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Inclusive victim consciousness predicts minority group members' support for refugees and immigrants

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Abstract

What motivates minority group members to support other minorities, rather than compete for resources? We tested whether inclusive victim consciousness —i.e., perceived similarities between the ingroup's and outgroups' collective victimization— predicts support for other minority groups; and whether personal and family experiences of group-based victimization moderate these effects. Study 1 was conducted among members of historically oppressed groups in India. As hypothesized, inclusive victim consciousness predicted support for refugees. Personal experiences of group-based victimization moderated this effect. Conceptually replicating these findings, in Study 2 (among Vietnamese Americans, mostly second-generation immigrants) inclusive victim consciousness predicted less hostility toward other refugees and immigrants, and greater perceived responsibility to help victims of collective violence. This effect was moderated by family experiences of victimization.

Most social psychological research on intergroup relations has focused on attitudes among members of majority or advantaged groups toward minority and disadvantaged groups (Dixon, Tropp, Durrheim, & Tredoux, 2010). Less is known about relations between disadvantaged minority groups, including groups that experienced discrimination and other forms of group-based violence (but see Barlow, Louis, & Terry, 2010; Bikmen, 2011; Craig & Richeson, 2012; Glasford & Calcagno, 2012). Positive relations between minority groups, however, are crucial in building cohesive multicultural societies: While minority groups can be powerful allies, they may also compete for resources or engage in intense conflict (Barlow et al., 2010; Bobo & Hutchings, 1996). In this article, we test a novel theoretical framework that can help understand prosocial relations between victimized minority groups: inclusive victim consciousness—that is, perceived similarities between the ingroup's and other groups' experiences of group-based victimization (Vollhardt, 2012, 2015). We examine this concept among historically oppressed minority groups in India (including Muslims, Christians, members of the so-called lower castes) and among a minority group that came to the United States as refugees escaping war and political violence (Vietnamese Americans).

Conflict versus cooperation between minority groups

Across the globe, conflicts between minority groups are common. In 2012 in India, for example, there were riots between Bodos (a tribal community) and Bangladeshi Muslim immigrants, two minorities in the state of Assam. Reasons for these clashes include conflict over resources and perceived symbolic threat such as the perception that the Bangladeshi Muslim immigrants were changing the religious and ethnic character of the region (Institute of South Asian Studies, 2012). Similarly, affirmative action rights have caused tension between disadvantaged minority groups in India: those who were granted these rights sometimes oppose their extension to other minority groups (Suri, 2007).

A well-known example of minority-minority tensions in the United States are the 1992 riots in Los Angeles, during which there was violent conflict between African Americans and Korean Americans as well as Latinos (Bergesen & Herman, 1998). Other cases have included conflict over resources, such as housing and employment; over symbolic issues such as language; or over the perceived lack of support among other minorities for affirmative action or immigration laws (Kim & Lee, 2001; Rodríguez, 1996).

The same issues, however, have also sparked cooperation and solidarity between minority groups. For example, in India, some Dalit ("lower"-caste Hindu) activists have protested on behalf of Muslims, urging that they be included in affirmative action policies from which Dalits benefit (Counterpoint, 2011). In the United States, the Japanese American Citizens League has spoken out against the persecution facing Muslim Americans after 09/11, because of perceived similarities with the Japanese internment during World War II (Murray, 2007). Jewish-Latino alliances have referred to parallels between present-day Latino experiences and past Jewish experiences of immigration to the United States (Guttman, 2010). Similarly, many politicians advocating for immigrant rights in the United States have mentioned their own immigrant backgrounds (Swarns, 2006). This anecdotal evidence suggests that minority groups with past or present experiences of group-based victimization can be important allies for other disadvantaged groups—in part motivated by perceived commonalities in experiences of group-based suffering. This phenomenon has important practical implications, especially when a group has gained political power and resources that the other group does not yet have, putting them in a position to help other disadvantaged groups (Kim & Lee, 2001).

Social psychological processes underlying positive relations between disadvantaged minority groups

What social psychological processes can explain when relations between victimized minority groups are competitive and conflict-ridden versus cooperative and prosocial? We argue that one such process is how the ingroup's victimization is construed in relation to other victim groups. Specifically, while people may perceive their ingroup's victimization to be unique and distinct (*exclusive victim consciousness*), they may also be aware of similarities between the ingroup's and other groups' experiences of group-based victimization (*inclusive victim consciousness*). We propose that while various forms of exclusive victim consciousness contribute to competition and conflict (e.g., Noor, Schnabel, Halabi, & Nadler, 2012; Schori-Eyal, Halperin, & Bar-Tal, 2014; Wohl & Branscombe, 2008), inclusive victim consciousness may foster prosocial attitudes toward other victimized minority groups (Vollhardt, 2012, 2013, 2015). These predictions draw on the more general common ingroup identity model (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000), which posits that when outgroups are included in a larger superordinate category along with the ingroup, people experience more positive (including prosocial) attitudes toward former outgroups who are now perceived to share a common ingroup identity (e.g., Dovidio et al., 1997; Levine, Prosser, Evans, & Reicher, 2005). The notion of inclusive victim consciousness builds on this literature, suggesting that shared experiences of disadvantage, group-based oppression or violence can provide the basis for a common ingroup identity between victimized groups.

Some scarce research has begun to test these ideas among groups in conflict and in the aftermath of violent conflict. Using single-item measures, surveys conducted among Rwandan, Burundian, and Congolese participants showed that while exclusive victim consciousness predicted negative intergroup attitudes including distrust and social distance, inclusive victim consciousness predicted prosocial intergroup attitudes such as speaking out on behalf of outgroup members in need or supporting leaders who also care for outgroup members in the given society (Vollhardt & Bilali, 2015). In the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, experimentally manipulated perceptions of shared experiences of suffering due to the conflict increased willingness to forgive the other conflict party (Shnabel, Halabi, & Noor, 2013). Similarly, a survey conducted in Northern Ireland showed that greater perceived similarities with victim groups worldwide predicted increased willingness for forgiveness between Catholics and Protestants (Cohrs, McNeill, & Vollhardt, 2015).

Moreover, two experiments suggest that inclusive victim consciousness can also extend beyond the context of a given conflict to promote prosocial attitudes toward groups that were targeted by different perpetrator groups in different parts of the world. For example, reminding Jewish Americans of other victim groups during the Holocaust in addition to Jewish victimization increased their willingness to support victims of the genocide in Darfur (Vollhardt, 2013). Similarly, Jewish Americans who were asked to focus on the lessons of their group's victimization felt more obliged to help other victim groups—but only those they were not in conflict with, such as persecuted Sudanese civilians—, mediated through perceived similarity (Warner, Wohl, & Branscombe, 2014).

