

**The Effects of Inclusive Victimhood Narratives on Support for Reconciliation in Canada**

by

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### **Positionality Statement**

I am a racialized, multi-ethnic (primarily Filipino, but also French and German), able-bodied woman trained in Western psychological science. I grew up with Indigenous foster brothers (Anishinaabe and Inuk) and have familial ties to several Indigenous communities within Manitoba; thus, I have witnessed how colonial systems, such as the child welfare system, continue to harm Indigenous peoples. Further, I recognize that my identities and experiences likely influenced how I conceptualized this research and interpret the results. As a settler, I am committed to respectfully walking the path toward reconciliation alongside Indigenous peoples and hope that my research can help us understand how we might encourage other settlers to do the same.

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**Table of Contents**

|                                                                                              |    |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Abstract .....                                                                               | 7  |
| List of Tables .....                                                                         | 8  |
| List of Figures .....                                                                        | 9  |
| The Effects of Inclusive Victimhood Narratives on Support for Reconciliation in Canada ..... | 10 |
| Discrimination Against Indigenous Peoples Within Canada.....                                 | 11 |
| Reconciliation in Canada: An Ongoing Struggle.....                                           | 13 |
| Support for Reconciliation: Political Solidarity, Behavioral Intentions, and Attitudes.....  | 15 |
| Collective Identities and Experiences Shape Outgroup Support .....                           | 16 |
| Collective Victimhood: Predictor of Solidarity or Antipathy? .....                           | 17 |
| Inclusive Victimhood.....                                                                    | 18 |
| Inclusive Victimhood Narratives .....                                                        | 19 |
| Emotional Responses and Solidarity .....                                                     | 20 |
| Love .....                                                                                   | 21 |
| Empathy .....                                                                                | 22 |
| Anger.....                                                                                   | 23 |
| Sadness.....                                                                                 | 24 |
| Sorry.....                                                                                   | 25 |
| Hope.....                                                                                    | 26 |
| Inclusive Victimhood, Emotions, and Solidarity .....                                         | 27 |
| The Current Study .....                                                                      | 28 |
| Hypotheses .....                                                                             | 28 |
| Method .....                                                                                 | 31 |

|                                                              |    |
|--------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Participants.....                                            | 31 |
| Design and Procedure .....                                   | 32 |
| Materials .....                                              | 33 |
| Commitment to Respond Conscientiously.....                   | 33 |
| Instructions to Decrease Socially Desirable Responding ..... | 34 |
| Inclusive Victimhood Manipulation and Measure.....           | 34 |
| Statement of Issue and Group .....                           | 35 |
| Emotional Responses .....                                    | 36 |
| Political Solidarity .....                                   | 37 |
| Behavioral Intentions and Effort.....                        | 37 |
| Attitude Toward Reconciliation.....                          | 38 |
| Collective Victimhood .....                                  | 38 |
| Social Desirability.....                                     | 38 |
| Demographic Questionnaire .....                              | 39 |
| Quality Control and Manipulation Check.....                  | 39 |
| Results.....                                                 | 40 |
| Data Cleaning and Inspection .....                           | 40 |
| Participants.....                                            | 41 |
| Missing Data Handling .....                                  | 42 |
| Assumption Checks .....                                      | 43 |
| Behavioral Intentions Measure Refinement.....                | 44 |
| Number of Factors to Retain.....                             | 44 |
| Model Selection .....                                        | 45 |

|                                                                                 |    |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Item Selection .....                                                            | 46 |
| Main Analyses .....                                                             | 47 |
| Correlations.....                                                               | 47 |
| t-Tests.....                                                                    | 49 |
| Path Analysis .....                                                             | 52 |
| Exploratory Structural Equation Modeling.....                                   | 56 |
| Exploratory Model with Attitudes Outcome.....                                   | 56 |
| Exploratory Model with Inclusive Victimhood Measure and Attitudes Outcome ..... | 61 |
| Discussion .....                                                                | 66 |
| Summary of Findings.....                                                        | 66 |
| Do Inclusive Victimhood Narratives Increase Support for Reconciliation? .....   | 67 |
| Strengths and Limitations .....                                                 | 70 |
| Future Directions .....                                                         | 72 |
| Theoretical and Applied Implications.....                                       | 74 |
| Conclusion .....                                                                | 76 |
| References.....                                                                 | 78 |

### Abstract

Groups seeking justice are often more successful when they have support from other groups. In Canada, where only 5% of people are Indigenous, non-Indigenous support can help make progress toward reconciliation. In this thesis, I investigated whether an inclusive victimhood narrative increased solidarity with Indigenous peoples and support for reconciliation, and whether emotions explained these effects. In an online survey, I manipulated whether non-Indigenous students who were Canadian citizens or permanent residents ( $N = 481$ ) viewed an inclusive victimhood narrative—a brief passage which asked participants to consider whether members of different harmed groups might have similar experiences of discrimination, prejudice, and stereotyping—and rated their perceptions of these similarities. Participants then read a passage describing how residential schools in Canada harmed Indigenous peoples and that many are calling for reconciliation to improve the relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. After, participants reported how they felt when thinking about reconciliation (i.e., love, empathy, anger, sadness, sorry, and hope) and completed measures of solidarity, behavioral intentions, behavioral intentions effort, and their attitude toward reconciliation. The inclusive victimhood narrative caused participants to agree more that reconciliation is needed but had no effect on any other variables; however, further structural equation modeling exploratory analyses within only the inclusive victimhood condition ( $n = 222$ ) indicated that measured inclusive victimhood had an indirect effect on both behavioral intentions and attitudes, through both positive and negative emotions and then solidarity. Thus, inclusive victimhood narratives may be relevant in garnering support for social change.

*Keywords:* inclusive victimhood narrative, political solidarity, emotions, behavioral intentions, attitudes

**List of Tables**

|                                                                                                                           |    |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| <b>Table 1</b> Hypotheses .....                                                                                           | 29 |
| <b>Table 2</b> Participant Demographics (Total and by Condition) .....                                                    | 41 |
| <b>Table 3</b> Descriptive Statistics for Composite Variables.....                                                        | 43 |
| <b>Table 4</b> Exploratory Factor Analysis for Final Behavioral Intentions Items .....                                    | 47 |
| <b>Table 5</b> Correlations Among and Internal Consistency of Composite Measures .....                                    | 48 |
| <b>Table 6</b> <i>t</i> -Tests for Composite Variables by Condition.....                                                  | 51 |
| <b>Table 7</b> Path Analysis (Hypothesized Model).....                                                                    | 53 |
| <b>Table 8</b> Structural Equation Model (Exploratory Model with Attitudes Outcome) .....                                 | 57 |
| <b>Table 9</b> Structural Equation Model (Exploratory Model with Inclusive Victimhood Measure and Attitudes Outcome)..... | 61 |



**List of Figures**

|                                                                                                                                |    |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| <b>Figure 1</b> Hypothesized Path Model.....                                                                                   | 30 |
| <b>Figure 2</b> Path Analysis (Hypothesized Model) .....                                                                       | 55 |
| <b>Figure 3</b> Structural Equation Model (Exploratory Model with Attitudes Outcome).....                                      | 60 |
| <b>Figure 4</b> Structural Equation Model (Exploratory Model with Inclusive Victimhood Measure<br>and Attitudes Outcome) ..... | 65 |

**The Effects of Inclusive Victimhood Narratives on Support for Reconciliation in Canada**

Following the September 11, 2001 attacks on the United States known as 9/11 (National Commission on Terrorist Attacks, 2004), Japanese Americans spoke out in support of Muslim people, who were being ethnically profiled and detained by the state, because they had been similarly profiled and interned at work camps during World War II (Vollhardt, 2015). Decades before, support from other marginalized groups (i.e., Jewish, Latinx, Asian, and Native Americans) helped advance the African American-led Civil Rights Movement (Morris, 1984), which sought to abolish discriminatory laws and ensure equitable access to public goods and services (Vollhardt, 2015). In both instances of intergroup solidarity, outgroup members (i.e., people who did not belong to the group being harmed) supported other groups because they recognized similarities in their experiences of collective harms (van Zomeren et al., 2024). When outgroup members show solidarity, as they did in the above examples, this can help raise awareness of collective harms and urge governments to act.

In Canada, as Indigenous peoples continue to face systemic discrimination, it is difficult to achieve social change without support from outgroup members. Non-Indigenous people (i.e., ~95% of the population; Statistics Canada, 2022) play a critical role in pressuring governments and institutions to address past and ongoing harms against Indigenous peoples. For instance, at the University of Manitoba, non-Indigenous scholars within the Department of Anthropology and institutional decision-makers made an historic apology to Elders, Grandmothers, Grandfathers, and Knowledge Keepers at the university for housing Indigenous ancestor remains and taking belongings without consent (University of Manitoba, n.d.). This apology initiated the process of returning the Ancestors and engaging with descendant communities. This is just one example of how non-Indigenous people can respectfully walk the path toward reconciliation, a

process more likely if people feel solidarity, are motivated to act, and hold positive attitudes toward reconciliation.

How might we increase such feelings, motivations, and attitudes? In this thesis, I investigated whether exposing non-Indigenous participants to an inclusive victimhood narrative—a brief passage which emphasized similarities in experiences of discrimination, prejudice, and stereotyping—could increase solidarity with Indigenous peoples, intentions to act, and positive attitudes toward reconciliation; as well as whether emotional responses explain effects on these outcomes. Though inclusive victimhood beliefs vary, it may be possible to prime these beliefs to foster positive intergroup outcomes (e.g., Adelman et al., 2016). By manipulating whether participants thought about how different groups have similarly experienced harm, I expected to increase support for Indigenous peoples and reconciliation in Canada. In what follows, I more fully explain why this might be an inclusive victimhood manipulation and why it might invoke solidarity as well as describe these concepts more fully. I focus on emotions as potential mediators because, regardless of which come first, feelings and support for an outgroup tend to go together (Fontaine, 2023; Tausch & Becker, 2013; van Kleef & Lelieveld, 2022). To set the stage for this research, I first briefly describe historical and ongoing harms against Indigenous peoples in Canada.

### **Discrimination Against Indigenous Peoples Within Canada**

For centuries, governments and institutions in Canada intentionally discriminated against Indigenous peoples (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996; Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2015). Through colonization, forced relocations, and fraudulent treaty negotiations, governments of Canada sought to separate Indigenous peoples from their cultures, lands, and communities to destroy their sense of identity and forcibly assimilate them into Euro-centric

Canadian society (Carleton, 2022; Healey, 2016; Peters et al., 2018; Sinclair, 2007). The Canadian government sought to get rid of the “Indian problem” and codified their intentions in The Indian Act, a policy implemented in 1876 that still exists today (Joseph, 2018; Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2015).

Through the Indian Act and other policies, governments of Canada forced at least (and likely more than) 150,000 children, some as young as three years old, to attend residential schools<sup>1</sup> (National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation, 2024; Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2015). Along with using harsh discipline to suppress Indigenous languages and cultures, church officials and others who ran the schools abused children physically, sexually, emotionally, and spiritually. Children suffered not only from these abuses but from diseases that proliferated due to lack of medical care, inadequate nutrition, and stress (Heffernan et al., 2022). Though these “schools” began operating during the 1830s, the last one closed its doors in 1996 and many Survivors live today (Truth & Reconciliation Commission, 2015).

The decades-long, Survivor-led fight for justice culminated in the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement, the largest class-action settlement in Canadian history, which mandated the establishment of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2015). To initiate reconciliation, the Commission travelled across the country and bore witness to Survivor testimonies to document the truth about the residential school system. In 2015, the Commission released a multi-volume Final Report containing 94

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<sup>1</sup> Out of respect for Indigenous communities and their preferences, I do not capitalize “residential schools.” Indigenous people tend to capitalize things as a sign of respect and these institutions were not respectful and certainly are not deserving of any honorary treatment.

Calls to Action to address the legacy of residential schools and move toward reconciliation. The breadth of these Calls to Action, which “call” for systemic change within child welfare, education, health, justice, and nearly every major institution, reflects that inaction will continue to have severe consequences for Indigenous peoples, communities, and cultures.

### **Reconciliation in Canada: An Ongoing Struggle**

Though the Calls laid the groundwork for policy change, recent discoveries of unmarked graves at former residential school sites reminded people in Canada that the trauma inflicted upon Indigenous communities is ongoing (Lefebvre, 2024; Office of the Independent Special Interlocutor, 2024). On May 27<sup>th</sup>, 2021, Tk'emlúps te Secwépemc First Nation first announced that they had discovered 215 unmarked burials at the former Kamloops Indian Residential School site (Hristova, 2021; Office of the Independent Special Interlocutor, 2024; Tk'emlúps te Secwépemc, 2021). Since then, ground-penetrating radar technology detected thousands of other unmarked burials at former residential schools, with searches continuing today and garnering widespread news coverage (Alcantara, 2025; Canadian Geographic, n.d; Lefebvre, 2024; Mansukhani, 2025). Possibly because of this publicity, awareness of residential school harm appears to be increasing; in 2022, 90% of non-Indigenous respondents from a national sample had previously read or heard about residential schools, up from 65% in 2021 (Canadian Reconciliation Barometer, 2023). Despite this awareness as well as church and state records documenting over 4,000 deaths at the schools, an increasing number of people in Canada are deeming the recoveries of children's remains a “hoax” and even denying that governments intentionally harmed Indigenous peoples through the residential school system (Gerbrandt & Carleton, 2023; Office of the Independent Special Interlocutor, 2024; Truth & Reconciliation Commission, 2015).

Compounding how denialism delays justice and healing, governments and social systems continue to discriminate against Survivors and their descendants. Indigenous communities have unequal access to reliable water, food, housing, healthcare, education, employment, and many other essential services (Government of Canada, 2024; Joseph, 2018; Palmater, 2020; Taylor, 2022). One striking example of discrimination is within the child welfare system, through which Indigenous children are disproportionately apprehended and placed in non-Indigenous foster homes (Government of Canada, 2023; Sinha et al., 2021). In Manitoba, where I conducted this research, 90% of children in care are Indigenous (Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs, 2024). Canadian governments currently separate more Indigenous children from their families, communities, and cultures than during the residential school era because of intergenerational trauma, prejudicial attitudes toward Indigenous parenting, and the tendency to apprehend children due to poverty (Aziz, 2022; Government of Canada, 2023; Palmater, 2020; Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2015). In addition, these children are more likely to become involved with the criminal justice system and experience mental health challenges and homelessness after turning 18 years old and “aging out” of care (Alberton et al., 2020; Wall-Wieler et al., 2018). Reconciliation will remain out of reach if systemic harm continues against Indigenous children, families, and communities (Barrera, 2017; Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2015).

Non-Indigenous allies can help encourage governments to implement the 94 Calls to Action, an initial step toward establishing and maintaining mutually respectful relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in Canada so that all peoples can “live together in dignity, peace, and prosperity on these lands we now share” (Truth & Reconciliation, 2015).

Over the past decade, only 14 of the 94 Calls to Action to move toward reconciliation have been completed (Indigenous Watchdog, 2025). Of the rest, 44 are in progress, 21 have been stalled, and 15 remain unaddressed. Given this slow rate of change, non-Indigenous people in Canada must help make reconciliation a national priority, as a lack of public support can undermine reconciliation efforts (e.g., McAllister & Biddle, 2024). Whether a person or their family has lived in Canada for generations or recently arrived, all people on these lands share the responsibility for taking action on reconciliation to shape our nation's future and live up to our national identity as protectors of human rights, justice, and equality (Government of Canada, 2025b; Truth & Reconciliation Commission, 2015). Thus, we must understand how we might motivate people to support reconciliation.

### **Support for Reconciliation: Political Solidarity, Behavioral Intentions, and Attitudes**

We can gauge the impact of interventions to increase support, such as the inclusive victimhood narrative one I developed for this thesis, by assessing effects on political solidarity. I chose to study political solidarity because groups seeking justice can sometimes achieve their goals when members of other groups feel this way (Neufeld et al., 2019; Scholz, 2008; Subašić et al., 2008). In Canada, those who feel solidarity with Indigenous peoples identify as allies, feel responsible for reconciliation, and are committed to working with Indigenous peoples to achieve social change (Herkimer et al., 2024; Neufeld et al., 2019). As such, this feeling has practical consequences; for instance, people who score higher (vs. lower) on political solidarity are more likely to express intentions to do both low (e.g., sign a petition) and high effort things (e.g., attend a rally; Efimoff & Starzyk, 2023). Thus, political solidarity predicts behavioral intentions, perhaps because intentions more concretely represent a commitment to social change (i.e., one component of political solidarity; Neufeld et al., 2019).

As such, we can also measure the effects of interventions on support for reconciliation by assessing people's plans to act (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1972; Ajzen et al., 2018). Though they do not reflect actual behaviors, behavioral intentions represent an antecedent, provide a valuable estimate of what actions people might be willing to take and, of course, are much easier to assess (Efimoff & Starzyk, 2023). According to theories of reasoned action and planned behavior, people are more likely to plan to act in support of reconciliation if they judge doing so is important and would be viewed positively by important others (e.g., their friends and family; Ajzen, 2015; Fishbein & Ajzen, 2010). So, though positive attitudes toward reconciliation might coincide with behavioral intentions, the opinions and experiences of similar others matters, too. Certainly, group membership and collective experiences are relevant to support for others, as I explain below.

### **Collective Identities and Experiences Shape Outgroup Support**

According to Tajfel & Turner's (1979) social identity theory, people's identities based on the group(s) they belong to influence how they interact with members of other groups. As such, social identities influence whether people feel and act in solidarity with others (Craig & Richeson, 2016; Fontaine, 2023; van Zomeren et al., 2024). Integrative models of collective action recognize that identity plays a central role in spurring action along with other factors; namely, moral beliefs as well as perceptions of efficacy and injustice (van Zomeren et al., 2018). That is, people who identify with a group or cause are more likely to feel motivated to act, in part because they feel a moral obligation to do so, think their effort will be helpful, and judge what is happening as unjust.



