

The Shadows of the Past: Effects of Historical Group Trauma on Current Intergroup Conflicts

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Abstract

We examined associations between two orientations based on historical group trauma, a form of enduring group victimhood (Perpetual Ingroup Victimhood Orientation [PIVO]) and the belief that one's group might itself become a victimizer (Fear of Victimizing [FOV]), and attitudes, cognitions, and emotions related to intergroup conflicts. PIVO was positively and FOV was negatively related to aggressive attitudes and emotions toward the outgroup (Studies 1a–1c, Israeli–Palestinian conflict), and to the attribution of responsibility for a series of hostilities to the outgroup (Study 3, Israeli–Palestinian conflict). PIVO was negatively and FOV positively related to support for forgiveness and reconciliation (Study 2, Northern Ireland conflict). In Experimental Study 4, FOV predicted greater accuracy in remembering harm, regardless of victims' group identity, whereas PIVO was associated with reduced accuracy only when victims were Palestinians (outgroup members). Taken together, these findings indicate that both orientations have a significant impact on intergroup conflicts and their resolution.

Keywords

victimhood, intergroup conflict, aggression, memory, guilt

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Can the same group trauma inspire diverse orientations, including lessons, narratives, and moral obligations? Different group members can derive very different lessons from the very same historical group trauma. More than 60 years ago, Gordon Allport (1954/1979) suggested that a victimized individual

... will take one of two paths. Either he will join the pecking order and treat others in the way he has been treated, or else he will consciously and deliberately avoid this temptation. With insight he will say, "These people are victims exactly as I am a victim. Better stand with them, not against them." (p. 155)

Similarly, the same group trauma can inspire different worldviews in members of the victimized group (e.g., Klar, 2016). The main mindset that has been studied is group victimhood (Noor, Brown, & Prentice, 2008; Schori-Eyal, Halperin, & Bar-Tal, 2014; Vollhardt, 2009; Vollhardt & Bilali, 2015). The group victimhood mindset has been associated with an increased sense of vulnerability and mistrust (Eidelson & Eidelson, 2003), fear of physical or symbolic annihilation (Montville, 1990; Wohl & Branscombe, 2009), and a perception of the world as an actively hostile place (Bar-Tal, 1998, 2007; Janoff-Bulman, 1992; Staub & Pearlman, 2001). In the context of intergroup conflicts, a

sense of group victimhood has been related to conflict-enhancing attitudes beliefs and emotions such as reduced group-based guilt (Wohl & Branscombe, 2008), reduced willingness for intergroup forgiveness (Noor et al., 2008), and reduced willingness for compromise and greater support for military actions against the outgroup (Schori-Eyal et al., 2014).

In the present research, we conceptualized the victimhood mindset as *perpetual ingroup victimhood orientation* (PIVO), defined as the belief that one's group is a constant victim persecuted continually by different enemies. PIVO shares some characteristics with competitive victimhood (Noor et al., 2008) and with the notion of siege mentality (Bar-Tal & Antebi, 1992), but places particular emphasis on the connection between past and present enemies. Thus, PIVO may

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explain how temporally distant traumas can resonate in the descendants of the victims many generations later (Barkan, 2000; Licata & Klein, 2010; Volkan, 1997; Wohl & Branscombe, 2005).

So far little empirical attention has been paid to the possibility of additional mindsets that may evolve in the wake of traumatic events endured by the group (cf. inclusive victimhood, Vollhardt, 2009). We suggest that historical group trauma may also lead to *fear of victimizing* (FOV): the apprehension that the ingroup will become entangled in a “victim-to-victimizer” cycle, ruthlessly harming enemies with little regard for moral considerations. FOV reflects the belief that suffering does not necessarily ennoble the mind. Rather, it can induce moral callousness and indifference to the anguish of others.

FOV is similar to PIVO in placing focus on historical group trauma and its possible consequences. Similar to PIVO, it deals with concerns regarding the possible negative future of the ingroup. However, the content of the concern is different. Whereas PIVO expresses the worry that the historically victimized ingroup will also be a future victim (i.e., victim role stability), FOV expresses the worry that the ingroup will shift from victim to victimizer (victim role reversal).

The FOV orientation might seem counterintuitive. Why would victims be worried about the eventuality that they would turn into victimizers? However, FOV may be traced to several sources. In many cultures, moral guidelines warn people against repeating evils that have been done (or could be done) to them unto others. For example, the Silver Rule that states “Do not do to others what you would not have them do unto you” is shared by most religions and many philosophical schools (Flew, 1979, p. 134). Such moral rules are directed to all human beings, not particularly toward members of victimized groups. However, when members of victimized groups contemplate the evil done to their group, the ensuing “do not do unto others” clause may automatically follow. Consistently, observers attribute greater moral obligation not to harm others to members of historically persecuted groups (Warner & Branscombe, 2012). FOV could also be the result of fear of moral contagion: People sometimes believe that “essence” or properties, including evil, are transmitted when two objects come into contact (Rozin, Haidt, & McCauley, 2008). Finally, individuals who have experienced severe abuse in childhood experience doubt over their parenting abilities and fear that they might victimize their children (DiLillo, 2001; Fitzgerald, Shipman, Jackson, McMahan, & Hanley, 2005). Similarly, members of historically traumatized groups may believe that their ingroup’s past suffering places its members in particular danger of becoming contaminated by the evil essence of their victimizers and turning evil themselves.

While most group members who strongly endorse one orientation are likely to exhibit low levels of the opposing

orientation, it is possible for an individual to be high on both orientations (i.e., simultaneously believe that it is the ingroup’s obligation to defend its members at all costs, and that it must not excessively harm its enemies) or to be low on both (possibly attributing little importance or present relevance to the past and the group’s painful history). Thus, the two orientations are construed as generally negatively related to each other but not mutually exclusive.

Antecedents and Consequences of PIVO and FOV

Although all group members are subjected to the same societal messages and socialization agents regarding the shared trauma, there are likely to be individual differences in PIVO and FOV. We suggest that individual differences in PIVO and FOV have roots in motivations and thus can be traced to personal values.

Values express basic human motivations (Rohan, 2000; Schwartz, 1992) and give meaning to, energize, and regulate value-congruent behavior (Verplanken & Holland, 2002). As motivational constructs, values affect perception and interpretation (Sagiv, Sverdlik, & Schwarz, 2011). We reason that the personal values are likely to affect the way people interpret and construe their ingroup’s history, resulting in individual differences in PIVO and FOV.

We draw on Schwartz’s basic values theory (Schwartz, 1992), tested and verified in extensive cross-cultural research (e.g., Davidov, Schmidt, & Schwartz, 2008). Schwartz identified 10 basic values, ordered in a circular structure, which can be summarized as two basic conflicts: (a) openness to change values that express the motivation for independence, novelty, and excitement (self-direction and stimulation) versus conservation values that express the motivation to preserve the status quo (tradition, conformity, and security). (b) self-enhancement values that express the pursuit of self-interests (power, achievement) versus self-transcendence values that express concern for others (benevolence, universalism).

We suggest that the most pertinent values to PIVO and FOV are tradition and universalism, respectively. Tradition values represent the goals of respect, commitment, and acceptance of the customs and ideas that traditional culture or religion provide the self. A perpetual victimhood orientation helps maintain tradition values because it reflects an overarching desire to maintain stability, and the tradition value corresponds to the invariable, immutable nature of enemies and history itself according to PIVO. Moreover, PIVO plays a central role in the construction of group identity and the consecration of the trauma through ceremonies and memorial days (e.g., Shiite Ashura or Jewish Passover; Schori-Eyal, Klar, & Ben-Ami, in press), which reflect a strong emphasis on tradition and make it a compelling avenue for pursuing this value. The focus of FOV on potential victim role reversal, implying transitivity and fluidity in a

central domain of group identity (i.e., morality), suggests that it would be highly incongruous with the tradition value.