Similar ideas have been examined in the context of relations between minority groups in the United States that are affected by group-based disadvantage and not in overt conflict with each other. For example, Glasford and Calcagno (2012) found that when shared experiences of disadvantage between Latinos and African Americans were made salient, Latinos expressed more political solidarity towards African Americans (such as willingness to protest on their behalf). Similarly, Craig and Richeson (2012) demonstrated that Asian Americans and Latinos who read about racial discrimination against their ingroup perceived another disadvantaged minority group (specifically, African Americans) to be more similar to their ingroup; and this perceived similarity mediated the relationship between perceived ingroup discrimination and improved attitudes towards another disadvantaged minority. However, both studies assessed perceptions of similarity between two specific groups (including cultural

similarity) and not explicitly how people think about their ingroup's collective victimization or disadvantage in general (i.e., victim consciousness) that we assess in this article.

Although the common ingroup identity model is clearly relevant for the reviewed research, it is important to note that inclusive victim consciousness cannot be simply replaced by other common ingroup identities when it comes to predicting and explaining outcomes that are closely associated with conflict and violence. This is supported by Shnabel et al.'s (2013) findings, showing that while the common victimhood manipulation increased forgiveness, a common regional identity (as Middle Easterners) did not. Therefore, perceived similarity specifically with regard to the ingroup's victimization—and not just similarities in general—may be more powerful in increasing positive attitudes toward other victim groups when these relate to victimization (such as reconciliation, support for providing aid, etc.).

Despite the promising initial evidence available so far, more research is needed, and the present paper aimed to address several gaps in this emerging area of research. First, there is a need to use more explicit, multi-item measures of victim beliefs—that is, how people construe their group's collective victimization—rather than relying on more general measures of perceived similarity and single-item measures of inclusive victim beliefs. Second, there is a need for greater integration of research on victim beliefs. Thus far, research on collective victimhood has focused on the distinctiveness of group suffering, whereas the research reviewed above highlights the perceived similarity victimization. Instead of merely focusing on one particular construal, we believe it is important to test different kinds of victim beliefs together—i.e., both perceived uniqueness of ingroup victimization (*exclusive victim consciousness*) and perceived similarities between the ingroup's and other groups' experiences of group-based victimization (*inclusive victim consciousness*). Examining these different construals together will allow us to test more adequately whether it is actually increased inclusive victim consciousness that predicts prosocial attitudes toward other victim groups, and not reduced exclusive victim consciousness. Third, the available evidence has been limited to few, specific contexts of group-based victimization. Replicating and extending these findings to other contexts of collective victimization is therefore important; in particular among minority groups in non-Western societies that are underrepresented in psychological research (Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010). It is also important to extend these studies to examine whether and how victim consciousness is associated with attitudes toward other minority groups that are not in overt conflict with the ingroup but could be perceived as an economic threat, such as new immigrants and refugees entering into society. Finally, an important gap in the scarce research on victim beliefs so far is the role of personal versus collective experiences of group-based victimization (see Vollhardt, 2012). Specifically, the research reviewed above has not taken into account how the effects of victim consciousness based on the group's collective victimization—which does not have to be experienced personally in order for group members to identify with the experiences—may be moderated by more direct experiences of group-based victimization. This article is the first to examine the important question of how these perceptions of collective experiences of victimization may interact with personal and family experiences of victimization.

The role of personal and family experiences of group-based victimization

Some of the examples discussed earlier suggest that personal and family experiences of suffering may motivate people to act on behalf of other victimized groups. This can occur for a number of reasons and depends on how the experience of victimization is subjectively construed and which meaning people derive from it. Prosocial behavior may serve as a coping strategy, it can be a manifestation of post-traumatic growth, or due to enhanced perspective-taking or identification with other victims, which we have defined above as inclusive victim consciousness (for a review see Vollhardt, 2009). For example, a qualitative study suggested that human rights activists in Colombia who had experienced personal victimization due to the conflict engaged in this activism as a way of affirming personal values despite fear, finding meaning in one's experiences, and leaving a legacy of peace and social justice for future generations (Hernández-Wolfe, 2011). Sometimes, this activism also extended to members of other groups, such as (other) ethnic and racial minorities in the country. Similarly, inclusive helping was also found among students in the United States who reported having experienced traumatic events in the past, which predicted increased prosocial attitudes toward victims of a natural disaster in Asia (Vollhardt & Staub, 2011).

Family experiences may have a similar impact, by making collective suffering more salient and personally relevant. Such "ego-involvement" should strengthen attitudes toward related issues and therefore increase willingness to support relevant causes (Sherif, Kelley, Rodgers, Sarup, & Titler, 1973) benefitting other victimized outgroups—if ingroup victimization is construed in inclusive ways. For example, anecdotal evidence of some children of Holocaust survivors suggests that heightened awareness of group-based victimization through family members' personal experiences motivated them to help members of other victim groups, including Palestinians (e.g., Roy, 2007). However, to our knowledge no empirical study so far has systematically examined how family experiences of group-

based victimization affect prosocial attitudes toward other victim groups. Therefore, the present research tests whether beliefs about victimization experiences on the group level interact with more personal experiences of group-based victimization to predict prosocial attitudes between members of disadvantaged minority groups.

We hypothesize that personal and family experiences of victimization will moderate the effects of inclusive victim consciousness on prosocial attitudes toward other victim groups. Specifically, inclusive victim consciousness should predict increased prosocial attitudes toward other disadvantaged minority groups among those who have personal experiences of group-based victimization—but only if the ingroup's victimization is construed in inclusive ways—because these experiences make social issues related to group-based victimization personally relevant (see Sherif et al., 1973). We test this hypothesis in Study 1. Study 2 extends this research by examining the extent to which family members' experiences of group-based victimization—which may also make group-based violence personally relevant—also moderate the effects of inclusive victim consciousness on prosocial attitudes toward other disadvantaged minority groups.

The present studies: overview

The present studies examine the effects of inclusive victim consciousness on attitudes toward other victimized minority groups: specifically, refugees and new immigrants. We hypothesized that inclusive victim consciousness would predict increased support for other victimized minorities. Additionally, we tested the potentially moderating role of personal experiences or, where more relevant, parents' experiences of group-based victimization. To test these ideas we conducted two surveys among minority groups with experiences of collective victimization in two distinct contexts: among disadvantaged minority group members in India, and among first and second generation Vietnamese immigrants in the United States. To control for other forms of victim beliefs the literature has discussed so far and rule out the possibility that these are better predictors of the outcomes we test, we also assessed exclusive victim consciousness and personal centrality of ingroup victimization (i.e., how much people think about their group's suffering; Vollhardt, 2012, 2015). The present studies are the first to examine the differential effects of inclusive and exclusive victim consciousness (assessed with multi-item measures) on attitudes toward other victim groups worldwide, rather than the other conflict party). Additionally, these studies are the first to examine how personal and family experiences of victimization may interact with construals of group-based victimization and predict attitudes toward other victimized groups.