***Collective Victimhood: Predictor of Solidarity or Antipathy?***

If people identify with a group that has been treated unjustly, they may have a sense of collective victimhood (Selvanathan et al., 2023; Starzyk et al., 2019; Vollhardt et al., 2021). Just as types of harm may vary (e.g., physical vs. structural, historical vs. ongoing, etc.), people vary in the extent to which they identify with their group(s) and internalize collective harms. Collective victimhood, then, is the *subjective* psychological experience of group-based harm(s) that produces lasting beliefs, attitudes, emotions, and behavioral tendencies (Bar-Tal et al., 2009; Noor et al., 2017; Schori-Eyal et al., 2017; Vollhardt, 2009). Within victimized groups, a “victim mindset” may be shared amongst ingroup members and transmitted through collective memories, which keep past experiences salient and connect historical harms to the present (Bar-Tal et al., 2009; Jeong & Vollhardt, 2021; Selvanathan et al., 2023; Starzyk & Ross, 2008). Indeed, in discussing the Balkan conflict, Ignatieff (1997) commented that “reporters... often observed that when they were told atrocity stories they were occasionally uncertain whether these stories had occurred yesterday or in 1941, 1841, or 1441... The past continues to torment because it is not just the past.” Thus, victimization does not need to be recent or experienced personally to foster a sense of collective victimhood (Noor et al., 2017; Vollhardt, 2009).

Though some groups are more likely to experience direct or structural harm than others, many people might have some sense of collective victimhood. In general, people within various minoritized groups (e.g., ethnic, religious, sexual, or gender minorities) are more likely to suffer harm and have a sense of collective victimhood (Ball & Branscombe, 2019; Starzyk et al., 2019). For example, 2SLGBTQIA+ youth are more likely to experience homelessness compared to other youth (Abramovich & Shelton, 2017). Members of historically dominant groups, however, may also have feelings of victimhood if they are advantaged by one social identity but

disadvantaged by another (e.g., a White nonbinary person; Starzyk et al., 2019). Alternatively, such people may have a sense of victimhood if they perceive a loss of status and power amongst their group(s) over time, as has been observed within White supremacists in recent years (Mutz, 2018; Wohl et al., 2020).

Regardless of what invokes them, feelings of collective victimhood can foster negative intergroup consequences (Craig & Richeson, 2014; Vollhardt et al., 2021). If people think their group has suffered uniquely or more than others, they may adopt an exclusive victim consciousness and psychologically distance themselves from other victims (Gay, 2006; Noor et al., 2017; Vollhardt et al., 2021). This distancing is a subconscious, defensive response to real or perceived threats to collective well-being that invokes competitive victimhood tendencies (Ball & Branscombe, 2019; Jetten et al., 2004; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). For instance, people may derogate adversarial or unrelated victim groups, in part because of real or perceived competition for resources (Demanarig et al., 2024; Schori-Eyal et al., 2017; Sherif, 1956; Vollhardt et al., 2021). Indeed, focusing solely on the group's own suffering can fuel and/or violent cycles of conflict (Bar-Tal et al., 2009; Shnabel et al., 2013). Yet, collective victimhood can sometimes promote positive intergroup relations when people focus on similarities in experiences.

### ***Inclusive Victimhood***

If people perceive other groups' suffering as similar to (rather than different from) their own, they are more likely to have a sense of inclusive victimhood (Noor et al., 2017; Shnabel et al., 2018; Starzyk et al., 2019; Vollhardt et al., 2021). People who focus on similarities to other victim groups tend to express more political solidarity and are more likely to support collective action, such as reparations for a major intergroup harm (Burson & Godfrey, 2020; Fontaine, 2023; Glasford & Calcagno, 2012; Starzyk et al., 2021). Though earlier work focused on

solidarity amongst similarly victimized groups (e.g., racial/ethnic<sup>2</sup> minorities; Craig & Richeson, 2012), research within the last decade suggests that inclusive victimhood may generalize to differently victimized groups. For example, Vollhardt and colleagues (2016) found that general inclusive victimhood (i.e., thinking about similarities between suffering of the ingroup and other groups worldwide) predicted support for refugees amongst members of historically harmed groups in India as well as refugees and other immigrants amongst Vietnamese Americans (mostly second-generation immigrants). Thus, priming shared experiences of harm may foster a sense of inclusive victimhood.

### ***Inclusive Victimhood Narratives***

Because social identities are dynamic across situations, inclusive victimhood narratives (i.e., narratives that draw attention to shared experiences of harm) may promote a sense of inclusive victimhood, decrease hostility toward, and promote support for other victim groups (Adelman et al., 2016; Burson & Godfrey, 2020; Cortland et al., 2017; Shnabel et al., 2013). Though correlational studies often measure inclusive victimhood as an individual difference (i.e., a relatively stable psychological tendency; Shnabel et al., 2018; Starzyk et al., 2021), some experimental studies suggest we might induce inclusive victimhood using inclusive victimhood narrative interventions (Adelman et al., 2016; Amenabar-Larrañaga et al., 2023). For instance, Adelman et al. (2016) focused on relationships between groups with a history of conflict and had participants read either inclusive or competitive victim narratives about their own groups. Those who read the inclusive (vs. competitive) victimhood narratives reported less competitive victim

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<sup>2</sup> I use the term “racial/ethnic minorities” to encompass the terms used in North America. That is, “ethnicity” in Canada and “race” in the United States.

beliefs and decreased support for aggressive, anti-outgroup policies, even if they disagreed with or disliked the inclusive narrative. Thus, it is possible that inclusive victimhood narratives may not only decrease hostility toward but promote support for another victim group.

Though not all researchers use the term “inclusive victimhood narratives,” other studies suggest that highlighting common struggles or consequences of discrimination (e.g., being treated unfairly) can reduce bias and increase support for another group experiencing discrimination (Cook et al., 2015; Cortland et al., 2017). For instance, Cortland and colleagues (2017) either explicitly or subtly drew attention to shared experiences of collective harm. They found that Black and Asian Americans reported more support for same-sex marriages and positive attitudes toward gay men and lesbians, whether reminders of shared experiences were explicit or subtle. Because people belong to many social groups and hold intersecting identities, most people are likely disadvantaged by at least one social identity dimension, whether they perceive to be so or not (Pham et al., 2023; Stinson et al., 2021). Thus, reminding participants that people experience discrimination, stereotyping, and prejudice based on a range of social identities may prime a sense of inclusive victimhood as well as invoke a range of emotions.

### **Emotional Responses and Solidarity**

Just as the way people think affects whether they support others, the way people feel influences prosocial behavior because emotions help people navigate the social world (Birtel & Crisp, 2015; Fontaine, 2023; van Kleef & Lelieveld, 2022; Scherer et al., 2001). According to intergroup emotions theory, the way people feel toward their own group(s) and others influences solidarity; however, different emotions do so in distinct ways because they arise from specific appraisals of a situation and motivate different actions (Ekman & Cordaro, 2011; Mackie & Smith, 2002; Polman & Kim, 2013; van Zomeren, 2021). For instance, empathy (i.e., a

compassionate emotional response to others in need) motivates people to support others that are suffering (Batson, 2023; Fontaine, 2023; Efimoff & Starzyk, 2023). In contrast, negative emotions like anger prepare people to act urgently to stop the aversive experience and/or escape an undesirable situation (Frijda, 1986; Lazarus, 1991; Lench et al., 2024). Perhaps unsurprisingly, then, most research in social psychology and political science has focused on the role of negative emotions such as anger, sadness, and guilt or “sorry” in predicting support for social change (Batson et al., 2007; Fontaine, 2023; Gray et al., 2011; Leach et al., 2006; Sabucedo & Vilas, 2014).

Despite an initial focus on negative emotions, recent social psychological research suggests that positive emotions may promote solidarity, too (Landmann & Rohmann, 2020; Mosley et al., 2020; Páez et al., 2015; Sabucedo & Vilas, 2014). While the opposite effect is possible—in which positive emotions dissuade action and encourage people to accept the status quo—feelings like love and hope tend to predict solidarity to a similar extent as negative ones (e.g., Fontaine, 2023). Though they may not provoke immediate action, such feelings may motivate people to support a cause to maintain good relationships and collective well-being (Fredrickson & Joiner, 2018; van Zomeren, 2021; Yih et al., 2020). For example, in Canada, feeling hope for a more just future might motivate non-Indigenous people to engage with Indigenous communities and advocate for governments to change inequitable policies. Further, fighting injustice can be difficult and invoke negative emotions; thus, feelings of love and hope may help people sustain their commitment to social movements (Fontaine, 2023). Because a range of emotions may be relevant to solidarity, I next review six intergroup emotions (i.e., love, empathy, anger, sadness, sorry, and hope) that might lead someone to support others.

### *Love*

Love is a positive emotion that involves feeling concerned, tender, and caring toward others (Sprecher & Fehr, 2005; van Zomeren, 2021). When people feel love, they are motivated to help and protect people they care about (Fredrickson & Joiner, 2018; van Zomeren, 2021). To my knowledge, few published studies connect love to solidarity (see Fontaine, 2023, for an exception), but expressing in-group love is common in real-world social movements. For instance, the Southern Chiefs' Organization (2023) printed the message "You are sacred and loved" on billboards to spread awareness about missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people. It may be possible, then, for inclusive victimhood narratives to motivate outgroup members to support social justice efforts if they identify with the harmed group's experiences and care about their well-being (Dovidio et al., 2000; Shnabel et al., 2018). If people feel love toward others, they may also feel sympathetic if those others are suffering.

### ***Empathy***

Feeling empathy involves understanding the experience of, caring about, and feeling for another person, animal, or element of the natural world (Tam, 2013; Young et al., 2018). Empathy is an other-oriented emotion that may involve cognitive perspective-taking—adopting another's point of view by imagining how they are thinking or feeling—as well as empathic concern—a sympathetic, compassionate emotional response to another's suffering (Batson, 2023). This affective component strongly predicts solidarity, sometimes more so than other emotions (Amenabar-Larrañaga et al., 2023; Feldman et al., 2020; Fontaine, 2023, Rosler et al., 2017; Starzyk et al., 2021). Further, Batson's decades of work suggest that while perspective-taking can reduce prejudice, affective empathy more often leads to emotional involvement and motivates altruistic behavior (Batson, 2023).

As such, I focused on affective empathy as a possible predictor of support for reconciliation. People may feel empathy for Indigenous peoples without perceiving similarities in collective experiences but drawing attention to such similarities can increase empathy for and solidarity with other groups (Batson, 2023; Cook et al., 2015; Hodges et al., 2010; Starzyk et al., 2021; Vollhardt, 2009). Further, empathy is an especially important motivator when a movement is farther from its goals, as is the case for reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people in Canada (Hartwich et al., 2022, Indigenous Watchdog, 2025). Because people can simultaneously experience a range of emotions, non-Indigenous people might feel not only empathetic but also angry when thinking about discrimination against Indigenous people or other groups.

### *Anger*

In social psychological research, anger commonly predicts whether people acknowledge systemic discrimination and engage in collective action (Fontaine, 2023; Leach et al., 2006; Murray & Koopmann-Holm, 2024; Sabucedo & Vilas, 2014; van Zomeren et al., 2018). Anger can motivate people to change or escape undesirable situations (Leach et al., 2006; Roseman et al., 1994). At a personal level, people may feel angry if someone harms them or someone they care about (e.g., Ekman & Cordaro, 2011). At the group level, people may feel angry on behalf of another group being treated unfairly (Pennekamp et al., 2007; Vollhardt, 2009; Wlodarczyk, 2017). Though some call this feeling “moral outrage,” intergroup anger seems to occur in response to unfair treatment rather than violated moral standards (Batson et al., 2007).

Regardless of why people feel anger, this negative emotion often predicts whether people will act to oppose injustice and advocate for social change (Leach et al., 2006; Pennekamp et al., 2007; Sabucedo & Vilas, 2014; Wlodarczyk et al., 2017). If exposed to inclusive victimhood

narratives, people may feel angry on behalf of other victim groups because they relate to their experiences or recognize their group's relative advantage (Demanarig et al., 2024; Leach et al., 2006; Shnabel et al., 2018). In some cases, however, anger fails to predict solidarity or support for collective action when other emotions are taken into consideration (Fontaine, 2023; Greenaway et al., 2016). This may occur because multiple emotional mediators explain overlapping portions of variance in solidarity or support (i.e., compete for shared variance), which can make effects of individual emotions become non-significant, even if the emotion predicted the outcome independently, because other emotions more strongly influence the outcome (O'Rourke & MacKinnon, 2018). To clarify whether anger predicts support, and because I conceptualize solidarity as an antecedent of behavioral intentions, I chose to test whether anger predicts solidarity and, indirectly, behavioral intentions. Indeed, anger may intuitively seem like an emotion that would motivate collective action, although it is worth considering the role of other, less commonly considered negative emotions such as sadness.

### ***Sadness***

Sadness—a feeling of meaningful loss—may also predict solidarity with others (Frijda, 1986; Gray et al., 2011). On the one hand, sadness is associated with feelings of disempowerment, hopelessness, and apathy, which typically dissuade action and thereby maintain the status quo (Gur et al., 2021; Keltner et al., 1993). Yet, sadness is a reflective emotion that can prompt people to improve their own situation or help others (Gray et al., 2011; Roseman et al., 1994). For instance, sadness makes people more likely to donate money and support public welfare assistance to others in need (Cialdini & Kenrick, 1976; Polman & Kim, 2013; Small & Lerner, 2008). Despite a lack of more recent empirical evidence, people commonly express sadness in response to real-world injustices. Within the last five years,



sadness has moved communities in Canada to support one another and commemorate lives lost, hanging red dresses at vigils for missing and murdered Indigenous women, girls, and Two-Spirit people and lining up children's shoes to honor the children who never came home from residential schools (Deer, 2022; Hristova, 2021). As demonstrated at these vigils, sadness can occur when people think about others being harmed, even if they do not know them personally (Linehan, 2015).

As such, an inclusive victimhood narrative manipulation may increase feelings of sadness in response to others suffering and promote support for positive change. In one American sample, people who felt sad about relations between Native and non-Native Americans showed more support for social change, although authors argue that this increase may in part reflect feelings of guilt about being unfairly advantaged (Greenaway et al., 2016; Leach et al., 2006). Related to but distinct from sadness, disappointment is a psychological reaction to an undesired outcome that involves feelings of sadness, frustration, anger, and loss (Frijda, 1986; Solak et al., 2017). In the Palestinian-Israeli context, Jewish Israeli's reported more collective guilt and willingness to act on behalf of Palestinians after receiving information about Palestinian disappointment following the 2014 Gaza war (but only if they perceived the intergroup situation as illegitimate; Solak et al., 2017). Studies on collective guilt abound yet measures of guilt may instead be capturing feelings of "sorry" (Adra et al., 2020; Branscombe et al., 2004; Herkimer et al., 2024; Kazarovytska & Imhoff, 2022; Solak et al., 2017).

### ***Sorry***

Feeling "sorry"—that is, feeling badly but not necessarily responsible—for another group that has experienced collective harm may also promote solidarity (Fontaine, 2023). Although some view feelings of "sorry" as a component of empathy (e.g., Carrera et al., 2013), "sorry"

appears to be a distinct emotional construct (Fontaine, 2023). Like other negative emotions, feeling sorry can motivate people to act in ways that might relieve this undesirable state (Lazarus, 1991). On a personal level, we often say “I am sorry” in response to someone else’s misfortune. At the collective level, groups or nations may apologize to acknowledge historic, group-based harms. For instance, Australia has a “Sorry Day” to acknowledge and remember the Stolen Generations (i.e., Indigenous peoples removed from their families and communities; Reconciliation Australia, 2020). In Canada, Stephen Harper apologized to Indigenous peoples on behalf of the Canadian government for creating and facilitating residential schools (Barrera, 2015). People may be especially likely to feel sorry in response to learning about discrimination against Indigenous peoples in Canada if they identify with groups that have experienced collective harms or think about similarities in harms across groups (Shnabel et al., 2018; Vollhardt, 2015). Indeed, feeling sorry typically involves reflecting on the past; however, envisioning a desired future can also predict support for outgroups facing injustice.

### *Hope*

Finally, hope is a positive emotion that can motivate people to support others’ efforts to make social change (Fontaine, 2023; Fredrickson, 2013; Lazarus, 1991; van Zomeren, 2021). People who feel hopeful report more support for actions benefiting an outgroup and peaceful conflict resolution strategies, perhaps because hope promotes cognitive flexibility and problem-solving (Cohen-Chen et al., 2017; Cohen-Chen & van Zomeren, 2018; Greenaway et al., 2016; Lazarus, 1999; Rosler et al., 2017). Even if people believe that their efforts will help the group seeking change to achieve their goals, they may need to feel hopeful to transform these beliefs into action (Cohen-Chen & van Zomeren, 2018; Hasan-Aslih et al., 2020; Ojala, 2017; Thomas et al., 2022).

Of further benefit, feeling hope may also help people cope with the negative emotions they may feel when confronting injustice and sustain their efforts in social movements (Fontaine, 2023). If people connect their experiences of collective victimization to broader patterns of harm experienced by a range of social groups, they may feel hopeful that working alongside other victim groups can help to achieve social change (Selvanathan et al., 2023; Vollhardt et al., 2021). Hence, political leaders often use messages of hope to mobilize voters. For instance, in 2008, Obama became the first Black President of the United States after running a campaign based on hope for change (Greenaway et al., 2016). By associating hope with being “American,” Obama successfully appealed to voters based not only on emotion but a shared identity, demonstrating that both affective states and social identities motivate collective action.

### **Inclusive Victimhood, Emotions, and Solidarity**

In summary, the ways people make sense of collective victimization influence whether they feel solidarity with others. When people think about similarities in experiences of collective harm across groups, they may feel a range of both positive and negative emotions, each of which relate to solidarity. By investigating whether an inclusive victimhood narrative intervention can promote solidarity, behavioral intentions, as well as positive attitudes toward reconciliation, and whether emotional responses help to explain why, we may better understand how to increase prosocial feelings toward and behaviors in support of Indigenous peoples, within Canada and around the world, as well as outgroups more broadly. Thus, the research I describe below has practical implications for policy, advocacy, and collective action that are crucial for working toward a more just, equitable future.

