

Perceived Excessiveness of Compensation Demands from Victimized Groups  
and its Consequences for Collective Guilt and Ingroup Forgiveness

by

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## CONSEQUENCES OF EXCESSIVE DEMANDS

## Abstract

This series of studies examined the consequences of perceived excessiveness in demands for compensation on ingroup forgiveness, via reductions in collective guilt. It was hypothesized that when Canadian Aboriginals were perceived as making demands that were excessive relative to the past harms they endured at the hands of Non-Aboriginal Canadians, it would result in reduced collective guilt on the part of the offender group (Non-Aboriginal Canadians), allowing them to grant greater pseudo ingroup forgiveness. It was expected that this relationship would occur as a function of political orientation; specifically, that increased excessiveness of the demands would undermine the collective guilt liberals typically experience. A series of studies were conducted to test this model. Results revealed a non-significant moderated mediation, but found evidence that excessive demands may promote collective guilt in conservatives who typically do not report feeling collective guilt. These findings have positive implications for promoting intergroup reconciliation.

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### Perceived Excessiveness of Compensation Demands from Victimized Groups and its Consequences for Collective Guilt and Ingroup Forgiveness

The purpose of providing reparations after committing a wrong is to repair any damage that has been caused. In fact, the root of the word “reparation” is “repair.” From a young age, people are often taught that resolving conflict via reparative action is an important life skill (see Charney, 2002; Ely & Gleason, 2006). Specifically, children are often taught that if they provide reparations after causing harm to another person, it will help repair the harm they inflicted; this is true at both the interpersonal and intergroup levels. For example, a mother may tell her child to apologize to their sibling for damaging a beloved toy, or a soccer coach may tell her team to apologize to the opposing team for being over-aggressive during a match. Unfortunately, although we might be told that reparations have the power to mend, providing reparations does not always lead to the desired outcome—the sibling or team rivalry may continue despite reparative attempts. One reason for this is that victims may desire a different form of reparation than the offender thinks is appropriate (Exline, Baumeister, Bushman, Campbell, & Finkel, 2004). That is, while reparations often play an important role in facilitating reconciliation following a conflict (Fisher & Exline, 2010), there can sometimes be a disjoint between what victims and offenders view as an appropriate level of compensation for an offense. For example, the victimized soccer team may want their opponents to receive a penalty for their aggressive play, whereas the team that committed the offensive behavior may believe that an apology should suffice.

It has been argued (see Wohl & Tabri, 2016; Stromseth, 2007) that while offenders of intergroup transgressions - such as incidents of prolonged discrimination, or even genocide - often want to offer monetary compensation that allows them to put the transgression in the past,

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victims of intergroup offences tend to want a form of reparation that allows them to memorialize those who have been harmed, such as a monument. This divergence is because offenders tend to want to restore their integrity as moral actors by putting the transgression behind them (monetary compensation closes the book on the past, memorials do not; Ashworth, 2015), while victims want to regain power (memorials that remind perpetrators of their wrongful behaviours allows this, but monetary compensation does not; Shnabel & Nadler, 2008). These divergent motivations highlight a potential area of difficulty when navigating attempts at conflict resolution, in that it may not always be easy to ensure that each group is getting what they want, which could ultimately hinder the process of reconciliation. Put another way, if the means by which the victimized group want their offenders to restore their power hinders the offender group's ability to restore their integrity, reconciliation will be difficult, if not unlikely. Herein, I argue that one possible cause of this divergence is the perceived severity of compensation demands made by the victimized group.

It is traditionally accepted in Western culture that “the punishment should fit the crime” to restore equity in situations of conflict (see Gollwitzer & Denzler, 2009). However, it is possible that problems may arise when there is a gap between what victims and offenders believe is a proportional punishment. For example, if the offender group does not believe the harm committed was as severe as the demand for reparations implies, guilt for the harm committed will likely be undermined (see Schmitt, Miller, Branscombe & Brehm, 2008; Wohl, Branscombe, & Klar, 2006), which should result in increased ingroup forgiveness for the harm committed. I tested this idea in the current research. Specifically, I hypothesized that in situations where a victim group demands a form of reparation from the offender group that the offenders deem excessive, cognitive processes of harm minimization and justification will occur, leading to

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reduced collective guilt for the harms committed. Moreover, this should have downstream consequences for ingroup forgiveness. When collective guilt is reduced, ingroup forgiveness should increase. Importantly, by virtue of reduced responsibility inherent in low levels of collective guilt, the ingroup forgiveness should be a pseudo-ingroup forgiveness (i.e., forgiveness for committing harm in the absence of accepted responsibility).

### **Why Excessive Demands May Encourage Offenders to Balk at Reconciliation**

Conflict within intergroup relations is an inevitability due to the inherent struggle for control over power, resources, and dominant ideology (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). When a conflict occurs, there are typically lasting psychological effects that make reconciliation difficult, such as fear, mistrust, or even hate (Halpern, 2008; Chambers & Melnyk, 2006; Nadler and Liviatan 2006). When the harm-doing ends, it opens a space for reconciliation to occur; however, reconciliation can be difficult to achieve (see Wohl, Hornsey, & Bennett, 2012; Noor, Branscombe, & Hewstone, 2015; Staub, 2006). One reason why reconciliation may fail to occur is that the demands for reparation made by the victim group are deemed to be unacceptable by the offender group. Previous research has shown that reparation agreements that are unsatisfying to the offender group may hinder reconciliation (see Shnabel, Nadler, Ullrich, Dovidio, & Carmi, 2009; Staub, 2006). To date, however, research has failed to place a spotlight on whether offender group's willingness to engage in reconciliation efforts is a function of the extent to which they perceive the demands for reparation made by the victim group to be excessive.

One reason offender groups may balk at engaging in reconciliation efforts following perceived excessive demands for reparations is that people derive part of their self-worth from their group memberships (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and thus, are often motivated to distance their group from its transgressions. In the same way that a personal transgression can result in

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negative self-evaluations, transgressions committed by the ingroup can result in negative feelings directed at the self (Lickel et al., 2005; Branscombe & Doosje, 2004). Because of this, offender group members are often motivated to engage in processes of harm minimization or justification (Wohl, Branscombe, & Klar, 2006; Branscombe & Doosje, 2004). In fact, when one's ingroup can be linked to the committing of harms against an outgroup (i.e. those who are evaluated as not belonging to the ingroup), it often acts as a threat to the group's collective sense of morality (Shnabel et al., 2009).

Offenders wishing to restore their sense of morality may do so through either denying responsibility for their actions, thereby allowing them to avoid the negative feelings associated with the offence, or by accepting responsibility and seeking forgiveness from the victim (Hall & Fincham, 2005). According to the needs-based model of reconciliation (Shnabel & Nadler, 2008; Shnabel et al., 2009), offender groups become willing to reconcile when their need for moral restoration is fulfilled. That is, the offender group needs the victim group to forgive their offenses, thereby bringing the offender group back into the moral fold. To facilitate this end, the offender group may apologize for the harm they inflicted or offer to provide reparations to the victim group, to make amends for the harm they caused (see Wohl, Hornsey, & Philpot, 2011). However, expressions of contrition alone may not facilitate reconciliation (Hornsey & Wohl, 2013; Wohl, et al., 2011; Wohl, Matheson, Branscombe, & Anisman, 2013). Wohl and colleagues (2013), for example, showed that forgiveness is undermined when victim group members believe that their expectations that the apology will yield reparatory efforts are not met. According to Fisher and Exline (2010), reconciliation is best achieved when the offender offers reparations to their victim. This is because the offering of reparations is a gesture of good faith from the offender group, showing they are trying to make amends.

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Considering that reparations have been shown to have a positive effect on reconciliation, why might offender groups choose not to make offers of reparation to their victims? One reason is that many offending group members tend to close the book on the past after an intergroup apology is offered (Hornsey & Wohl, 2013; Wohl et al., 2011; Wohl et al., 2013). That is, there is a tendency to think that the apology fulfils the requirements needed to restore their sense of morality (see Barlow, Thai, Wohl, White, Wright & Hornsey, 2015). Thus, when victimized group members demand reparations, offender groups balk. Herein, I argue that whether offender groups balk is a function of how demanding or excessive they perceive the desired reparations to be. As the perceived demand increases, perpetrator group member's willingness to oblige is likely to decrease.

At the interpersonal level, offender's perceptions of the appropriateness of victim demands for reparation play an important role in successful reconciliation. Skarlicki and Folger (1997), for example, found that reparations demanded at the interpersonal level must be proportional to the amount of harm caused by the original offence. If the reparations demanded are perceived to be too excessive, it can undermine the feelings of guilt felt by the offender over the offense. Therefore, if the offender believes that the victim is making demands unequal to the harm they endured, it may cause the offender to justify their original harmful behaviour, rather than repent for it; there is also evidence for this at the intergroup level.

Group members, for example, tend to edit or ignore facts of history that outline harms committed by their group, to maintain a positive self-image (Sahdra & Ross, 2007; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). When offender group members believe that the victim group is trying to make them accept responsibility for more harm than they believe they committed (i.e., when demanded reparations to not fit the offense) or when the reparations demanded are seen as too difficult to

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fulfill, offender group members may balk and refuse to engage in restorative action with the victim group at all (Schmitt et al., 2008). This may lead offender group members to justify their offense, allowing them to refuse responsibility for the harm caused by their group's actions.

### **When Offender Groups Refuse to Accept Responsibility for their Transgressions**

When an offence has been committed by one's ingroup, there is often a desire to rid the group of the negative emotions associated with being an offender. At the interpersonal level, the process by which a person lets go of the negative feelings associated with an offence is called self-forgiveness. Self-forgiveness is typically conceptualized as the process through which an offender engages in a change of attitude that alleviates negative emotions directed at the self, and replaces them with more positive self-evaluations (Hall & Fincham, 2005). This process is also characterized by a reduction in motivation to punish the self and avoid stimuli related to the offense (Hall & Fincham, 2005). When this process is applied to the group level, it is referred to as ingroup forgiveness (Wohl & Branscombe, 2009). However, in the context of an imbalance in the perceived severity of the transgression between the victim and offender groups, the ingroup forgiveness granted is not likely to be a genuine form of forgiveness.

At the interpersonal level, genuine self-forgiveness (Fisher & Exline, 2010) is characterized by a full acceptance of responsibility for the harms committed against another person. Likewise, at the group level, genuine ingroup forgiveness entails full acceptance of responsibility for harming another group. Making amends, in part, shows an acceptance of responsibility for the harms caused by their group, and helps to reaffirm their moral standing with the victim group by taking steps to acknowledge, and make up for, the offense committed. However, it is also possible for an offender group to engage in ingroup forgiveness without taking responsibility for their harmful actions. Pseudo self-forgiveness, at the interpersonal level,

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refers to the process through which offenders attempt to reduce the negative emotion caused by their transgression without accepting responsibility for it (Woodyatt & Wenzel, 2013b). Pseudo self-forgiveness has been linked to processes of minimization and justification of harm that allow offenders to rid themselves of negative feelings by downplaying the negative consequences of their actions (Fisher & Exline, 2006). Applied to a group context, this phenomenon is referred to as pseudo *ingroup* forgiveness, and is expected to facilitate the same processes of minimization and justification of harm in offender group members.

Since individuals are motivated to view themselves and their groups positively, these processes of minimization and justification may be used to help maintain a positive self-image (Branscombe, 2004; Wohl & Branscombe, 2009). In the context of the current study, I hypothesized that as offender groups face demands from the victim group that they deem excessive, it will be easier for them to justify their original offense through processes of minimization of harm. If demands are deemed excessive, they should be more likely to grant pseudo *ingroup* forgiveness towards their group; this is because they are unlikely to accept collective guilt for the offense.