The universalism value represents the goal of concern for the welfare of all people. It resonates with the autonomy ethic of avoiding harm and injustice, and with the fairness/reciprocity moral foundation (Sverdlik, Roccas, & Sagiv, 2012). Universalism is expected to correspond most closely with FOV because of its inclusivity of all people as worthy of tolerance and protection. The key is not sensitivity to suffering and disapproval of those who cause harm, which is expressed in the value of benevolence and in the harm/care moral foundation, but rather in who is considered a subject that must be protected. FOV, which views all groups as potential victims (and victimizers) and focuses on the suffering of outgroup members, is therefore expected to be the most closely related to universalism. PIVO, which implies that group victimhood is exclusive and leaves little room for acknowledging even the potential of harm to others, is incompatible with a value that stresses protection of *all*.

The main aim of the present research was to examine the relationships of PIVO and FOV to emotions, attitudes, and cognitions in current intergroup conflicts. We suggest that their different foci can lead to contrasting responses to current intergroup conflicts.

In line with previous research on group victimhood, we suggest that PIVO entails a commitment to the defense of the ingroup, and consequently greater support for aggressive measures against enemy outgroups, and lower guilt over harm engendered by such measures. FOV, in contrast, entails a commitment to refrain from mistreating enemy outgroup members, leading to opposite responses. We expect these worldviews to color their proponents' perceptions as well. The two specific processes we examine in the present work are attribution of causality and memory of conflict-related events.

To test these hypotheses, we conducted six studies in the context of two intergroup conflicts: the active Israeli–Palestinian conflict (focusing on Jewish-Israeli attitudes) and the recently abated Northern Ireland conflict (examining both Catholics and Protestants). In Studies 1a to 1c, conducted in Israel, we examine the relationships of PIVO and FOV with emotional responses and behavioral tendencies toward the enemy outgroup. In Study 2, conducted in Northern Ireland, we examine forgiveness and reconciliation. In Study 3 (Israel), we examine the relationship between PIVO and FOV and attributing responsibility for the outbreak of a series of hostilities through temporal sequencing. In Study 4 (Israel), we examine group members' recall of events related to ingroup and outgroup victims of the intergroup conflict. The sample sizes in all studies would allow to detect medium-sized effects with .80 power.

Study 1

We examined PIVO and FOV among Jewish-Israelis at three points in time. Sample 1a was collected during a period of

relative calm in the Israeli–Palestinian conflict. Study 1b was conducted during and immediately following an escalation that included massive Israeli operations in the Gaza strip and Palestinian rocket fire on Israeli towns (Study 1b). Study 1c was collected on a subsample of participants who had taken part in Study 1a, during a period of renewed hostilities 6 months after the first assessment. In all three samples, we examined the relationships of PIVO and FOV with moral entitlement, tolerance of enemy collateral casualties (TECC), and group-based guilt. Studies 1b and 1c included additional measures, detailed below.

Moral entitlement is the belief that it is acceptable for the ingroup to commit morally reprehensible acts against the enemy outgroup. Beliefs about moral entitlement are found among many members of groups involved in conflicts: For example, up to 30% of respondents in eight war-affected countries agreed with the statement “there is nothing that combatants should not be allowed to do” (International Committee for the Red Cross, 2010, p. 28). We propose that the link between individual past trauma and entitlement to receive special consideration (Bishop & Lane, 2000), focus on one's needs (McMullin, Wirth, & White, 2007), and behave selfishly (Zitek, Jordan, Monin, & Leach, 2010) extends to group identity such that the higher the PIVO, the higher the moral entitlement. In contrast, FOV reflects a deep concern about the ingroup's moral character and the actions it takes, serving as a warning not to violate ethical norms in wartime. Therefore, association between FOV and moral entitlement is expected to be negative.

The core belief in the group's license to breach moral norms may serve as an antecedent to various harmful responses. Moral entitlement is predicted to mediate the associations of PIVO and FOV with more specific behavioral tendencies and emotional responses. In the current study, we examined group-based guilt—an aversive emotion experienced over actions taken by one's group that are perceived as illegitimate and harmful, even if the individual experiencing it did not participate in the damaging act (Doosje, Branscombe, Spears, & Manstead, 1998; Roccas, Klar, & Liviatan, 2006), and on tolerance of enemy casualties, which we define as the endorsement of military tactics that inadvertently target civilians who are not actively aiding enemy militant forces. Because FOV is concerned with harming others—almost a form of prospective guilt—we expect moral entitlement to mediate the FOV-guilt relationship only partially. The full theoretical model is illustrated in Figure 1.

The usefulness of PIVO and FOV depends on their contribution above and beyond orientations that have been studied in the past. Therefore, Study 1b included other potentially relevant predictors of group-based guilt and TECC, namely, religiosity, political orientation, group identification, Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA), and the Social Dominance Orientation (SDO). Extensive research indicates that these constructs are strongly associated with prejudice (Duckitt & Sibley, 2007) and with negativity toward outgroups

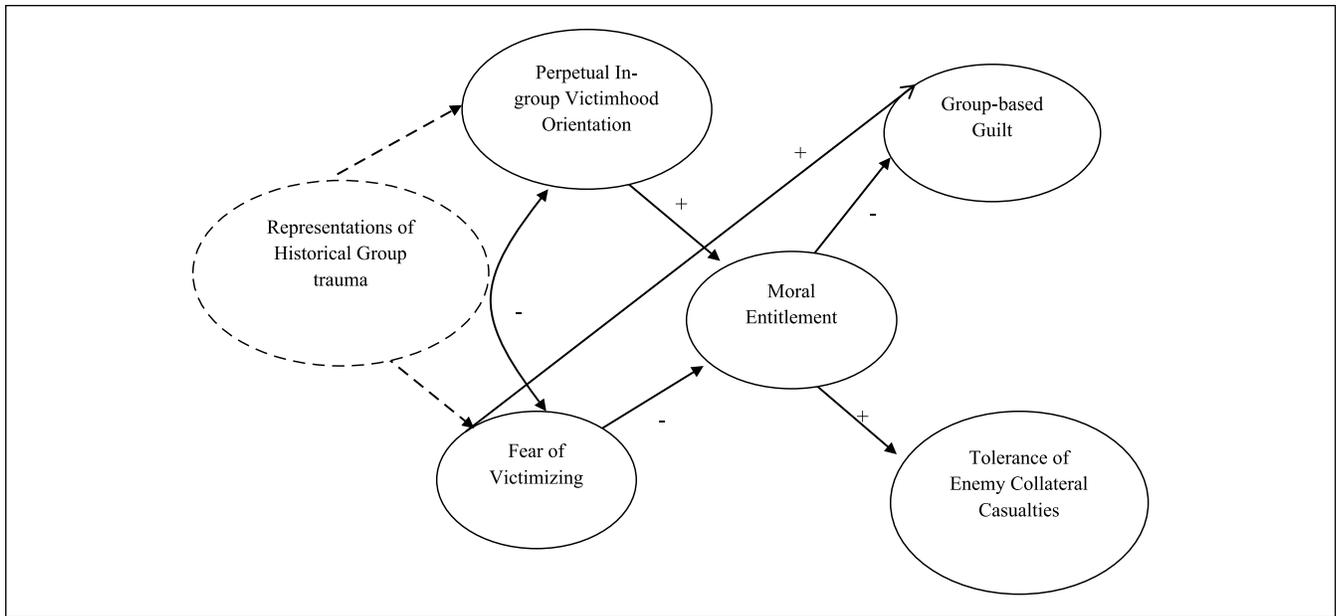


Figure 1. Expected results of historical group trauma.

Note. This figure illustrates the expected results of historical group trauma and the relationships between them. Group trauma is represented in the model but its magnitude is not assessed. The relationship between group trauma and the associated worldviews is not quantified.

