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To cite this article: Nevin Solak, Michal Reifen Tagar, Smadar Cohen-Chen, Tamar Saguy & Eran Halperin (2016): Disappointment expression evokes collective guilt and collective action in intergroup conflict: the moderating role of legitimacy perceptions, *Cognition and Emotion*, DOI: [10.1080/02699931.2016.1197098](https://doi.org/10.1080/02699931.2016.1197098)

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02699931.2016.1197098>



Published online: 28 Jun 2016.



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Disappointment expression evokes collective guilt and collective action in intergroup conflict: the moderating role of legitimacy perceptions

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ABSTRACT

Research on intergroup emotions has largely focused on the experience of emotions and surprisingly little attention has been given to the expression of emotions. Drawing on the social-functional approach to emotions, we argue that in the context of intergroup conflicts, outgroup members' expression of disappointment with one's ingroup induces the complementary emotion of collective guilt and correspondingly a collective action protesting ingroup actions against the outgroup. In Study 1 conducted immediately after the 2014 Gaza war, Jewish-Israeli participants received information about outgroup's (Palestinians) expression of emotions (disappointment, fear, or none). As predicted, outgroup's expression of disappointment increased collective guilt and willingness to participate in collective action, but only among those who saw the intergroup situation as illegitimate. Moreover, collective guilt mediated the relationship between disappointment expression and collective action, moderated, again, by legitimacy perception. In Study 2, we replicated these results in the context of racial tension between Black and White Americans in the US. We discuss the theoretical and applied implications of the findings.

ARTICLE HISTORY

Received 2 September 2015
Revised 26 May 2016
Accepted 27 May 2016

KEYWORDS

Emotion; disappointment; collective guilt; collective action; intergroup conflict

Research on the role of emotions in intergroup relations and collective action has mostly focused on emotional experiences of ingroup members and their role in motivating corresponding attitudes and actions towards the outgroup and the ingroup's transgressions towards them (e.g. Iyer, Schmader, & Lickel, 2007; Van Zomeren, Spears, Fischer, & Leach, 2004). So far this literature has paid little attention (e.g. Lelieveld, Van Dijk, Van Beest, & Van Kleef, 2013) to the impact of emotional expression made by members of the outgroup on ingroup members' affective responses and behavioural orientations.

In the current work, we draw on the social-functional approach to emotions (Keltner & Haidt, 1999; Van Kleef, 2009) to suggest that observing the expression of emotions by the outgroup may also play an important role in driving intergroup attitudes

and behaviour (see also Kamans, Van Zomeren, Gordijn, & Postmes, 2014). We claim that the expression of disappointment by the outgroup influences receiver group members' collective guilt and willingness to participate in collective action against transgressions towards the expressing outgroup. We tested our predictions in two studies reflecting different contexts of intergroup conflict. In Study 1, we examined whether the expression of disappointment with Israel by Palestinians evoked collective guilt and collective action among Israeli participants in protest of Israeli actions related to 2014 Gaza war. In Study 2, we investigated whether the expression of disappointment with White Americans by Black Americans increased collective guilt and collective action against institutional discrimination and police mistreatment among White Americans.

Social function of disappointment in intergroup conflict

The social-functional approach to emotions (Keltner & Kring, 1998) suggests that emotional expressions influence social interactions by providing information about the sender. This evokes a relevant emotional reaction in the observer, motivating the actions of the observer. Previous work using this perspective has mostly focused on expressions of emotions in the interpersonal context (e.g. Van Kleef, De Dreu, & Manstead, 2004a; Van Kleef, De Dreu, & Manstead, 2006) and surprisingly little attention has been given to the role of emotional expressions in the intergroup context (for some exceptions, see Kamans et al., 2014; Lelieveld et al., 2013; de Vos, Van Zomeren, Gordijn, & Postmes, 2013; de Vos, Van Zomeren, Gordijn, & Postmes, 2016). Indeed, we are not aware of any study that investigates whether the communication of intergroup disappointment evokes collective guilt and collective action in the intergroup realm. Hence, breaking some new ground, we aim to understand the social functions of disappointment in intergroup conflict.

Disappointment is defined as “a psychological reaction to an outcome that does not match up against expectations” (Bell, 1985, p. 1) or as the “non-achievement of an expected outcome” (Frijda, 1986, p. 280). These definitions of disappointment converge on the idea that disappointment derives from outcomes that are worse than those expected (Van Dijk & Zeelenberg, 2002). We claim that the expression of disappointment by the outgroup should be especially relevant in the context of intergroup conflict because disappointment is related to an outcome which is undeserved (Feather, McKee, & Bekker, 2011), and to a sense of injustice (Miceli & Castelfranchi, 2015). This conveys a legitimacy belief that one is morally right, and correspondingly, that the target group is responsible for a moral infraction (e.g. Van Dijk & Zeelenberg, 2002). Expressions of disappointment from one’s group further communicate an expectation that was violated, which may instill a sense of discrepancy between how the ingroup was expected to act, and how it acted in reality. This may induce a sense of social responsibility in the receiver of the emotional message, which is one of the most central determinants of collective guilt (Branscombe & Doosje, 2004).