Study 1

Study 1 was conducted among members of disadvantaged minority groups in India. The Hindu majority in India is divided by the stratified caste system that privileges the so-called upper castes while relegating the "lower" castes or Dalits (formerly known as untouchables) to positions of severe disadvantage (Sooryamoorthy, 2008). To escape this oppression, some Dalits converted to other religions that claimed to be more egalitarian than Hinduism, such as Islam, Christianity, and Buddhism (Sikand, 2004). However, this conversion did not change their socioeconomic status, and these communities remain largely marginalized and disadvantaged. In addition to these religious minorities, tribal groups in India have also experienced structural discrimination (Sujatha, 2002).

Along with structural violence, occasionally these disadvantaged minority groups in India have also been targeted by direct violence (Shariff & Razzack, 2006). For example, during the 2002 communal riots in Gujarat, Muslims, Dalits, and members of tribal communities were killed and their properties were destroyed. Similarly, in 2008, the Christian minority in the state of Orissa faced violent attacks. Against this backdrop, in the present study we examined prosocial attitudes among members of these victimized groups towards Nepali-speaking Bhutanese refugees who have been living in India in significant numbers (an estimated 15,000–30,000) without legal recognition as refugees under desperate conditions (HRW, 2007). Like any refugee or immigrant group, they may be seen as a symbolic or economic threat to members of the host community, including other disadvantaged minority groups. We hypothesized that inclusive victim consciousness would predict willingness to support these refugees, controlling for other victim beliefs discussed in the literature (exclusive victim consciousness and personal centrality of ingroup victimization). Additionally, we examined whether personal experiences of group-based victimization would moderate this effect.

Method

Participants

To reduce selection bias, we did not ask participants about their group membership during recruitment. However, only participants from historically disadvantaged groups (as indicated on a checklist with multiple answer options) who also reported that the group they identified with most had experienced group-based violence, injustice or oppression (see Procedure) were included in the analysis ($N = 179$; 69% female). The sample represented members of several disadvantaged minority groups: 52% identified as Muslim, 27% as Christian, 16% reported being from lower castes (Dalits), 4%

Table 1 Factor Loadings (Exploratory Factor Analysis) for Group-based Victim Consciousness Items (Study 1)

	Exclusive VC	Inclusive VC	Personal centrality
My group's past suffering is distinct from that of other groups.	**.50**	.05	.27
The suffering of my group is unique in history.	**.70**	.08	−.02
My group's victimization cannot be compared to any other group's experiences.	**.78**	−.12	−.03
No other group has suffered as much as my group has.	**.70**	−.01	.00
Other groups have experienced similar kinds of suffering as my group has.	.04	**.70**	−.12
Many groups in the world have suffered in ways similar to my group.	.01	**.70**	−.09
Generally speaking, the experience of my group is much like other instances of group-based victimization across the world.	.05	**.51**	.02
The oppression my group has experienced is similar to that endured by other groups.	−.11	**.51**	.11
I spend a lot of time talking with others about the harm that was inflicted on my group.	.21	.11	**.49**
I am not very interested in what my group has experienced in the past. (reverse-coded)	.02	−.02	**.52**
I don't spend a lot of time thinking about how my group has suffered. (reverse-coded)	−.07	−.07	**.75**

Note. We used the maximum-likelihood extraction method with oblique rotation (direct oblimin). All Eigenvalues were above >1, suggesting (together with the scree plot) this three-factor solution. Cross-loading items and items with weak factor loadings were removed.

from tribal communities, and 1% identified as Buddhist. The sample was highly educated (89% had or were pursuing a bachelor's degree, the rest a higher degree). Most (76.5%) were college or university students. Participants' ages ranged from 18 to 47 years old ($M = 20.91$; $SD = 5.15$).

Procedure

Participants were approached at colleges, cafés, and NGOs, in the South Indian states of Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. These locations allowed purposive sampling of participants from different socioeconomic backgrounds (e.g., both government and private colleges). Participants were invited to complete a survey in English (one of the official languages in India and used in most colleges as the language of instruction) on "experiences of social groups in India." Participants received a soft drink as compensation for their time.

After providing informed consent, participants completed demographic information and an identity measure (see below). They were then asked if the social group they identified with most had suffered from violence, injustice, or oppression, and if so to briefly elaborate on their answer. Subsequently, participants responded to measures of victim consciousness and prosocial attitudes. For both the identity measure and the victim consciousness items participants were instructed to answer with the group in mind that they had indicated they identified with most. After completing the survey, participants were debriefed and thanked.

Measures

Unless otherwise noted, all items were assessed on 6-point scales, ranging from "strongly disagree" (1) to "strongly agree" (6).

Group-based victim consciousness

Based on previous theorizing (e.g., Vollhardt, 2012, 2015) and preliminary studies in other contexts (e.g., Vollhardt & Bilali, 2015), we developed items to measure different facets of group-based victim consciousness—primarily, inclusive and exclusive victim consciousness, with some additional items to control for the perceived personal importance of the ingroup's victimization. These items loaded on distinct factors in an exploratory factor analysis and formed sufficiently reliable scales (see Table 1 for all items and their factor loadings). The measure of *inclusive victim consciousness* included four items (Cronbach's $\alpha = .69$) describing perceived similarities between the ingroup's and other groups' victimization. The measure of *exclusive victim consciousness* (Cronbach's $\alpha = .78$) included four items assessing the tendency to perceive the ingroup's victimization as unique. In addition, three items concerning the personal importance of the ingroup's victimization loaded onto a separate factor, creating a measure of *personal centrality of ingroup victimization* (Cronbach's $\alpha = .61$).

Personal experiences of group-based victimization

To assess personal experiences of group-based victimization, participants were asked: "Have you had any difficult personal experiences due to your social group membership?" This was a dichotomous measure ("yes" or "no"). Participants were then asked to describe these experiences in an open-ended format, which we used to verify their answer. The answers included experiences of social discrimination, economic disadvantage, lack of rights, and several other forms of group-based disadvantage that, due to small numbers of

participants within each category, could not be treated as separate predictors.