### **Demands, Collective Guilt, and Pseudo Ingroup Forgiveness: A Possible Mediation Model**

In the current research, I also test a possible mechanism through which demands for excessive reparations lead to pseudo *ingroup* forgiveness. Specifically, I contend that collective guilt—a group-based emotion that is experienced when offender group members accept responsibility of illegitimate harms committed against another group (see Doosje et al., 1998; Wohl, Branscombe, & Klar, 2006; Ferguson & Branscombe, 2014)—mediates the relationship between perceived excessive demands and pseudo *ingroup* forgiveness.

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Among offender groups, guilt is often believed to play an important role in reconciliation. A large body of research has shown that guilt is one of the driving negative emotions that leads offenders to want to provide reparations to victim group members. For example, Schmitt and colleagues (2008) found that the more collective guilt a member of the offender group feels, the more willing they are to provide reparations to the group they victimized. However, guilt is often a difficult emotion for offenders to accept, since acknowledging responsibility for causing illegitimate harm to another group is a threat to one's social identity (Shnabel & Nadler, 2008; Wohl & Branscombe, 2009), and that can result in a desire to rid the self of guilt as quickly as possible (Woodyatt & Wenzel, 2013b). This removal of guilt without taking any steps to repair a strained relationship is what can lead to pseudo ingroup forgiveness, as it implies the group is not taking responsibility for their actions. Thus, I hypothesize that when excessive demands for reparations are made of the offender group, it will aid in the process of reducing guilt by allowing offender group members to minimize and justify their original harm. Specifically, demands for excessive reparations should lead to a reduced perceived responsibility of harm on the part of offender group members, thereby increasing pseudo ingroup forgiveness, to the degree which collective guilt has been reduced.

**Political Orientation.** Another interesting possibility is that the effect of demand type on collective guilt may be moderated by participant's political orientation. Collective guilt is an aversive emotion that perpetrator group members attempt to avoid (Wohl et al., 2006), especially people who are highly invested in their group (McGarty, Pederson, Wayne Leach, Mansell, Waller, & Bliuc, 2005). Political conservatives, for example, tend to hold strong beliefs about the need to preserve and protect the group, which often manifests in nationalism (Huntington, 1999; see also Golec de Zavala & Van Bergh, 2007). This results in conservatives being less willing to

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engage in reparative action, such as offering apologies (Hornsey et al., 2017). Conversely, political liberals are apt to feel collective guilt (Swim & Miller, 1999), because they don't have strong ingroup protective sentiments. The qualifier, however, is that liberals tend to respond like conservatives when the group is perceived to be under threat. Indeed, it is well documented that people on the political left shift to the political right when faced with collective threats, thus diminishing (even if just for a limited time) the ideological differences between liberals and conservatives (see Bonnano & Jost, 2006; Lian & Oneal, 1993; Nail, McGregor, Drinkwater, Steele, & Thompson, 2009). In this light, conservatives should be especially unlikely to accept collective guilt regardless of demand type because the acceptance of ingroup wrong doing places the ingroup in a moral and socially vulnerable position. Liberals should be relatively more willing to accept collective guilt, except when the demand for reparations is a threat to the ingroup—in the case of the current research, I suspect that liberals will interpret excessive demands as threat, which will undermine their collective guilt acceptance.

### **Overview of Current Research**

The current research was conducted within the context of the relationship between Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal people in Canada. Historically, Aboriginals in Canada have suffered extreme harm from the Canadian government in the form of forced assimilation and discrimination. For this research, I examined Canadian Aboriginals as the victimized group, and Non-Aboriginal Canadians as the offender group.

I hypothesized that if the victimized group (Canadian Aboriginals) were perceived to be demanding reparations that were unequal to the harm they have endured, members of the offender group (Non-Aboriginal Canadians) would be more likely to engage in pseudo ingroup forgiveness. Furthermore, I hypothesized that this would occur through reductions of collective

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guilt that would minimize offender group member's perceptions of responsibility for the harms committed. Finally, I hypothesized that there may be a moderation of this effect by political orientation, such that liberals (who are typically more likely to report experiencing collective guilt) will be less likely to report collective guilt when demands for reparations are deemed excessive. Collective guilt is often seen as playing a large role in reconciliation, as it is a driving factor in the need to apologize or provide reparations to the victimized group. Should this collective guilt be reduced by a demand for unfair reparations, offender group members should show increased pseudo ingroup forgiveness.

I tested these ideas in a series of studies. Importantly, I first conducted two pilot studies to help determine which demands for compensation were deemed excessive and which were deemed lenient by participants. Based on the results of these pilot studies, the main study included three conditions (control vs. lenient vs. excessive) to explore the relationship between demand for compensation and ingroup forgiveness, with collective guilt as a mediator and political orientation as a potential moderator.

### **Pilot Study 1**

The purpose of conducting Pilot Study 1 was to understand how participants view demands from outgroup members. Specifically, I explored whether certain demands are perceived to be lenient, while others are perceived to be excessive. This information, as well as determining which specific demands were seen as lenient or excessive (see Appendix A), provided information to help determine which demands would be used in the main study.

In Pilot Study 1, I reviewed the Truth and Reconciliation Committee of Canada's Calls to Action report (2015) to develop a list of 13 possible demands Aboriginals could make of Non-Aboriginal Canadians. These demands were broad (including topics such as education, physical

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memorials, financial compensation, etc.) and varied in severity, so the results of the pilot would give an accurate indication of how participants view demands from Aboriginals.

**Method**

**Participants.** A total of 123 students<sup>1</sup> (Males = 29, Female = 76, No Response = 22) were recruited from an introductory psychology class at Carleton University in exchange for .25% course credit. These participants ranged in age from 18 to 30 ( $M = 22.20$ ,  $SD = 19.05$ ). In order to be eligible for participation, students had to identify that they were (1) a Canadian citizen, (2) not of Aboriginal descent, and (3) not currently a member of an Aboriginal group. 54 participants were removed for the following reasons: IP related issues (i.e., missing/duplicate IP addresses;  $n = 11$ ), failure on one of the eligibility items ( $n = 8$ ; 3 were Aboriginal and 5 were not Canadian citizens), failure to grant consent to use data ( $n=15$ ), withdrawal from the study ( $n=14$ ), and failure of an attention check item ( $n = 6$ ; participants responded to an item they were asked to provide no response). Of the remaining 69 participants, 23 were male and 46 were female. Participant's age range was 18 to 29 ( $M = 23.06$ ,  $SD = 23.62$ )<sup>2</sup>.

**Procedure.** Participants were recruited from Carleton University's online SONA system, which directed them to an online survey hosted through Qualtrics. After giving consent, participants completed a study they were told would be looking at "Canadians' emotions and opinions concerning events related to particular indigenous groups in Canada." They were asked

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<sup>1</sup> Please note that 4 students were removed for not giving consent, and therefore were not included in this number.

<sup>2</sup> Due to the relatively low sample size after exclusions, and the number of t-tests conducted, only six of the thirteen t-tests were adequately powered (at 80% or higher). These tests included: the demand for an official apology (.99), the demand for an acknowledgement of government buildings on Aboriginal land (.91), first priority healthcare legislation (.94), increase in HST to fund Aboriginal resources (.83), tuition increase for non-Aboriginals to accommodate Aboriginal access to higher education (.96), and first priority employment legislation (.99). Power for all other tests fell below .22.

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to report their feelings on each demand from a list of possible compensations to Canadian Aboriginals for past discrimination. Specifically, participants were told:

“We are interested in understanding non-Aboriginals’ feelings about various forms of compensation demanded by Aboriginal communities for the harm non-Aboriginals have inflicted. Using the 1 (*very minor form of compensation*) to 7 (*very excessive form of compensation*) Likert scale below, please indicate your impression of each listed form of compensation”).

Participants then completed measures of demographics, collective guilt, and pseudo ingroup forgiveness. Following this, they were debriefed online.

**Measures.**

***Political Orientation.*** Political orientation was assessed with one item (i.e., “Please indicate how liberal or conservative you are on the following scale”) that asked participants to rate how liberal or conservative they believed themselves to be on a 7-point Likert scale. The items were anchored at 1 (*strongly liberal*) and 7 (*strongly conservative*).

***Possible Compensations.*** Participants were presented with a list of 13 possible compensations for Canadian Aboriginals that varied in severity (i.e., “Official apology for ongoing mistreatment of Aboriginal peoples,” “Official first priority employment legislation for Aboriginals,” “A monument on Parliament Hill to victims of the Residential School System”), and asked to rank their feelings about each form of compensation on a 7-point Likert scale (1= *very minor*, 7= *very excessive*).

***Collective Guilt.*** Collective Guilt was measured using a 4-item scale ( $\alpha = .94$ ; adapted from Wohl & Branscombe, 2005). The scale items assessed participant’s guilt on behalf of Canadian’s for past harms done to Aboriginals; these items were “as a Canadian, I feel guilty for

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the negative things my group did to Aboriginals in the past”, “as a Canadian, I feel guilty for my group’s harmful past actions toward Aboriginals”, “as a Canadian, I do not feel guilty for the things my group did to Aboriginals in the past (reversed)”, and “as a Canadian, I feel guilt for negative experience of Aboriginals brought about by past members of my group.” The items were measured on a scale anchored at 1 (*strongly disagree*) and 7 (*strongly agree*).

***Pseudo Ingroup Forgiveness.*** Pseudo Ingroup Forgiveness was measured using a 3-item scale that was based, in part, on Wohl and Branscombe's (2009) ingroup forgiveness measure ( $\alpha = .69$ ). The scale items assess whether or not participant’s believe Canadians should forgive themselves for harms committed against Aboriginals; these items were “I feel we should forgive ourselves for the past wrongdoing against Aboriginals”, “I feel it is time for us to move on from our past wrongdoing against Aboriginals”, and “I feel more needs to be done before we can forgive ourselves for the harms committed against Aboriginals (reversed).” I believe that, in line with the findings of Woodyatt and Wenzel (2013a), these items will be an effective measure of pseudo ingroup forgiveness, as they do not measure self-punitiveness or acceptance of responsibility/guilt over harms committed. As such, these items do not capture genuine ingroup forgiveness, meaning that higher responses to this scale instead indicate the presence pseudo ingroup forgiveness. The items were measured on a scale anchored at 1 (*strongly disagree*) and 7 (*strongly agree*).

## Results

For the means and standard deviations of the demands see Table 1, and for the test of significance from the midpoint for all demands see Table 2.

A midpoint analysis was conducted on the items from the list of compensations to assess if any of the demands were significantly different from the midpoint of the scale (i.e., 4 on the 7-

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Table 1

*Correlations of Demands for Compensation and Key Variables in Pilot Study 1*

Variables	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Correlation Coefficients ( <i>r</i> )														
			1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.
1.	3.00	1.51	-														
2.	3.26	1.36	.47**	-													
3.	4.00	1.22	.28*	.44**	-												
4.	4.79	1.38	.14	.24*	.54**	-											
5.	4.38	1.38	-.05	.08	.37**	.55**	-										
6.	4.71	1.44	.03	.15	.51**	.69**	.67**	-									
7.	4.97	1.61	-.12	.11	.36**	.62**	.65**	.77**	-								
8.	3.78	1.19	.29*	.31**	.29*	.39**	.43**	.47**	.50**	-							
9.	3.87	1.09	.16	.06	.27*	.40**	.46**	.41**	.37**	.49**	-						
10.	5.15	1.66	-.08	.19	.32**	.59**	.51**	.62**	.64**	.41**	.31**	-					
11.	3.78	1.11	.10	.23	.35**	.40**	.37**	.43**	.50**	.57**	.31**	.50**	-				
12.	3.75	1.01	.37**	.32**	.45**	.44**	.40**	.53**	.33**	.59**	.59**	.33**	.38**	-			
13.	3.75	1.09	.29*	.20	.34**	.44**	.38**	.47**	.34**	.54**	.58**	.31**	.45**	.82**	-		
14.	4.61	1.82	.34**	.33**	.38**	.18	.24*	.20	.06	.14	.02	.24*	.17	.14	.08	-	

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15.	3.52	1.21	-.01	-.23	-.24*	-.26*	-.31**	-.27*	-.20	-.10	-.05	-.29*	-.25*	-.14	-.10	-.56**	
16.	3.29	1.41	.28*	.16	.05	-.10	-.01	-.02	-.01	.009	-.09	.09	.02	.05	-.10	-.16	.37**

*Note:* \*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; Variable labels are as listed: 1. Official apology; 2. Acknowledgement of government buildings on Aboriginal land; 3. Tax for businesses on Aboriginal land; 4. First priority health care for Aboriginals; 5. Aboriginal-run branch of CJS; 6. Federal tax of non-Aboriginals to fund Aboriginal resources; 7. Tuition increase for non-Aboriginals to accommodate Aboriginal access to higher-education; 8. Equal funding for Aboriginal children being education on and off of reserves; 9. College degrees and diploma programs in Aboriginal languages; 10. First priority employment legislation for Aboriginals; 11. Elimination of overrepresentation of Aboriginal youth in Federal custody; 12. Museum dedicated to victimization of Aboriginals; 13. Monument on Parliament Hill to victims of Residential Schools; 14. Collective Guilt; 15. Ingroup Forgiveness; 16. Political Orientation.