## **The Current Study**

This study investigated whether (1) inclusive victimhood narratives could increase political solidarity with Indigenous peoples, intentions to act, and attitudes toward reconciliation, and (2) emotional responses to injustice (i.e., love, empathy, anger, sadness, sorry, and hope) mediate the effects on solidarity and behavioral intentions. Using the same measures of emotions (i.e., love, empathy, anger, sadness, sorry, and hope) and political solidarity, I sought to conceptually replicate Fontaine's (2023) results demonstrating that inclusive victimhood and emotions predict solidarity but also extend this work in some key ways. First, whereas Fontaine (2023) only measured inclusive victim beliefs, I manipulated inclusive victimhood via an inclusive victimhood narrative intervention. Second, I explored whether effects on solidarity may extend to behavioral intentions. Third, I explored whether emotions might help to explain why an inclusive victimhood narrative may increase support for an outgroup and their cause. Emotions are strong, motivational antecedents of solidarity, yet inclusive victimhood predicts solidarity to a smaller extent. Many studies have explored the relationships between these variables, yet few have assessed whether inclusive victimhood may predict solidarity indirectly through emotions (Bar-Tal et al, 2009; Pennekamp et al., 2007; Vollhardt, 2009; see Amenabar-Larrañaga et al., 2023 for an exception). Before conducting the proposed research, I preregistered my study with the Open Science Framework ([osf.io/hd34c](https://osf.io/hd34c)) and obtained approval from the University of Manitoba's Fort Garry Research Ethics Board 1 (REB1).

## **Hypotheses**

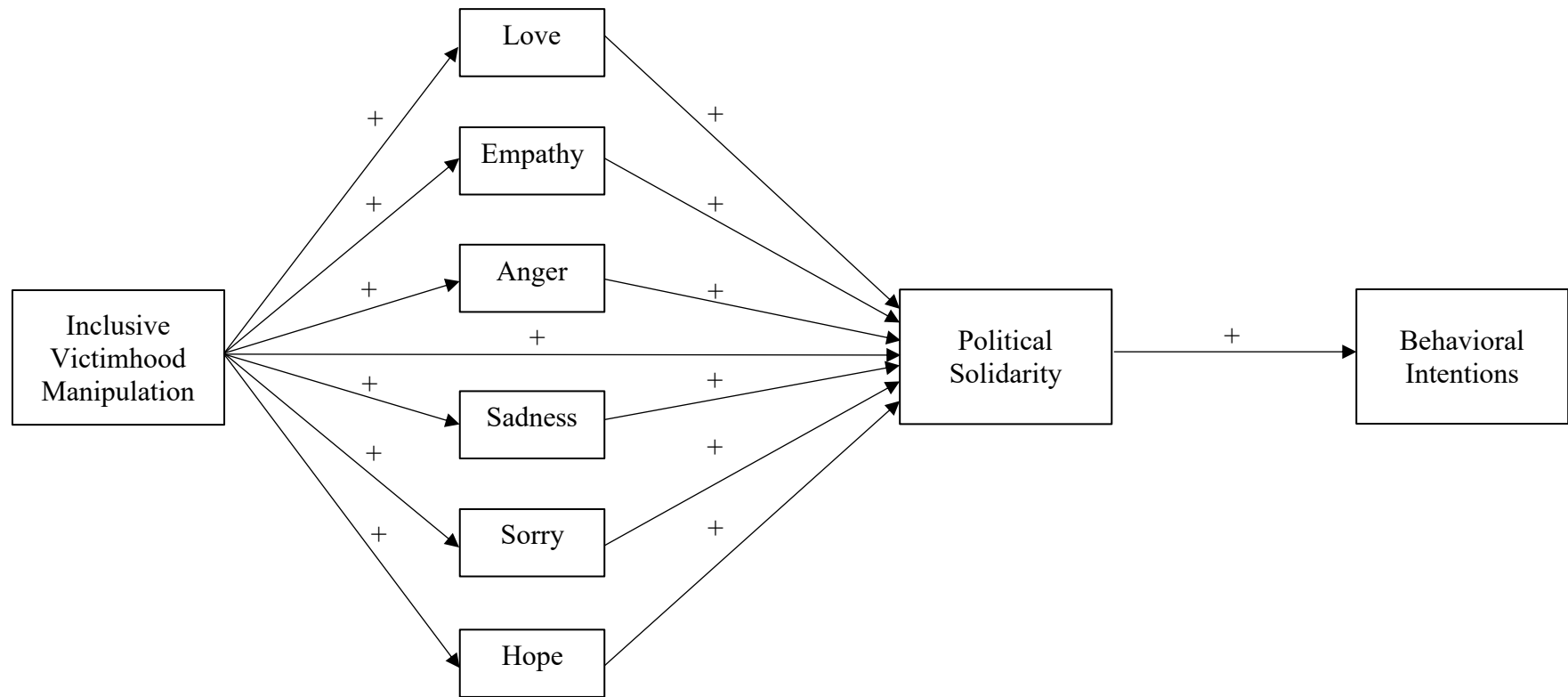
See Table 1 for a summary of my hypotheses and Figure 1 for my hypothesized path model. I did not include attitudes toward reconciliation in the model because it is a one-item measure and its placement came after behavioral intentions; however, I conceptualize attitudes as

an outcome of solidarity and measured them to assess whether participants thought that reconciliation is important. I expected that my dependent variables would correlate, and my inclusive victimhood manipulation would increase emotions, solidarity, behavioral intentions, and attitudes toward reconciliation. Additionally, I expected simultaneous indirect effects of the manipulation on political solidarity and behavioral intentions through each emotion.

**Table 1**

*Hypotheses*

| #                         | Hypothesis                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
|---------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>For correlations:</b>  |                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| 1                         | All dependent variables will positively correlate (h1).                                                                                                                                                    |
| <b>For t-tests:</b>       |                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| 2                         | Compared to Control participants, Inclusive Victimhood participants will report higher emotions (h2a), political solidarity (h2b), intentions to act (h2c), and positive attitudes toward the issue (h2d). |
| <b>For path analyses:</b> |                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| 3                         | The Inclusive Victimhood manipulation will positively predict all emotions (h3a–f).                                                                                                                        |
| 4                         | All emotions will positively predict political solidarity (h4a–f).                                                                                                                                         |
| 5                         | Political solidarity will positively predict behavioral intentions (h5).                                                                                                                                   |
| 6                         | The direct effects of the manipulation on political solidarity will be positive (h6). I am unsure whether this effect will be significant, with the many emotion mediators in the model as well.           |
| 7                         | The indirect effects of the manipulation on political solidarity (h7a–f) and behavioral intentions (h7g–k) through each of the emotions will be positive and significant.                                  |

**Figure 1***Hypothesized Path Model*

*Note.* The manipulation was coded as 0 = control, 1 = inclusive victimhood narrative.

## Method

### Participants

Participants signed up for the study in SONA, the University of Manitoba's introductory psychology research participation system, and received partial course credit in exchange. To be eligible, participants had to be non-Indigenous, 18 years of age or older, and living in Canada as a citizen or permanent resident. I recruited only non-Indigenous participants to study responses to an outgroup issue and those 18 or older because this is the legal age of consent in Canada. I recruited only citizens and permanent residents because people who have not lived in Canada for very long may not be familiar with the Canadian context and have more unstable attitudes and feelings toward Indigenous peoples and reconciliation. I aimed to recruit equal proportions of White and Racialized participants as well as proportions of men and women equivalent to the participant pool (approximately 20% men, 80% women) to increase generalizability of my results. I began by posting identical recruitment advertisements for these four demographic groups; however, I released these requirements when recruitment became too difficult within my time constraints. After ending recruitment, I began data screening and excluded participants for multiple reasons (see results section for further details). My final sample included 481 participants, which was less than my initial target of 600. Based on a post hoc G\*Power analysis to detect a small effect size ( $d = .25$ ) for a two-tailed  $t$ -test, my observed power was .78 because my effect size was smaller than expected. Although this is slightly below the recommended .80, my sample size was acceptable for path analyses as Kline (2015) recommends at least 10 times the number of parameters that require statistical estimates in the model; ideally, 20 times this number. With 14 parameters in my hypothesized model, my sample size is well over the recommended ratio of cases ( $N$ ) to model parameters ( $q$ ) of 20:1.

## **Design and Procedure**

This study used a one-factor (Inclusive Victimhood), between-subjects design with two levels (0 = Control, 1 = Inclusive Victimhood). Participants were randomly assigned to either the Control or Inclusive Victimhood condition and completed an online survey titled “Feelings About Social Groups” via Qualtrics. First, participants viewed an information and consent form. Those who consented answered questions about responding conscientiously and read instructions to decrease socially desirable responding. Participants then viewed instructions to carefully read the issue description presented on the next page. Those in both conditions read a brief historical description about the issue, hence the control is not empty. I included this description for two reasons: to raise awareness of discrimination against Indigenous peoples through critical historical education and ensure participants completed the survey with the same basic understanding of the issue. Though participants may have responded more positively because brief educational interventions increase solidarity (Efimoff & Starzyk, 2023; Neufeld et al, 2022), I believed it was important for participants to have this basic understanding to reduce measurement error and ensure I could interpret responses validly.

Next, participants assigned to the Inclusive Victimhood condition reported their agreement with statements highlighting similarities between experiences of harm (i.e., discrimination, stereotyping, and prejudice). I had participants answer these questions as part of the manipulation to increase the likelihood that they would reflect on these statements. Then, on separate pages, participants completed measures of love, empathy, anger, sadness, sorry, and hope; and reported their feelings of political solidarity with Indigenous peoples, intentions to act, as well as perceptions of how effortful acting would be. I measured perceived effort to establish convergent validity of my behavioral intentions measure.



For the final dependent measure, participants reported their attitudes toward reconciliation on a single item. Participants then completed individual difference measures of collective victimhood and social desirability. Though these measures are absent from my hypothesized model, I wanted to explore whether the manipulation affected how participants perceived their own experiences of collective victimization and whether social desirability bias might be impacting responses. Finally, participants completed a brief demographic questionnaire, a manipulation check, and some quality control questions. After completing the study, participants viewed a debriefing form that included a list of resources that might help them to support reconciliation, if they wished to.

### **Materials**

For each measure below, unless stated otherwise, participants rated their agreement or disagreement with items on a 5-point scale using the following anchors: *strongly disagree* (1), *disagree* (2), *neither agree nor disagree* (3), *agree* (4), and *strongly agree* (5). Participants saw the anchors but not the numbered scale points. For multi-item measures, I randomized all items. I created a total score by taking the average of all items within each scale. Thus, most scores ranged from 1 to 5.

### ***Commitment to Respond Conscientiously***

Participants answered three questions to increase the likelihood that they will respond conscientiously. Participants answered “No” (coded 0) or “Yes” (coded 1) to these questions: (1) “It is important to us that participants in our survey pay close attention to the materials. Are you willing to carefully read the materials and answer all the questions to the best of your ability?” (2) “It is also important to us that you do NOT leave the study to do other things. Are you able to focus on the study now?” and (3) “Would you like to come back to finish this study at another

time?” (Clifford & Jerit, 2015, 2016). If participants responded “No” to the third item, they continued to the rest of the survey after reading the following instructions: “Please try to focus on the study as you complete it. Complete it in one sitting and do not leave to do other things.” If participants responded “Yes” to the third item, they were redirected back to Sona.

### *Instructions to Decrease Socially Desirable Responding*

Participants read the following instructions to decrease socially desirable responding:

Thank you so much for agreeing to participate in this study! This research takes a lot of time and is part of my master’s thesis. Before you start the survey, we just want to say one important thing: **There are no right or wrong answers to the questions you’ll see.** So, please respond honestly. If some questions make you feel uncomfortable, keep in mind that people have good and bad things to say about many things. **Remember that we will keep your responses confidential.**

### *Inclusive Victimhood Manipulation and Measure*

Participants assigned to the Inclusive Victimhood condition read the following:

Do members of different groups who have experienced harm have similar experiences?

Members of such groups might experience:

- **Discrimination:** be treated unfairly because of the group(s) they belong to;
- **Prejudice:** be thought of badly because of the group(s) they belong to; and
- **Stereotyping:** be seen not for who they are, but for what people assume a typical member of their group is like.

Thinking about these definitions and using the rating scale below, please indicate your agreement or disagreement with each of the statements. Members of different harmed groups **all experience...**

Participants rated their agreement with three statements completing the last sentence—that is, members of different harmed groups all experience (1) discrimination, (2) prejudice, and (3) stereotyping.

### *Statement of Issue and Group*

All participants read the following brief statement of the issue and reference group:

For the next few pages, you will answer questions about another group and an issue the group cares about—their “cause.” It is ok if you do not agree with the group or the issue/cause. The group you will answer questions about is **Indigenous peoples**.

The issue/cause you will reflect on is **reconciliation**.

Participants read a more detailed issue description adapted from Neufeld et al. (2019) with the heading “Indigenous peoples: Reconciliation” that read:

From 1828 to 1996, governments of Canada and partnering religious institutions removed Indigenous children, some as young as four years old, from their families and communities to attend “residential schools.” The experience of attending the schools was typically traumatic, because the adults in charge often physically, emotionally, and/or sexually abused the children, many of whom only saw their families yearly. From the 1960s onward, as residential schools slowly began to close, government agencies removed Indigenous children from their families and placed them in non-Indigenous homes. Even today, government agencies remove Indigenous children from their communities and place them within non-Indigenous foster families as a “first resort,” causing more trauma and breaking up Indigenous families. In summary, both past and current government policies have affected the relationship between Indigenous peoples and other people in Canada. Many Indigenous people in Canada are calling for

reconciliation to revitalize the relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples.

For the measures that follow, I reminded participants of the reference group (Indigenous peoples) and issue (reconciliation) to think about at the top of each page

### ***Emotional Responses***

Participants read these instructions: “Using the scale below, please indicate how much you are feeling each of the following right now when you think about reconciliation.” Except for empathy, I measured all emotions using Fontaine’s (2023) 3-item scales. The published measures had good to excellent internal consistency, as described below, and loaded onto the same underlying factor. Participants rated the extent to which they felt each emotion on a 5-point scale with the anchors *not at all* (1), *slightly* (2), *somewhat* (3), *very much* (4), and *extremely* (5).

**Love.** Participants reported how much they felt “love,” “connected,” and “attached” (Study 1:  $\alpha = .85$ , Study 2:  $\alpha = .75$ ; Study 3:  $\alpha = .87$ ; Fontaine, 2023).

**Empathy.** Participants reported how much they felt “sympathetic,” “softhearted,” “warm,” “compassionate,” “tender,” and “moved” ( $\alpha = .85$ ; Batson et al., 1997).

**Anger.** Participants reported how much they felt “angry,” “outraged,” and “mad” (Study 1:  $\alpha = .95$ ; Study 2:  $\alpha = .95$ ; Study 3:  $\alpha = .94$ ; Fontaine, 2023).

**Sadness.** Participants reported how much they felt “sad,” “down,” and “low” (Study 1:  $\alpha = .90$ ; Study 2:  $\alpha = .86$ ; Study 3:  $\alpha = .88$ ; Fontaine, 2023).

**Sorry.** Participants reported how much they felt “remorse,” “sorry,” and “badly” (Study 1:  $\alpha = .82$ ; Study 2:  $\alpha = .80$ ; Study 3:  $\alpha = .87$ ; Fontaine, 2023).

**Hope.** Finally, participants reported how much they felt “hopeful,” “inspired,” and “optimistic” (Study 1:  $\alpha = .84$ ; Study 2:  $\alpha = .78$ ; Study 3:  $\alpha = .89$ ; Fontaine, 2023).

### *Political Solidarity*

Participants completed the 9-item Political Solidarity Measure (PSM; Neufeld et al., 2019), comprised of three separate 3-item subscales (presented on separate pages). Both the total scale and subscales had acceptable to excellent internal consistency (Study 5:  $\alpha_{\text{Total}} = .91$ ; Neufeld et al., 2019). Participants rated their agreement with statements such as “I feel a sense of “brotherhood” or “sisterhood” with Indigenous peoples” (Allyship; Study 5:  $\alpha_{\text{Ally}} = .79$ ), “I feel connected to the issue of addressing discrimination against Indigenous peoples” (Cause Connection; Study 5:  $\alpha_{\text{Cause}} = .83$ ), and “Policies negatively affecting Indigenous peoples should be changed” (Social Change Commitment; Study 5:  $\alpha_{\text{Commit}} = .87$ ; Neufeld et al., 2019).

### *Behavioral Intentions and Effort*

Participants read the following instructions:

There are many ways to support reconciliation. We have listed a few ways below and will provide some information on how you could take such action later, in case that might be helpful. For now, please let us know what you intend to do—in the next year.”

Participants rated their intentions to do ten things. Though outside of the scope of this thesis, my colleagues and I will explain how we developed this measure in a forthcoming manuscript<sup>3</sup> (Starzyk et al., unpublished). I describe its psychometrics properties in further detail in the results section below.

For the effort questions, participants read the following: “Now, whether you agreed or disagreed to act, please indicate **how difficult or easy** it would be for you to take each action—in the next year.” Participants rated perceived effort for the same ten actions on a 5-point scale

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<sup>3</sup> I do not provide a sample item for this measure due to copyright concerns pending publication.

with the following anchors: *difficult* (1), *somewhat difficult* (2), *neither difficult nor easy* (3), *somewhat easy* (4), and *easy* (5).

### ***Attitude Toward Reconciliation***

Participants read the following: “There is just one last question for this section, below. Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the statement below.” The statement was “Reconciliation is needed to revitalize the relationship between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people.”