Demographic and control variables

Gender, fluency in English, recruitment location (indicating socio-economic status), and group identification were included as control variables. To control for potential differences in participants' reading comprehension, fluency in English was assessed by asking participants if they communicated in English with their family/friends and at work, on three-point scales (from *never*, 0, to *frequently*, 2; both items were combined into a composite score from 0 to 4). To control for socioeconomic status, we coded the recruitment location by distinguishing between elite settings (e.g., private colleges, upscale cafés) and non-elite settings (e.g., government colleges, NGOs serving marginalized groups; see Brooks-Gunn, Denner, & Klebanov, 1995; Hauser, 1969, for similar measures). This unobtrusive indicator of socioeconomic status was chosen because self-report questions about class and income in these contexts might have alienated the participants and created fear of stigmatization. Finally, group identification was assessed with Luhtanen and Crocker's (1992) importance of identity subscale, consisting of four items (e.g., "In general, belonging to my social group is an important part of my self-image"; Cronbach's $\alpha = .84$). Participants were asked to focus on the social group they identified with most; and this was the group for which they also completed the question about experiences of group-based victimization.

Outcome measure

Participants first read a fictional text, claiming that an association of Indians living abroad had raised over 100 million dollars to address social problems among groups in India. Participants were then presented with a description of the situation of Nepali-speaking Bhutanese refugees in India. They were informed that the association had been debating whether to use the available funds toward this particular cause, rather than for other causes in India. Participants were then asked to provide their opinion on the issue. Specifically, participants completed six items assessing prosocial attitudes towards Bhutanese refugees. To reduce social desirability, half of the items were reverse-coded. The items read: "The Bhutan cause is not as important as other causes in India" (reverse-coded); "I do not think India is obliged to help this cause" (reverse-coded); "The raised money should go to Bhutan;" "India should create volunteer groups to work in refugee camps;" "This money should be given to people of my group" (reverse-coded); and "Our government should also give money to this cause"). While internal consistency was low (Cronbach's $\alpha = .57$) and could not be improved by removing any items, this measure captured different but conceptually related aspects of the willingness to assist and share resources with another disadvantaged group. Therefore, the items were combined into one scale.

Results

Correlations between all variables, and their means and standard deviations, are reported in Table 2. We used hierarchical multiple regression to predict prosocial attitudes toward Bhutanese refugees. Predictor variables were centered when computing interaction terms (Aiken & West, 1991). In the first step, we entered basic control variables (gender, group identification, recruitment location, fluency in English). In the second step, we simultaneously entered our main predictor, inclusive victim consciousness, exclusive victim consciousness and personal centrality of ingroup victimization as additional control variables, and personal experiences of group-based victimization as a possible moderator. While there were no significant predictors in Step 1, in Step 2 inclusive victim consciousness predicted significantly greater prosocial attitudes towards Nepali-Bhutanese refugees (see Table 3). Notably, the control variables, exclusive victim consciousness and centrality of ingroup victimization, did not predict this outcome.

In Step 3, we added the interaction terms between personal experiences of group-based suffering and inclusive victim consciousness and exclusive victim consciousness, respectively. Personal experiences significantly moderated the relationship between inclusive victim consciousness and prosocial attitudes (see Figure 1), adding a marginally significant amount of explained variance. Specifically, the simple slope analysis (using Hayes and Matthes' 2009 macro) revealed that inclusive victim consciousness was a stronger predictor of prosocial attitudes among participants who reported personal experiences of group-based victimization (simple slope: $b = .49$, $t(133) = 3.30$, $p = .001$) than among those who did not (simple slope: $b = .12$, $t(171) = 1.82$, $p = .07$).[1] There were no significant main effects or interaction effects of exclusive victim consciousness on prosocial attitudes.

Discussion

This study investigated inclusive victim consciousness among members of historically excluded and disadvantaged minority groups in the understudied context of India. We found

[1]We also explored interactions with personal centrality of ingroup victimization and group identification. The interaction term between inclusive victim consciousness and personal centrality was not significant (Beta = .02, $p = .81$); and while the interaction with group identification was marginally significant (Beta = .17, $p = .07$), adding this term did not significantly increase the amount of explained variance ($\Delta R^2 = .02$, $p = .16$).

Table 2 Means, Standard Deviations, and Pearson's Correlations for Variables Used in Study1

Variable	*M* (*SD*)	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
1. Prosocial attitudes toward outgroup victims	4.13 (.73)	1								
2. Inclusive victim consciousness	3.94 (.95)	.29**	1							
3. Exclusive victim consciousness	4.01 (1.15)	−.26**	−.26**	1						
4. Centrality of ingroup victimization	3.70 (1.11)	.14^{+}	.11	.14^{+}	1					
5. Personal experience of collective violence	.13 (.34)	−.06	−.02	.14^{+}	.20**	1				
6. English Fluency	3.00 (.98)	.24**	.01	−.22**	−.09	−.08	1			
7. Ingroup identification	4.69 (1.22)	−.15^{+}	−.18*	.30**	.19*	−.02	−.15^{+}	1		.
8. Gender (female)	N/A	.09	−.04	−.14*	.06	.25**	.09	.03	1	
9. Location of recruitment (elite)	N/A	−.18*	−.16*	.41**	.19*	.11	−.37**	29**	.12	1

Note. $^{+}$ $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

Table 3 Hierarchical Multiple Regression Predicting Prosocial Attitudes toward Victimized Outgroups (Study 1)

Predictors	Step 1 Beta (*t*)	Step 2 Beta (*t*)	Step 3 Beta (*t*)
Gender (female)	.07 (.88)	.11 (1.26)	.09 (1.07)
Group Identification	−.07 (−.79)	.02 (.18)	.04 (.49)
English Fluency	.17^{+} (1.87)	.17* (1.96)	.19* (2.13)
Location of recruitment (elite)	−.09 (−.98)	−.04 (−.39)	−.01 (−.12)
Personal experience (EXP)		.03 (−.36)	−.02 (−.23)
Inclusive VC (IVC)		.25** (2.91)	.17^{+} (1.83)
Exclusive VC (EVC)		−.07 (−.76)	−.14 (−1.34)
Centrality of victimization		−.08 (−.98)	−.06 (−.66)
IVC x EXP			.22* (2.24)
EVC x EXP			.17 (1.57)
R^2 (Adjusted R^2)	.07 (.05)	.15 (.10)	.18 (.12)
ΔR^2	.07*	.07**	.02^{+}
Effect size (f^2): Achieved power:			.22 .99

Note. VC = victim consciousness.
$^{+}$ $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

support for our hypothesis that inclusive victim consciousness would predict prosocial attitudes toward a victimized outgroup, Nepali-Bhutanese refugees. Furthermore, personal experiences of group-based victimization strengthened this effect. In contrast, exclusive victim consciousness, the type of victim belief(s) more commonly studied so far in the context of collective victimization, did not predict these outcomes. This lends additional empirical support to the idea that it is important to study different kinds of victim beliefs, including those that are more conducive to positive intergroup relations (Vollhardt, 2015).