Research has already shown that disappointment induces complementary emotions of guilt among observers in the interpersonal contexts (Lelieveld,

Van Dijk, Van Beest, & Van Kleef, 2012). In the intergroup context, perceiving the ingroup as responsible for immoral actions that harmed the outgroup can potentially evoke collective guilt even among individuals who were not personally involved in the transgressions (Branscombe & Doosje, 2004; Branscombe, Doosje, & McGarty, 2002). In turn, collective guilt could increase motivation to repair the transgression by prompting ingroup members to take collective action on behalf of outgroup (e.g. Mallett, Huntsinger, Sinclair, & Swim, 2008). Applying this reasoning to the context of intergroup conflict between Israelis and Palestinians (Study 1) and between Black and White Americans (Study 2), we argue that outgroup’s expression of disappointment with one’s ingroup would evoke collective guilt and subsequently increase protest against ingroup’s transgressions.

The moderating role of legitimacy appraisal

The social-functional approach suggests that the effects of emotional expressions on the observer’s emotions and behaviour depend on the observer’s motivation and ability to process the information transmitted in these expressions (Van Kleef, 2009). Examples of moderators that influence predictive power of observers’ emotions and subsequent behaviour are power, need for closure, and group membership (Lelieveld et al., 2012, 2013; Van Kleef, De Dreu, & Manstead, 2004b). One plausible moderator for the effect of the expression of disappointment on the target’s affective and behavioural tendencies is the appraisal of the receiver’s actions’ legitimacy (see also Van Kleef & Côté, 2007). Appraisal of legitimacy is an important determinant of guilt (Frijda, Kuipers, & terSchure, 1989; Roseman, 1984), and people are more likely to experience collective guilt when they consider the actions or relative advantage of their ingroup as illegitimate (Branscombe et al., 2002). When inequality between groups is appraised as justified, however, little collective guilt is reported in response to even severely victimised outgroup (Miron, Branscombe, & Schmitt, 2006). Thus, we reasoned that outgroup expressions of disappointment would induce guilt only when the target does not legitimise the actions of the ingroup.

Overview of present studies

To examine our hypotheses, we conducted two experimental studies in the context of two different

intergroup conflicts. Study 1 was conducted in the context of a violent conflict-related event, namely, the 2014 Gaza war between Israelis and Palestinians, whereas Study 2 was carried out in the context of racial tension between White and Black Americans in the US. In Study 1, we collected data from Israeli Jews (ingroup), and in Study 2, we collected data from White Americans (ingroup). Hence Palestinians in Gaza served as the outgroup in Study 1, and Black Americans in the US served as the outgroup in Study 2.

Within those two contexts, we hypothesised that an outgroup expression of disappointment with the receiver of the emotional message would increase collective guilt among the receiver group to the extent that they appraise the intergroup situation (Gaza War in Study 1; racial relationships in Study 2) as illegitimate. Furthermore, we hypothesised that an outgroup expression of disappointment with the receiver of the emotional message would evoke collective action protesting the ingroup's harmful actions among other receiver group members to the extent that they do not legitimise the intergroup situation. Finally, we expected that collective guilt would mediate the relationship between outgroup expressions of disappointment and support for collective action, as a function of the legitimacy appraisal.

To test these predictions, we exposed Israeli-Jews (Study 1) and White Americans (Study 2) to outgroups expressing disappointment or to a neutral condition involving exposure to non-emotional content. In addition, to provide a rigorous test of our hypotheses, we further compared reactions to the expression of outgroup disappointment to reactions to the expression of another negative emotion that is common in intergroup conflict and potentially evokes supportive responses in receivers, namely, fear. Specifically, we chose to compare the effects of disappointment expressions with those of fear expressions since fear is a fundamental emotion often experienced and expressed in intractable conflicts (e.g. Halperin, 2013). Also, both emotions have a "supplication" function (Van Kleef et al., 2006), which reflects a distress call (Timmers, Fischer, & Manstead, 1998). That is, both emotions are negatively valenced and signal feelings of powerlessness and an experience of low control over the event (Frijda et al., 1989; Keltner, Gruenfeld, & Anderson, 2003; Lelieveld et al., 2012; Van Dijk & Zeelenberg, 2002). Lastly, because of their supplication function, they have both been found to evoke supportive and helpful responses in observers (e.g. Frijda, 1986; Van