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Table 2

*T-Test for Midpoint Analysis of Demands for Compensation in Pilot Study 1*

Variable	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>	95% CI	
				LL	UL
1. Official apology	-5.48	68	<.001**	-1.36	-.64
2. Acknowledgement of government buildings on Aboriginal land	-4.48	68	<.001**	-1.07	-.41
3. Tax for businesses on Aboriginal land	.00	68	1.00	-.29	.29
4. First priority health Care for Aboriginals	4.71	67	<.001**	.46	1.13
5. Aboriginal-run Branch of CJS	2.26	68	.027*	.04	.71
6. Federal tax of non-Aboriginals to fund Aboriginal resources	4.02	67	<.001**	.36	1.06
7. Tuition increase for non-Aboriginals to accommodate Aboriginal access to higher-education	4.96	67	<.001**	.58	1.36
8. Equal funding for Aboriginal children being education on and off of reserves	-1.52	67	.133	-.51	.07
9. College degrees and diploma programs in Aboriginal languages	-1.00	67	.321	-.40	.13

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10. First priority employment legislation for Aboriginals	5.66	67	<.001**	.74	1.55
11. Elimination of overrepresentation of Aboriginal youth in Federal custody	-1.62	67	.10	-.49	.05
12. Museum dedicated to victimization of Aboriginals	-2.03	67	.04*	-.50	.00
13. Monument on Parliament Hill to victims of Residential Schools	-1.87	67	.06	-.52	.02
14. Collective Guilt	2.77	67	.007**	.17	1.05
15. Ingroup Forgiveness	-3.19	67	.002**	-.76	-.17
16. Political Orientation	-4.16	68	<.001**	-1.05	-.37

*Note:* \*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; comparisons were done against 4 midpoint of response scale

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point Likert scale). Seven out of thirteen demands fell below the midpoint. Of these, only three demands—the demand for an official apology ( $M = 3.00$ ,  $SD = 1.51$ ,  $t = -5.48$ ,  $p < .001$ ), the demand for an acknowledgement of government buildings built on Aboriginal land ( $M = 3.26$ ,  $SD = 1.36$ ,  $t = -4.48$ ,  $p < .001$ ), and the demand for a museum dedicated to the victimization of Aboriginal people in Canada ( $M = 3.75$ ,  $SD = 1.01$ ,  $t = -2.03$ ,  $p = .04$ ), —fell significantly below the midpoint of the scale. The rest of the demands were significantly above the midpoint,  $ps < .05$ , except the demand for the settling of land claims through a tax of businesses on Aboriginal land ( $M = 4.00$ ,  $SD = 1.22$ ), which fell directly on the 4.0 midpoint.

Of note, however, the demands with the two highest means (i.e., the demands deemed most excessive) were the demand for first priority employment legislation ( $M = 5.15$ ,  $SD = 1.66$ ,  $t = 5.66$ ,  $p < .001$ ) and the demand for a tuition increase for non-Aboriginals to accommodate Aboriginal access to higher education ( $M = 4.97$ ,  $SD = 1.61$ ,  $t = 4.96$ ,  $p < .001$ ).

**Correlation of Key Variables.**<sup>3</sup> A correlational analysis between collective guilt and ingroup forgiveness, revealed a correlation of  $r = -.52$ ,  $p < .001$ , showing evidence for the expected negative association between collective guilt and pseudo ingroup forgiveness.

Additionally, correlations were run between each of the demands and political orientation, to see if there was a difference in how excessive liberals and conservatives rated each demand to be (see Table 1). The only significant correlation was between political orientation and the demand for an official apology ( $r = .288$ ,  $p = .01$ ), such that the more

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<sup>3</sup> For both Pilot Studies 1 and 2, participants also completed the collective guilt and pseudo ingroup forgiveness scales (Appendix C) so correlations could be run between these scales and each demand presented. For our main study, we selected “equal funding for Aboriginal access to healthcare providers” as the lenient demand and “first priority healthcare for Aboriginals” as the excessive demand. In Pilot Study 2, the lenient healthcare demand showed a correlation of  $r = -.15$ ,  $p = .13$  with collective guilt and  $r = .20$ ,  $p = .04$  with pseudo ingroup forgiveness; the excessive healthcare demand showed a correlation of  $r = .02$ ,  $p = .83$  with collective guilt and  $r = .10$ ,  $p = .31$  with pseudo ingroup forgiveness. These correlations are not meaningful, however, as they were collected after participants read the full list of demands, meaning that reports are not specific to the demand of interest. For this reason, the correlations have not been reported in text (see Tables 1 and 3 for full correlation results).

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conservative the participant was, the more excessive they viewed the apology to be. As expected, there was a positive correlation between political orientation and pseudo ingroup forgiveness ( $r = .37, p = .002$ ), indicating that pseudo ingroup forgiveness increased alongside political conservatism.

### **Discussion**

The purpose of the first pilot study was to determine if there was variance in how lenient or excessive participants from an offender group (non-aboriginal Canadians) perceived various demands for reparation by members of a victim group (Aboriginal Canadians). Results showed support for the idea of variance in perceptions of demands, in that some demands such as the demand for an official apology and the acknowledgement that government buildings are situated on Aboriginal land were rated to be lenient (relative to the midpoint of the scale; i.e., 4 on the 7-point Likert scale), while first priority employment legislation and tuition increases for non-Aboriginal students to accommodate Aboriginal access to higher education were rated as being excessive (relative to the midpoint of the scale).

Other than willingness to offer an apology (willingness to offer was positively associated with political conservatism), there were no significant associations between political orientation and ratings of demand excessiveness. One potential reason for this is that the mean of political orientation was relatively low ( $M = 3.29, SD = 1.41$ ) indicating that the sample was largely liberal. I believe, however, that when the extremes of political orientation are examined as a moderator (i.e.,  $+1 SD$  above the mean, and  $-1 SD$  below the mean), there will be an effect. For this reason, political orientation will be further examined in the next two studies.

One limitation of this pilot study was that each demand participants rated was about a different domain. Whereas one demand was about recognition of aboriginal lands, another

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demand was about employment legislation. As such, it was not possible to examine whether leniency or excessiveness could vary within a single domain (e.g., how much tuition may increase to accommodate Aboriginal access to higher education). I also didn't assess whether the demands are perceived to be plausible by participants. While having a greater spread of demands (i.e., very lenient and very excessive) could help magnify our findings on the effect of excessiveness, it may also hinder our results by causing participants to become suspicious as to whether the demand was realistic. It may also cause some participants to believe the demands were constructed by the researcher.

The goal of the second pilot study was to build on Pilot Study 1 by assessing whether I can manipulate perceptions of how lenient or excessive a demand for compensation is seen to be, to help create the manipulations for our main study. I also used this pilot to narrow down the list of possible demands by focusing only on demands that would have a perceived element of realism for participants, as well as to further explore the effect of political orientation.

### **Pilot Study 2**

The purpose of Pilot Study 2 was to help narrow the list of possible demands to be used in the main study. Based on the results of the first pilot test, I identified which punishments were deemed excessive (a mean greater than the midpoint of the excessiveness scale; 4 on the 7-point Likert scale), and created lenient versions of these. Demands that could not be made into both a lenient and excessive version (i.e., the demand for an apology) were removed. Demands were also removed if they were unlikely to be believable to participants (i.e., a museum dedicated to the victimization of Aboriginals). The creation of both a lenient and an excessive version of each punishment allowed for a comparison of appropriateness across similar types of demands; while

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increasing realism of the demands would improve our results by minimizing participant suspicion.

For this pilot test, each of the two conditions included three lenient demands and three excessive demands (randomized to avoid influencing ratings of future demands), which participants were asked to rate on a seven-point Likert scale according to how lenient or excessive they believed the demand to be.

### Method

**Participants.** I recruited 289 students<sup>4</sup> (Males = 82, Female = 173, No Response = 35), based on a G\*power analysis for detecting a small-to-medium effect size with 80% confidence, enrolled in an introductory psychology class at Carleton University in exchange for .25% course credit. These participants ranged in age from 17 to 50 ( $M=20.09$ ,  $SD = 4.27$ ). As in the first pilot study, to be eligible for participation, students had to identify that they were (1) a Canadian citizen, (2) not of Aboriginal descent, and (3) not currently a member of an Aboriginal group.

I removed 51 participants due to IP related issues (i.e., missing/duplicate IP addresses), 11 were removed because they failed one of the eligibility items (6 identified as Aboriginal and 5 were not Canadian citizens), 12 were removed for not giving consent to use their data, and 16 were removed because they chose to withdraw from the study. Of the remaining 199 participants, 68 were male and 130 were female. Participant's age range was 17 to 50 ( $M = 20.04$ ,  $SD = 4.40$ ).

**Procedure.** Participants were recruited from Carleton University's online SONA system, which directed them to an online survey hosted through Qualtrics. After giving consent, participants completed a study they were told was looking at "Canadians' emotions and opinions concerning events related to particular indigenous groups in Canada." Participants were

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<sup>4</sup> Please note that 1 student was removed for not giving consent, and therefore was not included in this number.

## CONSEQUENCES OF EXCESSIVE DEMANDS

presented with one of two six-item lists of possible compensations for Canadian Aboriginals that varied in severity (i.e., “Implementation of business tax of 0.5% for businesses sitting on Aboriginal land” vs. “Implementation of business tax of 5% for businesses sitting on Aboriginal land”), and asked to rank their feelings about each form of compensation. Following this, participants completed measures of demographics, collective guilt, and pseudo ingroup forgiveness. Participants were then debriefed online.

**Measures.** Participants completed the same measures as in Pilot Study 1, except in this study they were asked to rate the perceived excessiveness of only 6 demands for compensation (three lenient and three excessive) on a 7-point Likert scale (1= *very minor*, 7= *very excessive*).

**Results**

The demand pairs in this study were analyzed using a mean comparison to see which pair had the greatest difference between the lenient and excessive versions of the demand.

**Healthcare.** The demand pair with the largest mean difference was equal access to healthcare ( $M = 3.82$ ) and first priority healthcare ( $M = 5.02$ ) for Aboriginals, which had a difference of 1.2 points. This mean difference was statistically significant ( $t = -6.33, p = <.001$ ).

**Business Tax.** There was a mean difference of .26 between the demands for a 0.5% business tax ( $M = 3.78$ ) and a 5% business tax ( $M = 4.04$ ) for businesses on Aboriginal land. This mean difference was not statistically significant ( $t = -1.41, p = .07$ ).