Limitations of this study include the low reliability of the outcome measure. Because this measure assessed a broad range of prosocial attitudes rather than a narrowly defined construct, this low reliability was deemed acceptable. Nevertheless, future studies should replicate these findings with more robust outcome measures. We also limited our outcome measures to positive attitudes. However, it is equally important to examine predictors of hostility and negative attitudes between minority groups; and we address this limitation in Study 2. Another limitation is that the survey was conducted in English, resulting in a highly educated sample from urban settings. In future research it will be important to increase the generalizability of these findings by conducting the study in local languages and recruiting less educated participants in rural areas where resources are more limited. Moreover, because we did not ask about group membership during recruitment, our sample included members from several minority groups with distinct experiences. Because of the small sample sizes from each group we could not test potential group differences. Therefore, in Study 2 we recruited members from one community rather than combining several groups into one sample. Finally, Study 1 was conducted among members of communities that experienced mostly structural violence, which is arguably closer to perceived discrimination than to our broader conceptualization of group-based victimization that also includes experiences of direct violence. Therefore, to extend these findings we conducted Study 2 among an immigrant community that had escaped from war and direct violence.

Study 2

In Study 2, we aimed to conceptually replicate and extend the findings in a different context, among Vietnamese Americans. Escaping from destruction and extreme poverty after

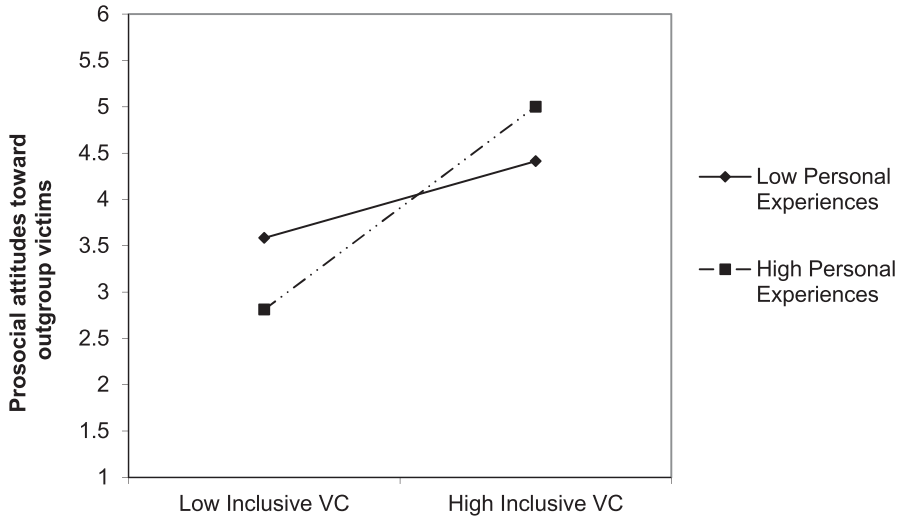

Figure 1 Interaction effect between inclusive victim consciousness and personal experiences of collective violence, predicting prosocial attitudes toward victimized outgroups (Study 1).

the Vietnam War as well as from political repression through the Communist regime in Vietnam, Vietnamese immigrants came to the United States between 1975 and 1992 as so-called "Boat People" (Cargill & Huynh, 2000). Now in their second and third generation, the Vietnamese minority in the United States has been relatively successful in terms of upward social mobility, placing a great emphasis on education and small businesses (Do, 1999). Thus, economic competition with other groups may be as likely as solidarity; and extending Study 1 we included not only measures of prosocial attitudes but also of hostility toward other immigrant and refugee groups within the borders of one's country. Additionally, we were interested to extend the measures from attitudes toward a specific outgroup as in Study 1 to perceptions of other victim groups more generally.

The present study was conducted among second generation Vietnamese Americans and those who came to the United States as young children. Thus, their experience of group-based victimization is mostly not direct, but instead vicarious and transmitted through their parents' narratives (Han, 2006). Such narratives can have a similar influence though—collective trauma does not need to be personally experienced to be psychologically impactful and also affect attitudes toward social issues and other groups (see reviews in Danieli, 1998; Vollhardt, 2012). For this reason, we also assessed parents' experiences of collective violence, conceptually extending the question of the potentially moderating role of experiences of group-based victimization in Study 1. Vietnamese refugees experienced different levels of violence (Do, 1999), and the degree to which survivor families talk about their experiences differs (Lin, Suyemoto, & Kiang, 2008; Wohl & van Bavel, 2011). Therefore, we expected inter-individual differences in the exposure to parents' experiences of collective violence that should influence victim consciousness and attitudes toward other refugee groups by making these issues more personally relevant. Specifically, parallel to Study 1, we examined whether inclusive victim consciousness would predict positive attitudes toward other victim groups, and whether these effects would be moderated by parents' experiences of group-based victimization.

Method

Sample

Participants were 91 Vietnamese American students from a large state university in the Northeast of the United States (46% female). Their ages ranged from 18 to 29 years ($M = 20.10$, $SD = 1.89$). The majority of the participants (68%) were second generation immigrants, while 32% were first generation immigrants who had come to the United States with their families as refugees when they were children.

Procedure

Two Vietnamese American research assistants recruited the participants through the Vietnamese Student Association, the Psychology department's subject pool, and through flyers on campus. The study was conducted in quiet public spaces on campus. Participants were told that the study was about "social and public policy issues," including "questions concerning the history of Vietnamese Americans." After providing informed consent, participants completed measures of victim consciousness, attitudes toward other refugee groups, personal and family experiences of victimization, and control

Table 4 Factor Loadings (Exploratory Factor Loadings) of Group-based Victim Consciousness Items (Study 2)

	Exclusive VC	Inclusive VC	Personal Centrality
My group's past suffering is distinct from that of other groups.[a]	**.58**	.02	.12
The suffering of my group is unique in history.[a]	**.64**	.21	.07
My group has always been persecuted.[b]	**.82**	.09	.11
No other group has suffered the same was as my group has.[b]	**.52**	.01	.12
Many groups in the world have suffered in ways similar to my group.[a]	.03	**.49**	.08
The victimization of my group happened according to general patterns that repeat throughout history and all over the world.[b]	.07	**.80**	.13
My group has a lot in common with other groups that have experienced persecution.[b]	.05	**.73**	.15
I try to learn as much as I can about what my group has endured in the past.[b]	.08	.23	**.89**
I am not very interested in what my group has experienced in the past. (reverse-coded)[a]	.01	.12	**.59**
My group's history is not an issue I am usually concerned with. (reverse-coded)[b]	.11	.09	**.54**

Notes. We used the same procedures for the exploratory factor analysis as in Study 1 (see Table 1, Note).
[a]Items that were also used in Study.
[b]Items that were modified or added for Study 2.

variables. They were then debriefed and compensated with $10.