Kleef et al., 2006). At the same time, disappointment and fear are clearly distinct emotions with different appraisal patterns. As mentioned before, disappointment conveys a belief that one has the moral high ground and, importantly, is derived from unmet expectations suggesting the target was expected to be more moral (e.g. Miceli & Castelfranchi, 2015; Van Dijk & Zeelenberg, 2002), whereas fear arises in light of an appraisal of threat or danger of being harmed with no positive expectations expressed (Smith & Lazarus, 1993). Also, whereas in the interpersonal realm the expression of disappointment evokes the complementary emotion of guilt in the observer (Lelieveld et al., 2012), fear increases sympathy and compassion (see Van Kleef et al., 2006).

Study 1

We conducted Study 1 in the context of intense intractable conflict between Israelis and Palestinians, right after the 2014 Gaza war. This war began on 8 July 2014, and lasted seven weeks, during which more than 2200 people were killed, of whom the vast majority were Palestinians in Gaza. The war provided a highly negative conflict-related event that directly affected the residents of Gaza, as well as Israelis living under the missiles of Hamas. We predicted that Palestinians' (outgroup) expression of disappointment with Israel (ingroup) would increase collective guilt and subsequent willingness to participate in collective action among Israeli Jews, to the extent that they appraise the Gaza war as illegitimate. Also, we expected that collective guilt would mediate the relationship between outgroup's expressions of disappointment and ingroup's support for collective action, again as a function of the level of legitimacy appraisal.

Method

Participants

A sample of 91 Jewish Israelis¹ (43 males, 46 females, 2 missing), ranging from 17 to 67 years of age ($M = 37.46$, $SD = 12.01$) participated in the study.² The data were collected online by the Midgam platform. The mean for participants' political orientation (1 = *Rightist*, 7 = *Leftist*) was 3.29 ($SD = 1.60$). The study was conducted in November 2014, shortly after the 2014 Israeli-Palestinian war in the Gaza Strip, which ended in September.

Procedure

Participants were randomly assigned to one of three outgroup emotion expression conditions: (1) disappointment with Israel; (2) fear of Israel; and (3) control condition. In order to manipulate participants' perceptions about the outgroup's emotion expression, participants who were assigned to either the disappointment condition or fear condition were asked to read a fictional newspaper article describing a survey conducted among Palestinians in Gaza. This survey assessed Palestinians' emotions right after the war (see Appendix). In the disappointment condition, participants learned that 81% of the Palestinians expressed high levels of disappointment with Israel with regard to the recent war, and because peace negotiations between the Palestinian authority and Israel failed. In the fear condition, the words "disappointment with Israel" were replaced with the words "afraid of Israel". Participants assigned to a control condition were asked to read a neutral fictional newspaper article describing a Palestinian restaurant in the West Bank and Gaza. After reading the article, we asked participants to answer relevant attention-check questions as a part of the cover story to confirm that they read and understand the story indeed.³ Next, participants responded to the following measures.

Measures

Collective guilt. We assessed collective guilt using three items adapted from Branscombe, Slugoski, and Kapppen (2004) and applied to the current context (e.g. "When I think about the article, I tend to feel guilty for acts done to Palestinians by Israel"; "When I think about the article, I personally feel responsible for the Israel attacks to Gaza"; and "When I think about the article, it makes me think that Israel should feel guilty for the recent military actions in Gaza"; $\alpha = .83$). Answers ranged from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 7 (*Strongly agree*).

Collective action. We measured collective action intention with two items ("To what extent would you be willing to participate in a street protest against the military actions of Israel in Gaza?" and "To what extent would you be willing to take part in a protest against the military actions of Israel in Gaza via social network websites [e.g. joining in a protest group on Facebook, protesting the Gaza War on your Facebook wall, twitter]?"; $\alpha = .75$), ranging from 1 (*Not at all*) to 7 (*Very much*).

Perceived legitimacy. We assessed perceived legitimacy of the 2014 Israeli-Palestinian war in Gaza with two items ("The recent Gaza War is perfectly justified" and "The recent military actions in Gaza were the best way to protect our borders and maintain justice"), ranging from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 7 (*Strongly agree*; $\alpha = .75$).

Perceived intensity and negativity of emotional expression. To rule out the possibility that it is the difference in intensity and negativity of emotional expressions that drives the effects, participants in the disappointment [fear] condition were asked to report to what extent Palestinians appear disappointed with Israel [afraid of Israel] according to the article they read. Also, they were asked to report to what extent the relevant emotional expression was negative. All answers were provided on a 7-point scale.