**Employment.** There was a mean difference of .56 between the demands for a 5% Aboriginal employee legislation ( $M = 4.44$ ) and first priority employment legislation for Aboriginals ( $M = 5.00$ ). This mean difference was statistically significant ( $t = -2.67, p = .004$ ).

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**Government Memorial.** There was a mean difference of .33 between the demands for a memorial plaque outside the House of Commons ( $M = 3.49$ ) and a monument on Parliament Hill ( $M = 3.82$ ). This mean difference was not statistically significant ( $t = -1.87, p = .96$ ).

**Criminal Justice System.** There was a mean difference of .30 between the demands for a 5% quota of Aboriginal staff ( $M = 3.95$ ) and a completely Aboriginal-run branch ( $M = 4.25$ ) of the Criminal Justice System. This mean difference was not statistically significant ( $t = -1.61, p = .94$ ).

**HST.** The demand pair with the smallest mean difference was a redistribution of the HST ( $M = 4.08$ ) and an increase in the HST ( $M = 4.30$ ) to help fund Aboriginal resources, which had a difference of .22 points. This mean difference was not statistically significant ( $t = -1.32, p = .90$ ).

**Correlations with Political Orientation.** As with the first pilot study, only one demand showed evidence of a correlation with political orientation. In this case, the demand was the commemorative monument on the Parliament Hill lawns; the correlation was positive ( $r = .23, p = .02$ ), indicating that the more conservative participants were, the more likely they were to rate the demand as excessive.

Political orientation was once again shown to have a positive correlation with pseudo ingroup forgiveness ( $r = .35, p < .001$ ), though in this pilot there was also evidence of a negative correlation with collective guilt ( $r = -.26, p < .001$ ). These results are in line with current research on political orientation, such that more conservative participants were less likely to feel collective guilt and more likely to engage in pseudo ingroup forgiveness than their liberal counterparts. For full correlation results of all variables, see Table 3.

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Table 3

*Correlations of Demands for Compensation and Key Variables in Pilot Study 2*

Variables	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.
1.	3.82	1.13	-													
2.	3.78	1.44	.29**	-												
3.	4.44	1.46	.14	.38**	-											
4.	4.30	1.24	.13	.37**	.54**	-										
5.	3.82	1.22	.31**	.20*	.35**	.27**	-									
6.	4.25	1.35	.31**	.32**	.49**	.46**	.29**	-								
7.	5.02	1.50							-							
8.	4.04	1.13							.18	-						
9.	5.00	1.48							.62**	.19	-					
10.	4.08	1.10							.31**	.35**	.39**	-				
11.	3.49	1.24							-.07	.33**	.15	.27**	-			
12.	3.95	1.24							.19	.32**	.34**	.36**	.16	-		

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13.	4.80	1.57	-.15	-.12	-.25*	-.25*	-.33**	-.27**	.02	.006	-.21*	-.12	-.19	-.29**	-	
14.	3.77	1.30	.20*	.17	.18	.34**	.39**	.24*	.10	.13	.35*	.08	.13	.27**	-.52**	
15.	3.26	1.28	.10	-.003	.12	.07	.12	.04	.15	.23*	.06	-.11	.08	.12	-.26**	.35**

*Note:* \*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; Variable labels are as listed: 1. Government funding for equal access to healthcare providers; 2.

Implementation of business tax of 0.5% for businesses sitting on Aboriginal land; 3. Employment legislation regulating that at least 5% of all company employees must be Aboriginal; 4. Federal tax increase on HST to help fund Aboriginal resources; 5. Large commemorative on one of the Parliament Hill lawns; 6. Aboriginal-run branch of the Criminal Justice System; 7. Healthcare legislation that moves Aboriginal patients to the top of the list for serious medical procedures; 8. Implementation of business of 5% for businesses sitting on Aboriginal land; 9. Employment legislation that means Aboriginal applicants will be selected over other applicants for job postings; 10. Redistribution of current federal HST to help fund Aboriginal resources; 11. Commemorative plaque outside the doors of the House of Commons; 12. Legislation ensuring that at least 5% of all staff in Criminal Justice facilities must be Aboriginals; 13. Collective Guilt; 14. Ingroup Forgiveness; 15. Political Orientation.

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### **Discussion**

The purpose of this pilot study was to assess whether it was possible to manipulate demands for reparations into lenient and excessive versions, so that a main study looking at the effect of excessiveness could be conducted. Results showed that for each demand pair the excessive version of the demand was rated as more excessive than the lenient version of the demand. The largest mean difference between the lenient and excessive versions of a demand pair was among the healthcare demands. Based on the results of the second pilot study, I decided to manipulate excessiveness of the healthcare demand in the main study to assess the effects of perceived excessiveness of a demand by a victim group on collective guilt and pseudo ingroup forgiveness.

Lastly, only one rating of demand excessiveness was influenced by political orientation. Political conservatism was positively associated with the perception that a commemorative monument on the Parliament Hill lawns was excessive. Akin to Pilot Study 1, the mean of the political orientation scale was low ( $M = 3.26$ ,  $SD = 1.28$ ), indicating that the sample was largely liberal. The correlations with collective guilt and pseudo ingroup forgiveness were in line with the current research on political orientation—collective guilt was negatively associated with political conservatism and pseudo ingroup forgiveness was positively related to political conservatism—thus painting a promising picture of hypothesized moderated-mediation model.

### **Main Study**

The purpose of this study was to explore whether the perceived excessiveness of demand for reparation increased pseudo ingroup forgiveness—an effect mediated by decreases in collective guilt and potentially moderated by political orientation. This study had three conditions (a control, as well as lenient vs. excessive demands for compensation). Based on the results of Pilot Study 2, participants in the lenient condition read that Aboriginals demanded

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equal funding for access to healthcare, while participants in the excessive condition read that Aboriginals demanded first priority healthcare. Participants in the control condition were directed to the rest of the survey without being presented with a news article; the purpose of this being that a control provides a baseline response to variables of interest (i.e., collective guilt, pseudo ingroup forgiveness) that can be compared to the other conditions, to help isolate the effect of demands for reparation on those variables.

### Method

**Participants.** I recruited 232<sup>5</sup> students (Males = 57, Females = 142, No Response = 37) for this study, based on a Monte Carlo simulation power analysis for detecting a small-to-medium effect size with 80% confidence, and allowing for an exclusion buffer). Participants were recruited from an introductory psychology class at Carleton University in exchange for .25% course credit. These participants ranged in age from 18 to 67 ( $M = 20.65$ ,  $SD = 5.59$ ). To be eligible for participation, students had to identify that they were (1) a Canadian citizen, (2) not of Aboriginal descent, and (3) not currently a member of an Aboriginal group.

I removed 15 participants due to IP related issues (i.e., missing/duplicate IP addresses), 20 were removed because they failed one of the eligibility items (7 identified as Aboriginal and 13 were not Canadian citizens), 13 were removed for not giving consent to use their data, and 47 were removed for failing manipulation check items (28 did not recognize that the articles mentioned demands for reparation and 19 did not recognize that the article had mentioned the Truth and Reconciliation Committee). Additionally, I removed 10 participants who withdrew before the study manipulation, and 14 participants who had missing data on at least one of our key variables; otherwise, participants who withdrew, but gave consent to use their data were

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<sup>5</sup> Four students were removed for not giving consent, and therefore were not included in this number.

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retained. Of the remaining 113 participants, 35 were male and 78 were female. Participant's age range was 18 to 66 ( $M = 20.59$ ,  $SD = 5.49$ ).

**Procedure.** Participants were recruited from Carleton University's online SONA system, where they were directed to an online survey hosted through Qualtrics. The study was completed entirely online, and participants were randomly assigned to one of three conditions. Based on the results of the pretest, participants in the excessive punishment condition were told that following a report by The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Aboriginal communities in Canada have demanded that first priority healthcare legislation be offered to Aboriginals as reparations for past transgressions, while participants in the lenient compensation condition were told that funding for equal access to healthcare providers for Aboriginals had been demanded. Participants in the control condition did not read a news article, and were instead directed straight to the rest of the survey. Following this, participants were asked to complete measures of collective guilt and pseudo ingroup forgiveness. Participants were then debriefed online, and asked for informed consent.

**Measures.** Participants completed the same measures of political orientation, collective guilt, and pseudo ingroup forgiveness from the pilot studies. Participants also completed a series of manipulation check items. Two items were comprehension based (i.e., checking that participants recognized the article was about Aboriginals making demands for compensation, and that the recommendations had come from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada), which were used to exclude participants who did not pay attention to the content of the article they read. The third item ask participants to rate their perceived excessiveness of the demand they viewed (i.e., "On the scale below, please indicate your impression of the resolution passed

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by the Assembly of First Nations”) on a 7-point Likert scale anchored at 1= *very minor* and 7 = *very excessive*.

### Results

For a full list of means and standard deviations, as well as the correlations between the key variables by condition, see Table 4.

**Manipulation Check: Perceived Excessiveness.** I conducted a moderation analysis using the SPSS PROCESS software (Hayes, 2015) with bootstrapping at 5000 to test whether there was a moderating effect of political orientation on the relationship between condition (i.e., seeing the lenient or the excessive vignette) and the perceived excessiveness manipulation check item. There was no main effect of condition on perceived excessiveness  $B = .22, p = .33, 95\% \text{ CI } (-.24, .69)$ , and there was also not a significant interaction between condition and political orientation  $B = -.16, p = .33, 95\% \text{ CI } (-.49, .17)$ . These results indicate that the manipulation vignettes did not have an effect on perceived excessiveness, and therefore the rest of the results for the main study should be interpreted with caution.

**Moderated Mediation.** I conducted a moderated mediation analysis in Mplus to examine my hypothesis that excessive demands for reparations fosters pseudo ingroup forgiveness indirectly through collective guilt. I predicted that this relation would occur specifically among people who reported being strongly liberal. Since I assigned participants to one of three conditions, I first examined this analysis when the control condition was the reference group (control vs. lenient and control vs. excessive), and then with the lenient condition as the reference group (lenient vs. control and lenient vs. excessive). I did this because I wanted to examine differences between all conditions. To probe any observed moderation effects, I assessed the effects of comparison at low (1 SD below the mean; i.e., participant with a more

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Table 4

*Correlations of Key Variables by Condition in the Main Study*

Variables	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	P.O.	C.G.	I.F.
1. Control					
Political Orientation	3.62	1.38	--		
Collective Guilt	4.72	1.55	-.32*	--	
Ingroup Forgiveness	3.76	1.26	.46**	-.54**	--
2. Lenient					
Political Orientation	3.03	1.37	--		
Collective Guilt	4.86	1.65	-.36*	--	
Ingroup Forgiveness	3.76	1.36	.40*	-.80**	--
3. Excessive					
Political Orientation	3.21	1.51	--		
Collective Guilt	5.01	1.56	.11	--	
Ingroup Forgiveness	3.22	1.41	-.02	-.42**	--

*Note:* \*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$

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liberal orientation) and high (1 SD above the mean; i.e., participants with a more conservative orientation) point of the self-reported political orientation<sup>6</sup>.

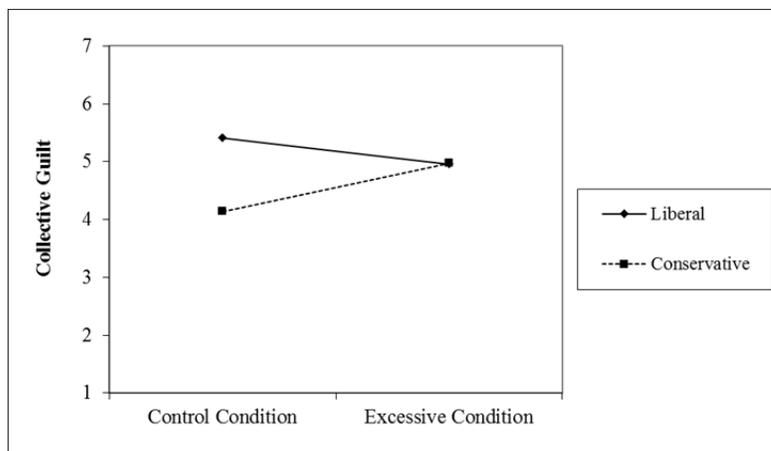
There was no main effect of the comparison between control vs. lenient conditions on collective guilt,  $B = -.09, p = .80, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.79, .61]$ . Likewise, the comparison between control vs. excessive conditions on collective guilt,  $B = .20, p = .53, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.44, .86]$ . However, there was a main effect of political orientation on collective guilt,  $B = .22, p = .02, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.41, -.02]$ . As well, collective guilt predicted less pseudo ingroup forgiveness,  $B = -.48, p < .001, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.61, -.35]$ .