(Altemeyer, 1998; Hall, Matz, & Wood, 2010; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). For example, religiosity was shown to be positively related to support for political violence (e.g., Canetti, Hobfoll, Pedhazur, & Zaidise, 2010) and military acts (e.g., Froese & Mencken, 2009). A right-wing political orientation was found to be negatively related to group-based guilt (e.g., Roccas, Klar, & Liviatan, 2004) and positively related to exonerating cognitions in response to ingroup transgressions (e.g., Figueiredo, Valentim & Doosje, 2011) and to endorsement of unintentional killing of outgroup civilians (Kimhi, 2014; Pyszczynski et al., 2006; Uhlmann, Pizarro, Tannenbaum, & Ditto, 2009). Group identification was negatively related to group-based guilt for the ingroup’s past infractions (e.g., Doosje et al., 1998) and with higher levels of support for aggression against outgroup members (Lickel, Miller, Stenstrom, Denson, & Schmader, 2006; Yzerbyt, Dumont, Wigboldus, & Gordijn, 2003; for review, see Roccas & Elster, 2012).

In sum, RWA, SDO, identification, religiosity, and political orientation are expected to predict group-based guilt and tolerance of enemy civilian casualties. In Study 1b, we tested the distinctive contribution of PIVO and FOV to the prediction of group-based guilt and TECC above and beyond these well-established predictors. In Study 1c, we examined whether the relationships between variables in the proposed model were not the result of measuring all the constructs at the same time. To do so, the main dependent variables were measured 6 months after the assessment of PIVO and FOV. During the second measurement, we also measured participants’ basic values; as values are stable and abstract

motivational constructs (Jin & Rounds, 2012; Schwartz, 1992), we did not expect them to have changed, and therefore they were tested as predictors of PIVO and FOV.

Study 1a

Method

Participants and procedure. Four hundred twelve Jewish-Israeli participants completed the study (203 female, *M* age = 40.86, *SD* = 15.02). Participants completed the survey individually on the Internet in exchange for a small monetary compensation. The data were collected by a survey organization.¹

Measures. Unless stated otherwise, all items ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). To anchor perceptions of the group’s history in a specific traumatic occurrence, participants were asked to recall and write a short description of an event in which the ingroup (the people of Israel) had been harmed by another group. Unless otherwise specified, this anchoring procedure preceded each measurement of PIVO.

PIVO was measured using 12 items (e.g., “All our enemies throughout history share a common denominator—the will to annihilate us,” $\alpha = .89$).

FOV was measured using 13 items (e.g., “We are in danger of treating other peoples in the same way that we were treated by our worst enemies”; $\alpha = .94$).

Moral entitlement was measured using 10 items (e.g., “Harming innocents is certainly justified when our existence is being threatened”; $\alpha = .92$).

Group-based guilt was measured using seven items based on Roccas et al. (2006; sample item: "I feel guilty over the way Israel treats the Palestinians"; $\alpha = .87$). TECC was measured using response to a vignette depicting a decision to assassinate an enemy militant leader by firing rockets from an attack helicopter. The participants were presented with a table depicting the trade-off between the number of likely collateral casualties and the probability of achieving the military goal (i.e., successful assassination) and were asked to decide on the magnitude of the missile based on the resulting expectancy of success/collateral casualties. The response scale ranged from 1 (*40% chance of success, no civilian casualties*) to 5 (*100% chance of success, up to 20 civilian casualties*).

Religiosity was measured using a single item ("How religious are you?") with responses ranging from 1 (*not at all religious*) to 7 (*extremely religious*).

Political orientation was measured using a single item ("How would you describe your political attitudes?") with responses ranging from 1 (*radical left*) to 7 (*radical right*).

Results

We first examined the content of the historical traumas recalled by the participants. The events were categorized into five time periods, ranging from "antiquity" (e.g., the exodus from Egypt) to "1948-present." Forty-five participants did not mention an event or wrote of irrelevant events (e.g., intragroup attacks); their scores on all variables were not significantly different from those of participants who wrote about an historical event, and therefore they were included in the analyses. No differences in PIVO or FOV were found between participants who recalled events from different time periods. The means, standard deviations, and correlations between all variables are presented in Table 1.

To examine the hypothesized relationships among the variables, we used the AMOS 21 statistical program to conduct a structural equation modeling (SEM) analysis. We first tested a measurement model. The measurement model consisted of factor-loading paths from the latent constructs to their manifest indicators and nondirectional correlations between the latent variables. Due to the large number of indicators, we followed the recommendations of Bandalos (2002) and Little, Cunningham, Shahar, and Widaman (2002) and created parcels to optimize the measurement structure of constructs in SEM procedures. A satisfactory fit is generally indicated by a nonsignificant χ^2 , a χ^2/df ratio ≤ 3 , a comparative fit index (CFI) $\geq .95$, and a root mean square of approximation (RMSEA) $\leq .08$ (p close $> .05$; Hu & Bentler, 1999). The measurement model displayed very good fit to the data, $\chi^2(38, N = 412) = 98.87, p < .001$; normed fit index (NFI) = .99, incremental fit index (IFI) = .99, CFI = .99, RMSEA = .06. Correlations between the constructs corresponded with the ones reported in Table 1. Factor loadings on all latent variables were significant and ranged from .73 to .91.

We then tested the full hypothesized model linking PIVO and FOV, via the mediating role of moral entitlement, to group-based guilt and TECC. To assess overall model fit, we used the chi-square test, the CFI, and the RMSEA. The model provided very good fit to the data: $\chi^2 = 114.65, p < .001$; χ^2/df ratio = 2.34; CFI = .99, RMSEA = .06 (p close = .19). Standardized parameter estimates were in line with our predictions and are shown in Figure 2. As indicated in the figure, PIVO led to an increase and FOV to a decrease in the perception that the ingroup is morally entitled to do anything to defend itself, which in turn led to heightened TECC and decreased group-based guilt. Moral entitlement fully mediated the effect of PIVO and partially mediated the effect of FOV.

We next tested an alternative model in which the order of variables was changed to reflect processes other than the one we proposed. In the alternative model, moral decision making leads to increased guilt, which is then mitigated by moral entitlement that leads to the PIVO and FOV orientation. We report the Akaike information criterion (AIC; Akaike, 1974) for comparison of nonnested models, where the model with the lowest AIC is considered most parsimonious and robust. The alternative model did not fit the data as well as the model we suggested: $\chi^2 = 548.13, p < .001$, χ^2/df ratio = 10.75; CFI = .90, RMSEA = .16 (p close = .000). The value for the alternative model was AIC = 626.19, compared with AIC = 196.65 in our proposed model. The results indicated the PIVO and FOV are indeed separate constructs and provided support for our proposed model.

We conducted two hierarchical linear regressions to examine the distinctive contribution of PIVO and FOV to predicting group-based guilt (Table 2). In the first step, political orientation and religiosity were entered, predicting group-based guilt. In the second step, PIVO and FOV were entered. PIVO and FOV were both significant predictors of group-based guilt, above and beyond religiosity and political orientation. The same analysis was conducted to predict TECC: again, PIVO was a significant predictor, but FOV was not.

To examine whether PIVO and FOV contributed to the prediction of group-based guilt and TECC above and beyond additional well-established predictors, and to examine its stability during conflict escalation, we conducted Study 1b.

Study 1b

Method

Participants and procedure. Two hundred fifteen Jewish-Israeli students completed the study in exchange for course credit (178 female, M age = 24.94, $SD = 4.93$). As part of a larger study, presented as a study on social and political attitudes, they completed measures of RWA, SDO, group identification, perpetual ingroup victimhood orientation (PIVO), FOV, moral entitlement, group-based guilt, and TECC. The study was conducted during an escalation in the conflict that

Table 1. Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations Between Variables in Study 1.