Results

Initial results showed that participants in the disappointment and fear conditions did not differ in terms of the perceived intensity ($F(1, 55) = .42, p = .522$) and negativity ($F(1, 54) = 1.70, p = .198$). Across the three conditions, we did not find any significant effect of the manipulation on collective guilt ($F(2, 88) = .71, p = .494$), collective action ($F(2, 88) = .69, p = .503$), and perceived legitimacy of war ($F(2, 89) = .24, p = .789$) (see Table 1 for descriptive statistics and correlations).

Collective guilt

To compare the disappointment condition with the control and the fear conditions, we employed Hayes' PROCESS (2016) bootstrapping command for multicategorical independent variable, by using indicator coding (model 1). We signified the condition as an independent variable with three categories, perceived legitimacy of war as a moderator, and collective guilt as an outcome variable. PROCESS created two dummy variables for condition: $D1$ (1 = control and 0 = disappointment and fear) representing participants in the control condition and $D2$ (1 = fear; 0 = disappointment and control) representing participants in the fear condition. The expression of disappointment was identified as a reference group (coded as zero in both $D1$ and $D2$). In this analysis, $D1$ reflected comparison of the disappointment condition with the control condition and $D2$ taped comparison of the disappointment condition with the fear condition (see Hayes &

Table 1. Correlations and descriptive statistics in Study 1.

	1.	2.	3.	Disappointment <i>M (SD)</i>	Fear <i>M (SD)</i>	Control <i>M (SD)</i>
1. Perceived legitimacy	–	–0.51**	–0.32*	6.03 (1.17)	6.08 (1.23)	5.87 (1.37)
2. Collective guilt		–	0.54**	1.84 (1.29)	1.78 (0.83)	1.55 (0.90)
3. Willingness to participate in collective action			–	1.62 (1.36)	1.33 (0.66)	1.38 (0.84)

Note: The correlations represent the whole sample.

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

Preacher, 2014). This analysis allowed us to compare the disappointment condition with both the control and the fear conditions in the same model.

Results indicated a simple effect of perceived legitimacy ($b = -.91$, $SE = .12$, $t = -7.40$, $p < .0001$; $CI [-1.16, -.67]$) that was qualified by two interactions. First, there was a significant interaction between $D1$ (control vs. disappointment) and perceived legitimacy in terms of collective guilt ($b = .83$, $SE = .16$, $t = 5.25$, $p < .0001$; 95% $CI [.51, 1.14]$). As expected, for those low on perception of legitimacy, the disappointment condition led to more collective guilt compared to the control condition ($b = -1.38$, $SE = .28$, $t = -4.98$, $p < .0001$; 95% $CI [-1.93, -.83]$). Nevertheless, the disappointment expression reduced collective guilt for those high on perception of legitimacy ($b = .51$, $SE = .26$, $t = 2.00$, $p = .049$, 95% $CI [.003, 1.02]$).

Second, there was a significant interaction between $D2$ (disappointment vs. fear) and perceived legitimacy ($b = .45$, $SE = .18$, $t = 2.54$, $p = .013$; $CI [.10, .80]$). Specifically, the expression of disappointment slightly (marginally) increased collective guilt more than the expression of fear only for participants who were low on perception of legitimacy ($b = -.61$, $SE = .31$, $t = -1.95$, $p = .055$; $CI [-1.23, .01]$), whereas for those high on legitimacy perception the effect was non-significant ($b = .41$, $SE = .27$, $t = 1.53$, $p = .129$; $CI [-.12, .94]$).

Collective action

We adopted the same analysis strategy, while signifying willingness to collective action as a dependent variable. We examined whether in response to the outgroup's disappointment expression, participants would show more collective action intention as a function of perceived legitimacy. Again, there was a simple effect of perceived legitimacy of war ($b = -.67$, $SE = .14$, $t = -4.65$, $p < .0001$; 95% $CI [-.96, -.38]$), which was qualified by two interactions. The interaction between $D1$ (disappointment vs. control) and

perceived legitimacy was significant ($b = .58$, $SE = .19$, $t = 3.15$, $p = .002$; 95% $CI [.21, .95]$). Whereas among participants with low legitimacy perception, those in the disappointment condition reported more willingness to take part in collective action compared to those in the control condition ($b = -1.01$, $SE = .32$, $t = -3.11$, $p = .003$; $CI [-1.65, -.36]$), there was no significant experimental effect among those high on perception of legitimacy ($b = .32$, $SE = .30$, $t = 1.07$, $p = .29$; 95% $CI [-.28, .91]$). Results also showed that the interaction between $D2$ (disappointment vs. fear) and perceived legitimacy was significant ($b = .56$, $SE = .21$, $t = 2.72$, $p = .008$; 95% $CI [.15, .97]$). The expression of disappointment increased willingness to participate in collective action compared to the expression of fear for those low on perception of legitimacy ($b = -1.02$, $SE = .37$, $t = -2.77$, $p = .007$; 95% $CI [-1.75, -.29]$), but not for those high on legitimacy perception ($b = .26$, $SE = .31$, $t = .84$, $p = .402$; 95% $CI [-.36, .89]$).