Although there was no two-way interaction between the control vs. lenient comparison and political orientation,  $B = -.07, p = .76, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.58, .43]$ , there was a statistically significant two-way interaction between the control vs. excessive comparison and political orientation,  $B = .48, p = .03, 95\% \text{ CI } [.02, .93]$ . At 1 SD below the mean of political orientation, the control vs. excessive comparison was not related to collective guilt,  $B = -.48, p = .32, 95\% \text{ CI } [-1.42, .46]$ . However, at 1 SD above the mean of political orientation, the control vs. excessive comparison was related to greater collective guilt,  $B = .89, p = .05, 95\% \text{ CI } [.001, 1.78]$ . Given this significant moderation effect, I examined whether the control vs. excessive comparisons affected pseudo ingroup forgiveness via greater collective guilt at 1 SD above the mean of political orientation (i.e., strongly conservative). Among these participants, the indirect effect was not statistically significant, *indirect effect* =  $-.43, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.99, .12]$ .

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<sup>6</sup> I acknowledge that with the mean of political orientation being 3.33 with a standard deviation of 1.43, analyses conducted at +1 SD were technically capturing political “moderates” instead of conservatives. Therefore, the analysis was also conducted and +/- 2 SD. The same interactions were found in both the control vs. excessive ( $B = .48, p = .03, 95\% \text{ CI } [.02, .93]$ ) and lenient vs. excessive ( $B = .55, p = .03, 95\% \text{ CI } [.05, 1.06]$ ) comparisons, the only difference being that the effects were larger. In the control vs. excessive comparison, the effects were as follows: -2SD ( $B = -1.16, p = .12$ ), +2SD ( $B = 1.57, p = .02$ ). In the lenient vs. excessive comparison, the effects were as follows: -2SD ( $B = -1.30, p = .09$ ), +2SD ( $B = 1.89, p = .03$ ). These results indicate that the pattern would likely continue onto those rating even more conservative on the political orientation scale.

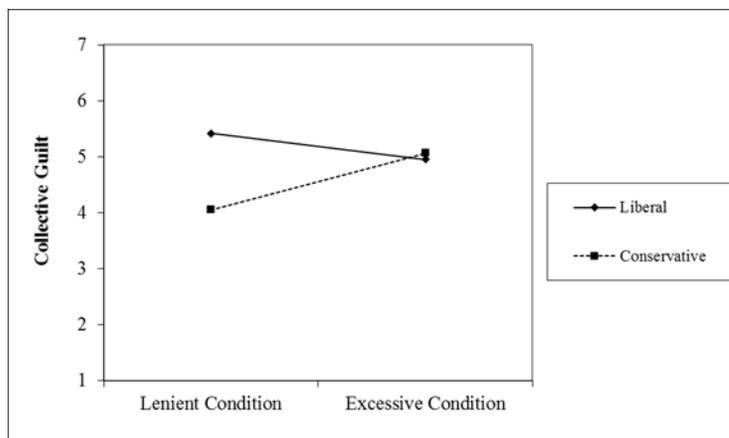
## CONSEQUENCES OF EXCESSIVE DEMANDS



*Figure 1.* Interaction between condition and political orientation. Shows the interaction of the comparison between control and excessive conditions with political orientation.

I then re-ran the analyses with the lenient condition as the reference group. Since this simply flipped the control vs. lenient comparison to a lenient vs. control comparison, these results are the same as previously mentioned and therefore will not be reported again. There was no main effect of the comparison between lenient vs. excessive conditions on collective guilt,  $B = .29, p = .42, 95\% \text{ CI} [-.43, 1.02]$ . Again, there was a main effect of political orientation on collective guilt,  $B = -.22, p = .02, 95\% \text{ CI} [-.41, -.02]$ ; as well as a statistically significant two-way interaction between the lenient vs. excessive comparison and political orientation  $B = .55, p = .03, 95\% \text{ CI} [.05, 1.06]$ . At 1 *SD* below the mean of political orientation, the lenient vs. excessive comparison was not related to collective guilt,  $B = -.05, p = .29, 95\% \text{ CI} [-1.44, .44]$ . However, at 1 *SD* above the mean of political orientation, the control vs. excessive comparison was related to greater collective guilt,  $B = 1.09, p = .05, 95\% \text{ CI} [-.01, 2.20]$ . Given this significant moderation effect, I examined whether the lenient vs. excessive comparisons affected pseudo ingroup forgiveness via greater collective guilt at 1 *SD* above the mean of political orientation (i.e., strongly conservative). Among these participants, the indirect effect was not statistically significant, *indirect effect*  $-.53, 95\% \text{ CI} [-1.22, .04]$ .

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*Figure 2.* Second interaction between condition and political orientation. Shows the interaction of the comparison between lenient and excessive conditions with political orientation.

To summarize, in contradiction to my hypothesis, political orientation did not act as a moderator of the mediation of condition on pseudo ingroup forgiveness via collective guilt.

### Discussion

The purpose of this study was to examine collective guilt as a mediator of the relationship between excessive demands for reparation and pseudo ingroup forgiveness; as well as to look for a moderating effect of political orientation. It is important to note that there was no main effect of condition on perceived excessiveness, indicating that the mock news article manipulation failed. As such, the findings of this study must be interpreted with caution.

With that said, there was a significant interaction between the perceived excessiveness manipulation and political orientation on collective guilt. Specifically, at 1 standard deviation below the mean of political orientation (i.e., political liberals), collective guilt was high regardless of condition. At 1 and 2 standard deviation above the mean of the political orientation scale (i.e., political moderates and conservatives, respectively), collective guilt was high (matching the level of collective guilt at 1 standard deviation below the mean) in the excessive demand compared to the lenient demand condition. These results are in contrast to research

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which suggests that conservatives are motivated to avoid collective guilt (see McGarty et al., 2005), because acceptance of collective guilt is a threat to their (nationalistic) social identity. In a like manner, it was surprising that liberals did not experience the expected conservative shift typical to liberals under the social identity threat posed by the request for a significant form of compensation (i.e., the excessive demand condition; Bonnano & Jost, 2006; Lian & Oneal, 1993; Nail et al., 2009). One explanation for these findings is that participants may not have judged the demand in the excessive demand condition (i.e., first priority healthcare for Aboriginals) to be excessive. If this was the case, then the necessary level of experienced threat needed to shift liberals toward more conservative attitudes would have been absent. Among conservatives, the high (but not excessively high) demand for compensation may have made it difficult to minimize the harm committed by the ingroup, thus blocking typical collective guilt avoidance processes. Future research is needed to explore this possibility.

### **General Discussion**

The purpose of the current research was to examine whether perceived excessive demands for reparations made by a victim group would increase pseudo ingroup forgiveness in offender group members. It was also expected that collective guilt would act as a mediator of this relationship, such that victim group's excessive demands would reduce collective guilt in offenders, thereby increasing their pseudo ingroup forgiveness. Additionally, I hypothesized a moderating effect of political orientation. Specifically, I tested whether increased excessiveness of the demands made by the victim group undermines the collective guilt liberals typically experience, which should increase pseudo ingroup forgiveness.

Pilot Study 1 set the groundwork for future studies by showing that there was variance in how participants viewed demands from outgroup members, specifically that some demands were

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more excessive than others. For example, the demand for first priority employment legislation ( $M = 5.15$ ) was rated as significantly more excessive than other demands such as an official apology ( $M = 3.00$ ). Pilot Study 2 built on the first pilot study by showing that it was possible to manipulate a type of demand into both a lenient and an excessive version, which would be rated as such by participants. For example, the demands used in the main study (i.e., “equal funding for access to healthcare” and “first priority healthcare” for Aboriginals) were shown to have a mean difference of 1.2 points on perceived excessiveness, with the lenient version falling below the midpoint of excessiveness ( $M = 3.82$ ) and the excessive version falling above the midpoint ( $M = 5.02$ ).

The main study compared the demand pair from the second pilot study that had the greatest mean difference between versions of the demand (i.e., the healthcare demand pair), in order to observe the effect of excessive victim demands on offender pseudo ingroup forgiveness; specifically to identify whether reductions in collective guilt helped to mediate the relationship, as well as to look for a moderating effect of political orientation. However, the lack of a main effect of condition (seeing either the lenient or the excessive news article) on the perceived excessiveness manipulation check item provides evidence that the mock news article manipulation of this study failed; thus, the rest of the results should be interpreted with caution.

Results showed that while there was no significant moderated-mediation of perceived excessiveness on pseudo ingroup forgiveness via collective guilt, as a function of political orientation, there were some interesting findings that lay the foundation for future research on reconciliation of intergroup conflict. As expected, decreases in collective guilt were shown to predict increased pseudo ingroup forgiveness. This supports the hypothesis that reductions in

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collective guilt allow offender group members to minimize perceptions of responsibility for harms committed by their group, allowing them to forgive their ingroup.

Results related to the potential moderating effect of political orientation were opposite to my expectations. I hypothesized that the demand manipulation would have little effect on conservatives because they tend to avoid feeling collective guilt as a social identity protective strategy (Huntington, 1999; Golec de Zavala & Van Bergh, 2007). In contrast, I expected excessive demands to be interpreted as a social identity threat to liberals, thus triggering a conservative shift (Bonnano & Jost, 2006; Lian & Oneal, 1993; Nail et al., 2009). The net effect would be reduced collective guilt acceptance among liberals. Instead, liberals were shown to express high levels of collective guilt regardless of demand condition, whereas political moderates (as well as political conservatives) in the excessive demand condition expressed greater collective guilt compared to conservatives in the lenient demand condition. This suggests that excessive demands may help to promote collective guilt in both political moderates (+1SD) and political conservatives (+2 SD), who are otherwise unlikely to display collective guilt.

The emotional intensity model of collective guilt (Schmitt, Branscombe, & Brehm, 2004) provides some theoretical base for the unexpected results. This model suggests that collective guilt in the face of potentially providing reparations is experienced in a parabola—when reparations to a victim group is perceived to be too easy or too difficult, collective guilt is unlikely to be experienced. When providing reparations is too easy, guilt is likely to be undermined because there is the perception that reconciliation can occur at any time; when providing reparations is too difficult, guilt is likely to be undermined because there is the perception that reconciliation will not be achievable. The greatest amount of collective guilt is experienced in the middle of the parabola, when providing reparations is perceived to be

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appropriate and achievable. In the second pilot study, first priority healthcare was rated as a 5 on a 7-point scale. According to the emotional intensity model, this would place it firmly in the crest of the parabola, indicating that it may be perceived as an appropriate demand, rather than an excessive demand, which would serve to promote collective guilt.

### **Implications**

The results of this set of studies have implications for conflict resolution. Post-victimization, victim groups often make demands for reparations. My findings suggest that to get what they want, and to promote successful reconciliation, victim groups may need to be cognisant of how their demands will be perceived by their offender group. Since it has been shown that making demands that are seen as appropriate by the offender group can increase collective guilt in a group typically not prone to experiencing collective guilt (i.e., conservatives), victim group members should take care when making demands of their offenders, in order to effectively promote collective guilt which will increase the chances of their offenders wanting to engage in reparative action with them.