### ***Collective Victimhood***

Participants read the following instructions: “Thinking about the group(s) you belong to based on things like your race/ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, religion, etc., using the scale below, please rate your agreement or disagreement with the following statements.” Then, participants responded to four items created by Starzyk and colleagues (2019), which had excellent internal consistency (Study 4:  $\alpha = .92$ ) and loaded onto a single underlying factor. A sample item is: “I have had difficult personal experiences because of my group membership.” Participants also reported what group(s) they were thinking of while they answered the previous questions. Participants were instructed to select all that apply. The response options were “Age,” “Disability,” “Gender,” “Income,” “Nationality,” “Race/ethnicity,” “Religion,” “Sexual orientation,” “Weight,” “I was not thinking about any group,” and “Other (please specify),” which included a text box.

### ***Social Desirability***

Participants completed a short version of the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (Reynolds, 1982) after reading the instructions “Please indicate whether the following are true or false of you.” Participants answered 13 questions with “True” (coded 0) or “False” (coded 1). I

recoded negatively keyed items so that higher scores reflected a stronger tendency to respond in a socially desirable way (i.e., exaggerate desirable qualities and minimize undesirable ones). The published measure had acceptable internal consistency ( $\alpha = .76$ ). A sample item is: “It is sometimes hard for me to go on with my work if I am not encouraged.” I created a total score by taking the sum of all responses. Thus, scores ranged from 0 to 13.

### ***Demographic Questionnaire***

Participants completed a brief demographic questionnaire. Most items were similar to those in the 2021 Canadian Census (Statistics Canada, 2022). Participants reported their age, current gender identity (Cameron & Stinson, 2019), ethnic background(s), status within Canada, and the extent to which they identified as a Canadian. Participants rated Canadian identification on a 5-point scale with the anchors *not at all* (1), *slightly* (2), *somewhat* (3), *very much* (4), and *extremely* (5). Participants also reported their annual household income using a dropdown menu with increments of \$5,000 from \$0–5,000 (1) up to \$250,000+ (50). Finally, participants reported their political stance on “foreign policy issues,” “economic issues,” and “social issues” on a 7-point scale with the anchors *very left-wing* (1), *left-wing* (2), *slightly left-wing* (3), *middle of the road* (4), *slightly right-wing* (5), *right-wing* (6), and *very right-wing* (7; Pratto et al., 1994). Though internal consistency was not reported by Pratto and colleagues (1994), others have found the measure has acceptable to good internal consistency ( $\alpha = .80$ ; Kugler et al. 2010). For political orientation, I created a total score by taking the average response across the three items; thus, scores ranged from 1 to 7.

### ***Quality Control and Manipulation Check***

Participants responded “No” (coded 0) or “Yes” (coded 1) to questions asking whether they (1) completed the survey honestly, (2) completed the survey without taking a break, and (3)

answered questions about whether different harmed groups have similar experiences. The third question served as a procedural manipulation check. Lastly, if they wished to, participants could answer an open-ended question with any feedback about they had about the survey.

## **Results**

### **Data Cleaning and Inspection**

I first screened my data and excluded participants for several, sometimes multiple, reasons. I excluded participants who were living outside of Canada ( $n = 16$ ) and not a citizen or permanent resident ( $n = 1$ ). I also excluded participants who did not complete the survey honestly ( $n = 15$ ) or in a reasonable time (i.e., within 3 *SD* of the median;  $n = 8$ ; Berger & Kiefer, 2021) and failed the manipulation check ( $n = 41$ ). I had planned to exclude participants who took a break during the survey ( $n = 22$ ), however, excluding these participants would have further decreased my sample size and statistical power for my analyses. As such, despite possible threats to internal validity, I included these participants because taking a break posed less of a threat than, for instance, completing the survey dishonestly or failing the manipulation check. Additionally, 73 participants withdrew from the study and indicated that I could not use their partial responses. This number was high and may have been so because of an error in survey set-up. During data collection, one participant informed me that they had accidentally withdrawn from the study. Upon double-checking the survey set-up, I realized that participants who clicked “withdraw” could not un-select this option; thus, I suspect that a portion of those who withdrew may have done so accidentally. Because of another programming error partway through data collection, some participants also accessed the survey more than once as indicated by duplicate Sona ID numbers. For these participants, I kept their earliest response only if they left the survey



before viewing the manipulation a second time during any subsequent attempts, to avoid introducing possible confounds, leaving me with a final sample of 481.

### Participants

As Table 2 shows, participants were mostly young, White women. Other ethnic identities were Filipino, South Asian, Black, Arab, Chinese, Southeast Asian, Latin American, West Asian, and Korean. Participants also tended to be citizens at birth and strongly identify as Canadian. The mean annual household income was between 95–99k. Participants were “middle of the road” to “slightly left leaning” in political orientation. Those in the Control ( $n = 260$ ) and Inclusive Victimhood ( $n = 221$ ) conditions did not differ significantly on any of the demographic variables described here (all  $ps > .30$ ).

**Table 2**

*Participant Demographics (Total and by Condition)*

| Variable        | Total<br>( $N = 482$ ) | Condition                |                                       |
|-----------------|------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------------|
|                 |                        | Control<br>( $n = 260$ ) | Inclusive Victimhood<br>( $n = 221$ ) |
| Age             | 20.28 (5.29)           | 20.11 (4.62)             | 20.47 (5.98)                          |
| Gender          |                        |                          |                                       |
| Woman           | 318 (66%)              | 175 (68%)                | 143 (65%)                             |
| Man             | 155 (32%)              | 78 (30%)                 | 77 (35%)                              |
| Other           | 6 (1%)                 | 6 (2%)                   | 0 (0%)                                |
| Ethnicity       |                        |                          |                                       |
| White           | 223 (46%)              | 129 (50%)                | 94 (42%)                              |
| Filipino        | 74 (15%)               | 39 (15%)                 | 35 (16%)                              |
| South Asian     | 48 (10%)               | 30 (12%)                 | 18 (8%)                               |
| Black           | 45 (9%)                | 24 (9%)                  | 21 (10%)                              |
| Arab            | 10 (2%)                | 4 (2%)                   | 6 (3%)                                |
| Chinese         | 9 (2%)                 | 4 (2%)                   | 5 (2%)                                |
| Southeast Asian | 8 (2%)                 | 2 (1%)                   | 6 (3%)                                |
| Other           | 8 (2%)                 | 3 (1%)                   | 5 (2%)                                |
| Latin American  | 6 (1%)                 | 1 (0%)                   | 5 (2%)                                |
| West Asian      | 5 (1%)                 | 2 (1%)                   | 3 (1%)                                |
| Korean          | 4 (1%)                 | 1 (0%)                   | 3 (1%)                                |

| Variable                | Total<br>( <i>N</i> = 482) | Condition                    |                                           |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
|                         |                            | Control<br>( <i>n</i> = 260) | Inclusive Victimhood<br>( <i>n</i> = 221) |
| Canadian Status         |                            |                              |                                           |
| Citizen at birth        | 315 (66%)                  | 173 (67%)                    | 142 (65%)                                 |
| Naturalized citizen     | 110 (23%)                  | 62 (24%)                     | 48 (22%)                                  |
| Permanent resident      | 53 (11%)                   | 23 (9%)                      | 30 (14%)                                  |
| Canadian Identification | 4.05 (0.96)                | 4.16 (0.86)                  | 3.94 (1.05)                               |
| Income                  | 20.67 (14.24)              | 21.45 (14.03)                | 19.76 (14.46)                             |
| Political Orientation   | 3.72 (1.30)                | 3.74 (1.30)                  | 3.71 (1.30)                               |
| Foreign policy issues   | 3.74 (1.40)                | 3.74 (1.42)                  | 3.75 (1.39)                               |
| Economic issues         | 3.91 (1.44)                | 3.94 (1.48)                  | 3.88 (1.40)                               |
| Social issues           | 3.51 (1.56)                | 3.53 (1.58)                  | 3.49 (1.54)                               |

*Note.* Age, Canadian Identification, Income, and Political Orientation are reported as *M* (*SD*). All other variables are reported as *n* frequency and (%). Frequencies may not exactly add up to total and subsample values because some participants did not answer all demographic questions. Percentages may not exactly add up to 100% due to rounding.

### Missing Data Handling

To understand how much data was missing, I first visually analyzed the data and observed some empty cells. I then computed the percentage of missing data by calculating the average number of missing values per case and dividing by the total number of variables to be analyzed and found 3% missing data (Little & Rubin, 2019). Although this proportion of missingness is usually negligible, Little's MCAR test suggested that data was not missing completely at random; hence, I used maximum likelihood estimation to calculate parameters that would most likely result in the observed data based on Ender's (2022) recommendations. Because these estimated parameters were almost identical to the sample parameters, I used the true sample means in my analyses. I imputed any missing data by prorating other responses so long as at least two thirds of the data are available for a dependent variable, computed total scores for all composite variables, and obtained descriptive statistics (see Table 3).

**Table 3***Descriptive Statistics for Composite Variables*

| Variable                     | <i>N</i> | <i>M</i> | <i>SD</i> | Skew  | <i>SE</i> <sub>Skew</sub> | Kurt  | <i>SE</i> <sub>Kurtosis</sub> |
|------------------------------|----------|----------|-----------|-------|---------------------------|-------|-------------------------------|
| Inclusive Victimhood Measure | 222      | 4.16     | 0.78      | -1.27 | .17                       | 2.79  | .17                           |
| Love                         | 480      | 2.46     | 1.04      | 0.24  | .11                       | -0.71 | .22                           |
| Empathy                      | 481      | 3.33     | 0.92      | -0.46 | .11                       | -0.26 | .22                           |
| Anger                        | 480      | 2.48     | 1.27      | 0.33  | .11                       | -1.06 | .22                           |
| Sad                          | 480      | 2.60     | 1.11      | -0.16 | .11                       | -0.84 | .22                           |
| Sorry                        | 480      | 3.42     | 1.10      | -0.56 | .11                       | -0.44 | .22                           |
| Hope                         | 480      | 3.08     | 1.00      | -0.33 | .11                       | -0.42 | .22                           |
| Political Solidarity Measure | 479      | 3.57     | 0.77      | -0.62 | .11                       | 0.27  | .22                           |
| Behavioral Intentions        | 479      | 3.33     | 0.86      | -0.64 | .11                       | 0.39  | .22                           |
| Behavioral Effort            | 478      | 3.47     | 0.74      | -0.62 | .11                       | 0.68  | .22                           |
| Attitude                     | 479      | 4.13     | 0.94      | -1.22 | .11                       | 1.51  | .22                           |
| Collective Victimhood        | 479      | 2.94     | 1.18      | -0.14 | .11                       | -1.05 | .22                           |
| Social Desirability          | 479      | 6.28     | 2.78      | -0.08 | .11                       | -0.55 | .22                           |

*Note.* *N* = number of participants, *M* = mean composite score, *SD* = standard deviation, Skew = skewness, *SE*<sub>Skew</sub> = standard error of skewness, Kurt = kurtosis, *SE*<sub>Kurt</sub> = standard error of kurtosis.

**Assumption Checks**

After data cleaning and inspection, I statistically tested the assumptions for each of my main analyses. Because correlational analyses assume outliers are absent from the data, I screened the data for univariate outliers that fell more than  $\pm 2.5$  standard deviations from the mean and inspected boxplots; however, because outliers accounted for less than 3% of the total data, I included all for analysis (Meyers et al. 2017). Correlational tests also assume that variables are linearly related and homoscedastic. Hence, I visually inspected bivariate scatterplots and residual scatterplots to assess for linearity and homoscedasticity, respectively. All dependent measures appeared linearly related and homoscedastic.

Additionally, independent samples *t*-tests assume homogeneity of variances between groups and normally distributed scores on the dependent variables within groups. Thus,

I used Levene's tests to check for the former and inspected skewness and kurtosis values to assess for the latter. All Levene's tests were non-significant, suggesting homogeneity of variances between the control and inclusive victimhood conditions. All skewness values  $< 2$  and kurtosis values  $< 7$ , indicating that the data was acceptably normal for  $t$ -tests (Kim, 2013) and path analyses (West et al., 1995). Finally, I assessed for multicollinearity by calculating variance inflation factors (VIFs) and tolerance values. In general, Tolerance values  $< .20$  and VIF values  $> 4$  indicate multicollinearity (Garson, 2012). Multicollinearity did not appear to be an issue, as all variables had a tolerance  $> .31$  and a VIF  $< 3.2$ .

### **Behavioral Intentions Measure Refinement**

Because I had only recently created the behavioral intentions measure along with colleagues from the Social Justice Laboratory, I inspected the items' psychometric properties and refined the measure before conducting my main analyses. I went through the following process using the lavaan package in R (Rosseel, 2012).

#### ***Number of Factors to Retain***

To begin, I ran a Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) test to ensure the correlation matrix of the ten items was factorable. The items had a "meritorious" measure of sampling adequacy (MSA) of .89, suggesting this was so (Kaiser, 1974, p. 1). For all items, skew was  $< 2$  and kurtosis was  $< 7$ , indicating univariate normality (West et al., 1995). Inter-item correlations ranged from .39–.67. Bartlett's test of sphericity was significant, indicating that the correlation matrix was not an identity matrix. Then, I conducted a parallel analysis, which determines the optimal number of factors to retain for an exploratory factor analysis (Lim & Jahng, 2019). This suggested an upper limit of two factors.

To confirm this solution, using Revelle's (2024) psych package in R (v. 2022.12.0), I conducted an exploratory factor analysis on the ten items using an oblimin rotation ( $\delta = 0$ ) and Maximum Likelihood extraction so that factors could correlate. Visually inspecting the scree plot and using the Kaiser (1960) criterion of retaining number of factors with eigenvalues  $> 1$  suggested a two-factor solution. Further, all items loaded cleanly onto two separate factors ( $> .50$  except for BI10, loading = .49), there were no cross-loadings  $> .30$ , and all squared multiple correlations were  $\geq .89$ , as shown in Table 4 (Beavers et al., 2013; Costello and Osborne, 2005; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2019). BI9, BI7, BI3, B85, and BI2 loaded on one factor. Items BI8, BI6, BI1, BI4, and BI 10 loaded on a separate factor. I called these factors "Low Effort" and "High Effort," respectively, which correlated at  $r = .66$ . Ratings of perceived effort for these actions ( $M_{LE} = 3.85$ ,  $M_{HE} = 2.81$ ) validated this factor solution. Demonstrating convergent validity, mean responses on each factor differed by approximately one scale point on a 5-point Likert scale ( $M_{LE} = 3.86$ ,  $M_{HE} = 2.83$ ), suggesting that people are more willing to do low (vs. high) effort things. Additionally, factor scores strongly correlated ( $r_s > .90$ ) with their underlying factors.

### ***Model Selection***

I used the lavaan package in R (Rosseel, 2012) to compute a larger number of fit statistics than available in the psych package. I first calculated the chi-square goodness of fit statistic, which was significant; however, this statistic is typically unhelpful with large samples (Kenny, 2015). I next calculated several indices of absolute and relative fit. The Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA) and 90% confidence interval tells you how well the model would fit the population covariance matrix and penalizes for complexity (Preacher et al., 2013). The Comparative Fit Index (CFI) indicates how well the factor model fits the data compared to a null model with all items uncorrelated (Sathyanarayana & Mohanasundaram, 2024). The

Standardized Root Mean Square Residual (SRMR) calculates the average difference between the observed and predicted correlation matrices, which is  $< .05$  in excellent fitting models (Shi et al., 2018). Model fit for the two-factor solution was acceptable to excellent for all indices:  $\chi^2(24) = 88.90, p < .001$ , RMSEA = .07 (90% CI [.06, .09],  $p = .01$ ), CFI = .98, SRMR = .02. To be sure, I ran the one-factor model and confirmed that model fit was much worse than the two-factor model, as indicated by higher chi-square, RMSEA, and SRMR as well as a lower CFI:  $\chi^2(35) = 390.12, p < .001$ , RMSEA = .15 (90% CI [.13, .16],  $p_{close} < .001$ ), CFI = .88, SRMR = .06.

### ***Item Selection***

To decide which items to retain, I considered factor loadings, item communalities and complexity, diversity of meanings and mean scores of items within factors, as well as internal consistency. After reflection, I decided to drop BI2 and BI4 because these statements lacked specificity and had lower factor loadings and communalities. I then ran another exploratory factor analysis with the eight items, which suggested improved (relative and absolute) model fit with less complexity. In other words, the 8-item, two-factor model was parsimonious, as shown in Table 4. Model fit was acceptable to excellent:  $\chi^2(13) = 44.68, p < .001$ , RMSEA = .07 (90% CI [.05, .10],  $p_{close} < .001$ ), CFI = .99, SRMR = .02. Thus, I retained the eight items to represent behavioral intentions and computed total scores by taking their average.

**Table 4***Exploratory Factor Analysis for Final Behavioral Intentions Items*

| Factor      | Item | Factor Loading |            | <i>M</i> | <i>SD</i> | Skew  | <i>SE</i> <sub>Skew</sub> | Kurt  | <i>SE</i> <sub>Kurtosis</sub> |
|-------------|------|----------------|------------|----------|-----------|-------|---------------------------|-------|-------------------------------|
|             |      | 1              | 2          |          |           |       |                           |       |                               |
| Low Effort  | BI9  | <b>.93</b>     | -.07       | 2.46     | 1.04      | 0.24  | .11                       | -0.71 | .22                           |
|             | BI7  | <b>.84</b>     | -.03       | 3.33     | 0.92      | -0.46 | .11                       | -0.26 | .22                           |
|             | BI3  | <b>.60</b>     | .18        | 2.48     | 1.27      | 0.33  | .11                       | -1.06 | .22                           |
|             | BI5  | <b>.60</b>     | .18        | 2.60     | 1.11      | -0.16 | .11                       | -0.84 | .22                           |
| High Effort | BI8  | -.10           | <b>.92</b> | 3.08     | 1.00      | -0.33 | .11                       | -0.42 | .22                           |
|             | BI6  | .01            | <b>.78</b> | 3.57     | 0.77      | -0.62 | .11                       | 0.27  | .22                           |
|             | BI1  | .28            | <b>.60</b> | 3.33     | 0.86      | -0.64 | .11                       | 0.39  | .22                           |
|             | BI10 | .30            | <b>.49</b> | 3.47     | 0.74      | -0.62 | .11                       | 0.68  | .22                           |

*Note.*  $N = 479$ . Pattern matrix loadings. Extraction method: Maximum Likelihood with an oblimin rotation. Factor loadings above .30 are in bold. Model fit:  $\chi^2(13) = 44.68$ ,  $p < .001$ , RMSEA = .07 (90% CI [.05, .10],  $p_{close} < .001$ ), CFI = .99, SRMR = .02.