Assessing the moderated mediation model for collective action

We next tested a moderated mediation model, in which collective guilt would transmit the effect of the experimental condition and the perceived legitimacy on collective action. As mentioned above, the perceived legitimacy had moderating effects both on the potential mediator (collective guilt) and the outcome variable (collective action). Therefore, we used Hayes' PROCESS model 8 (Hayes, 2016) to test the indirect effect of the interaction term on collective action through collective guilt (see Figure 1). However, Hayes' PROCESS cannot estimate a moderated mediation model for multicategorical variable, hence we created the same $D1$ (disappointment vs. control) and $D2$ (disappointment vs. fear) dummy variables that were described above. Also, we created two-way interaction terms by multiplying our moderator with $D1$ and $D2$, and then tested two moderated mediation models. In the first moderated mediation

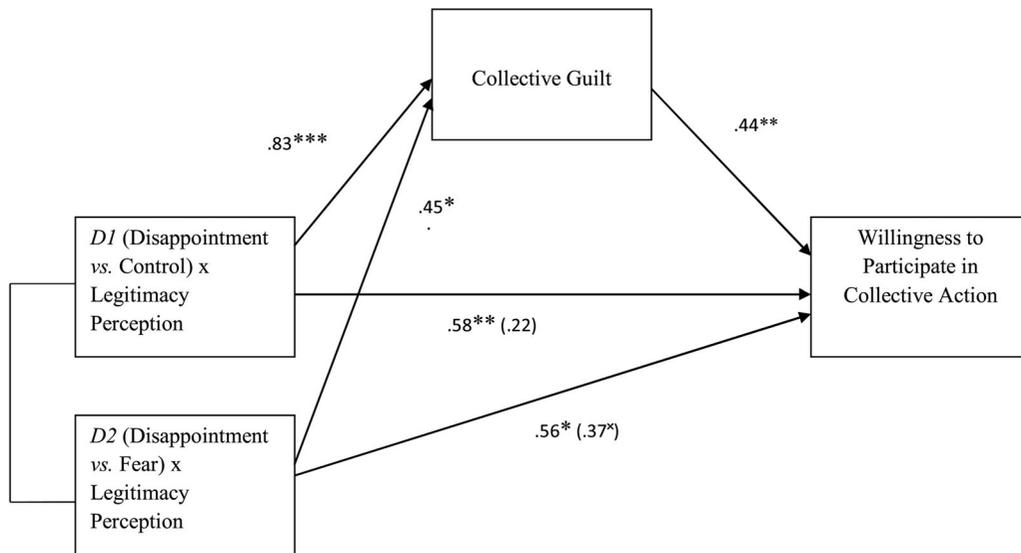


Figure 1. The moderated mediation model for collective action in Study 1.
 Note: Values reflect unstandardised path coefficients. *** $p < .0001$; ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$, $\times p = .07$.

model, $D1$ was identified as an independent variable and the model was controlled for $D2$, whereas in the second moderated mediation model, $D2$ was used as an independent variable and the model was controlled for $D1$.

The experimental condition is coded as follow:

	$D1$	$D2$
Disappointment with Israel	0	0
Control (No emotional expression)	1	0
Fear of Israel	0	1

Specifically, first, we identified $D1$ (disappointment vs. control) as an independent variable, collective guilt as a mediator, willingness to participate in collective action as an outcome variable, and perceived legitimacy as a moderator (see Figure 1). Also, we added $D2$ (disappointment vs. fear) and its interaction with the moderator as covariates. Results indicated that the interaction effect between $D1$ and perceived legitimacy on collective action ($b = .58$, $SE = .19$, $t = 3.15$, $p = .002$; 95% CI [.21, .95]) became non-significant after collective guilt was added to the model ($b = .22$, $SE = .20$, $t = .110$, $p = .273$; 95% CI [−.18, .62]) and that the interaction's indirect effect was significant ($\alpha^*b = .36$, $SE = .16$, 95% CI [.11, .78]). As expected, the indirect effect linking the condition to collective action via collective guilt for those low on perception of legitimacy was significant ($\alpha^*b = -.60$, $SE = .29$, 95% CI [−1.40, −.17]).