			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. PIVO	Study 1a	M = 5.04, SD = 1.29										
	Study 1b	M = 4.58, SD = 1.17										
	Study 1c	M = 5.04, SD = 1.29										
2. FOV	Study 1a	M = 2.65, SD = 1.54	-.52***									
	Study 1b	M = 3.24, SD = 1.40	-.41***									
	Study 1c	M = 2.65, SD = 1.54	-.52***									
3. Moral entitlement	Study 1a	M = 4.45, SD = 1.46	.56***	-.42***								
	Study 1b	M = 4.03, SD = 1.40	.63***	-.44***								
	Study 1c	M = 4.53, SD = 1.42	.53***									
4. Group-based guilt	Study 1a	M = 2.42, SD = 1.40	-.52***	.79***	-.46***							
	Study 1b	M = 3.06, SD = 1.45	-.60***	.64***	-.66***							
	Study 1c	M = 2.22, SD = 1.35	-.54***									
5. TECC	Study 1a	M = 3.31, SD = 1.48	.32***	-.24***	.47***	-.30***						
	Study 1b	M = 3.02, SD = 1.37	.37***	-.34***	.52***	-.44***						
	Study 1c	M = 3.35, SD = 1.44	.37***									
6. RWA	Study 1a	NA										
	Study 1b	M = 3.97, SD = 1.01	.60***	-.47***	.54***	-.54***	.32***					
	Study 1c	NA										
7. SDO	Study 1a	NA										
	Study 1b	M = 2.60, SD = 0.92	.12 [†]	-.16*	.30***	-.26***	.29***	.34				
	Study 1c	NA										
8. Group identification	Study 1a	NA										
	Study 1b	M = 5.65, SD = 1.32	.48***	-.37***	.41***	-.26***	.26***	.52***	.11 [†]			
	Study 1c	NA										
9. Religiosity	Study 1a	M = 3.16, SD = 2.11	.42***	-.42***	.26***	-.37***	.18***					
	Study 1b	M = 2.33, SD = 1.57	.44***	-.34***	.27***	-.21***	.10	.57***	.002	.38***		
	Study 1c	NA										
10. Right-wing orientation	Study 1a	M = 4.65, SD = 1.31	.49***	-.56***	.50***	-.60***	.31***					.46***
	Study 1b	M = -.34, SD = 3.05	.58***	-.49***	.59***	-.65***	.43***	.50***	.18***	.43***	.45***	
	Study 1c	NA										

Note. PIVO = perpetual ingroup victimhood orientation; FOV = fear of victimizing; TECC = tolerance of enemy collateral casualties; RWA = right-wing authoritarianism; SDO = social dominance orientation.
[†]p < .1. *p < .05. ***p < .001.

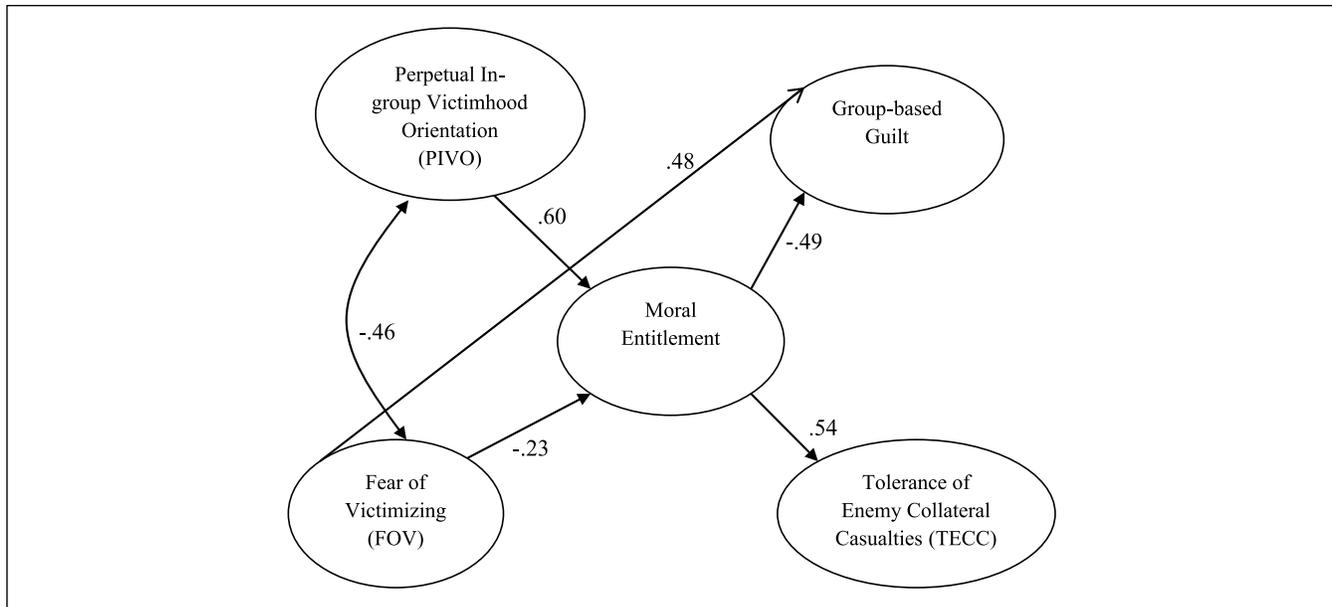


Figure 2. Model linking PIVO and FOV to group-based guilt and TECC via moral entitlement (Study 1a). Note. PIVO = perpetual ingroup victimhood orientation; FOV = fear of victimizing; TECC = tolerance of enemy collateral casualties.

Table 2. Contribution of PIVO and FOV to Predicting Group-Based Guilt and TECC (Study 1a).

Predictor	R^2		F_{change}		B	
	Group-based guilt	TECC	Group-based guilt	TECC	Group-based guilt	TECC
Step 1	.36	.09	115.78***	20.93***		
Religiosity					-.12***	.05
Political orientation					-.54***	.29***
Step 2	.65	.12	168.63***	7.95***		
PIVO					-.11**	.22***
FOV					.63***	-.02
Religiosity					.04	-.01
Political orientation					-.21***	.19**

Note. PIVO = perpetual ingroup victimhood orientation; FOV = fear of victimizing; TECC = tolerance of enemy collateral casualties.

involved an extensive ground-force operation in the Gaza Strip. To control for possible effects of PIVO and FOV on moral decision making, half of the participants completed the TECC measure before the PIVO and FOV measures, and the other half completed it following the measurement of these variables. No order effects were found.

Measures. Unless otherwise mentioned, all items ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*).

SDO was measured using the 16-item scale (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994; $\alpha = .87$).

RWA was measured using Altemeyer's (1981) 30-item scale; responses ranged from 1 (*do not agree at all*) to 9 (*completely agree*), $\alpha = .88$.

Group identification was measured using a 16-item scale (Sagiv, Roccas, & Hazan, 2012), ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*); $\alpha = .92$.

PIVO ($\alpha = .89$), FOV ($\alpha = .94$), moral entitlement ($\alpha = .92$), group-based guilt ($\alpha = .87$), TECC, and religiosity were identical to the measures used in Study 1a.

Political orientation was measured using two items (identification with right wing, identification with left wing), ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 6 (*extremely*). Political orientation was calculated by deducting the score of the left-wing item from the right-wing item; higher scores indicate right-wing orientation.

Results

We first conducted an SEM analysis identical to the one in Study 1a. The model provided a good fit to the data: $\chi^2 = 93.54$, $p < .001$; CFI = .98, RMSEA = .065 (p close = .10). We then conducted two hierarchical linear regressions to assess the distinctive contribution of PIVO and FOV to

Table 3. Contribution of PIVO and FOV to Predicting Group-Based Guilt and TECC (Study 1b).

Predictor	R^2		F_{change}		B	
	Group-based guilt	TECC	Group-based guilt	TECC	Group-based guilt	TECC
Step 1	.50	.24	43.30***	14.05***		
RWA					-.34***	.12
SDO					-.06	.16*
Identification					.06	.10
Religiosity					.16*	-.17*
Political orientation					-.51**	.38***
Step 2	.63	.27	34.99***	4.19*		
PIVO					-.25***	.17*
FOV					.36***	-.14*
RWA					-.16*	.02
SDO					-.07	.17*
Identification					.01	.06
Religiosity					.18**	-.19*
Political orientation					-.32***	.29***

Note. PIVO = perpetual ingroup victimhood orientation; FOV = fear of victimizing; TECC = tolerance of enemy collateral casualties; RWA = right-wing authoritarianism; SDO = social dominance orientation.

predicting group-based guilt and TECC (Table 3). In the first step, RWA, SDO, group identification, political orientation, and religiosity were entered, predicting group-based guilt. PIVO and FOV were entered in the second step. They were both significant predictors of group-based guilt, above and beyond RWA, SDO, identification, religiosity, and political orientation. The same pattern was found when predicting TECC.

