic collective angst and its outcomes.

Conclusion

The road to reconciliation has numerous potholes. Although perpetrator groups may come to engage in low-risk routes to reconciliation like apology, such gestures may do more to satisfy the perpetrator group's need for moral rehabilitation than empower the victimized group (Barlow et al., 2015). Higher risk forms of reconciliation—ones that may lead to empowerment of victimized groups and systemic change—have proven to be a rare occurrence (Wohl et al., 2011).

Across five studies (including a high-power replication) and an empirical synthesis of the findings across all studies, we found that one way to motivate perpetrator group members to support empowerment of victimized groups is by highlighting the existential threat experienced by the victimized group. When existential threat stemming from past victimization is perceived, it elicits empathetic collective angst, which increases support for strategies to empower the victimized group. Taken together, these results suggest that one avenue to improve the lot of a victimized group is to heighten perpetrator group members' recognition that harms their group has inflicted have ongoing existential consequences for the victimized group.

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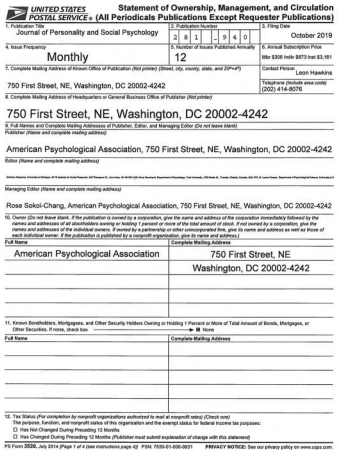

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8. Complete Mailing Address of Headquarters or General Business Office of Publisher (Not printer): 750 First Street, NE, Washington, DC 20002-4242
9. Full Names and Complete Mailing Addresses of Publisher, Editor, and Managing Editor (Do not leave blank)
Publisher (Name and complete mailing address): American Psychological Association, 750 First Street, NE, Washington, DC 20002-4242
Editor (Name and complete mailing address):
Managing Editor (Name and complete mailing address): Rose Sokol-Chang, American Psychological Association, 750 First Street, NE, Washington, DC 20002-4242
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Full Name	Complete Mailing Address
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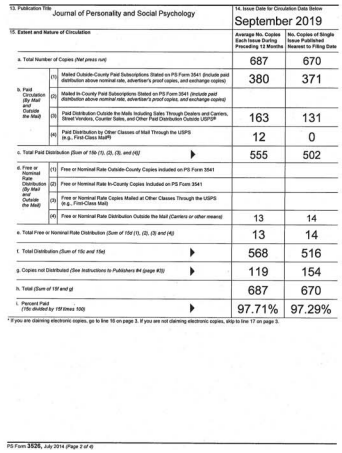

13. Publication Title: Journal of Personality and Social Psychology
14. Issue Date for Circulation Data Below: September 2019

15. Extent and Nature of Circulation			Average No. Copies Each Issue During Preceding 12 Months	No. Copies of Single Issue Published Nearest to Filing Date
a. Total Number of Copies (Net press run)			687	670
b. Paid Circulation (By Mail and Outside the Mail)	(1)	Mailed Outside-County Paid Subscriptions Stated on PS Form 3541 (Include paid distribution above nominal rate, advertiser's proof copies, and exchange copies)	380	371
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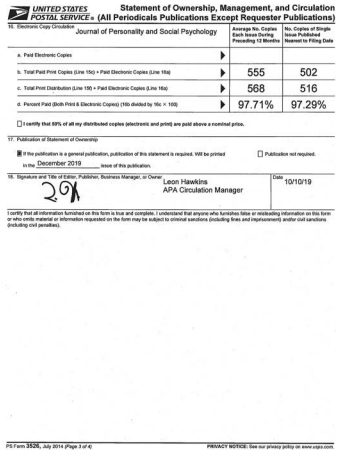

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