### Main Analyses

Unless stated otherwise, I conducted analyses in SPSS 29. I used the standard  $p < .05$  criteria for determining statistical significance; however, because  $p$ -values can be problematic and do not indicate the magnitude of an effect, I focus on interpreting measures of effect size. Although it is common practice to use Cohen's (1988) recommendations to interpret effect sizes, I use more recent guidelines based on meta-analyses of social psychology studies, as I describe below.

### Correlations

I conducted correlational analyses to assess the direction of relationships amongst my measured variables. Sometimes, Pearson correlations provide inflated values when data is non-normal; thus, I report non-parametric, Spearman rank-ordered correlations that do not rely on normal distributions (Bishara & Hittner, 2015). I interpreted effect sizes using Gignac and Szodorai's (2016) recommendations for interpreting (small:  $r = .1$ , medium:  $r = .2$ , large:  $r = .3$ ).

I hypothesized that my dependent measures would positively correlate with one another (h1). The data mostly supported this prediction (see Table 5, which included internal consistencies). Love, empathy, sadness, sorry, political solidarity, attitudes toward reconciliation, as well as behavioral intentions and effort each positively correlated with all other dependent measures. For love, sadness, political solidarity, behavioral intentions and effort, as well as attitudes toward reconciliation, these correlations were small to large; for empathy and sorry, correlations were medium to large. Conversely, anger positively correlated with love, empathy, sadness, sorry, political solidarity, behavioral intentions and effort, as well as attitudes toward reconciliation to a small to large extent but did not correlate with hope. Similarly, hope correlated with love, empathy, sadness, sorry, political solidarity, behavioral intentions and effort, as well as attitudes to a small to large extent, but not with anger.

**Table 5**  
*Correlations Among and Internal Consistency of Composite Measures*

| Variable | 1   | 2   | 3    | 4    | 5    | 6    | 7    | 8    | 9    | 10   | 11   | 12   | 13    |
|----------|-----|-----|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-------|
| 1. IVIC  | .88 | .09 | .19* | .01  | .03  | .24* | .03  | .26* | .14* | .14* | .28* | .12  | -.18* |
| 2. LOVE  |     | .87 | .57* | .18* | .28* | .35* | .55* | .52* | .53* | .35* | .32* | .20* | .06   |
| 3. EMP   |     |     | .90  | .28* | .37* | .49* | .59* | .59* | .58* | .39* | .47* | .22* | .05   |
| 4. ANGER |     |     |      | .95  | .54* | .51* | .08  | .31* | .28* | .16* | .20* | .07  | .07   |
| 5. SAD   |     |     |      |      | .92  | .56* | .17* | .41* | .43* | .23* | .28* | .11* | .05   |
| 6. SORRY |     |     |      |      |      | .85  | .29* | .52* | .50* | .32* | .44* | .15* | .03   |
| 7. HOPE  |     |     |      |      |      |      | .85  | .42* | .46* | .31* | .37* | .11* | .05   |
| 8. PSM   |     |     |      |      |      |      |      | .90  | .76* | .52* | .62* | .30* | .01   |
| 9. BI    |     |     |      |      |      |      |      |      | .90  | .68* | .53* | .28* | .02   |
| 10. BIE  |     |     |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | .80  | .36* | .20* | -.05  |
| 11. ATT  |     |     |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | -    | .21* | -.06  |
| 12. CVIC |     |     |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | .90  | -.13* |
| 13. SD   |     |     |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | .67   |

*Note.*  $N = 477\text{--}481$ . For IVIC,  $N = 220\text{--}221$ . IVIC = Inclusive Victimhood, LOVE = Love, EMP = Empathy, ANGER = Anger, SAD = Sadness, SORRY = Sorry, HOPE = Hope, PSM = Political Solidarity Measure, BI = Behavioral Intentions, BIE = Behavioral Intentions Effort, ATT = Attitude Toward Reconciliation, CVIC = Collective Victimhood, SD = Social Desirability. Due to non-normal distributions, I report Spearman's correlations. ATT is a one-item measure, so internal consistency cannot be calculated. Italicized values on the diagonal represent the composite's internal consistency. \* $p < .05$ .



Additionally, for those in the Inclusive Victimhood condition, scores on the inclusive victimhood measure positively correlated with empathy, sorry, political solidarity, behavioral intentions and effort, as well as attitudes toward reconciliation to a small to medium extent. Within this group, individual differences in inclusive victimhood also negatively correlated with social desirability to a small extent. As for collective victimhood, subjective perceptions of one's own experiences of collective harm positively correlated with sadness, sorry, and hope to a small extent; love, empathy, behavioral intentions and effort, as well as attitudes toward reconciliation to a medium extent; and political solidarity to a large extent. Finally, social desirability negatively correlated with inclusive victimhood and collective victimhood to a small extent.

### ***t-Tests***

To evaluate whether participants in the two conditions differed on the dependent measures, I conducted independent samples *t*-tests. Though all composites had non-normal distributions, *t*-tests are robust to violations of normality when the sample size is sufficiently large (i.e.,  $n > 30$  per group), the violation is not severe (i.e., skewness  $< |2|$ , kurtosis  $< |7|$ ), and groups sizes are roughly equal (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2019). I interpreted effect sizes using Lovakov and Agadullina's (2021) guidelines (small:  $d = .15$ , medium:  $d = .36$ , large:  $d = .65$ ) and 95% confidence intervals.

I hypothesized that Inclusive Victimhood participants would report higher emotions (h2a), political solidarity (h2b), intentions to act (h2c), and positive attitudes toward the issue (h2d) than those in the Control condition. As I summarize in Table 6, the data did not support these hypotheses. That is, participants in the Inclusive Victimhood and Control conditions did not report significantly different levels of emotions, political solidarity, or intentions to act. Effect sizes were negligible. Participants in both conditions did not differ significantly on any

other measured variables, although the small difference in means for attitudes toward reconciliation approached significance.

**Table 6***t-Tests for Composite Variables by Condition*

| Variable | Control<br>( <i>n</i> = 258–260) |           |       |       | Inclusive Victimhood<br>( <i>n</i> = 220–221) |           |       |       | <i>t</i> | <i>df</i> | <i>p</i> | 95% CI        | <i>d</i> |
|----------|----------------------------------|-----------|-------|-------|-----------------------------------------------|-----------|-------|-------|----------|-----------|----------|---------------|----------|
|          | <i>M</i>                         | <i>SD</i> | Sk    | Ku    | <i>M</i>                                      | <i>SD</i> | Sk    | Ku    |          |           |          |               |          |
| LOVE     | 2.43                             | 1.05      | 0.26  | -0.75 | 2.49                                          | 1.03      | 0.23  | -0.65 | -0.72    | 478       | .48      | [-0.26, 0.12] | .06      |
| EMP      | 3.23                             | 0.94      | -0.50 | -0.18 | 3.26                                          | 0.90      | -0.40 | -0.38 | -0.29    | 479       | .77      | [-0.19, 0.14] | .03      |
| ANGER    | 2.48                             | 1.31      | 0.37  | -1.08 | 2.48                                          | 1.24      | 0.27  | -1.06 | -0.03    | 478       | .97      | [-0.23, 0.23] | .00      |
| SAD      | 2.56                             | 1.11      | 0.23  | -0.79 | 2.65                                          | 1.11      | 0.09  | -0.87 | -0.90    | 478       | .37      | [-0.29, 0.11] | .08      |
| SORRY    | 3.39                             | 1.11      | -0.50 | -0.46 | 3.44                                          | 1.09      | -0.64 | -0.39 | -0.50    | 478       | .62      | [-0.25, 0.15] | .05      |
| HOPE     | 3.07                             | 0.99      | -0.31 | -0.42 | 3.09                                          | 1.01      | -0.36 | -0.40 | -0.31    | 478       | .76      | [-0.21, 0.15] | .02      |
| PSM      | 3.57                             | 0.80      | -0.68 | 0.56  | 3.58                                          | 0.73      | -0.51 | -0.22 | -0.10    | 478       | .91      | [-0.16, 0.17] | .01      |
| BI       | 3.31                             | 0.87      | -0.64 | 0.28  | 3.35                                          | 0.86      | -0.64 | 0.57  | -0.53    | 477       | .60      | [-0.20, 0.11] | .05      |
| BIE      | 3.46                             | 0.75      | -0.56 | 0.63  | 3.48                                          | 0.74      | -0.70 | 0.79  | -0.30    | 476       | .77      | [-0.15, 0.11] | .03      |
| ATT      | 4.05                             | 0.99      | -1.13 | 1.10  | 4.22                                          | 0.88      | -1.31 | 2.12  | -1.95    | 477       | .05      | [-0.34, 0.00] | .18      |
| CVIC     | 2.90                             | 1.15      | -0.14 | -0.95 | 2.99                                          | 1.22      | -0.15 | -1.15 | -0.84    | 477       | .40      | [-0.30, 0.12] | .08      |
| SD       | 6.37                             | 2.72      | -0.03 | -0.34 | 6.18                                          | 2.85      | -0.13 | -0.77 | 0.74     | 477       | .46      | [-0.31, 0.69] | .07      |

*Note.* LOVE = Love, EMP = Empathy, ANGER = Anger, SAD = Sadness, SORRY = Sorry, HOPE = Hope, PSM = Political Solidarity Measure, BI = Behavioral Intentions, BIE = Behavioral Intentions Effort, ATT = Attitude Toward Reconciliation, CVIC = Collective Victimhood, SD = Social Desirability, Sk = Skewness, Ku = Kurtosis. Assumed equal variances for all composites.

### *Path Analysis*

I conducted a path analysis to assess the direct and indirect effects of the inclusive victimhood manipulation within my hypothesized model. For direct effects, I hypothesized that assignment to the Inclusive Victimhood condition would positively predict all emotions (h3a–f), all emotions would positively predict political solidarity (h4a–f), and political solidarity would positively predict behavioral intentions (h5). I also hypothesized that the manipulation would have a positive direct effect on political solidarity (h6). For indirect effects, I expected a positive indirect effect of the inclusive victimhood manipulation on political solidarity (h7a–f) and behavioral intentions (h7g–k) through each of these emotions.

Though non-normality can impact parameter estimates and model fit indices, it is generally unproblematic when the sample size is sufficiently large (i.e.,  $N > 200$ ), violation is not severe (i.e., Skewness  $< |2|$ , Kurtosis  $< |7|$ ), and estimation method used is robust (West et al., 1995). Thus, I conducted path analyses (using maximum likelihood estimation with robust standard errors) and inspected model fit statistics in Mplus. I used dummy coding to represent the effects of the inclusive victimhood manipulation (coded 0 = Control, 1 = Inclusive Victimhood) on emotions, political solidarity, and behavioral intentions. See Figure 2 for the path model. Model fit was generally poor:  $\chi^2(22) = 1013.86$ ,  $p < .001$ , RMSEA = .31 (90% CI [.29, .32],  $p_{close} < .001$ ), CFI = .43, SRMR = .31. I estimated error variances for each endogenous variable, which ranged from 0.27 (behavioral intention) to 1.62 (anger); all were significant ( $ps < .05$ ), indicating variance unaccounted for by the model.

The data supported only some of my hypotheses. As Table 7 and Figure 2 show, assignment to the Inclusive Victimhood condition did not predict any emotions or political solidarity. As expected, though, feeling love, empathy, sadness, and sorry directly and positively

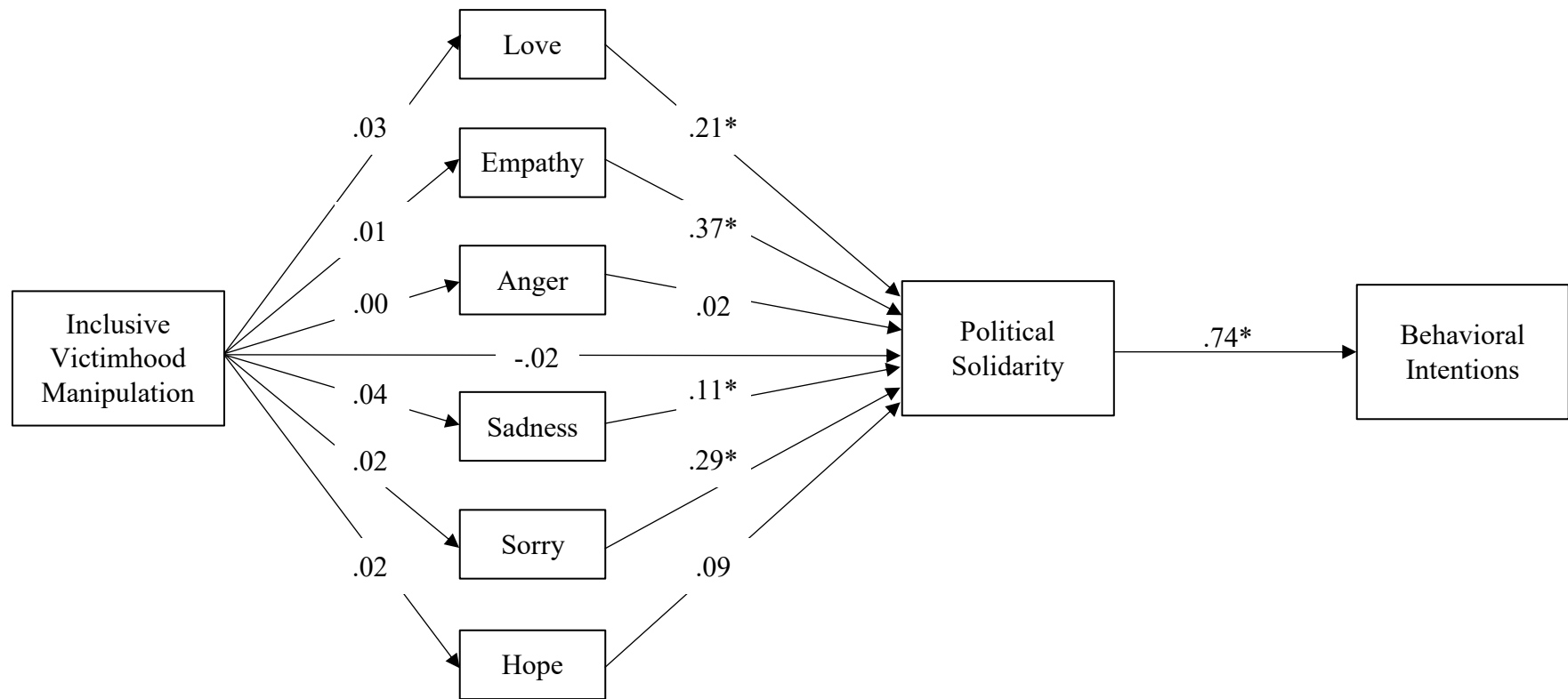
predicted solidarity; anger and hope did not. Empathy predicted solidarity to the greatest extent, followed by sorry, love, then sadness, which predicted solidarity the least. This was mostly consistent with Fontaine's (2023) findings, although they found a significant direct effect for hope. Political solidarity also directly and positively predicted behavioral intentions. However, there were no significant indirect effects of the manipulation on political solidarity or behavioral intentions through any of the emotions; thus, my mediational hypotheses were unsupported.