The results of Study 1b thus provided additional support for the proposed model during an escalation in the conflict. The goal of the next study was twofold: to examine whether the model would be replicated when the outcome variables were measured at a later time and to test the role of personal values as possible antecedents.

Study 1c

Method

Participants and procedure. Six months after the completion of Study 1a, 262 Jewish-Israeli participants (119 female, M age = 43.19, SD = 14.72) were recruited from the larger sample of Study 1a, and responded to an Internet questionnaire. Participants completed the survey individually on the Internet in exchange for a small monetary compensation. The data were collected by the same survey organization. No significant differences in any of the variables (PIVO, FOV, moral entitlement, group-based guilt, and TECC) were found between participants who only completed the first assessment and those who took part in both waves. Participants completed measures for personal values, moral entitlement, group-based guilt, TECC, and social desirability.

Measures. Moral entitlement (α = .93), group-based guilt (α = .95), and TECC were identical to the measures used in the previous studies.

Personal values were measured using a 10-item values questionnaire (Sekerdej & Roccas, 2016). The items were derived from Schwartz’s (1992) definitions of the 10 basic values (e.g., the item measuring the importance of self-direction read “Independent thought and action-choosing, creating, exploring”). The responses were made on a 9-point scale ranging from -1 (*opposed to my values*) through 0 (*not important*), to 7 (*of supreme importance*). The use of the response scale for values was controlled by subtracting each respondent’s mean rating of all values from each value score (Schwartz, 1992).

Social desirability was measured using six items based on Paulhus (1991), ranging from 1 (*untrue*) to 7 (*very true*), sample item: “I don’t gossip about other people’s business”; α = .75.

Results

We conducted an SEM analysis similar to the one used in Studies 1a and 1b, using PIVO and FOV collected in T1 (6 months prior to the study). The model provided a good fit to the data: χ^2 = 157.66, p < .001; CFI = .97, RMSEA = .069 (p close = .02). We then repeated the analysis while controlling for social desirability. The model again provided a good fit to the data: χ^2 = 138.60, p < .001; CFI = .98, RMSEA = .064 (p close = .07). We proceeded to test our hypotheses regarding values as predictors of PIVO and FOV.

We calculated correlations between PIVO, FOV, and the 10 values (Figure 3). As hypothesized, PIVO most strongly

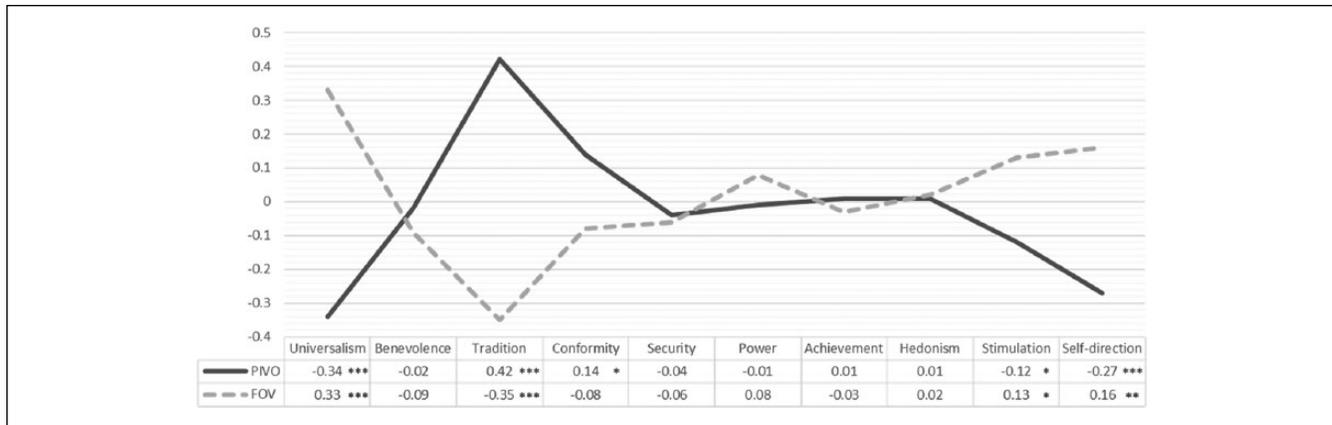


Figure 3. Zero-order correlations between PIVO, FOV, and basic values (Study 1c).
 Note. PIVO = perpetual ingroup victimhood orientation; FOV = fear of victimizing.

correlated with tradition and FOV most strongly correlated with universalism. Correlations with the other values followed the sinusoidal curve found in previous studies on values.

Discussion

In Study 1, we made the first steps in examining mindsets associated with an historical group trauma. We reasoned that group trauma does not necessarily translate only into a mindset of group victimhood. Rather, it can also translate into heightened sensitivity to the possible moral infractions of the ingroup. Study 1 provided support for the predicted relationship between PIVO and FOV and examined their relationships with emotional responses and behavioral tendencies during an ongoing current conflict. The findings in all three samples indicate that the two orientations are two distinct constructs, moderately negatively correlated, that predict group-based guilt and TECC in opposite directions (partially mediated by moral entitlement). The predictive value of PIVO and FOV was above and beyond that of well-established variables that predicted negativity toward outgroups.

The model was replicated across three samples collected during different phases of a conflict that differed extensively in the intensity of the hostilities. Furthermore, findings of Study 1c indicate that the proposed model remained stable when the predictive variables (PIVO and FOV) were measured over 6 months prior to the assessment of the dependent variables.

These findings support our assertion that historical group trauma can lead to a mindset of group victimhood and conflict-supporting attitudes and emotions, or it can evoke individuals' moral sensitivity (i.e., FOV) and resistance to potentially and morally reprehensible ingroup actions. These relationships will be discussed further in the general discussion because the association of PIVO and FOV with conflict-related attitudes and emotions were also examined in Studies 2 to 4.

Although the two mindsets refer to historical group trauma, they had opposing relationships with personal values. As hypothesized, PIVO correlated most positively with tradition values and FOV correlated most positively with universalism values. PIVO also correlated positively with conformity and negatively with self-direction values; FOV correlated positively with stimulation and self-direction, and negatively with tradition values.

High scores on PIVO and low scores on FOV reflect adherence with the dominant ingroup narrative in Jewish-Israeli society, which emphasizes the ingroup's unique victimhood and rejects the notion that it might become a victimizer. Thus, the pattern of correlations of PIVO and FOV with conformity, tradition, and self-direction values is consistent with the motivations one would expect from people who adhere to ingroup norms (high PIVO scores) versus those that defy them (high FOV scores; Klar, Schori-Eyal, & Klar, 2013).

To test the generalizability of PIVO and FOV beyond a specific social context, we conducted Study 2 in Belfast, Northern Ireland, among Catholic and Protestant participants.

Study 2

During the many years of conflict in Northern Ireland, over 3,500 people lost their lives and some 40,000 people suffered injuries (McDowell, 2007). The conflict reached a settlement with the signing of what is known as the Good Friday Agreement in 1998. Despite its limitations, the Good Friday agreement attempted to provide a framework through which disagreement could be contained without resorting to violence (Gilligan, 2003).

However, the psychological realities of conflict often resist change toward reconciliation, despite a political peace agreement (Noor et al., 2008). Successful reconciliation depends on finding a fitting way of dealing with past intergroup wrongdoings (Nadler, 2002; Staub, 2006). Forgiveness entails letting go of negative thoughts and resentment

directed at those perceived as responsible for past wrongdoings, while encouraging groups to focus on a positive future (Minow, 1998; Nadler & Saguy, 2003).

Although all group members were exposed to the conflict and the normative societal discourse it generated, we expected to find individual differences in the ways traumatic group events and the messages related to them were internalized. We were interested in the relationships of PIVO and FOV with the willingness to forgive the actions of the past and move from a formal resolution to genuine reconciliation.