We next tested the same model by comparing the disappointment condition with the fear condition. In doing so, we identified $D2$ (disappointment vs. fear) as an independent variable, collective guilt as a mediator, collective action as an outcome variable, and perceived legitimacy as a moderator. Also, we added $D1$ (disappointment vs. control) and its interaction with the moderator as covariates. Results revealed, again, that the interaction effect on collective action ($b = .56$, $SE = .21$, $t = 2.72$, $p = .008$; 95% CI [.15, .97]) became non-significant after collective guilt was added to the model ($b = .37$, $SE = .20$, $t = 1.83$, $p = .071$; 95% CI [−.03, .76]) and that the interaction's indirect effect was significant ($\alpha^*b = .20$, $SE = .11$, 95% CI [.03, .47]). Nevertheless, unlike the model involving disappointment vs. control, the indirect effect linking the condition to collective action via collective guilt for those low on perception of legitimacy did not reach significance ($\alpha^*b = -.27$, $SE = .19$, 95% CI [−.76, .02]).⁴

Discussion

Study 1 demonstrated that outgroup's expression of disappointment with the receiver group induced collective guilt and subsequent collective action against ingroup transgression to the extent the receiver appraised the intergroup situation as illegitimate. We also found that collective guilt mediated the

relationship between the expression of disappointment and willingness to participate in collective action, again as a function of legitimacy perception. We conducted the first study in the context of the Israeli-Palestinian intractable conflict. Also, in that study we measured willingness to participate in collective action but not collective action behaviour. To generalise our results beyond the unique context of an intractable conflict, in Study 2 we sought to replicate our findings in another context of intergroup conflict, which is considered less intractable, and to extend the results by adding a behavioural measure of collective action.

Study 2

We sought to replicate our findings in a different context of intergroup conflict. In doing so, we considered the intergroup conflict between Black and White Americans in the context of institutional discrimination towards and police mistreatment of Black Americans. The recent events of White American police officers killing unarmed Black American citizens (e.g. Michael Brown in Ferguson) have brought national attention to the institutional discrimination and police mistreatment in the US (e.g. Richardson, 2015). We measured perceived legitimacy in the context of racial relationships. It was again expected that an outgroup's (Black Americans) expression of disappointment with the ingroup (White Americans) would evoke collective guilt and collective action against ingroup transgression among ingroup members (White Americans) for those who appraise the state of racial relations as illegitimate.

Moreover, to explore whether the effect of outgroup expressions of disappointment has a stronger impact on collective guilt compared to other emotions that are important predictors of collective action, we measured outgroup-directed anger as an outcome variable in Study 2. Anger is considered a common emotion in intergroup conflicts (Halperin & Gross, 2011), and an antecedent of collective action (Van Zomeren et al., 2004). It conveys an appraisal of the situation's perceived injustice and attribution of outgroup blame (Frijda et al., 1989; Montada & Schneider, 1989). However, research from the social-functional approach has demonstrated that although induced guilt in a receiver is a complementary emotion of a sender's expressed disappointment, induced anger in a receiver is a reciprocal emotion of a sender's expressed anger (Lelieveld et al., 2012; Lelieveld, Van

Dijk, Van Beest, Steinel, & Van Kleef, 2011). We therefore expected the effect of the outgroup's disappointment expression to induce collective guilt rather than outgroup-directed anger.

Method

Participants

We recruited 103 White European Americans (50 males, 53 females), ranging from 18 to 68 years of age ($M = 34.81$, $SD = 11.05$).⁵ The data were collected online using Amazon's Mechanical Turk. The mean for participants' political orientation (1 = *Extremely Liberal*, 9 = *Extremely Conservative*) was 4.55 ($SD = 2.27$).

Procedure

Study 2 followed the same procedure used in Study 1, but here measures were adjusted to the context of intergroup conflict between Black and White Americans. Participants were randomly assigned to one of three outgroup emotion expression conditions: (1) disappointment with White Americans, (2) fear of White Americans, and (3) control condition (no expressed emotion). We manipulated participants' perceptions about the outgroup's emotion expression via a fictional newspaper article describing a survey conducted among Black Americans in the US (see Appendix). The manipulation itself was identical to the one used in Study 1. Participants assigned to a control condition read an article, which claimed that the recent events involving Black Americans and the police in the US has attracted research attention. After reading the article, participants answered multiple-choice attention-check questions as a part of the cover story.⁶ Next participants responded to the following measures.

Measures

Collective guilt. We assessed collective guilt using three items adapted from Branscombe et al. (2004) and applied to the current context. The items were similar with those used in Study 1. We asked participants to think about the article before answer the collective guilt questions (e.g. "I feel guilty about White Americans' harmful actions toward Black Americans"; "White Americans should feel guilty about institutional racism toward Black Americans"; and "I can easily feel guilty for bad outcomes brought about by police"; $\alpha = .83$). Answers ranged from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 7 (*Strongly agree*).