It is understood that a recommendation for victim groups to take the perpetrator group's feelings into consideration is politically sensitive—on the surface, doing so appears to place the onus on the victims to ensure the reconciliation process is successful. People may argue that if the onus is placed on the victims, victim blame may result should the reconciliation process fail. Research has shown that blaming one's victims helps alleviate threats to social identity, by shifting the responsibility for harms committed from the offenders to the victims (Tarrant, Branscombe, Warner, & Weston, 2012; Zagefka, Noor, Brown, de Moura, & Hopthrow, 2011). Thus, if blame is placed on the victim group for making excessive demands, offender group members may be able to minimize their role in failed reconciliation attempts. This can have

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further downstream consequences for positive intergroup relations. Indeed, victim blame is often leads victims to be perceived as not only guiltier for their own victimization, but also more unlikeable and lazier (Zagefka, Noor, Brown, de Moura, & Hopthrow, 2011). It is possible that developing these views could make offenders even less willing to help victims, since victims are perceived as doing nothing to help themselves out of their own situation, and therefore “don’t deserve” help from anyone else (Zagefka, Noor, Brown, de Moura, & Hopthrow, 2011).

Additionally, asking victims to put themselves in the shoes of their offenders when considering what form their compensation should take may re-victimize the victim group.

I argue the findings of the current research serve to assist victim groups to learn how to negotiate with their offenders. My findings show that if victim group members take care to select the demands they make, ensuring that the offender group will view it as appropriate, it may encourage offender group members who are not likely to want to engage in reparative action to be more likely to do so. By asking for, and receiving, a form of reparation that is deemed acceptable by their offenders while also promoting collective guilt in them, it becomes more likely that victims will be able to successfully negotiate others forms of reparations later, since it may serve to “get their foot in the door.” This phenomenon originally demonstrated by Freedman and Fraser (1966), refers to the tendency of people to be more likely to fulfill larger requests once they have already conceded to a smaller request; asking for appropriate demands may not only promote future negotiations for reparations, but may also ensure that more of the offender group members will be on board with providing these reparations to the victim group.

### **Limitations**

One key limitation to the main study, was a lack of power. In order to detect power, based on a Monte Carlo simulation power analysis for detecting a small-to-medium effect size

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with 80% confidence, at least 127 participants were required. Although 232 participants were recruited, after exclusions only 113 participants remained. This means that even if the effect I was looking for existed, I likely did not have the power to detect it – particularly if the effect was smaller than anticipated for the sake of my estimate.

Another limitation was that our manipulation did not appear to have an effect on participant's ratings of perceived excessiveness, such that all participants rated their viewed demand as being relatively appropriate. This may help support the hypothesis that these results could be explained by a parallel model of the emotional intensity model of collective guilt, since appropriate demands seemed to be promoting collective guilt in our sample. Future research would need to examine whether lenient and excessive demands would undermine collective guilt as would be expected by the emotional intensity model.

A final limitation was that the main study focused on only one domain of reparation demands (i.e., healthcare). It is possible that because only one domain was examined, if the study were to be conducted again with a different demand pair, findings would not replicate or that the hypothesized findings would emerge. For example, while I believed that a rating of 5 out of 7 for first priority healthcare would qualify as excessive, I failed to take the sample population into consideration. The majority of the sample for this study were young, likely healthy, university students. For this sample, a demand that could potentially impact their healthcare may not be personally relevant enough to undermine collective guilt, the way it potentially could be in an older sample more concerned with their health. Though the excessive version of the tuition demand was not rated as particularly excessive in Pilot 2, it is possible that if participants had read in the main study that the demand had actually been made, the personal relevance of a

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demand that would definitely have an impact on their lives may result in the demand being seen as excessive enough to undermine collective guilt.

As this is an emerging area of literature, focusing on one domain of reparations was necessary in an attempt to establish groundwork for future literature without overcomplicating the exploratory study. However, future research should explore other reparations domains and different samples, in order to create a clearer picture of how these variables are interacting with each other.

### **Conclusion**

The results of this set of studies provide an unexpectedly positive groundwork for future research on promoting ingroup reconciliation through collective guilt. In line with previous literature, increased collective guilt was predictive of reduced ingroup forgiveness. Participants high in political liberalism were found to be high in collective guilt regardless of the excessiveness of the demands they viewed; interestingly, when demands were excessive, political moderates - as well as political conservatives - also reported feeling collective guilt. This is relatively rare in research on collective guilt—it is typically difficult to heighten collective guilt (especially among conservatives) because of this group-based emotion's aversive nature.

These findings are important because there is a robust literature which shows that collective guilt is related to the desire to provide reparations and reconcile (Schmitt et al., 2008). The findings from this set of studies suggest that liberals will always have the desire to reconcile, but also that if victims take care when making demands, they can also promote the desire to reconcile in those who would not usually experience it (i.e., conservatives). Previous research should further explore these findings to expand the literature on intergroup reconciliation.

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**APPENDIX A:****Announcement for Carleton University Students on SONA****Study Name: Perceptions of Retribution II**

**Description:** Please note that you may only participate in this study if you are a **Canadian citizen and are of non-Aboriginal descent**. In this study, we are interested in looking at Canadians' emotions and opinions concerning events related to particular indigenous groups in Canada. The entire study is completed online using Qualtrics survey software (IP addresses will not be recorded). You will be asked to first complete some identification questions and then asked to evaluate compensation that Canada might provide Aboriginals for the harms that have been inflicted on this community. As a non-aboriginal Canadian, you will then complete a series of questionnaires asking about your perceptions about the reconciliation process. Lastly, you will also be asked to provide some demographic information about yourself.

If you are a Canadian citizen and are interested in participating, please click the link to access the survey. After you gain access to the survey, your completion of the survey remains your choice and you will not be penalized if you do not complete it.

**Eligibility Requirements:** We are looking for participants who are Canadian citizens and of non-Aboriginal descent. If you do not meet these criteria, you cannot participate in this study.

**Duration and Locale:** This is an online study that should take about 30 minutes to complete.

**Compensation:** You will receive .25% course credit as compensation for your participation in this study.

**Confidentiality:** Your participation as well as your responses will be confidential. Only researchers associated with the research project will know you participated in the study and no one will know how you responded to the questions asked. IP addresses will not be recorded.

**Researchers:** Dr. Michael Wohl (Faculty Sponsor; [michael.wohl@carleton.ca](mailto:michael.wohl@carleton.ca), 613-520-2600, ext. 2908), Sara Lidstone (Principal Investigator; [saralidstone@cmail.carleton.ca](mailto:saralidstone@cmail.carleton.ca)), and Carina Daugherty (Other Research Personnel).

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This research has been funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council  
This study has received clearance by the Carleton University Research Ethics Board B  
(Certificate 16-xxxx).

**APPENDIX B: Consent Form****Informed Consent**

The purpose of an informed consent is to ensure that you understand the purpose of the study and the nature of your involvement. The informed consent must provide sufficient information such that you have the opportunity to determine whether you wish to participate in the study.

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**Present study: Perceptions of Retribution II**

**Research personnel:** The following people are involved in this study, and may be contacted at any time if you have questions or concerns:

Dr. Michael Wohl (Faculty Sponsor; michael.wohl@carleton.ca; +1-613-520-2600, ext. 2908).

Sara Lidstone (Principal Investigator; saralidstone@cmail.carleton.ca; +1-613-520-2600, ext. 6312).

Carina Daugherty (Other Research Personnel; carinadaugherty@cmail.carleton.ca; +1-613-520-2600, ext. 2683).

**Concerns:** Should you have any ethical concerns about this research, please contact Dr. Shelley Brown (Chair, Carleton University Research Ethics Board B, shelley.brown@carleton.ca; +1-613-520-2600, ext. 1505). For other concerns, please contact the Carleton University Research Ethics Office (ethics@carleton.ca)

**Purpose and Task Requirements:** In this study, we are looking for Canadian citizens of non-Aboriginal descent to answer a variety of questions about emotions and opinions concerning events affecting particular indigenous groups in Canada. We are particularly interested in opinions about compensation that Canada might provide Aboriginals for the harms that have been inflicted on this community. As a non-aboriginal Canadian, you will then complete a series of questionnaires asking about your perceptions about the reconciliation process. The entire study is completed online, using the Qualtrics survey website. The study will take approximately 30 minutes to complete. You will be asked to first complete some identification questions and then complete a series of questionnaires asking you about emotions and preferences pertaining to cultures and ethnic groups in Canada. You will also be asked to provide some demographic information about yourself.

**Potential Risk/Discomfort:** There are no physical or psychological risks to participating in this study. That said, there is always the possibility that a person might not like or approve of a particular question. If you feel any discomfort or distress while reading a question in this study please feel free to leave it blank – no penalty will be incurred.

**Benefits/Compensation:** You are eligible for this study only if you are a Canadian citizen of non-Aboriginal descent. You will receive .25% course credit as compensation for your participation in this study. Please note that an anonymous code will link your participation in this study to SONA so that we know you have successfully participated in this study.

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**Anonymity/Confidentiality:** Your participation in this study is anonymous. No identifying information (e.g., name, IP address) will be collected as part of your participation in this study. All data on the Qualtrics server is encrypted and protected using multiple layers of security (e.g., encrypted websites and password protected storage). For more information about the security of data on Qualtrics, please see the Qualtrics security and privacy policy, which can be found at the following link: <http://www.qualtrics.com/security-statement/>

Because the Qualtrics computer servers are located in the USA, the United States Patriot Act permits U.S. law enforcement officials, for the purpose of an anti-terrorism investigation, to seek a court order that allows access to the personal records of any person without that person's knowledge. In view of this we cannot absolutely guarantee the full confidentiality and anonymity of your data. With your consent to participate in this study you acknowledge this.

**Data Storage and Sharing.** The data collected in this study are strictly confidential. There will be no personal information attached to your data that can be used identify you personally. The data will be stored on the computers of the researchers and research assistants involved with this project. As there will be no personal information associated with the data, this dataset will be stored electronically and kept indefinitely. Additionally, we will upload this anonymized data set to an online data repository called Open Science Framework (<https://osf.io/>) for research and teaching purposes. Anonymized data may also be used for publication and presentation purposes, in which case only aggregate data will be presented.

**Right to withdraw:** Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary. You may leave questions unanswered and withdraw your participation at any time without penalty. In order to withdraw from the study, click on the “withdraw” button located at the bottom of each page, which will direct you to the end of the study where you can learn more about the study.

**Research Funding.** This research is supported by a research grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada to Dr. Wohl.

By checking this box you agree to the following terms:

I have read the above form and understand the conditions of my participation. I understand that I will be compensated with .25% course credit for my participation in this study. My participation in this study is voluntary, and if for any reason, at any time, I wish to leave the study I may do so without having to give an explanation and with no penalty whatsoever. Furthermore, I am also aware that my participation in this study is confidential and that the data gathered in this study is confidential and anonymous with respect to my personal identity. Checking the box below and clicking ‘Next’ indicates that I agree to participate in the study.

I do not consent to the study.

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**This study has received clearance by the Carleton University Research Ethics Board B (Ethics certificate 16-xxxx).**

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## APPENDIX C: Materials

## Eligibility

1. Are you a Canadian citizen? Yes No [*Eligibility Question 1 – if “no,” then participant continues to ineligibility debriefing. If “yes,” then participant continues to second eligibility question*]

2. Are you of Aboriginal descent (First Nations, Metis, & Inuit)? Yes No

3. Are you currently a member of an Aboriginal group (First Nations, Metis, & Inuit)? Yes No

If you no longer wish to participate, please select the 'withdraw' button below. To continue on with the survey, please DO NOT click withdraw. Simply proceed to the next page.