Measures

Unless otherwise noted, all items were measured on 7-point scales, from "strongly disagree" (1) to "strongly agree" (7).

Victim consciousness

To improve the reliability of the measures of group-based victim consciousness, we retained some of the items used in Study 1 and added several new items (see Table 4 for all items and factor loadings). Three items measured *inclusive victim consciousness* (Cronbach's $\alpha = .72$). Four items assessed *exclusive victim consciousness* (Cronbach's $\alpha = .73$). Three items tapped into *centrality of ingroup victimization* (Cronbach's $\alpha = .70$).

Personal and family experiences of collective violence

Using a more fine-grained measure than in Study 1, nine items were selected from the Harvard Trauma Questionnaire (Mollica et al., 1992) to assess personal and parents' exposure to collective violence (e.g., witnessed a village bombing, detained in reeducation camps). Following previous research (e.g., Han, 2006), sum scores were computed to provide continuous measures of personal and parents' experiences of collective violence. Because less than a third of the sample was born in Vietnam, personal experiences of collective violence were low, ranging from zero to three events ($M = .13$, $SD = .50$). Parents' experiences of collective violence ranged from zero to nine events ($M = 3.17$, $SD = 2.22$).

Control variables

Gender, *immigration* (first or second generation immigrant), and *group identification* served as control variables. We used the same identity measure as in Study 1 (Cronbach's $\alpha = .86$).[2]

Outcome variables

Two conceptually distinct and uncorrelated, single-item measures[3] of attitudes toward other victimized groups were used: one measuring positive attitudes, the other measuring negative attitudes. Specifically, we assessed *prosocial attitudes toward victimized outgroups* with the following item: "I feel a personal obligation to help (e.g. donate, volunteer, protest for) victims of ethnic violence in other countries." *Hostility toward other refugee and immigrant groups* was assessed with this item: "I think the US should not accept more refugees and immigrants than it already does."

Results

Correlations between all variables, and their means, are provided in Table 5. We ran hierarchical linear regression analyses to predict outgroup attitudes, following the same steps as

[2]We also controlled for political ideology (liberal-conservative), but because this variable did not predict any of the outcomes these findings are not reported.
[3]Single-item measures were used due to concern about the length of study, given the difficulty of recruiting a sufficient number of participants from this population. Additionally, we had included several items assessing other, unrelated policy issues and civic behaviors (e.g., attitudes toward recycling) in order to make the study purpose and hypotheses less obvious to participants. This made it less feasible to include longer measures of the constructs of interest.

Table 5 Means, Standard Deviations, and Pearson's Correlations for Variables Used in Study 2

Variable	*M* (*SD*)	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.
1. Prosocial attitudes toward outgroup victims	4.98 (1.34)	1									
2. Hostility toward immigrants and refugees	3.00 (1.49)	−.16	1								
3. Inclusive victim consciousness	4.71 (1.00)	.03	−.26*	1							
4. Exclusive victim consciousness	3.80 (.95)	.06	−.14	.13	1						
5. Centrality of ingroup victimization	4.97 (1.16)	.29**	−.20^{+}	.09	.01	1					
6. Personal experience of collective violence	.13 (.45)	−.07	.01	.07	.14	.19^{+}	1				
7. Parents' experience of collective violence	4.77 (2.28)	.05	−.17	−.01	−.05	.32**	.25*	1			
8. 1st generation immigrant	N/A	−.04	−.02	−.01	−.05	.02	.22*	−.23*	1		
9. Ingroup Identification	5.05 (1.24)	.06	−.06	−.03	.12	.38**	.08	.04	−.04	1	
10. Gender (female)	N/A	.19^{+}	−.14	.22*	.14	.02	.02	.06	−.11	.04	1

Note. $^{+}$ $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

Table 6 Hierarchical Multiple Regression Predicting Attitudes toward Victimized Outgroups and Immigrants (Study 2)

	Prosocial attitudes toward outgroup victims			Hostility toward refugees and immigrants		
Predictors	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3
Gender (female)	.18 (1.62)	.19^{+} (1.75)	.21^{+} (1.98)	−.14 (−1.30)	−.08 (−.77)	−.08 (−.73)
First gen. immigrant	−.02 (−.17)	−.01 (−.12)	.02 (.21)	−.03 (−.29)	−.09 (−.76)	−.08 (−.71)
Group identification	.06 (.52)	−.09 (−.77)	−.08 (−.71)	−.46 (.65)	.02 (.15)	.02 (.13)
Personal experiences		−.11 (−.98)	−.17 (−1.50)		.11 (.92)	.10 (.85)
Parents' experiences (EXP)		−.07 (−.55)	−.02 (-.16)		−.14 (−1.14)	−.14 (−1.08)
Inclusive VC (IVC)		−.04 (−.34)	.03 (.22)		−.23* (−2.12)	−.22^{+} (−1.80)
Exclusive VC (EVC)		.05 (.50)	.06 (.53)		−.11 (−1.02)	−.12 (−1.02)
Centrality of victimization		.37** (2.99)	.32* (2.65)		−.16 (−1.28)	−.17 (−1.33)
IVC x EXP			.25* (2.16)			.05 (.43)
EVC x EXP			.13 (1.17)			−.004 (−.03)
R^2 (Adjusted R^2)	.04 (.001)	.15 (.06)	.24 (.14)	.02 (−.01)	.14 (.05)	.15 (.04)
ΔR^2	.04	.10*	.09*	.02	.09*	.002
Effect size (f^2): Achieved power:		.31 .99			.18 .98	

Note. Standardized coefficients are reported, *t*-values are in parentheses. VC = victim consciousness. $^{+}$ $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

in Study 1. Because Study 2 included mostly second generation immigrants whose parents had escaped from war, we tested whether parents' transmitted (rather than personal) experiences would moderate the effects of inclusive and exclusive victim consciousness.[4]

Predicting prosocial attitudes toward outgroup victims

In Steps 1 and 2, the only variable that significantly predicted prosocial attitudes toward victims of ethnic violence worldwide was personal centrality of ingroup victimization (see Table 6). Controlling for this and all other variables, Step 3 revealed a significant interaction effect between inclusive victim consciousness and parents' experiences of collective violence (see Figure 2). The simple slope analysis (Hayes & Matthes, 2009) showed that among participants who reported that their parents suffered a greater number of experiences of collective violence, inclusive victim consciousness predicted increased prosocial attitudes toward victimized outgroups ($b = .55$, $SE = .22$, $t = 2.53$, $p = .01$). In contrast, inclusive victim consciousness did not have a significant effect on prosocial outgroup attitudes among participants whose parents had experienced lower levels of collective violence ($b = -.24$, $SE = .17$, $t = -1.42$, $p = .16$). Notably, there was neither a significant main effect nor an interaction effect of exclusive victim consciousness on prosocial attitudes.