We expected PIVO to be negatively associated with forgiveness and reconciliation because of its focus on historical wrongdoings as a perpetual reality. As long as the past is perceived as the present, closure and forgiveness are unlikely. Conversely, FOV—which acknowledges that the ingroup is also capable of perpetrating harm—should be more conducive to forgiveness and reconciliation.

The study also included another measure of group-based victimhood: competitive victimhood (Noor et al., 2008). According to this approach, the two groups in an intergroup conflict strive “to establish that their in-group was subjected to *more* injustice and suffering at the hands of the out-group than the other way around” (Noor, Shnabel, Halabi, & Nadler, 2012, p. 352), and is negatively associated with tendencies toward intergroup forgiveness and reconciliation (Noor et al., 2008). Although competitive victimhood and PIVO share the belief in the uniqueness of group trauma, the crux of PIVO is the belief in the perpetual nature of the ingroup’s victimhood (e.g., current adversaries re-embodiment historical opponents) and a resultant mistrust of outgroups. Given the different emphasis of the PIVO concept, we expected that it would make a distinct contribution to predicting aspects of reconciliation above and beyond competitive victimhood.

Method

Participants and procedure. One hundred forty-nine respondents (119 females, age range = 18–55, $M = 25.30$, $SD = 8.17$) completed the following scales: PIVO, FOV, competitive victimhood, forgiveness, and reconciliation. One hundred thirty-six of the participants were students who completed the questionnaire online in exchange for course credit. The remainder of the participants completed a paper version. The study was presented as research on social attitudes and intergroup relationships. Participants identified themselves as having either a “Catholic” ($n = 89$) or “Protestant” ($n = 54$) background. Only six identified as “Other.”

Measures. PIVO ($\alpha = .89$) and FOV ($\alpha = .92$) were identical to the measures used in Study 1 (translated into English; participants were not asked to record a specific traumatic event from their group’s history). Competitive victimhood was measured using five items based on Noor et al., 2008

Table 4. Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations Between Variables in Study 2.

	<i>M (SD)</i>	1	2	3
1. PIVO	2.20 (0.81)			
2. FOV	2.52 (0.94)	.32***		
3. Competitive victimhood	2.73 (1.11)	.40***	.02	
4. Forgiveness and reconciliation	4.30 (0.72)	-.51***	-.05	-.37**

Note. PIVO = perpetual ingroup victimhood orientation; FOV = fear of victimizing.

*** $p < .001$.

Table 5. Contribution of PIVO and FOV to Predicting Forgiveness and Reconciliation (Study 2).

Predictor	R^2	F_{change}	B
Step 1	.11	9.86***	
Age			.13
Competitive victimhood			-.32***
Step 2	.28	18.46***	
PIVO			-.51***
FOV			.16*
Age			.16*
Competitive victimhood			-.12

Note. PIVO = perpetual ingroup victimhood orientation; FOV = fear of victimizing.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

(sample item: “Overall, the proportion of trauma due to “The Troubles” has been more severe in my community than in the other community”; $\alpha = .88$). Eleven items were used to measure forgiveness and reconciliation (sample item: “I would like to ask my community to forgive the other community for their acts of violence”; $\alpha = .91$). The response scales for competitive victimhood and for forgiveness and reconciliation ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*).

Results and Discussion

No differences were found between Catholics and Protestants on any of the variables; therefore, the data were collapsed across the two groups. The means, standard deviations, and correlations between all variables are presented in Table 4. We tested the hypotheses with hierarchical linear regression analysis (Table 5). Due to the wide range of participants’ ages, which was expected to affect the way in which they experienced and recalled the conflict, we controlled for age. In the first step, age and competitive victimhood were entered. Competitive victimhood was a significant predictor of intergroup forgiveness and reconciliation: The higher the perception of one’s ingroup as the more victimized party, the lower the willingness to forgive and reconcile. In the second step, PIVO and FOV were entered: both predicted willingness to

forgive and reconcile, above and beyond age and competitive victimhood. As expected, the higher the PIVO and the lower the FOV, the lower the support participants expressed for forgiveness and reconciliation.

The results of Study 2 indicate that PIVO and FOV are relevant not only in an active violent conflict but also in a conflict that has reached a degree of political resolution. While the levels of PIVO and FOV were lower than in the Israeli samples, $t(274) = 7.91, p < .01$; $t(275) = 9.89, p < .01$, they retained their predictive power.

The lower levels of PIVO and FOV in Study 2 may have been due to the relatively lower levels of ongoing conflict in Northern Ireland at the time and suggest that even after a prolonged and bloody conflict, the activation of trauma-based orientations, such as that of other knowledge structures, is contextualized rather than chronic (see Eitam & Higgins, 2010). Although the historical events and their psychological outcomes continue to resonate in the public realm, such orientations became less active in individuals' minds.

These results suggest that the historical trauma-driven orientations are important not only during the period of the active conflict but also throughout the transition from formal resolution to reconciliation. The willingness to forgive outgroup members and strive for a more harmonious intergroup relationship is fundamental to peaceful coexistence (Tam et al., 2008). PIVO is counterproductive to forgiveness and reconciliation, whereas FOV promotes them. Unlike PIVO, FOV does not include the implicit assumption that acknowledging outgroup suffering detracts from the ingroup's victim status. Those high on FOV can remember their own group's suffering and concede the pain of adversarial outgroups; one does not come at the expense of the other.

The results underscore the distinctive contribution of PIVO and FOV, even when competitive victimhood is taken into account. This suggests that representations of trauma are complex and multidimensional, and indicates that the two orientations make a unique contribution to understanding the role of group trauma in contemporary conflicts.

Studies 1 and 2 focused on attitudes, emotions, and behavioral tendencies. In the next study, we turned our attention to the process of attribution and examined the effect of PIVO and FOV on the ways in which responsibility for outbreak of hostility is assigned.

Study 3

The research of attributions of responsibility at the intergroup level is scarce but consistently shows that people favor the ingroup in attributing responsibility. People make situational attributions for negative acts committed by an ingroup member, but make dispositional attributions if the same acts are committed by an outgroup member (e.g., Doosje & Branscombe, 2003; see Hewstone, 1990, for a review). Consistently, a study of Turkish construals of the Armenian massacres at the beginning of the 20th century and Hutus'

and Tutsis' construal of the ethnic conflict in Burundi, revealed that people attributed less responsibility to the ingroup than to the outgroup, and that respondents viewed the outgroups as instigators of the violence (Bilali, Tropp, & Dasgupta, 2012).

In Study 3, we focused on individual differences in attribution of responsibility for instigating hostilities and examined PIVO and FOV as predictors. We reason that attributions of responsibility for ingroup moral transgressions are an important component of both orientations. PIVO is the perception of the ingroup as eternal perpetual victim, which entails the belief that enemy outgroups are always at fault. High-PIVO individuals are likely to believe that the responsibility for mutual aggression cannot lie with the ingroup. Conversely, FOV is the concern that the ingroup might act reprehensibly, similar to its past enemies. Thus, it entails an increased willingness to accept that the ingroup might be responsible for violent clashes with enemy outgroups.

We examined the role of the two orientations in attributing responsibility both implicitly and explicitly. Participants were presented with a series of violent clashes between Israelis and Palestinians, and asked to determine the order of events. The temporal sequence served as the indicator of implicit attribution of responsibility. Participants were also asked explicitly about responsibility, both in the current series of events and the conflict in general. We expected high PIVO to predict attribution of responsibility to the Palestinians and high FOV to predict attribution of responsibility to the Israelis for the violent events.

Method

Participants and procedure. Ninety-four Jewish-Israeli university students (60 female, age range = 21-63, $M = 26.71$, $SD = 6.55$) completed the study in small groups in exchange for a ticket to enter a lottery to win a prize of 200 NIS (approximately US\$50.00).

Measures. Unless otherwise mentioned, all measures ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*).