Withdraw



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**Demographics**

Age: \_\_\_\_\_

Sex: Male/ Female

4. What is the name of the state in which you live? \_\_\_\_\_.

5. Ethnicity: Please check all that apply

 Caucasian/White African-American Indigenous or Aboriginal Asian Middle Eastern Hispanic Latino Other Prefer not to say**7. Please indicate how liberal or conservative you are on the following scale:**

1 (strongly liberal)

2

3

4 (moderate)

5

6

7 (strongly conservative)

**8. If you found that the liberal-conservative scale on the previous page did not apply to you, please click one of the following options:** Other Don't know/not political

If you no longer wish to participate, please select the 'withdraw' button below. To continue on with the survey, please DO NOT click withdraw. Simply proceed to the next page.

Withdraw



## CONSEQUENCES OF EXCESSIVE DEMANDS

**Ingroup Identification (Doosje, Ellemers, & Spears, 1995)**

**Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements:**

7-point scale (1 = strongly disagree; 7 = strongly agree)

1. I identify with Canada.
2. I see myself as being Canadian.
3. I feel strong ties to other Canadians.
4. I am pleased to be a Canadian.

## CONSEQUENCES OF EXCESSIVE DEMANDS

**Version One**

The experience of Aboriginal people in Canada has historically been one of inequality and discrimination. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada has been working alongside Aboriginal communities to help make reparations for past transgressions against their people and their culture. The official report released in 2015 included a number of Calls to Action recommended by Aboriginal groups as steps to be made by the Canadian government to help promote forgiveness and reconciliation. Based on the recommendations provided in the report, Aboriginal communities in Canada have demanded that reparations be provided to them as compensation for past harms.

We are interested in understanding non-Aboriginals' feelings about various forms of compensation demanded by Aboriginal communities for the harm non-Aboriginals have inflicted.

Using the 1 = very minor form of compensation to 7 = very excessive form of compensation scale below, please indicate your impression of each listed form of compensation.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very minor form of compensation	Minor	Somewhat Minor	Appropriate	Somewhat Excessive	Excessive	Very Excessive form of compensation

1. Government funding for equal access to healthcare providers.
2. Implementation of business tax of 0.5% for businesses sitting on Aboriginal land.
3. Employment legislation regulating that at least 5% of all company employees must be Aboriginal.
4. Federal tax increase on HST to help fund Aboriginal resources.
5. Large commemorative monument on one of the Parliament Hill lawns.
6. Aboriginal-run branch of the Criminal Justice System.

## CONSEQUENCES OF EXCESSIVE DEMANDS

**Version Two**

The experience of Aboriginal people in Canada has historically been one of inequality and discrimination. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada has been working alongside Aboriginal communities to help make reparations for past transgressions against their people and their culture. The official report released in 2015 included a number of Calls to Action recommended by Aboriginal groups as steps to be made by the Canadian government to help promote forgiveness and reconciliation. Based on the recommendations provided in the report, Aboriginal communities in Canada have demanded that reparations be provided to them as compensation for past harms.

We are interested in understanding non-Aboriginals' feelings about various forms of compensation demanded by Aboriginal communities for the harm non-Aboriginals have inflicted.

Using the 1 = very minor form of compensation to 7 = very excessive form of compensation scale below, please indicate your impression of each listed form of compensation.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very minor form of compensation	Minor	Somewhat Minor	Appropriate	Somewhat Excessive	Excessive	Very Excessive form of compensation

1. Healthcare legislation that moves Aboriginal patients to the top of the list for serious medical procedures.
2. Implementation of business tax of 5% for businesses sitting on Aboriginal land.
3. Employment legislation that means Aboriginal applicants will be selected over other applicants for job postings.
4. Redistribution of current federal HST to help fund Aboriginal resources.
5. Commemorative plaque outside the doors of the House of Commons.
6. Legislation ensuring that at least 5% of all staff in Criminal Justice facilities must be Aboriginal.

## CONSEQUENCES OF EXCESSIVE DEMANDS

**Manipulation – Study 2 Only**

**Note:** For the Excessive and Lenient compensation conditions, the type of compensation will be inserted into the vignettes based on the results of Study 1. We will pick the form of compensation that is perceived to be most lenient and more excessive to insert into the vignettes below. We will be reported the forms of compensation used to the CUREB *before* Study 2 data collection begins.

**[Excessive Compensation]**

News Brief – July 16, 2016

A resolution to demand first priority health care for Aboriginals was accepted at the 2016 Annual General Assembly of the Assembly of First Nations. The resolution was made in response to an official report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada – a report that included several Calls to Action. It was argued that the resolution, which would require the Government of Canada legislate that Aboriginals be moved to the top of any wait list for major medical procedures, will help address the inequality and discrimination experiences by Aboriginal people across Canada.

**[Lenient Compensation]**

News Brief – July 16, 2016

A resolution to demand equal access to health care for Aboriginals was accepted at the 2016 Annual General Assembly of the Assembly of First Nations. The resolution was made in response to an official report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada – a report that included several Calls to Action. It was argued that the resolution, which would require the Government of Canada legislate equal access to healthcare for Aboriginals, will help address the inequality and discrimination experiences by Aboriginal people across Canada.

**[Control]\*\***

\*\* In the control condition, participants will not read a news brief. They will be directed straight to the questionnaire.

## CONSEQUENCES OF EXCESSIVE DEMANDS

**Manipulation Check for Study Two Articles**

**Please respond to the following multiple choice questions about the article you read on the previous page:**

A. According to the article about Aboriginals in Canada...

1. Canada's Aboriginal communities have demanded reparations for past harms based on the Truth and Reconciliation report.
2. Government officials have ruled that non-natives cannot reside in the Kahnawake community and Mohawk person who marries a non-native person will lose their right to live on the reserve.
3. Aboriginal communities in Canada will send a representative to discuss pertinent issues with the Minister of Aboriginal Affairs every two years.

B. According to the article, who has been working with Canada's Aboriginal community to help make reparations for past transgressions?

1. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada
2. The Canadian Ministry of Health
3. The Criminal Justice System of Canada
4. The Canadian Ministry of Education

C. On the scale below, please indicate your impression of the resolution passed by the Assembly of First Nations.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very minor form of compensation	Minor	Somewhat Minor	Appropriate	Somewhat Excessive	Excessive	Very Excessive form of compensation

## CONSEQUENCES OF EXCESSIVE DEMANDS

**\*All subsequent measures will be used in both Pilot Studies and the Main Study**

### Collective Guilt

Please indicate your level of agreement or disagreement with the following items:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Disagree somewhat	Neutral	Agree somewhat	Agree	Strongly agree

1. As a Canadian, I feel guilty for the negative things my group did to Aboriginals in the past.
2. As a Canadian, I feel guilty for my group's harmful past actions toward Aboriginals.
3. As a Canadian, I do not feel guilty for the things my group did to Aboriginals in the past.
4. As a Canadian, I feel guilt for negative experience of Aboriginals brought about by past members of my group.

## CONSEQUENCES OF EXCESSIVE DEMANDS

**Ingroup Forgiveness**

Thinking about the harm Canada committed against Aboriginals, please indicate your level of agreement or disagreement with the following items:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Disagree somewhat	Neutral	Agree somewhat	Agree	Strongly agree

Genuine SF

I feel we are trying to learn from the harm we committed against Aboriginals

I feel we have spent time working through our guilt about the harm we committed against Aboriginals

I feel we have put energy into processing our wrongdoing against Aboriginals

I feel we don't take what we have done to Aboriginals lightly

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Disagree somewhat	Neutral	Agree somewhat	Agree	Strongly agree

Pseudo SF:

I feel the harm experienced by Aboriginals was not all our fault.

I feel there are explanations for a lot of the harms we committed against Aboriginals

I feel we are not the only ones to blame for the harms Aboriginals have experienced

I feel that what we did to the Aboriginals wasn't all wrong.

[On a separate page]

Thinking about the harm Canada committed against Aboriginals, please indicate your level of agreement or disagreement with the following items:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Disagree somewhat	Neutral	Agree somewhat	Agree	Strongly agree

I feel we should forgive ourselves for the past wrongdoing against Aboriginals.

I feel it is time for us to move on from our past wrongdoing against Aboriginals.

I feel more needs to be done before we can forgive ourselves for the harms committed against Aboriginals

## CONSEQUENCES OF EXCESSIVE DEMANDS

**Empathic Perspective Taking**

Please indicate your level of agreement or disagreement with the following items:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Disagree somewhat	Neutral	Agree somewhat	Agree	Strongly agree

As a Canadian, it is easy for me to understand what it would feel like to be an Aboriginal.

As a Canadian, it is difficult for me to relate to stories in which Aboriginal people talk about racial or ethnic discrimination they experience in their day to day lives. (R)

As a Canadian, it is difficult for me to put myself in the shoes of someone who is Aboriginal. (R)

As a Canadian, I know what it feels like to be the only Aboriginal in a group of people.

As a Canadian, I can relate to the frustration that some Aboriginal people feel about having fewer opportunities due to their ethnic background.

As a Canadian, I feel uncomfortable when I am around a significant number of people who are Aboriginal. (R)

As a Canadian, I don't know a lot of information about important social and political events of Aboriginals. (R)

## CONSEQUENCES OF EXCESSIVE DEMANDS

**Support for Apology**

There has been a discussion about whether or not the Canadian government should offer an apology to Aboriginal Canadians for ongoing discrimination and mistreatment.

*Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statements: (7-point scale)*

1. I support this apology
2. I believe this apology is warranted
3. I do not support this apology

Would you support an apology from the Canadian government to Aboriginal Canadians? (Y/N)

*If no, please indicate the degree to which agree or disagree with each reason for not supporting the apology:*

1. An apology could harm intergroup relations between Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals in Canada
2. There is no continued mistreatment of Aboriginal people in Canada
3. An apology is not enough (further compensation is needed)
4. The mistreatment of Aboriginals is not our fault
5. Other: \_\_\_\_\_ (Please specify)

*If yes, please indicate the degree to which agree or disagree with each reason for supporting the apology:*

1. An apology could improve intergroup relations between Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals in Canada
2. There has been systemic mistreatment of Aboriginal people in Canada
3. An apology is the morally right thing to do
4. The mistreatment of Aboriginals is our fault
5. Other: \_\_\_\_\_ (Please specify)

**Support for Compensation**

*Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statements:*

1. Aboriginal should not be financially compensated for the damage that White Canadians have caused them.
2. I think that the Canadian government should compensate Aboriginal financially for all the maltreatment and deprivation that White Canadians have caused them.
3. Aboriginal should be given financial compensation for the harms endured at the hands of White Canadians.
4. I would donate money for the creation of a memorial recognizing the suffering endured by Aboriginals.
5. I think that the Canadian government should use tax dollars to create a memorial to Aboriginal suffering.
6. The Canadian government should not fund a memorial to Aboriginal suffering.
7. Canada should provide additional funding to help support Aboriginal youth.

## CONSEQUENCES OF EXCESSIVE DEMANDS

*Minimization of harm (Miron, Branscombe, & Biernat, 2010)*

*This measure will use the following scale instead of the one provided above:*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very little	Slightly little	Somewhat little	Neither little or a lot	Somewhat a lot	Slightly a lot	Very much

1. How many Aboriginals were affected by the Residential School System?
2. How many Aboriginals families were harmed by the Residential School System?
3. How much damage did the Residential School System do to Aboriginals?
4. How many non-Aboriginals were involved in causing harm to Aboriginal?
5. How many non-Aboriginals supported the Residential School System?

*Cover-up (Gausel et al., 2011):*

1. I think that we Canadians should make it less clear what has happened to Aboriginal people in the Aboriginal School System.
2. I think that we Canadians need to be careful of sharing information about what happened in the Aboriginal School System with other nations.
3. We Canadians should make the Aboriginal School System issue become less important in the public awareness.