[4]We also tested whether personal experiences of suffering, centrality of ingroup victimization, or group identification moderated the effects of inclusive and exclusive victim consciousness on attitudes toward victimized outgroups. None of these effects were significant: for the interaction terms with personal experiences, all Beta < .22, all $p > .17$; for personal centrality, all Beta < .21, all $p > .12$; for group identification, all Beta < .11, all $p > .44$.

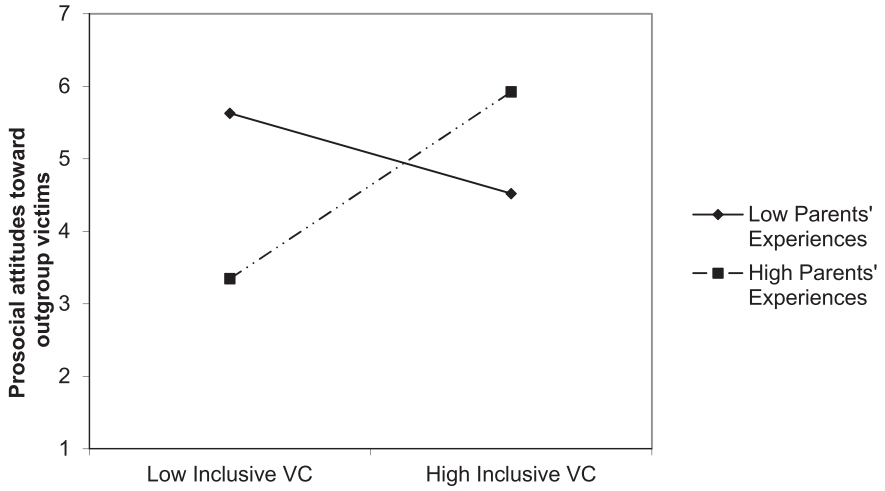

Figure 2 Interaction effect between inclusive victim consciousness and parents' experiences of collective violence, predicting prosocial attitudes toward victimized outgroups (Study 2).

Predicting hostility toward other refugee and immigrant groups

As shown in Table 6, only inclusive victim consciousness significantly predicted (less) hostility toward other minority groups. Controlling for demographic variables and group identification, inclusive victim consciousness predicted less agreement with the view that the United States should not admit more immigrants and refugees. There was no significant interaction between inclusive victim consciousness and parents' experience of collective violence. Additionally, exclusive victim consciousness did not predict this outcome.

Discussion

Study 2 conceptually replicated and extended the findings from Study 1, in a different context and among first and second generation immigrants in the United States whose parents had escaped from war and repression in Vietnam. Conceptually replicating the findings from Study 1, we found that generally, inclusive victim consciousness predicted more positive attitudes toward victimized outgroups, while exclusive victim consciousness was not a significant predictor. Parallel to the findings for personal victimization in Study 1, the effect of inclusive victim consciousness on perceived personal responsibility to help other groups worldwide that are targeted by ethnic violence was moderated by parents' experiences of collective violence. This finding extends Study 1, suggesting that not only personal experiences of group-based victimization, but also transmitted experiences of close others increase the perceived personal obligation to help other victim groups. Additionally, this finding was replicated for (transmitted) experiences of direct violence in addition to the experiences of structural violence that are close to measures of perceived discrimination which we assessed in Study 1.

The interaction effect did not occur for hostility toward other refugees and immigrants. This seems plausible, given that the measure of prosocial attitudes (for which the interaction effect with parents' experiences was significant) is more explicitly related to war and collective violence that were experienced by participants' parents to varying degrees, while the measure of hostility (for which there was no interaction effect) relates to the immigrant status, which all participants' families have in common. Moreover, the prosocial measure addressed a perceived personal obligation to help, whereas the hostility measure assessed attitudes toward a policy. Nevertheless, inclusive victim consciousness (but not exclusive victim consciousness) also predicted less hostility toward new immigrants and refugees, and not just increased positive attitudes as shown in both Studies 1 and 2, thereby conceptually extending the findings from Study 1. Additionally, personal centrality of ingroup victimization predicted perceived personal responsibility toward outgroup victims, presumably because it partially captures and reflects at least for some participants increased personal relevance of issues of group-based victimization in general and not just in relation to the ingroup (see Sherif et al., 1973). However, our measure of personal centrality of ingroup victimization does not assess and differentiate personal interest in group-based victimization *in general*, and future research should develop and include such measures in order to be able to test more universal concern with and perceived personal relevance of group-based victimization as a potential mediator. Because some of these findings were exploratory and not expected (e.g., the effects on outgroup hostility), future research will need to replicate them and test the differential effects of inclusive and exclusive victim consciousness—in addition to

personal centrality of ingroup victimization and a new measure of personal centrality of universal group-based victimization—on different forms of positive and negative intergroup attitudes with different operationalizations.

Several limitations of this study should also be addressed in future research. First, the outcome variables were assessed with single item measures. Future research should replicate these findings with multi-item measures. Additionally, this study focused on past experiences of direct violence, while perceived discrimination in present-day society (like in Study 1) may have been relevant for this population as well (Phinney, Madden, & Santos, 1998). Future research should therefore assess personal and family experiences of collective violence (such as war and ethnic conflict) as well as experiences of discrimination (e.g., Huynh, Devos, & Dunbar, 2012), because both direct and structural violence are facets of experiencing group-based victimization. Had such measures of perceived discrimination been included in the present study, it may have revealed similar interaction effects with inclusive victim consciousness as in Study 1.