PIVO ($M = 3.41$, $SD = 1.18$, $\alpha = .89$) and FOV ($M = 3.32$, $SD = 1.52$, $\alpha = .95$) were identical to the measures used in the previous studies. The Temporal Sequencing Task (TST), developed for this study, was presented to participants as "perception of temporal sequence and construal of causality." Participants were given four cards, each of which portrayed a violent clash between Israelis and Palestinians, all occurring in the same geographical region in the West Bank. In two cases, the damage was incurred by Palestinians and in two cases by Jewish-Israelis. The events were chosen so that they would be of the same magnitude and any sequence would be plausible to the participants. Magnitude and plausibility were tested in a pilot study. Sample events: "Israel Defense Forces (IDF) mobile infantry entered Nablus in search of insurgents. Dozens of families were left homeless

Table 6. PIVO and FOV as Predictors of Attribution of Causality (Study 3).

	Implicit attribution			Specific explicit attribution			General explicit attribution		
	B	SE B	β	B	SE B	β	B	SE B	β
PIVO	.44	.19	.26*	-.20	.10	-.19*	-.30	.08	-.29***
FOV	-.31	.15	-.24*	.50	.07	.61***	.44	.06	.57***

Note. Implicit attribution: $R^2 = .18$, $p_s < .001$. Specific explicit attribution: $R^2 = .54$, $p_s < .001$. General explicit attribution: $R^2 = .61$, $p_s < .001$. PIVO = perpetual ingroup victimhood orientation; FOV = fear of victimizing.

following the operation”; “Two Israelis were wounded when their car was shot at, while driving toward the Itz’har settlement near Nablus.”

Participants were given a 30 cm sheet of cardboard depicting a time axis, the four event cards in random order, and a stapler. They were told that the board represented a “hypothetical timeline,” and were asked to read the four cards carefully and place them in the chronological order that seemed the most logical. Events could be placed at the same point on the board (representing simultaneous occurrences), or at different points (representing consecutive occurrences). Implicit causality was derived from the order in which the participants placed the cards. We assumed that the more the events in which Israelis were harmed by Palestinians were arranged at the beginning of the sequence, the more the responsibility would be attributed to the Palestinian outgroup, and vice versa. For each participant, the events were coded based on their location (the first event in the sequence was coded 1, the last event 4). Events that were placed in the same location were assigned a mean score code (e.g., 2.5). Two scores were computed: one for the events in which Palestinians were harmed and one for the events in which Israelis were harmed. The implicit causality score was calculated as the difference between the two scores. High scores indicated attribution of responsibility for the hostilities to Palestinians.

We measured explicit attribution of responsibility for the specific sequence of events with three items (e.g., “Regarding the events you just read about, which of the parties involved was the initial instigator?” $M = 3.29$, $SD = 1.24$, $\alpha = .80$). We used the same three items to measure attribution of general responsibility, except that participants were asked to answer the questions with regard to the Israeli Palestinian conflict in general ($M = 2.87$, $SD = 1.16$, $\alpha = .81$). On both measures, the response scale ranged from 1 (*Palestinians*) to 7 (*Israelis*). Thus, high scores indicated attributing responsibility to the Israeli ingroup.

Results and Discussion

We tested our hypotheses using linear regression analyses (Table 6). In the first regression, PIVO and FOV were entered as predictors of the order of events in the TST (representing implicit attribution of responsibility). Both were significant

predictors of implicit causality attribution. The higher the PIVO scores, the more the responsibility was attributed to the Palestinians; the higher the FOV scores, the more the responsibility was attributed to the Israelis.

The second set of regression analyses included the same predictor variables, with explicit responsibility (specific, general) as the dependent variables. As expected, with regard to both dependent variables, the lower the PIVO scores and the higher the FOV scores, the more the responsibility was attributed to the ingroup. In sum, the results of Study 3 provide further support to the relationship of PIVO and FOV to psychological processes at the core of intergroup conflicts. Furthermore, these findings suggest that the two orientations might be self-perpetuating: given ambiguous stimuli (in this case, not indicating causality in any direction), individuals interpret the information according to their dominant mind-set. Those high on PIVO are more likely to interpret the information as indicating that the ingroup was a victim, while those high on FOV are more likely to interpret the information as indication that the ingroup might be responsible for the violence. The resulting perceptual biases confirm and strengthen the original orientation. In the next study, we examined another cognitive process that may be part of the self-perpetuation of PIVO and FOV: memory.

Study 4

Information implying moral transgressions committed by the ingroup conflicts with the motivation to view one’s group in a positive light (Crocker & Luhtanen, 1990; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Thus, reminders of ingroup wrongdoing are often managed by defensive reactions such as denial, victim-blaming, derogation, and inhumanization of victims (Castano & Giner-Sorolla, 2006; Noor et al., 2012; Roccas et al., 2004; Sullivan, Landau, Branscombe, & Rothschild, 2012). In this study, we focus on *motivated forgetting*, namely, the attempt to avoid or forget information that is potentially embarrassing, painful, or threatening (Ceci & Bruck, 1995; Thompson, Morton, & Fraser, 1997). The processes tapped in motivated forgetting, whether selective inattention, suppression, or refusal to acknowledge or repeat threatening information (Cooper & Stone, 2004; Thompson et al., 1997; Wegner, 1989), help individuals restore their peace of mind that was upended by troubling information (Wegner & Schneider, 1989). Rotella and Richeson (2013) exemplified motivated forgetting in the context of intergroup relations. When American participants read a passage describing the negative treatment of Native Americans by early Americans (i.e., ingroup members), they exhibited poorer memory compared with participants to whom the perpetrators were described as European settlers (i.e., outgroup members).

We reason that the two orientations stemming from historical group trauma would have a similar motivational impact on memory. In this study, we examined the relationship of PIVO and FOV to recollection of moral transgressions, both those committed by the ingroup (outgroup victims) and against it

(ingroup victims). We expected an interaction between PIVO and group identity: increased forgetting of outgroup members' suffering, increased memory of ingroup members' suffering, or both.

FOV represents sensitivity toward potential ingroup moral misconduct: We reasoned that high levels of FOV could lead to increased sensitivity to the suffering of outgroup members, resulting in an interaction between FOV and victims' group identity. However, the concern inherent in FOV for all people could also lead to a greater overall sensitivity to harm regardless of group identity.

Method

Participants and procedure. One hundred thirty-eight Jewish-Israeli university students (99 female, age range = 19-61, $M = 27.22$, $SD = 6.50$) participated in exchange for course credit. The experiment was presented to the participants as two separate studies: a study on social and political attitudes, and a study on reading comprehension. Participants first completed the PIVO and FOV scales. They were then presented, as part of a reading comprehension study, with a one-page description of a family whose home was hit by a missile and were asked to read it attentively as they would be asked about it later. Participants were randomly assigned to read either about a Jewish-Israeli family hit by a Palestinian rocket, or a Palestinian family hit by an IDF missile. Participants then engaged in a series of filler tasks for 1 hr, and finally completed multiple-choice questions about the text.²

Measures. The measures of PIVO ($M = 4.53$, $SD = 1.15$, $\alpha = .87$) and FOV ($M = 2.86$, $SD = 1.38$, $\alpha = .94$) were identical to those used in the previous studies. The memory task was comprised of a one-page passage describing either a Palestinian- or Jewish-Israeli family. The text described their daily routine disrupted by a direct hit by either an IDF missile or a Palestinian rocket and the resulting injuries and damage. Except for the family members' names, place of residence, and group identity, all details were identical. After a 1-hr interval in which participants completed unrelated filler tasks, participants were asked to answer 13 multiple-choice questions testing their recall of the text. Four questions were about neutral details (e.g., "What did the Qasab/Hadad family have for supper?") and nine were about the harm experienced by family members (e.g., "How long was the hospitalization of the most badly injured family member?"). Accuracy of recall was calculated as the sum of all questions answered correctly, ranging from 0 (*no questions answered correctly*) to 13 (*all questions answered correctly*).