**Table 7***Path Analysis (Hypothesized Model)*

| Path                     | $\beta$ | <i>SE</i> | <i>p</i> | 95% CI      | $\epsilon$ | $R^2$ |
|--------------------------|---------|-----------|----------|-------------|------------|-------|
| <b>Direct Effects</b>    |         |           |          |             |            |       |
| IVICM → LOVE             | .03     | .05       | .48      | [-.09, .23] | 1.00       | .00   |
| IVICM → EMP              | .01     | .05       | .77      | [-.11, .16] | 1.00       | .00   |
| IVICM → ANGER            | .00     | .05       | .98      | [-.19, .19] | 1.00       | .00   |
| IVICM → SAD              | .04     | .05       | .37      | [-.08, .26] | 1.00       | .00   |
| IVICM → SORRY            | .02     | .10       | .63      | [-.12, .21] | 1.00       | .00   |
| IVICM → HOPE             | .02     | .09       | .75      | [-.12, .18] | 1.00       | .00   |
| IVICM → PSM              | -.02    | .05       | .66      | [-.10, .06] | .72        | .28   |
| LOVE → PSM               | .21     | .06       | < .001   | [.08, .19]  | -          | -     |
| EMP → PSM                | .37     | .06       | < .001   | [.18, .33]  | -          | -     |
| ANGER → PSM              | .02     | .05       | .68      | [-.03, .05] | -          | -     |
| SAD → PSM                | .11     | .05       | .02      | [.02, .11]  | -          | -     |
| SORRY → PSM              | .29     | .06       | < .001   | [.11, .23]  | -          | -     |
| HOPE → PSM               | .09     | .06       | .12      | [.00, .11]  | -          | -     |
| PSM → BI                 | .74     | .02       | < .001   | [.85, .95]  | .45        | .55   |
| <b>Indirect Effects</b>  |         |           |          |             |            |       |
| IVICM → LOVE → PSM       | .01     | .01       | .49      | [-.01, .03] | -          | -     |
| IVICM → EMP → PSM        | .01     | .02       | .77      | [-.03, .04] | -          | -     |
| IVICM → ANGER → PSM      | .00     | .00       | .98      | [.00, .00]  | -          | -     |
| IVICM → SAD → PSM        | .01     | .01       | .41      | [-.01, .02] | -          | -     |
| IVICM → SORRY → PSM      | .01     | .01       | .63      | [-.02, .04] | -          | -     |
| IVICM → HOPE → PSM       | .00     | .00       | .76      | [-.01, .01] | -          | -     |
| IVICM → PSM → BI         | -.01    | .03       | .66      | [-.09, .05] | -          | -     |
| IVICM → LOVE → PSM → BI  | .01     | .01       | .49      | [-.01, .03] | -          | -     |
| IVICM → EMP → PSM → BI   | .00     | .01       | .77      | [-.03, .04] | -          | -     |
| IVICM → ANGER → PSM → BI | .00     | .00       | .98      | [.00, .00]  | -          | -     |
| IVICM → SAD → PSM → BI   | .00     | .00       | .41      | [-.01, .02] | -          | -     |

| Path                                                         | $\beta$ | $SE$ | $p$ | 95% CI      | $\varepsilon$ | $R^2$ |
|--------------------------------------------------------------|---------|------|-----|-------------|---------------|-------|
| IVICM $\rightarrow$ SORRY $\rightarrow$ PSM $\rightarrow$ BI | .01     | .01  | .63 | [-.02, .03] | -             | -     |
| IVICM $\rightarrow$ HOPE $\rightarrow$ PSM $\rightarrow$ BI  | .00     | .00  | .76 | [-.00, .01] | -             | -     |
| <b>Total Indirect Effects</b>                                |         |      |     |             |               |       |
| IVICM $\rightarrow$ PSM                                      | .02     | .04  | .53 | [-.04, .09] | -             | -     |
| IVICM $\rightarrow$ BI                                       | .01     | .04  | .89 | [-.06, .07] | -             | -     |
| <b>Total Effects</b>                                         |         |      |     |             |               |       |
| IVICM $\rightarrow$ PSM                                      | .01     | .07  | .89 | [-.05, .11] | -             | -     |
| IVICM $\rightarrow$ BI                                       | .01     | .06  | .89 | [-.10, .11] | -             | -     |

*Note.*  $N = 481$ . IVICM = Inclusive Victim Consciousness Manipulation. PSM = Political Solidarity Measure. BI = Behavioral Intentions.  $\beta$  = standardized beta,  $SE$  = standard error for the standardized beta, 95% CI = 95% confidence interval for the standardized beta,  $\varepsilon$  = error variance. Error variances and R-square are for path outcomes. Bolded values are statistically significant as indicated by a  $p$ -value  $< .05$ , or a 95% confidence interval that does not include 0. Model fit:  $\chi^2(22) = 1013.86$ ,  $p < .001$ , RMSEA = .31 (90% CI [.29, .32],  $p_{close} < .001$ ), CFI = .43, SRMR = .31.

**Figure 2***Path Analysis (Hypothesized Model)*

*Note.* Standardized betas. \*Statistically significant as indicated by a  $p$ -value  $< .05$ , or a 95% confidence interval that does not include 0.

### **Exploratory Structural Equation Modeling**

Finally, I tested two exploratory alternative models using structural equation modeling in Mplus (full information maximum likelihood estimation with robust standard errors). For these models, I represented groups of measured variables as latent factors only if they loaded onto the same factor within exploratory factor analyses. Representing psychological constructs as latent factors leads to more accurate parameter estimates and valid conclusions by controlling for measurement error, increasing statistical power, and modelling constructs themselves rather than their measured representation (Kline, 2015). I describe how I specified the structural models in detail below.

#### ***Exploratory Model with Attitudes Outcome***

The first model, which mostly resembled my hypothesized model, explored direct and indirect (via emotions and solidarity) effects of the inclusive victimhood narrative manipulation on attitudes toward reconciliation. Although I initially excluded attitudes from my hypothesized model because it is a one-item measure, I wanted to explore how the manipulation might be impacting attitudes. I represented attitudes as an outcome of solidarity alongside behavioral intentions because (1) according to affective primacy theory (Lai et al., 2012; Zajonc, 1980), emotions arise quickly and influence subsequent attitudes, and (2) the attitude measure came after all other dependent measures in the survey. Thus, because emotions strongly predict solidarity, which involves feelings toward an outgroup and their cause, I conceptualized solidarity as an outcome of emotions that would then predict attitudes toward reconciliation.

As with my hypothesized model, I used dummy coding to represent the effects of the inclusive victimhood manipulation (coded 0 = Control, 1 = Inclusive Victimhood) on the dependent measures. See Table 8 for the measurement and structural models. Model fit was:



$\chi^2(722) = 1690.51, p < .001$ , RMSEA = .05 (90% CI [.05, .06],  $p_{close} < .05$ ), CFI = .92, SRMR = .13. Error variances ranged from 0.07 (behavioral intentions – low effort) to 0.83 (anger) and all were significant ( $ps < .05$ ), except for behavioral intentions. This means that the model accounted for virtually all variance in behavioral intentions. Compared to my hypothesized model, this one had better absolute fit (i.e., a lower RMSEA and SRMR as well as a higher CFI).

As Table 8 and Figure 3 show, all latent factors predicted their measured indicators, demonstrating that the measured items effectively represented their underlying constructs. As for the structural model, the inclusive victimhood manipulation predicted attitudes toward reconciliation but failed to predict solidarity or emotions (positive and negative). Both positive and negative emotions directly predicted political solidarity, although effects for the former were greater than the latter. In turn, solidarity predicted behavioral intentions and attitudes toward reconciliation, which covaried to a small extent. There were no significant indirect effects of the manipulation on political solidarity or behavioral intentions through any of the emotions.

**Table 8**

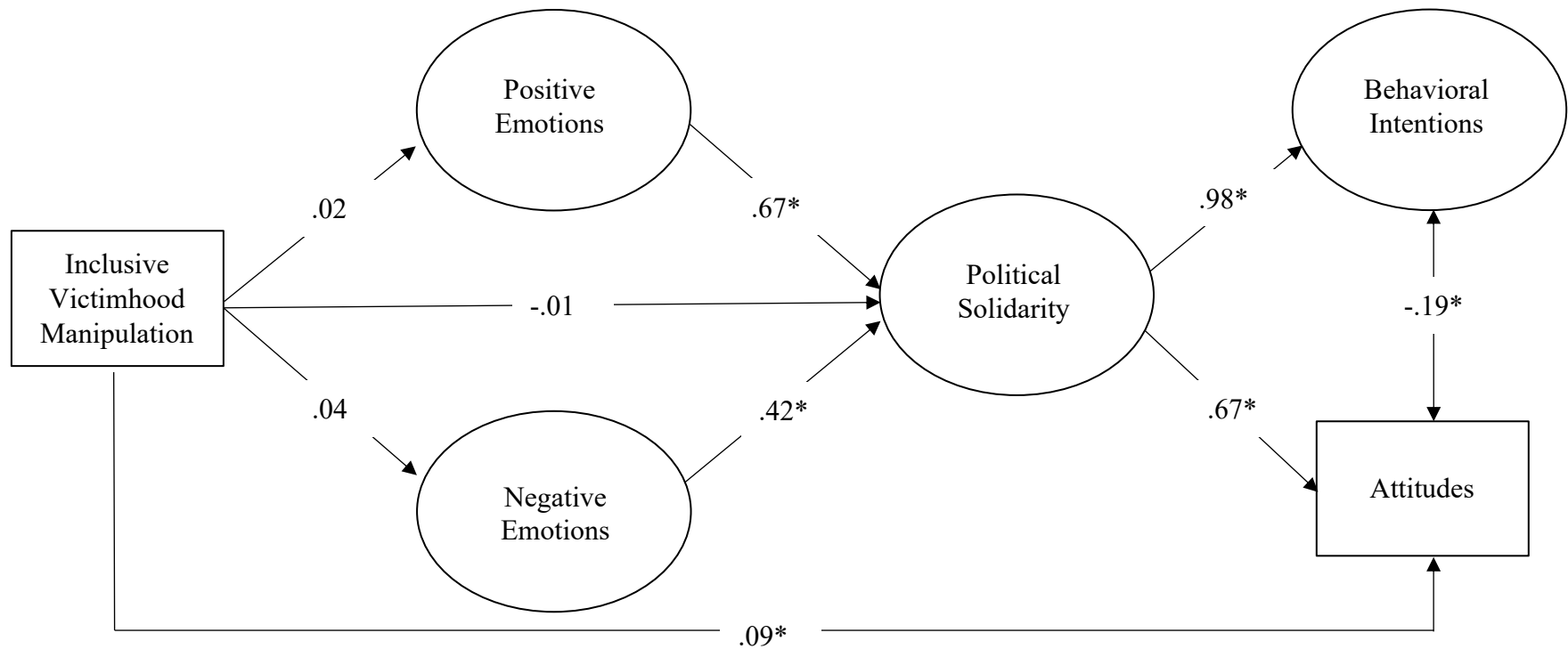
*Structural Equation Model (Exploratory Model with Attitudes Outcome)*

| Path                      | $\beta$    | SE  | p      | 95% CI     | $\epsilon$ | R <sup>2</sup> |
|---------------------------|------------|-----|--------|------------|------------|----------------|
| <b>Measurement Models</b> |            |     |        |            |            |                |
| LOVE → LOVE1              | <b>.79</b> | .03 | < .001 | [.75, .83] | .38        | .62            |
| LOVE → LOVE2              | <b>.82</b> | .03 | < .001 | [.77, .86] | .34        | .66            |
| LOVE → LOVE3              | <b>.88</b> | .02 | < .001 | [.85, .92] | .22        | .78            |
| EMP → EMP1                | <b>.74</b> | .03 | < .001 | [.69, .79] | .45        | .55            |
| EMP → EMP2                | <b>.81</b> | .02 | < .001 | [.78, .85] | .34        | .66            |
| EMP → EMP3                | <b>.77</b> | .03 | < .001 | [.73, .82] | .40        | .60            |
| EMP → EMP4                | <b>.77</b> | .03 | < .001 | [.73, .82] | .41        | .59            |
| EMP → EMP5                | <b>.75</b> | .03 | < .001 | [.71, .80] | .43        | .57            |
| EMP → EMP6                | <b>.77</b> | .02 | < .001 | [.73, .81] | .41        | .59            |
| ANGER → ANGER1            | <b>.94</b> | .01 | < .001 | [.92, .96] | .12        | .88            |
| ANGER → ANGER2            | <b>.92</b> | .01 | < .001 | [.90, .94] | .16        | .84            |
| ANGER → ANGER3            | <b>.95</b> | .01 | < .001 | [.93, .97] | .10        | .90            |
| SAD → SAD1                | <b>.81</b> | .02 | < .001 | [.78, .85] | .34        | .66            |

| Path                         | $\beta$ | $SE$ | $p$    | 95% CI      | $\varepsilon$ | $R^2$ |
|------------------------------|---------|------|--------|-------------|---------------|-------|
| SAD → SAD2                   | .95     | .01  | < .001 | [.93, .96]  | .10           | .90   |
| SAD → SAD3                   | .91     | .01  | < .001 | [.89, .94]  | .17           | .83   |
| SORRY → SORRY1               | .79     | .03  | < .001 | [.75, .84]  | .37           | .63   |
| SORRY → SORRY2               | .85     | .02  | < .001 | [.82, .89]  | .28           | .72   |
| SORRY → SORRY3               | .78     | .03  | < .001 | [.74, .83]  | .39           | .61   |
| HOPE → HOPE1                 | .84     | .02  | < .001 | [.80, .88]  | .29           | .71   |
| HOPE → HOPE2                 | .77     | .03  | < .001 | [.73, .82]  | .40           | .60   |
| HOPE → HOPE3                 | .82     | .02  | < .001 | [.79, .86]  | .33           | .68   |
| EMOP → LOVE                  | .76     | .03  | < .001 | [.71, .81]  | .42           | .58   |
| EMOP → EMP                   | .89     | .03  | < .001 | [.84, .93]  | .22           | .78   |
| EMOP → HOPE                  | .81     | .03  | < .001 | [.75, .86]  | .35           | .65   |
| EMON → ANGER                 | .68     | .04  | < .001 | [.61, .75]  | .54           | .46   |
| EMON → SAD                   | .76     | .04  | < .001 | [.70, .82]  | .42           | .58   |
| EMON → SORRY                 | .84     | .04  | < .001 | [.78, .91]  | .29           | .71   |
| PSMA → PSMA1                 | .69     | .03  | < .001 | [.64, .74]  | .53           | .47   |
| PSMA → PSMA2                 | .81     | .03  | < .001 | [.76, .85]  | .35           | .65   |
| PSMA → PSMA3                 | .77     | .03  | < .001 | [.79, .86]  | .40           | .60   |
| PSMCC → PSMCC1               | .82     | .02  | < .001 | [.79, .85]  | .33           | .67   |
| PSMCC → PSMCC2               | .72     | .03  | < .001 | [.68, .77]  | .48           | .52   |
| PSMCC → PSMCC3               | .82     | .02  | < .001 | [.78, .85]  | .33           | .67   |
| PSMSCC → PSMSCC1             | .84     | .03  | < .001 | [.80, .88]  | .30           | .70   |
| PSMSCC → PSMSCC2             | .82     | .03  | < .001 | [.77, .86]  | .33           | .67   |
| PSMSCC → PSMSCC3             | .86     | .03  | < .001 | [.81, .90]  | .27           | .73   |
| PSM → PSMA                   | .89     | .03  | < .001 | [.85, .93]  | .21           | .79   |
| PSM → PSMCC                  | .84     | .02  | < .001 | [.81, .88]  | .29           | .71   |
| PSM → PSMSCC                 | .76     | .03  | < .001 | [.70, .81]  | .43           | .57   |
| BILE → BI3                   | .71     | .03  | < .001 | [.67, .76]  | .49           | .51   |
| BILE → BI5                   | .70     | .03  | < .001 | [.65, .75]  | .51           | .50   |
| BILE → BI7                   | .79     | .03  | < .001 | [.75, .84]  | .38           | .63   |
| BILE → BI9                   | .84     | .02  | < .001 | [.80, .88]  | .29           | .71   |
| BIHE → BI1                   | .81     | .02  | < .001 | [.77, .84]  | .35           | .65   |
| BIHE → BI6                   | .74     | .03  | < .001 | [.69, .78]  | .46           | .54   |
| BIHE → BI8                   | .76     | .03  | < .001 | [.72, .80]  | .42           | .58   |
| BIHE → BI10                  | .79     | .02  | < .001 | [.75, .83]  | .37           | .63   |
| BI → BILE                    | .94     | .02  | < .001 | [.90, .97]  | .12           | .88   |
| BI → BIHE                    | .79     | .03  | < .001 | [.75, .83]  | .38           | .62   |
| <b>Structural Model</b>      |         |      |        |             |               |       |
| <b><i>Direct Effects</i></b> |         |      |        |             |               |       |
| IVICM → EMOP                 | .02     | .05  | .67    | [-.06, .10] | 1.00          | .00   |
| IVICM → EMON                 | .04     | .05  | .48    | [-.05, .12] | 1.00          | .00   |
| IVICM → PSM                  | -.01    | .04  | .75    | [-.07, .05] | .37           | .63   |
| IVICM → ATT                  | .09     | .04  | .02    | [.03, .14]  | .55           | .46   |

| Path                                                         | $\beta$    | $SE$ | $p$    | 95% CI      | $\varepsilon$ | $R^2$ |
|--------------------------------------------------------------|------------|------|--------|-------------|---------------|-------|
| EMOP $\rightarrow$ PSM                                       | <b>.67</b> | .04  | < .001 | [.60, .74]  | -             | -     |
| EMON $\rightarrow$ PSM                                       | <b>.42</b> | .05  | < .001 | [.33, .51]  | -             | -     |
| PSM $\rightarrow$ BI                                         | <b>.98</b> | .02  | < .001 | [.95, 1.01] | .04           | .96   |
| PSM $\rightarrow$ ATT                                        | <b>.67</b> | .04  | < .001 | [.61, .73]  | -             | -     |
| <i>Indirect Effects</i>                                      |            |      |        |             |               |       |
| IVICM $\rightarrow$ EMOP $\rightarrow$ PSM                   | .01        | .03  | .67    | [-.06, .15] | -             | -     |
| IVICM $\rightarrow$ EMON $\rightarrow$ PSM                   | .02        | .02  | .49    | [-.03, .07] | -             | -     |
| IVICM $\rightarrow$ PSM $\rightarrow$ BI                     | -.01       | .04  | .75    | [-.10, .07] | -             | -     |
| IVICM $\rightarrow$ EMOP $\rightarrow$ PSM $\rightarrow$ BI  | .01        | .03  | .57    | [-.06, .10] | -             | -     |
| IVICM $\rightarrow$ EMON $\rightarrow$ PSM $\rightarrow$ BI  | .02        | .02  | .49    | [-.03, .07] | -             | -     |
| IVICM $\rightarrow$ PSM $\rightarrow$ ATT                    | -.01       | .03  | .75    | [-.09, .06] | -             | -     |
| IVICM $\rightarrow$ EMOP $\rightarrow$ PSM $\rightarrow$ ATT | .01        | .02  | .67    | [-.05, .09] | -             | -     |
| IVICM $\rightarrow$ EMON $\rightarrow$ PSM $\rightarrow$ ATT | .01        | .02  | .59    | [-.03, .06] | -             | -     |
| <i>Total Indirect Effects</i>                                |            |      |        |             |               |       |
| IVICM $\rightarrow$ PSM                                      | .03        | .05  | .53    | [-.07, .15] | -             | -     |
| IVICM $\rightarrow$ BI                                       | .02        | .05  | .74    | [-.10, .15] | -             | -     |
| IVICM $\rightarrow$ ATT                                      | .01        | .04  | .49    | [-.08, .13] | -             | -     |
| <i>Total Effects</i>                                         |            |      |        |             |               |       |
| IVICM $\rightarrow$ PSM                                      | .02        | .07  | .74    | [-.07, .15] | -             | -     |
| IVICM $\rightarrow$ BI                                       | .03        | .07  | .74    | [-.11, .13] | -             | -     |
| IVICM $\rightarrow$ ATT                                      | <b>.18</b> | .09  | .04    | [.14, .23]  | -             | -     |

*Note.*  $N = 481$ . EMP = Empathy, EMOP = Positive Emotions, EMON = Negative Emotions, PSMA = Political Solidarity Measure – Allyship, PSMCC = Political Solidarity Measure – Cause Connection, PSMSCC = Political Solidarity Measure – Social Change Commitment, . PSM = Political Solidarity Measure, BILE = Behavioral Intentions – Low Effort, BIHE = Behavioral Intentions – High Effort, BI = Behavioral Intentions, IVICM = Inclusive Victim Consciousness Manipulation, ATT = Attitudes Toward Reconciliation.  $\beta$  = standardized beta,  $SE$  = standard error for the standardized beta, 95% CI = 95% confidence interval for the standardized beta,  $\varepsilon$  = error variance. Error variances and R-square values are for path outcomes. Bolded values are statistically significant as indicated by a  $p$ -value < .05, or a 95% confidence interval that does not include 0. Model fit:  $\chi^2(722) = 1690.51$ ,  $p < .001$ , RMSEA = .05 (90% CI [.05, .06],  $p_{close} < .05$ ), CFI = .92, SRMR = .13.