The effects of parents' experiences on attitudes toward other refugee and immigrant groups is likely due to increased awareness about and personal relevance of these issues, because parents must have talked about these experiences—otherwise, participants would not be able to report them. Wanting to prevent other groups from suffering the same way as their parents have can be considered a manifestation of "vicarious posttraumatic growth" (Arnold, Calhoun, Tedeschi, & Cann, 2005). While our study did not assess directly how much families talk about these issues, future research should examine this more explicitly (see Wohl & van Bavel, 2011), including the content and value orientation of such family narratives to explore their potential to contribute to inclusive victim consciousness, psychological well-being, and positive intergroup relations (Lin et al., 2008).

General discussion

Across two studies in distinct cultural contexts and among minority groups with different experiences—groups that have been historically excluded within their society and suffered from structural violence and sporadic episodes of direct violence, and a group that was driven out of their country due to war and repression—we provided empirical evidence of a social psychological process that is associated with solidarity and positive relations between different minority groups, rather than with competition and conflict. Specifically, we found that general inclusive victim consciousness (i.e., believing that other groups in the world have suffered in similar ways as the ingroup) predicted support for refugees and immigrants among disadvantaged and victimized minority groups. This was true both for a specific refugee group within participants' society (Study 1) and more generally for other (unspecified) groups in other countries targeted by ethnic violence (Study 2). This extends previous research that focused on similarities specifically with the groups mentioned in the outcome measures (e.g., Craig & Richeson, 2012; Warner et al., 2014), showing that the effect is more generalizable. Inclusive victim consciousness has previously only been tested in the context of a specific conflict, examining whether it predicts attitudes toward the other conflict-party (Cohrs et al., 2015), using single-item measures (Vollhardt & Bilali, 2015), or as a manipulation check (e.g., Craig & Richeson, 2012). Thus, the present paper extends this literature in important ways and provides multi-item measures of victim consciousness that can be used in future research. Additionally, this article adds to the growing body of research showing that it is important to assess different kinds of victim beliefs, and not just exclusive victim beliefs (e.g., Noor et al., 2012; Schori-Eyal et al., 2014) or inclusive victim consciousness; and that inclusive and exclusive victim consciousness are functionally independent and predict different outcomes (Vollhardt & Bilali, 2015; see also Pittinsky, Rosenthal, & Montoya, 2011).

Moreover, the present studies also contribute to the literature on collective victimhood by testing how victim consciousness based on the ingroup's collective experiences and more direct, personal experiences of collective victimization interact with each other. Specifically, we found that the prosocial effects of inclusive victim consciousness were reinforced by personal and family experiences of group-based suffering, presumably by making issues of collective victimization in general more personally relevant and salient when these are construed in inclusive ways. We did not assess perceived personal centrality of group-based victimization in general though (instead, our direct measures of perceived centrality were focused on the ingroup's victimization), and future research will therefore need to test these and other potentially mediating processes.

Our findings contribute to an emerging body of research on positive relations between different victimized minority groups within a given society (Craig & Richeson, 2012; Glasford & Calcagno, 2012) and across different societies (Vollhardt, 2013; Warner et al., 2014). While much of the research on intergroup relations has focused on relations between minority and majority group members, understanding minority–minority relations is equally important in increasingly diverse societies. Our findings suggest that inclusive victim consciousness may help contribute to the integration of newer immigrant and refugee groups by increasing support among more established minority groups. These groups may have more political influence and resources and might be motivated by perceived links with their own past experiences to support others in need. Therefore, future research on this topic is promising and has important practical implications. Such future research should also further examine our

findings that positive effects were present for a specific outgroup within society (Study 1) and more generally for victim groups worldwide (Study 2). For example, future research should include measures of attitudes toward outgroups both within society and in other countries within the same study, in order to systematically compare the effects, effect sizes, and potential boundary conditions. Experimental studies would be particularly useful for testing these questions and the causal nature of the effects.

Several other limitations of these studies should be addressed in future research. First, while the reliabilities of the victim consciousness measures were acceptable, they can be further improved. An obvious limitation of the present studies is that the outcome measures had low reliability or utilized single item measures. While the replication of the general effect of inclusive victim consciousness across different contexts and outcomes provides more confidence in the findings, future work should use more robust measures and a range of different outcome variables. Additionally, the present research used self-report measures. Future research should also include behavioral measures such as protesting on behalf of other groups, in order to see whether or not the effects generalize to tangible support—which is an especially important question in light of resource constraints many disadvantaged and victimized groups face. This line of research seems promising, given the importance of perceived shared grievances and discrimination for collective action (e.g., Simon & Klandermans, 2001).

Future research is also needed to further investigate the discrepancies we found regarding the moderators: while there was a main effect of inclusive victim consciousness for two of the outcome variables, in one case the effect only emerged in interaction with parents' experiences of suffering; and in another case there was a main effect but no interaction effect as for the other outcome variables. Thus, more research is needed to replicate and understand these effects. Another important extension in future research would be to replicate these findings among a population where both personal and family experiences of victimization can be tested as moderators and the effects of personally experienced versus transgenerationally transmitted, vicarious experiences of victimization can be compared. This was not possible in the present studies because Study 1 did not include a measure of family experiences, and in Study 2 participants' direct experiences of group-based victimization was restricted due to their age and place of birth.

Additionally, while we suggested that perceived personal relevance of collective victimization in general may explain the effects, these processes were not tested directly as our measure of personal centrality of ingroup victimization only assessed perceived personal relevance of the ingroup's victimization. Thus, future research should examine the psychological processes underlying the effects of inclusive victim consciousness on positive intergroup attitudes toward other minorities, including whether this effect is mediated by perceived personal relevance of group-based victimization worldwide and responsibility to take a stance on these issues (Vollhardt, 2015), a perceived common ingroup identity (Craig & Richeson, 2012; Shnabel et al., 2013), increased empathy and perspective taking (Noor et al., 2012), or other processes. Experimental and longitudinal studies will be particularly important in testing the causal direction of these effects.

In sum, these studies provide initial empirical evidence of a novel social psychological phenomenon—inclusive victim consciousness—that has important implications for understanding positive attitudes between groups with different histories of group-based victimization and oppression. These processes are not only important for groups in violent, armed conflicts (Shnabel et al., 2013; Vollhardt & Bilali, 2015), but also between minority groups within diverse societies. The present studies suggest that inclusive victim consciousness can extend to prosocial attitudes toward and solidarity with new immigrants and refugees, a population that is constantly increasing due to globalization and numerous armed conflicts throughout the world. While much research has aimed to understand what predicts positive attitudes towards immigrants and refugees among majority group members, the present studies highlight that other disadvantaged minority groups can also be powerful allies and help build inclusive, diverse societies.

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