Willingness to participate in collective action. We measured collective action intentions with two items (“I would be willing to take part in protest against racial discrimination and police mistreatment of Black Americans via social networks [joining in a protest group on Facebook, protesting the racial discrimination and police mistreatment on your Facebook wall, twitter]” and “I would be willing to participate in the social events of civil organizations that are against racial discrimination and police mistreatment of Black Americans [e.g. participating in panels, discussion groups]”; $\alpha = .91$), ranging from 1 (*Not at all*) to 7 (*Very much*).

Behavioural collective action. We assessed behavioural collective action via two items. The first item was related to signing a petition. Participants were presented with a real petition campaign led by Amnesty International. The petition states that after the many recent shootings by police of innocent black citizens, including the shooting death of Michal Brown in Ferguson, there is need to reform state legislation to reflect international standards on police use of lethal force. Participants were asked whether they would like to provide support for the call to create a National Crime and Justice Task Force that would review all components of the criminal justice system, and ensure that they are brought into line with international standards. Then, participants were asked whether they would like to sign the petition (0 = *I would not like to sign the petition*; 1 = *I would like to sign the petition*).

The second item was related to donation. Participants were asked whether they would like to make a donation to Amnesty International to further their campaign to promote racial equality and prevent police mistreatment. In doing so, participants were told that they would receive \$1.40 for the study participation and they could donate a portion of their payment for this study. For example, if they want to donate 25 cents of their payment, they would receive \$1.15 and the other 25 cents would be given to Amnesty International. Participants’ score was coded as “0 = *no donation*” and “1 = *donation*”. At the end of the study, all participants were paid all amount of their payment and no money was donated, and provided with detailed information on how to actually sign the petition and make a donation to this cause. In order to create behavioural collective action, two items were summed ($\alpha = .47$).

Perceived legitimacy. We assessed people’s tendency to legitimise racial relationships with two

questions (“Discrimination against Black Americans is no longer a problem in the US” and “In recent shooting incidents involving Black Americans and police, White Americans’ attitudes toward Black Americans were just and fair”), ranging from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 7 (*Strongly agree*) ($\alpha = .87$).

Perceived intensity and negativity of emotional expression. As in Study 1, we again measured perceived intensity and negativity of emotional expression. Participants in the disappointment [fear] condition were asked to report to what extent Palestinians appear disappointed with White Americans [afraid of White Americans] according to the article they read. Also, they were asked to report to what extent the relevant emotional expression was negative to feel. All answers were provided on a 7-point scale.

Outgroup anger. To examine whether the expression of disappointment by the outgroup has unique effect on collective guilt, we assessed outgroup-directed anger with a single item. We asked participants to think about the article and report to what extent they feel anger towards Black Americans on a scale ranging from 1 (*Not at all*) to 7 (*Very much*).

Results

Initial results showed that participants in the disappointment and fear conditions did not differ in terms of the perceived intensity ($F(1, 75) = 1.057, p = .307$) and negativity of the emotional expression ($F(1, 75) = .078, p = .781$). Across the three experimental groups, there was a marginally significant effect on collective guilt ($F(2, 102) = 2.46, p = .090$) and on willingness to participate in collective action ($F(2, 102) = 2.64, p = .076$). Post hoc test using LSD indicated that participants in the expression of disappointment condition reported more collective guilt ($M = 3.86, SD = 1.79$) and willingness to participate in collective action ($M = 3.87, SD = 1.92$) than those in the control condition ($M = 2.96, SD = 1.70; M = 2.82, SD = 1.83$, respectively). There were no significant effects of the manipulation on perceived legitimacy ($F(2, 102) = .94, p = .396$), behavioural collective action ($F(2, 102) = .18, p = .838$), and outgroup anger ($F(2, 102) = 1.19, p = .308$) (see Table 2 for descriptive statistics and correlations).

Collective guilt

We applied the same data analysis strategy that we used in the first study to test our predictions via

Table 2. Correlations and Descriptive Statistics in Study 2.

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	Disappointment M (SD)	Fear M (SD)	Control M (SD)
1. Perceived legitimacy	–	–0.67***	–0.64***	–0.44***	0.44***	3.14 (1.39)	3.50 (1.79)	3.72 (1.90)
2. Collective guilt		–	0.63***	0.50***	–0.29**	3.86 (1.79)	3.68 (1.47)	2.96 (1.70)
3. Willingness to participate in collective action			–	0.48***	–0.19 ^x	3.87 (1.92)	3.38 (1.66)	2.82 (1.83)
4. Behavioural collective action				–	–0.24*	0.74 (0.78)	0.68 (0.79)	0.63 (0.63)
5. Outgroup anger					–	1.94 (1.16)	2.12 (1.86)	2.59 (1.93)

Note: The correlations represent the whole sample.