**Figure 3***Structural Equation Model (Exploratory Model with Attitudes Outcome)*

*Note.* Standardized betas. Only structural model shown without nested measurement models. \*Statistically significant as indicated by a  $p$ -value < .05, or a 95% confidence interval that does not include 0.

*Exploratory Model with Inclusive Victimhood Measure and Attitudes Outcome*

I tested the second alternative model to assess whether scores on the inclusive victimhood measure (i.e., agreement with statements suggesting all harmed groups similarly experience discrimination, prejudice, and stereotyping) predicted solidarity and behavioral intentions through the emotions amongst those in the inclusive victimhood condition. Although the sample size was more than halved for this second model, it still surpassed Kline's (2015) recommended  $N:q$  ratio of 10:1.

See Table 9 for the measurement and structural models. Model fit was similar to the previous model:  $\chi^2(800) = 1804.20$ ,  $p < .001$ , RMSEA = .05 (90% CI [.05, .05],  $p_{close} = .28$ ), CFI = .92, SRMR = .11. As with the previous exploratory model, all error variances were significant ( $ps < .05$ ) except for behavioral intentions, indicating that this model explains virtually all variance in this outcome. Values ranged from 0.07 (behavioral intentions – low effort) to 0.87 (anger).

**Table 9**

*Structural Equation Model (Exploratory Model with Inclusive Victimhood Measure and Attitudes Outcome)*

| Path                     | $\beta$    | $SE$ | $p$    | 95% CI     | $\epsilon$ | $R^2$ |
|--------------------------|------------|------|--------|------------|------------|-------|
| <b>Measurement Model</b> |            |      |        |            |            |       |
| IVIC $\rightarrow$ IVIC1 | <b>.85</b> | .04  | < .001 | [.78, .92] | .28        | .72   |
| IVIC $\rightarrow$ IVIC2 | <b>.90</b> | .04  | < .001 | [.84, .97] | .19        | .82   |
| IVIC $\rightarrow$ IVIC3 | <b>.82</b> | .05  | < .001 | [.74, .89] | .34        | .66   |
| LOVE $\rightarrow$ LOVE1 | <b>.79</b> | .03  | < .001 | [.75, .83] | .38        | .62   |
| LOVE $\rightarrow$ LOVE2 | <b>.82</b> | .03  | < .001 | [.77, .86] | .34        | .66   |
| LOVE $\rightarrow$ LOVE3 | <b>.88</b> | .02  | < .001 | [.85, .92] | .22        | .78   |
| EMP $\rightarrow$ EMP1   | <b>.74</b> | .03  | < .001 | [.70, .79] | .45        | .55   |
| EMP $\rightarrow$ EMP2   | <b>.81</b> | .02  | < .001 | [.78, .85] | .34        | .66   |
| EMP $\rightarrow$ EMP3   | <b>.77</b> | .03  | < .001 | [.73, .81] | .40        | .60   |
| EMP $\rightarrow$ EMP4   | <b>.77</b> | .03  | < .001 | [.73, .82] | .40        | .60   |
| EMP $\rightarrow$ EMP5   | <b>.75</b> | .03  | < .001 | [.71, .80] | .43        | .57   |

| Path             | $\beta$    | <i>SE</i> | <i>p</i> | 95% CI     | $\varepsilon$ | $R^2$ |
|------------------|------------|-----------|----------|------------|---------------|-------|
| EMP → EMP6       | <b>.77</b> | .02       | < .001   | [.73, .81] | .41           | .59   |
| ANGER → ANGER1   | <b>.94</b> | .01       | < .001   | [.92, .96] | .12           | .88   |
| ANGER → ANGER2   | <b>.92</b> | .01       | < .001   | [.90, .94] | .16           | .84   |
| ANGER → ANGER3   | <b>.95</b> | .01       | < .001   | [.93, .97] | .10           | .90   |
| SAD → SAD1       | <b>.81</b> | .02       | < .001   | [.78, .85] | .34           | .66   |
| SAD → SAD2       | <b>.95</b> | .01       | < .001   | [.93, .96] | .10           | .90   |
| SAD → SAD3       | <b>.91</b> | .01       | < .001   | [.89, .94] | .17           | .83   |
| SORRY → SORRY1   | <b>.80</b> | .03       | < .001   | [.75, .84] | .37           | .63   |
| SORRY → SORRY2   | <b>.85</b> | .02       | < .001   | [.81, .88] | .28           | .72   |
| SORRY → SORRY3   | <b>.78</b> | .03       | < .001   | [.74, .83] | .39           | .62   |
| HOPE → HOPE1     | <b>.84</b> | .02       | < .001   | [.80, .88] | .29           | .71   |
| HOPE → HOPE2     | <b>.77</b> | .03       | < .001   | [.73, .82] | .40           | .60   |
| HOPE → HOPE3     | <b>.82</b> | .02       | < .001   | [.79, .86] | .32           | .68   |
| EMOP → LOVE      | <b>.76</b> | .03       | < .001   | [.70, .81] | .43           | .57   |
| EMOP → EMP       | <b>.90</b> | .03       | < .001   | [.85, .94] | .20           | .80   |
| EMOP → HOPE      | <b>.80</b> | .03       | < .001   | [.74, .85] | .37           | .63   |
| EMON → ANGER     | <b>.66</b> | .05       | < .001   | [.59, .74] | .56           | .44   |
| EMON → SAD       | <b>.74</b> | .04       | < .001   | [.67, .81] | .45           | .55   |
| EMON → SORRY     | <b>.87</b> | .05       | < .001   | [.80, .95] | .24           | .76   |
| PSMA → PSMA1     | <b>.70</b> | .03       | < .001   | [.65, .75] | .51           | .49   |
| PSMA → PSMA2     | <b>.81</b> | .03       | < .001   | [.77, .86] | .34           | .66   |
| PSMA → PSMA3     | <b>.78</b> | .03       | < .001   | [.74, .83] | .39           | .61   |
| PSMCC → PSMCC1   | <b>.83</b> | .02       | < .001   | [.79, .86] | .32           | .68   |
| PSMCC → PSMCC2   | <b>.73</b> | .03       | < .001   | [.69, .78] | .46           | .54   |
| PSMCC → PSMCC3   | <b>.83</b> | .02       | < .001   | [.79, .86] | .32           | .68   |
| PSMSCC → PSMSCC1 | <b>.84</b> | .03       | < .001   | [.80, .89] | .29           | .71   |
| PSMSCC → PSMSCC2 | <b>.82</b> | .03       | < .001   | [.78, .87] | .32           | .68   |
| PSMSCC → PSMSCC3 | <b>.86</b> | .03       | < .001   | [.82, .90] | .26           | .74   |
| PSM → PSMA       | <b>.90</b> | .02       | < .001   | [.86, .93] | .20           | .80   |
| PSM → PSMCC      | <b>.85</b> | .02       | < .001   | [.82, .89] | .28           | .72   |
| PSM → PSMSCC     | <b>.77</b> | .03       | < .001   | [.72, .83] | .41           | .59   |
| BILE → BI3       | <b>.72</b> | .03       | < .001   | [.68, .77] | .48           | .52   |
| BILE → BI5       | <b>.71</b> | .03       | < .001   | [.66, .76] | .49           | .51   |
| BILE → BI7       | <b>.80</b> | .03       | < .001   | [.76, .84] | .36           | .64   |
| BILE → BI9       | <b>.85</b> | .02       | < .001   | [.81, .88] | .28           | .72   |
| BIHE → BI1       | <b>.81</b> | .02       | < .001   | [.78, .85] | .34           | .66   |
| BIHE → BI6       | <b>.75</b> | .03       | < .001   | [.70, .79] | .45           | .56   |
| BIHE → BI8       | <b>.77</b> | .02       | < .001   | [.73, .81] | .41           | .59   |
| BIHE → BI10      | <b>.80</b> | .02       | < .001   | [.76, .84] | .36           | .64   |
| BI → BILE        | <b>.94</b> | .02       | < .001   | [.91, .98] | .11           | .89   |
| BI → BIHE        | <b>.80</b> | .03       | < .001   | [.76, .84] | .37           | .63   |

| Path                                                        | $\beta$    | $SE$ | $p$    | 95% CI      | $\varepsilon$ | $R^2$ |
|-------------------------------------------------------------|------------|------|--------|-------------|---------------|-------|
| <b>Structural Model</b>                                     |            |      |        |             |               |       |
| <i><b>Direct Effects</b></i>                                |            |      |        |             |               |       |
| IVIC $\rightarrow$ EMOP                                     | <b>.38</b> | .10  | < .001 | [.21, .55]  | .86           | .14   |
| IVIC $\rightarrow$ EMON                                     | <b>.38</b> | .11  | < .001 | [.20, .56]  | .86           | .14   |
| IVIC $\rightarrow$ PSM                                      | .10        | .09  | .25    | [-.04, .24] | .33           | .67   |
| IVIC $\rightarrow$ ATT                                      | .09        | .07  | .22    | [-.03, .21] | .53           | .47   |
| EMOP $\rightarrow$ PSM                                      | <b>.61</b> | .05  | < .001 | [.52, .70]  | -             | -     |
| EMON $\rightarrow$ PSM                                      | <b>.38</b> | .05  | < .001 | [.29, .47]  | -             | -     |
| PSM $\rightarrow$ BI                                        | <b>.98</b> | .02  | < .001 | [.95, 1.01] | .04           | .96   |
| PSM $\rightarrow$ ATT                                       | <b>.64</b> | .05  | < .001 | [-.03, .21] | -             | -     |
| <i><b>Indirect Effects</b></i>                              |            |      |        |             |               |       |
| IVIC $\rightarrow$ EMOP $\rightarrow$ PSM                   | <b>.23</b> | .06  | < .001 | [.11, .30]  | -             | -     |
| IVIC $\rightarrow$ EMON $\rightarrow$ PSM                   | <b>.14</b> | .05  | < .001 | [.06, .19]  | -             | -     |
| IVIC $\rightarrow$ PSM $\rightarrow$ BI                     | .10        | .08  | .25    | [-.04, .22] | -             | -     |
| IVIC $\rightarrow$ EMOP $\rightarrow$ PSM $\rightarrow$ BI  | <b>.23</b> | .06  | < .001 | [.11, .31]  | -             | -     |
| IVIC $\rightarrow$ EMON $\rightarrow$ PSM $\rightarrow$ BI  | <b>.14</b> | .05  | < .001 | [.06, .20]  | -             | -     |
| IVIC $\rightarrow$ PSM $\rightarrow$ ATT                    | .06        | .06  | .26    | [-.03, .18] | -             | -     |
| IVIC $\rightarrow$ EMOP $\rightarrow$ PSM $\rightarrow$ ATT | <b>.17</b> | .05  | < .001 | [.09, .25]  | -             | -     |
| IVIC $\rightarrow$ EMON $\rightarrow$ PSM $\rightarrow$ ATT | <b>.11</b> | .04  | < .001 | [.05, .16]  | -             | -     |
| <i><b>Total Indirect Effects</b></i>                        |            |      |        |             |               |       |
| IVIC $\rightarrow$ PSM                                      | <b>.37</b> | .10  | < .001 | [.18, .47]  | -             | -     |
| IVIC $\rightarrow$ BI                                       | <b>.46</b> | .09  | < .001 | [.29, .57]  | -             | -     |
| IVIC $\rightarrow$ ATT                                      | <b>.30</b> | .06  | < .001 | [.23, .47]  | -             | -     |
| <i><b>Total Effects</b></i>                                 |            |      |        |             |               |       |
| IVIC $\rightarrow$ PSM                                      | <b>.41</b> | .08  | < .001 | [.26, .52]  | -             | -     |
| IVIC $\rightarrow$ BI                                       | <b>.43</b> | .08  | < .001 | [.29, .54]  | -             | -     |
| IVIC $\rightarrow$ ATT                                      | <b>.45</b> | .10  | < .001 | [.33, .61]  | -             | -     |

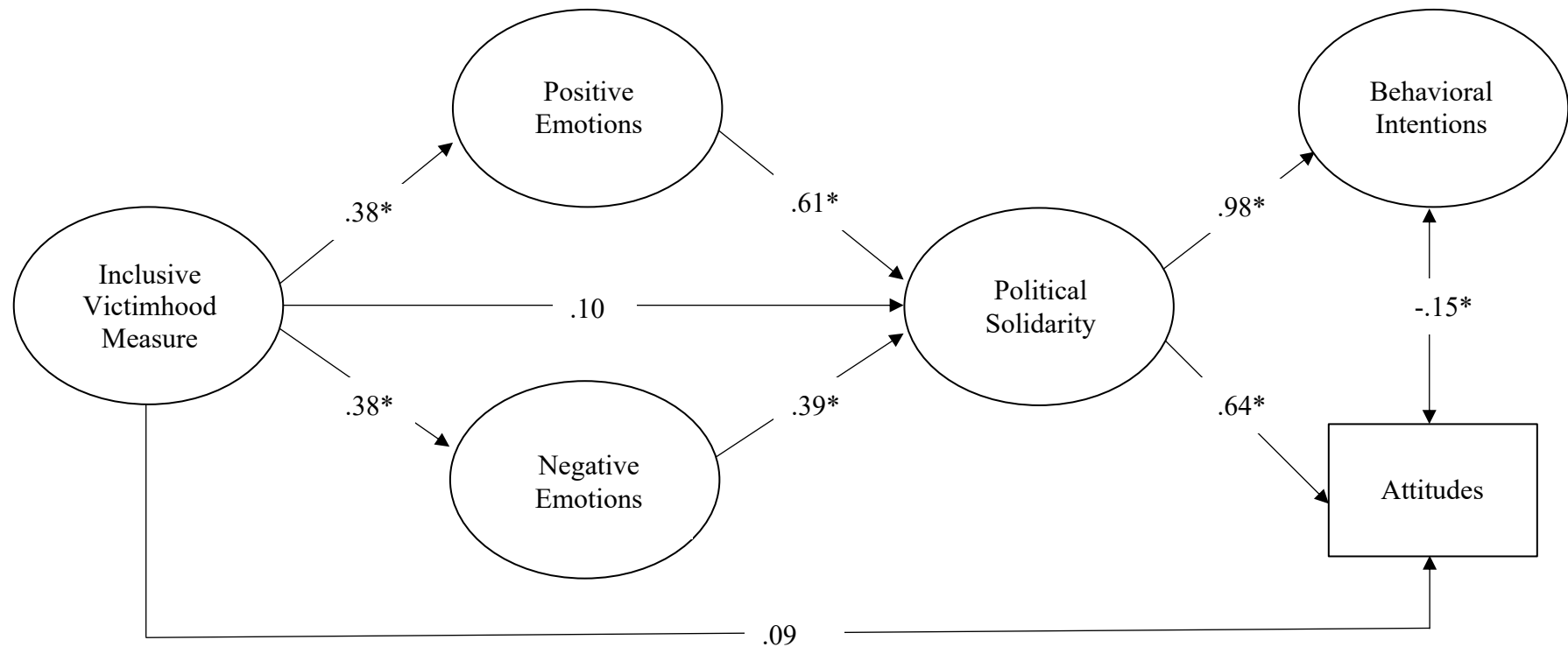
*Note.*  $N = 481$ . For IVIC,  $N = 221$ . EMP = Empathy, EMOP = Positive Emotions, EMON = Negative Emotions, PSMA = Political Solidarity Measure – Allyship, PSMCC = Political Solidarity Measure – Cause Connection, PSMSCC = Political Solidarity Measure – Social Change Commitment, PSM = Political Solidarity Measure, BILE = Behavioral Intentions – Low Effort, BIHE = Behavioral Intentions – High Effort, BI = Behavioral Intentions, IVIC = Inclusive Victim Consciousness Measure, ATT = Attitudes Toward Reconciliation.  $\beta$  = standardized beta,  $SE$  = standard error for the standardized beta, 95% CI = 95% confidence interval for the standardized beta,  $\varepsilon$  = error variance. Error variances and R-square values are for path outcomes. Bolded values are statistically significant as indicated by a  $p$ -value < .05, or a 95% confidence interval that does not include 0. Model fit:  $\chi^2(800) = 1804.20$ ,  $p < .001$ , RMSEA = .05 (90% CI [.05, .05],  $p_{close} = .28$ ), CFI = .92, SRMR = .11.

As Table 9 and Figure 4 show, as with the previous model, all latent factors predicted their measured indicators, demonstrating that the measured items effectively represented their underlying constructs. As for the structural model, scores on the inclusive victimhood measure predicted positive and negative emotions. Again, both positive and negative emotions directly predicted political solidarity, but the former did so stronger than the latter. In addition, political solidarity directly and positively predicted behavioral intentions. This also was the only model with indirect effects, in which inclusive victimhood indirectly predicted solidarity through positive and negative emotions as parallel mediators as well as behavioral intentions through the emotions and solidarity. Inclusive victimhood did not predict attitudes toward reconciliation, which covaried to a small extent with behavioral intentions.