Results and Discussion

To examine whether the victims' group identity affected memory as a function of PIVO and FOV, we used Hayes's (2013) PROCESS macro. First we entered PIVO, the families' group identity and their interaction as predictors of the

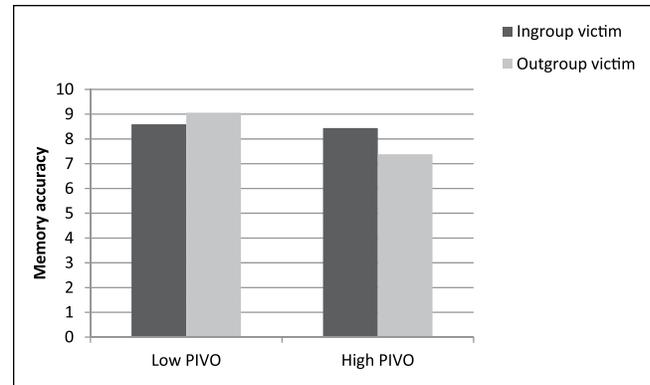


Figure 4. The effect of victims' group identity on the degree of accuracy in recalling harm as a function of PIVO.

Note. PIVO = perpetual ingroup victimhood orientation.

harm experienced by the family: Model 1, $R^2 = .07$, $F(3, 134) = 3.18$, $p = .03$. There was no significant main effect for the group identity manipulation ($b = -.29$, $SE = 0.38$, $t = -0.75$, $p = .47$). The interaction of group identity with PIVO was significant ($b = -.69$, $SE = 0.34$, $t = -2.04$, $p = .04$, 95% confidence interval [CI] = $[-1.35, -0.02]$), indicating that PIVO moderated the effects of the group identity of the victims on memory of harm. An analysis of the conditional effects revealed that the manipulation had a significant effect on participants with high PIVO (those whose victimhood score was 1 SD above the mean score; $b = -1.07$, $SE = 0.54$, $t = -1.97$, $p = .05$). The manipulation did not significantly affect memory of the damage narrative among low-victimhood participants (those whose PIVO score was 1 SD below the mean score; $b = .50$, $SE = 0.54$, $t = .92$, $p = .36$). Thus, high-PIVO participants recalled harm significantly less accurately when the victims were presented as outgroup members than when they were presented as ingroup members (Figure 4).

We again used PROCESS Model 1 to examine whether the manipulation affected memory as a function of FOV, $R^2 = .06$, $F(3, 134) = 2.81$, $p = .04$. FOV ($b = .38$, $SE = 0.14$, $t = 2.75$, $p = .007$) had a positive main effect on memory accuracy. But there was no significant main effect for the group identity manipulation ($b = -.24$, $SE = 0.38$, $t = -.63$, $p = .53$) or for the interaction between FOV and the manipulation ($b = .13$, $SE = 0.28$, $t = .46$, $p = .65$).

Finally, we examined both PIVO and FOV and their respective interactions with the group identity manipulation as predictors (PROCESS Model 3). This time, the model was not significant, $R^2 = .11$, $F(8, 129) = 1.95$, $p = .06$. We suggest that this is due to the fact that PIVO and FOV are both positively related to memory of ingroup harm. PIVO was associated with greater accuracy of recall of harm to the ingroup because such information is congruent with, and strengthens the perception of, the group as an eternal victim. In contrast, FOV was associated with accuracy of recall because this orientation has its roots in the value of universalism—including commitment to the welfare of all people and sensitivity to their plight.

These results suggest that PIVO and FOV can affect group members at a basic cognitive level. While FOV is related to increased memory to all suffering—consistent with its origins in the universalism value—PIVO is associated with a more selective form of attention bias. High levels of PIVO lead to tuning out the suffering of outgroup members, which is incongruent with the orientation's focus on the ingroup as the sole victim of aggressions past and present. We reason that this form of motivated forgetting not only helps manage the threat to the ingroup's moral identity but also contributes to the perpetuation of the worldview that induces it.

General Discussion

We sought to achieve a better understanding of the ways in which group members react to a shared historical trauma. Previous research provides support for the notion that experiences of group-level victimhood lead to conflict-enhancing emotions and cognitions. The present set of studies extends this body of research. Our main goal, however, was to examine another possible orientation that could develop following historical trauma. We reasoned that victimhood is not the only possible lesson that people learn from past suffering of the ingroup. Historical group trauma can also lead to FOV others. The two orientations, PIVO and FOV, were expected to affect a variety of conflict-related attitudes, emotions, and behavioral tendencies.

The first two studies show that PIVO and FOV are related to a variety of conflict-related attitudes and emotions: group-based guilt, support for aggressive actions against the enemy outgroup, and support for forgiveness and reconciliation. In Studies 3 and 4 we explored processes that could contribute to the stability of PIVO and FOV. In both studies, we examined how people react to information regarding the conflict. Study 3 shows PIVO and FOV were related to attribution of responsibility for the outbreak of mutual hostilities. The higher the PIVO and the lower the FOV, the more the participants construed the timeline of hostilities in a way that puts outgroup members as instigators and accountable for the hostilities. In Study 4, participants were presented with new information about damage to either ingroup or outgroup members. Whereas FOV was associated with greater memory accuracy regardless of victims' group identity, high levels of PIVO were related with reduced accuracy of memory when the information presented was about outgroup victims. These studies suggest that PIVO and FOV are likely to be stable over time and that new information is unlikely to easily affect them.

This raises the question of how the two orientations are developed in the first place. So far, we have examined only one possible antecedent—personal values. We suggest, however, that the social context is likely to have profound effects on the development of these orientations.

The Effect of the Social Context on PIVO and FOV

The present work illustrated the presence and effects of the two orientations in two societies: Israel and Northern Ireland. Can the findings be generalized to other societies as well? To what extent are the roles of PIVO and FOV affected by the specific social context? We are currently investigating these constructs in different regions and contexts. Findings from Poland (Skarżyńska, 2012), Serbia (Halperin, Cehajic, & Schori, unpublished data), and the West Bank and Jordan (Dugas et al., in press) are consistent with those presented in the present research.

Future work should focus on the contextual variables that engender each orientation. One element that may enable the development of FOV is acknowledging that one's group may simultaneously have multiple roles: it may be a victim in some domain (or historical period) while also holding a very different and dominant status in another domain or time. Research on social hierarchies and acknowledging social inequity as privilege (Rosette & Tost, 2013), which is in some respects parallel to the victim/aggressor duality at the heart of FOV, indicate that this may be an important element.

We also suggest that a precondition for the development of FOV is the belief that one's ingroup has enough power to cause serious harm to other groups. The perils of victimizing others are all but alien to a group devoid of actual ability to cause significant harm. However, we suggest that such extreme powerlessness is rare. The weaker party in a conflict can often cause extensive damage to the stronger party. Attacks of this sort may run counter to the humanistic perceptions and moral values of other group members, triggering FOV. Examples such as the protest of Artin Penik, a Turkish-Armenian who committed suicide by self-immolation to protest a lethal attack against civilians by the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA), a militant Armenian organization (Guntar, 1985), imply that FOV can develop even when there are extreme power differences between the conflicting groups. However, what combination of factors enables the development of this possibly rare orientation in the wake of group trauma—whether it is dominant values and moral foundations in society, perceptions of local compared with global justice, or a delicate balance between victimizer and aggressor status within the collective mind—remains to be explored.

Conclusion

Historical group trauma does not inevitably lead to the development of orientations that exacerbate intergroup conflict, such as a sense of ingroup victimhood. The two opposing orientations presented in this research have contradictory effects on group-based guilt, moral decision

making, readiness for intergroup reconciliation, attribution of responsibility, and memory of harm to ingroup and outgroup members. By contributing to a better understanding of the impact of historical group trauma, this research points to complex patterns that emerge in the wake of collective calamities.

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Supplemental Material

The online supplemental material is available online.

Notes

1. No participants were excluded from analysis in this study or any of the subsequent studies.
2. The study also included a manipulation of victimhood salience (conducted through exposure to short texts describing multiple historical ingroup traumas), but manipulation checks indicated this manipulation to be ineffective and it was therefore not included in the analyses.

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