*Support for affirmative action for African Americans (Schmermund, Sellers, Mueller, & Crosby, 2001)*

1. I believe Canadian policies should ensure that Aboriginals succeed based only on their own merit.
2. I believe Canadian policies that assist Aboriginals (free tuition, facilitating the representation of Aboriginals in the workplace) should be implemented even if they take positions away from non-aboriginals.
3. I believe Canadian policies that assist Aboriginals (free tuition, facilitating the representation of Aboriginals in the workplace) will harm Canadian society.
4. To what extent do you support policies that favor Aboriginals over non-Aboriginals? *(Using a scale where 0 means you strongly oppose such polices and 10 means you strongly support such policies, how would you rate your opinion?)*

## CONSEQUENCES OF EXCESSIVE DEMANDS

**Status/Power Threat**

Please indicate your level of agreement or disagreement with the following items:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Disagree somewhat	Neutral	Agree somewhat	Agree	Strongly agree

“I feel Aboriginals look down on our group”

“I feel Aboriginals think they are better than us”

“I feel Aboriginals feel powerful and in control”

“I feel Aboriginals are superior to us”

“I feel Aboriginals respect our group” (reverse-coded)

“I feel Aboriginals are more powerful than we are.”

**Value Consensus Threat**

Please indicate your level of agreement or disagreement with the following items:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Disagree somewhat	Neutral	Agree somewhat	Agree	Strongly agree

“I feel Non-Aboriginals agree with Aboriginals on principles of decent conduct” (reverse-coded)

“I feel Non-Aboriginals share the same values with the Aboriginals” (reverse-coded)

“I feel Non-Aboriginals ignore a broadly accepted understanding of what is right and wrong”

“I feel like Non-Aboriginals disregard commonly shared beliefs and values”

## CONSEQUENCES OF EXCESSIVE DEMANDS

**Collective Guilt for the Future – Pilot Study 2 and Main Study**

We are now going to ask you about your sense of responsibility (as a Canadian) for the **current problems** experienced by Aboriginals in Canada.

Please indicate your level of agreement or disagreement with the following items:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Disagree somewhat	Neutral	Agree somewhat	Agree	Strongly agree

As a Canadian, I feel we are responsible for the welfare of Aboriginals in the future.

As a Canadian, I feel we are responsible for the betterment of the situation of Aboriginals.

As a Canadian, I do not feel we are responsible for how Aboriginals thrive or fail in future.

As a Canadian, I feel we are responsible for Aboriginals becoming more equal members of Canadian society.

**Collective Guilt for the Past – Pilot Study 2 and Main Study**

We are now going to ask you about your sense of responsibility (as a Canadian) for the **historical victimization** experienced by Aboriginals in Canada.

Please indicate your level of agreement or disagreement with the following items:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Disagree somewhat	Neutral	Agree somewhat	Agree	Strongly agree

As a Canadian, I feel we are responsible for past suffering of Aboriginals.

As a Canadian, I feel we are responsible for the harm done to Aboriginals.

As a Canadian, I do not feel we are responsible for how Aboriginals fared in the past.

As a Canadian, I feel we are responsible for Aboriginals having been disadvantaged in Canadian society.

## CONSEQUENCES OF EXCESSIVE DEMANDS

**Believability – Pilot Study 2**

Earlier, we showed you various forms of compensation demanded by Aboriginal communities for the harm non-Aboriginals have inflicted. Here, we would like you to indicate where you think each of those demands ranks among Aboriginals.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very Low	Low	Somewhat Low	Neutral	Somewhat High	High	Very High

**Version 1:**

1. Government funding for equal access to healthcare providers.
2. Implementation of business tax of 0.5% for businesses sitting on Aboriginal land.
3. Employment legislation regulating that at least 5% of all company employees must be Aboriginal.
4. Federal tax increase on HST to help fund Aboriginal resources.
5. Large commemorative monument on one of the Parliament Hill lawns.
6. Aboriginal-run branch of the Criminal Justice System.

**Version 2:**

1. Healthcare legislation that moves Aboriginal patients to the top of the list for serious medical procedures.
2. Implementation of business tax of 5% for businesses sitting on Aboriginal land.
3. Employment legislation that means Aboriginal applicants will be selected over other applicants for job postings.
4. Redistribution of current federal HST to help fund Aboriginal resources.
5. Commemorative plaque outside the doors of the House of Commons.
6. Legislation ensuring that at least 5% of all staff in Criminal Justice facilities must be Aboriginal.



**APPENDIX D: Debriefing**

**\*\*PLEASE READ THE FOLLOWING BEFORE YOU CLOSE YOUR BROWSER\*\***

**Thank you for participating in this study!** We greatly appreciate your participation in the study *Perceived Excessiveness of Compensation Demands and its Consequences II*. This post-survey information is provided to inform you of the exact nature of the research you just participated in.

***What are we trying to learn in this research?***

In the current research, we are seeking to understand the effects of victimized group's demands for compensation for intergroup harmdoing on intergroup relations. There is reason to believe that when victimized groups demand compensation perceived as too severe by members of the perpetrator group it might lead to reduced feelings of guilt for the harm committed. If this is the case then desire to engage in reparative action might also be reduced. In the current research, we are examining this issue within the context of the harm committed against Aboriginal Canadians.

[For Study 1: Before we can directly test the impact of different kinds of demanded forms of compensation, we need to get an idea of what kinds of compensation non-Aboriginal Canadians perceive as being lenient, appropriate, or extreme. As such, we provided you with a list of possible forms of compensation and asked you to provide ratings of perceived leniency/extremity. We then asked you about your general feelings about the harm committed against Aboriginals as well as feelings about reportative action. Please note that none of these forms of compensation have actually been demanded by Aboriginal communities in Canada, and that some of the listed compensations did not even appear as recommendations in the Truth and Reconciliation Committee report].

[For Study 2: Although the events described in our "news article" are true (i.e., mistreatment of Aboriginal Canadian), the research team constructed the news article you read. Specifically, the news article you read was fake. In fact, no specific demands for compensation have been made by Aboriginals for the harm they experienced at the hands of non-Aboriginals in Canada. Instead, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission has made broad suggestions for how to repair the wrongs of the past and help alleviate the ongoing prejudice and discrimination experienced by Aboriginal Canadians. With that said, to test our hypotheses, and based on a pre-test of non-Aboriginal Canadians impression of various types of compensation (we had them rate whether forms of compensation were lenient, appropriate or excessive), we created three conditions in the current study. In one condition, participants read that Canada was going to provide a rather small/lenient form of reparation to its Aboriginal communities. In a second condition, participants read that Canada was going to provide a large/excessive form of compensation. In a third condition, participants did not read about compensation. This third condition served as a control condition.

We hypothesized that people who read that Canada was going to provide a large or the excessive punishment condition would be less likely to support offering an apology or reparations to Aboriginal people, while also lowering collective guilt and raising ingroup forgiveness.]

We did not provide you with this information ahead of time because, if we had done so, you

## CONSEQUENCES OF EXCESSIVE DEMANDS

might have felt pressure or some demand to respond or react in a particular way. That is, you might have responses based on what you thought we wanted rather than on your typical or normal response. When people respond based on what they believe the researcher is looking for, this is called the demand awareness effect. This can be a problem in research because our results would not accurately reflect your true attitudes and/or behaviours. If this did occur, scientific progress would be affected because inappropriate avenues of research might be followed. Therefore, we inform you about the nature of a particular study AFTER you have participated in it.

There is a second concern about manipulations that should be addressed. There is a possibility that the effects of a manipulation can last beyond the end of the study. Thankfully, research has shown that if researchers ask participants questions about the study (a processed debriefing) and then tell participants about the possibility that the effects of a manipulation can carry on after the study ends, the likelihood that the effect will persist is dramatically lowered (to almost nothing; see Ross, Lepper, & Hubbard, 1975).

**Ross, L., Lepper, M. R., & Hubbard, M. (1975). Perseverance in self-perception and social perception: biased attributional processes in the debriefing paradigm. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 32, 880-892.**

We could not tell you about the manipulation up front because doing so might have influenced how you responded to the questions we posed. Because we could not tell you think up front, on the next page, we will ask for your consent to use your data.]

### ***Where can I learn more?***

Bombay, A., Matheson, K., & Anisman, H. (2013). Expectations Among Aboriginal Peoples in Canada Regarding the Potential Impacts of a Government Apology. *Political Psychology*, 34(3), 443-460. DOI: 10.1111/pops.12029

The Truth and Reconciliation webpage: <http://www.trc.ca/websites/trcinstitution/index.php?p=3>  
TRC Calls to Action:

[http://www.trc.ca/websites/trcinstitution/File/2015/Findings/Calls\\_to\\_Action\\_English2.pdf](http://www.trc.ca/websites/trcinstitution/File/2015/Findings/Calls_to_Action_English2.pdf)

### ***Is there anything I can do if I found this experiment to be emotionally upsetting?***

Yes. If you feel any negative emotion or anxiety due to your participation in this study (e.g., due to the topic of the study), please feel free to contact one of the helplines nearest to your location. The Befrienders helpline offers an open space for anyone who feels distress to talk about their feelings anonymously and be heard. A list of helplines by town and state can be found at <http://www.befrienders.org/directory?country=US>

### ***What if I have questions later?***

If you have any remaining concerns, questions, or comments about this research, please feel free to contact Dr. Michael Wohl (Faculty Sponsor), at: [michael.wohl@carleton.ca](mailto:michael.wohl@carleton.ca) (613-520-2600, ext. 2908), Sara Lidstone (Principal Investigator) at [saralidstone@cmail.carleton.ca](mailto:saralidstone@cmail.carleton.ca) (613-520-2600, ext. 6312), or Carina Daugherty (Other Research Personnel) at [carinadaugherty@cmail.carleton.ca](mailto:carinadaugherty@cmail.carleton.ca) (1-613-520-2600, ext. 2683).

## CONSEQUENCES OF EXCESSIVE DEMANDS

Should you have any ethical concerns about this research, please contact Dr. Shelley Brown (Chair, Carleton University Research Ethics Board B, [shelley.brown@carleton.ca](mailto:shelley.brown@carleton.ca), 613-520-2600, ext. 1505). For other concerns, please contact the Carleton University Research Ethics Office ([ethics@carleton.ca](mailto:ethics@carleton.ca)).

Thank you for participating in this research! This research has received clearance by the Carleton University Research Ethics Board B (Certificate 16-XXX).

**Appendix E: Informed Consent to the Use of Data**

## Informed Consent to Use Your Data

**The purpose of an informed consent is to ensure that you now understand the true purpose of the study and that you agree to allow your data to be used for research and teaching purposes. Because you were only told of the procedures and not the purpose of this study at the outset, we are now asking for your consent to allow your data to be used for research and teaching purposes.**

This study has received clearance by the Carleton University Research Ethics Board-B (Reference #16-XXX).

This research has been funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council

**Purpose.** The purpose of this study is to assess whether non-Aboriginal Canadians will be more likely to support reparative actions when they feel like the future vitality of Aboriginal Canadians is in jeopardy.

**Anonymity/Confidentiality.** The data collected in this study are kept anonymous and confidential. The consent forms are kept separate from your responses.

**Right to withdraw data.** You have the right to indicate that you do not wish your data to be used in this study. If you indicate this is your choice, then all measures you have provided will be destroyed.

- a. I consent to the use of my data
- b. I do not consent to the use of my data

**APPENDIX F: Ineligible Debriefing**

Thank you for your interest. Unfortunately at this time, you are ineligible to participate in this study. If you have further questions, please contact Dr. Michael Wohl ([michael.wohl@carleton.ca](mailto:michael.wohl@carleton.ca)), Sara Lidstone ([saralidstone@cmail.carleton.ca](mailto:saralidstone@cmail.carleton.ca)), or Carina Daugherty ([carinadaugherty@cmail.carleton.ca](mailto:carinadaugherty@cmail.carleton.ca)).