**Figure 4**

*Structural Equation Model (Exploratory Model with Inclusive Victimhood Measure and Attitudes Outcome)*



*Note.* Standardized betas. Only structural model shown without nested measurement models. \*Statistically significant as indicated by a  $p$ -value  $< .05$ , or a 95% confidence interval that does not include 0.

## **Discussion**

Within Canada, anti-Indigenous discrimination continues despite decades of Indigenous advocacy and the 94 Calls to Action published by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (2015). As such, non-Indigenous peoples must increasingly feel and act in solidarity to grow public support and pressure governments in Canada to act. In this thesis, I conducted an online, experimental survey study amongst non-Indigenous university students to test whether an inclusive victimhood narrative manipulation, which emphasized similarities in experiences of discrimination, prejudice, and stereotyping, (1) promoted feelings of and intentions to act in solidarity with Indigenous peoples as well as positive attitudes toward reconciliation; and whether (2) emotional responses (i.e., love, empathy, anger, sadness, sorry, and hope) explained effects on these outcomes. I also explored relationships between these variables and collective victimhood as well as social desirability.

## **Summary of Findings**

As hypothesized, emotions, solidarity, behavioral intentions, and attitudes toward reconciliation positively correlated amongst each other. Collective victimhood positively correlated with all dependent variables (except for anger) while social desirability negatively correlated with inclusive (amongst those in the inclusive victimhood condition) and collective victimhood. As for group differences, and mostly inconsistent with my hypotheses, the inclusive victimhood manipulation caused participants to agree more that reconciliation is necessary but had no effect on any other variables; however, further structural equation modeling exploratory analyses within only the inclusive victimhood condition indicated that measured inclusive victimhood had a significant indirect effect on both behavioral intentions and attitudes, through both positive and negative emotions and then political solidarity. Partially supporting my

hypotheses, feelings of love, empathy, sadness, and sorry (but not anger and hope) predicted solidarity. In turn, solidarity predicted behavioral intentions. Below, I explain why inclusive victimhood narratives might be relevant to support for social change.

### **Do Inclusive Victimhood Narratives Increase Support for Reconciliation?**

Well... Kind of. Non-Indigenous participants who read an inclusive victimhood narrative (i.e., considered how members of different harmed groups might be similarly impacted by discrimination, stereotyping, and prejudice) reported more positive attitudes toward reconciliation. However, these participants did not feel more emotions (i.e., love, empathy, anger, sadness, sorry, and hope) and solidarity or report more intentions to act. Within the inclusive victimhood condition, those who agreed (vs. disagreed) that members of different harmed groups might be similarly impacted by discrimination, stereotyping, and prejudice felt more positive and negative emotions as well as solidarity and, perhaps because of this, were more likely to support reconciliation and plan to act. Though the effect of these inclusive victim beliefs on attitudes was not significant, the standardized estimate was equivalent to the effect of condition (Inclusive Victimhood vs. Control) on attitudes in the previous exploratory model. The non-significant effect may be a result of the smaller sample size and decreased statistical power for the analysis with measured inclusive victimhood, although the sample size still surpassed Kline's (2015) recommended  $N:q$  ratio of 10:1. Regardless, though inclusive victimhood beliefs predicted non-Indigenous support for Indigenous peoples and reconciliation, reflecting previous inclusive victimhood literature (e.g., Cortland et al., 2017; Starzyk et al., 2019; Vollhardt et al., 2016), it may be more difficult to *increase* these beliefs via inclusive victimhood manipulations.

Why might this be? Though thinking about similarities in experiences of discrimination, stereotyping, and prejudice was associated with increased support for reconciliation, this may

have failed to promote emotions, solidarity, or behavioral intentions if participants did not personally connect with these experiences. For instance, if participants felt that they had never experienced discrimination, prejudice, or stereotyping, thinking about such harms may not evoke emotions or motivate people to act because the content is not personally relevant. Scores on collective victimhood suggest that many may have felt this way, as participants slightly disagreed, on average, that they had a sense of collective victimhood and most often strongly disagreed. Exploratory analyses outside the scope of this thesis demonstrated that the effects of the manipulation on the dependent variables did not depend on perceptions of collective victimization, suggesting that a personal connection to such experiences is not required to increase support in this way. However, though it remains unclear from this study, social desirability may have influenced these responses. Social desirability was modestly negatively related to both collective and inclusive victimhood, which was notable given the social desirability measure's low internal consistency. Thus, social desirability bias may have led participants to disagree with statements of victimhood because presenting oneself or others as "victimized" may be socially undesirable (Reynolds, 1982). Demographic characteristics (e.g., gender and ethnicity) may also play a role in how inclusive victimhood narratives influence support for reconciliation, as I discuss later in this thesis.

Even if participants identified with experiences of collective harm, it may have been difficult to conceptualize similarities in three different experiences across many different social groups. Indeed, those that have successfully increased outgroup support most often use group- or context-specific (rather than more general) narratives to highlight similarities in experiences, perhaps because they are more relatable and reduce social distance between the in- and out-groups (e.g., Adelman et al., 2016; Cortland et al., 2017). As an exception, Amenabar-Larrañaga

and colleagues (2023) increased willingness to learn immigrant languages and support multilingual policies by exposing participants to general inclusive linguistic victimhood narratives, however, they found an even greater increase using context-specific narratives. Thus, inclusive victimhood narratives may need to be context-specific to substantially increase support for reconciliation.

Further, even if participants considered and/or perceived similarities between different groups' experiences of harm, this may have failed to evoke emotions, solidarity, and plans to act for several reasons. For one, people are sometimes motivated to avoid addressing injustice because perceiving society (i.e., Canada or the world) as fair and just fulfills epistemic psychological needs for certainty and stability (Jost et al., 2017; Lerner, 1980). During the period over which I collected my data (i.e., from December 2024 to March 2025), my participants may have been especially motivated to perceive Canada as just. During this time, efforts were being made to increase Canadian pride and cooperation in response to United States President Donald Trump's announcement and implementation of tariffs on Canadian goods, which profoundly impacted the Canadian economy (Government of Canada, 2025a). As such, people in Canada may have been more resistant to systemic change because addressing harms against Indigenous peoples or other marginalized groups threatens the positive moral image of Canada, a nation that prides itself as a protector human rights and champion of diversity (Government of Canada, 2025b; Jost et al., 2017; Lerner, 1980).

Additionally, facing systemic injustice against Indigenous peoples can create cognitive dissonance—mental discomfort from holding conflicting beliefs that can cause people to avoid or rationalize inequality—because Canada may not live up to its tolerant, inclusive reputation (Festinger, 1957; Government of Canada, 2025b; Pratto et al., 1994). Though people can reduce

discomfort by working to change inequitable systems, people can also do so by simply denying that injustice is occurring or distancing oneself from the issue, which takes much less cognitive effort to (Knowles et al., 2014; Peetz et al., 2010). Indeed, people may disengage or become desensitized to injustice if they have heard repeatedly about it (i.e., experience message fatigue, Keating & Skurka, 2024). Repeated exposure may even backfire. As awareness of past and present harms has increased amongst non-Indigenous people, so too has denialism and anti-Indigenous sentiment within Canada and other settler colonial nations, although a majority of people in Canada still believe that reconciliation is important (Canadian Reconciliation Barometer, 2023; Gerbrandt & Carleton, 2023; Morse, 2025). Nonetheless, I can only speculate on possible explanations without further research, which I will discuss in more detail later in this discussion. First, I reflect on some strengths and limitations of this research.

### **Strengths and Limitations**

This research had several strengths. First, I measured almost all variables using psychometrically sound, multi-item measures, including a novel measure of behavioral intentions, with high internal consistencies. Representing constructs as latent variables in my exploratory analyses also improved model fit and more accurately resembled my psychological constructs of interest, which are not directly observable (Kline, 2015). Second, I conducted this research in Winnipeg, Manitoba, a city with the largest proportion of Indigenous peoples in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2022). As such, fostering non-Indigenous support for reconciliation is especially relevant in this context, where hopeful signs of reconciliation continue to emerge. For example, in partnership with Canada Lands Company, Treaty One Nation is in the process of redeveloping a 160-acre former Canadian Air Forces Base in Winnipeg into Naawi-Oodena, a site set to become a “vibrant, mixed-use community that honours and celebrates Indigenous

culture, heritage, and teachings” (Treaty One Development Corporation & Canada Lands Company, 2021). By promoting community connections as well as urban and economic growth, this redevelopment has the potential to benefit not only members of Treaty One First Nations but all people in Winnipeg for generations to come. Third, this research integrates multiple bodies of social psychological literature, such as theories of inclusive victimhood (Vollhardt et al., 2015), intergroup emotions (Mackie & Smith, 2002), political solidarity (Neufeld et al., 2019), collective action (van Zomeren et al., 2024), as well as reasoned action and planned behavior (Ajzen et al., 2018; Fishbein & Ajzen, 2010), and contributes to the limited scholarship on what predicts, and how we might promote, support for reconciliation with Indigenous peoples in Canada (Efimoff & Starzyk, 2023; Fontaine, 2023; Herkimer et al., 2024; Starzyk et al., 2024).

In addition to strengths, this research had its limitations. First, my statistical power was slightly lower than expected because my effect was smaller than expected. However, path analyses were well-powered to detect directional effects. Second, though cost-effective and convenient, recruiting university students to participate online may have introduced limitations to validity and generalizability. My sample was mostly young, White women, so generalizing these results to other samples or populations may be problematic. When completing studies from their own devices, students may also be less conscientious, consult outside sources, and/or get distracted by their environment. To minimize these risks, I included instructions and questions to promote truthful, conscientious responding (Clifford & Jerit, 2015, 2016). Finally, my study suffered from design issues that may have compromised internal validity. I did not include a conceptual manipulation check to test whether the manipulation increased inclusive victimhood beliefs (compared to the control), though I included a procedural check to ensure participants read (or did not read) the inclusive victimhood passage. My inclusive victimhood passage may

also have contained demand characteristics (i.e., cues that suggested I wanted participants to agree that all groups experience discrimination, prejudice, and stereotyping), given that the passage emphasized that various social groups could experience collective harm. However, participants who perceived greater similarities in these collective experiences scored significantly lower on social desirability, suggesting that responses to the questions within the inclusive victimhood narrative manipulation were not primarily driven by a desire to appear socially acceptable.

### **Future Directions**

Future research might address some of the above limitations and further investigate effects of the inclusive victimhood narrative on support for reconciliation. For instance, researchers should ensure that analyses are highly powered, recruit extra participants to account for attrition, and use a conceptual manipulation check as well as a multi-item measure of attitudes following Krosnick's (2019) recommendations to improve validity. If the manipulation increases support when doing so, future studies may assess whether the effects generalize to more diverse samples. Future work might also explore cognitive mechanisms through which the inclusive victimhood narrative might impact attitudes toward reconciliation. It may be that considering whether different harmed groups might similarly experience discrimination, prejudice, and stereotyping causes participants to *think* rather than *feel* or plan to *act*. Thus, researchers might measure cognitive mediators, such as perceptions of similarity between one's own group(s)' and Indigenous peoples' experiences (or marginalized groups in general; Falco & Radke, 2025) or intersectional consciousness (i.e., the awareness that different social identities intersect and create unique experiences of advantage and disadvantage; Nair & Vollhardt, 2019). In fact, the manipulation might be better conceptualized as an intersectional consciousness



(rather than inclusive victimhood narrative) manipulation because it highlights that people can experience collective harm because of many different social identities (Nair & Vollhardt, 2019).

Regardless of what researchers decide to call it, future work might also benefit from exploring whether the inclusive victimhood narrative manipulation evokes emotional responses, solidarity, behavioral intentions, and positive attitudes toward reconciliation amongst only certain types of people. Though not reported in this thesis and underpowered, further exploratory analyses indicated the manipulation promoted some emotions and support for reconciliation amongst White participants but decreased some emotions, support, and intentions to act amongst Racialized men, suggesting that aggregating findings may obscure some intersectional differences. Thus, future studies might investigate why these groups might respond differently. One demographic characteristic that might influence responses is ideology, which tends to differ across demographic groups and predicts support (or a lack thereof) for social change (Alcantara et al., 2025; Choma et al., 2020).

As such, those seeking to increase support for reconciliation or other system-challenging social movements might consider tailoring interventions to specific ideologies such as authoritarianism (Altemeyer, 1996; Engelhardt et al., 2021) and social dominance orientation (Pratto et al., 1994; Ho et al., 2015). People who subscribe to these ideologies often oppose social change that involves changing existing norms or power relations, but for different reasons. Those who score high in authoritarianism tend to believe that people should conform to social norms and may experience more threat in response to ideas that challenge existing norms and long-held traditions, while those who score high in social dominance orientation prefer hierarchy in social systems, in which some groups hold more power and resources than others, and may hold more zero-sum beliefs (i.e., that an increase in power or status amongst one group must

coincide with a loss of power or status for other groups; Demanarig et al., 2024; Ho & Kteily, 2025; Noor et al., 2017; Vollhardt et al., 2021). Would inclusive victimhood narratives, then, increase support for reconciliation amongst more authoritarian people if acknowledging similarities in experiences or supporting reconciliation is framed as a normative thing to do? Will inclusive victimhood narratives fail to increase outgroup support amongst more socially dominant people because they firmly believe that some groups will naturally be disadvantaged compared to others? Future research may seek answers to these questions by testing different versions of the inclusive victimhood narrative manipulation and analyzing whether effects depend on these ideologies. As for the current research, I next describe how my findings support, extend, and challenge existing theories as well as inform initiatives seeking to garner support for social change.

### **Theoretical and Applied Implications**

Firstly, researchers might wish to further integrate theories of inclusive victimhood (Vollhardt et al., 2015), intergroup emotions (Mackie & Smith, 2002), political solidarity (Neufeld et al., 2019), collective action (van Zomeren et al., 2024), as well as reasoned action and planned behavior (Ajzen et al., 2018; Fishbein & Ajzen, 2010) to clarify the mechanism(s) through which these variables affect outgroup support. I echo Fontaine's (2023) conclusion that existing models of collective action must integrate emotions such as love, empathy, sadness, sorry, and hope as antecedents of solidarity, behavioral intentions, and attitudes. In my study, the correlation between attitudes and behavioral intentions was positive, however, these outcomes negatively covaried to a small extent after controlling for the other variables in my exploratory models. This may reflect that some participants support reconciliation in principle but may be

reluctant to act because of guilt, fear, or discomfort. However, the mediators in my models (i.e., emotions and political solidarity) may also be absorbing some of the shared variance between behavioral intentions and attitudes, causing a suppression effect. Nonetheless, while solidarity strongly predicted attitudes, it may be worth investigating whether attitudes toward reconciliation mediate effects of inclusive victim beliefs and emotions on solidarity and behavioral intentions. Alternatively, solidarity and attitudes might simultaneously impact behavioral intentions. According to theories of reasoned action and planned behavior (Ajzen et al., 2018; Fishbein & Ajzen, 2010), attitudes inform behavioral intentions; however, this study demonstrates that political solidarity predicted intentions to act. Attitudes toward reconciliation may operate even earlier in the causal chain and influence how people respond emotionally to reminders of injustice against Indigenous people (Lazarus, 1991)

Responses to injustice are also often shaped by people's beliefs about the world and motivations to perceive fairness and justice. Thus, theorists might consider how inclusive victimhood beliefs and narratives might relate to theories of system justification (Jost et al., 2017) and belief in a just world (Lerner, 1980), which posit that people are motivated to view the systems and world they exist within as fair and just. Are people who hold more inclusive victimhood beliefs less likely to justify inequitable systems or see the world as just? Do inclusive victimhood narratives fail to increase support for reconciliation because system-justifying motivations cause people to reject information that depicts society as unjust? These are questions that can only be answered with further research and integrative theorizing.

Finally, this thesis has implications for applied research and advocacy that seeks to promote social change. Firstly, inclusive victimhood beliefs can predict support for social change, and inclusive victimhood narratives may be able to prime inclusive victimhood and

promote such support, although further research is needed to develop context- and audience-specific interventions. Echoing Fontaine (2023), researchers and advocates might increase support for reconciliation by invoking positive emotions such as love, hope, and empathy because positive emotions predict solidarity even stronger than negative ones. Though it is useful to understand whether specific positive emotions predict solidarity stronger than others, people can and often experience many emotions simultaneously (Becker et al., 2011; Fontaine, 2023; van Zomeren, 2021). Thus, promoting positive emotions in general may be more impactful than targeting specific emotions individually. Such positive feelings may be less likely to negatively impact intergroup relations and necessary to transform beliefs into action as well as sustain efforts within social movements (Cohen-Chen & van Zomeren, 2018; Hasan-Aslih et al., 2020; van Zomeren, 2021). However, simply reading about injustice may not evoke emotional responses (although it sometimes does, e.g., Adelman et al., 2016; Fontaine, 2023). Those seeking to increase positive emotions and solidarity might use more engaging ways to do so, such as presenting people with emotionally stimulating images, videos, or other immersive media (e.g., virtual reality, see Woolford et al., 2022). Although contextual differences exist, such campaigns may also inform efforts to increase support for reconciliation in other settler colonial nations and contexts with a history of conflict.

### **Conclusion**

In Canada and around the world, non-Indigenous people must stand in solidarity with Indigenous peoples—who continue to suffer from racist, colonial policies and widespread discrimination—to spur government action. My findings suggest that people who hold inclusive victimhood beliefs (i.e., perceive that members of different harmed groups similarly experience discrimination, prejudice, and stereotyping) may be more likely to feel both positive and

negative emotions as well as solidarity with Indigenous peoples when thinking about reconciliation, feelings that predict intentions to act and positive attitudes toward reconciliation. Additionally, getting non-Indigenous people to consider how members of different harmed groups might similarly experience discrimination, prejudice, and stereotyping may increase positive attitudes toward reconciliation. As such, those wishing to increase support for reconciliation or social change more broadly might further investigate the role of inclusive victimhood beliefs and narratives with a more rigorous measure of attitudes toward the issue.

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