*** $p < .001$; ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$; ^x $p = .05$.

Hayes' (2016) PROCESS bootstrapping command for multicategorical independent variable (model 1). In the model, again perceived legitimacy was identified as a moderator, collective guilt as an outcome variable, and the experimental condition as an independent variable. Results revealed that the simple effect of perceived legitimacy was significant ($b = -1.00$, $SE = .15$, $t = -6.74$, $p < .0001$; 95% CI $[-1.29, -.70]$). There was a marginally significant interaction between *D1* (disappointment condition vs. control condition) and perceived legitimacy on collective guilt ($b = .35$, $SE = .19$, $t = 1.79$, $p = .077$; 95% CI $[-.04, .73]$). As expected, for participants who were low on perception of legitimacy, the disappointment condition induced more collective guilt than the control condition ($b = -1.00$, $SE = .44$, $t = -2.25$, $p = .027$; CI $[-1.88, -.12]$). Yet, there was no significant effect for those high on perception of legitimacy ($b = .17$, $SE = .46$, $t = .37$, $p = .71$; 95% CI $[-.74, 1.08]$). Also, in the same model, there was a significant interaction between *D2* (disappointment vs. fear) and perceived legitimacy ($b = .54$, $SE = .18$, $t = 2.98$, $p = .004$; CI $[.18, .90]$) on collective guilt. Among participants who were low on perceived legitimacy, the disappointment condition (marginally) increased collective guilt compared to the fear condition ($b = -.77$, $SE = .39$, $t = -1.97$, $p = .052$; CI $[-1.55, .01]$), nevertheless among participants who were high on perceived legitimacy, the expression of disappointment reduced collective guilt ($b = 1.07$, $SE = .44$, $t = 2.43$, $p = .017$; CI $[.20, 1.94]$).

Outgroup anger

We also tested whether the outgroup's expression of disappointment induced anger towards Black Americans, as a function of perceived legitimacy. We ran the same model by using Hayes's PROCESS (2016)

bootstrapping (model 1). The interaction of perceived legitimacy with *D1* (disappointment vs. control) ($b = .07$, $SE = .25$, $t = .30$, $p = .766$; 95% CI $[-.42, .56]$) and *D2* (disappointment vs. fear) ($b = .22$, $SE = .23$, $t = .96$, $p = .341$; 95% CI $[-.24, .68]$) were not significant.

Collective action

Willingness to participate in collective action. Next, we examined whether disappointment expression increases willingness to participate in collective action as a function of perceived legitimacy via Hayes's PROCESS (2016) bootstrapping (model 1). We found a simple effect of perceived legitimacy ($b = -1.00$, $SE = .17$, $t = -5.87$, $p < .0001$; 95% CI $[-1.34, -.66]$). The interaction between *D1* (disappointment vs. control condition) and perceived legitimacy was significant ($b = .50$, $SE = .22$, $t = 2.24$, $p = .027$; 95% CI $[.06, .94]$). As hypothesised, compared to control condition, the expression of disappointment increased individuals' willingness to participate in collective action for those who were low on perception of legitimacy ($b = -1.46$, $SE = .51$, $t = -2.86$, $p = .005$; 95% CI $[-2.48, -.45]$), but not for those who were high on legitimacy perception ($b = .23$, $SE = .53$, $t = .43$, $p = .67$; 95% CI $[-.82, 1.28]$). Additionally, the interaction between *D2* (disappointment vs. fear) and perceived legitimacy was marginally significant ($b = .38$, $SE = .21$, $t = 1.83$, $p = .071$; 95% CI $[-.03, .80]$). Among those with low perceived legitimacy, being exposed to the expression of disappointment marginally increased collective action intention compared to being exposed to the expression of fear ($b = -.81$, $SE = .45$, $t = -1.79$, $p = .076$; 95% CI $[-1.70, .09]$), whereas there was not a significant link between *D2* and willingness to participate in collective action for those with high perceived legitimacy ($b = .49$, $SE = .51$, $t = .97$, $p = .336$; 95% CI $[-.51, 1.49]$).

Behavioural collective action. We then tested the same model for collective action behaviour. In that model, perceived legitimacy revealed a significant simple effect ($b = -.35$, $SE = .08$, $t = -4.26$, $p < .0001$; 95% CI $[-.51, -.19]$). The interaction between *D1* (disappointment vs. control) and perceived legitimacy was significant in predicting behavioural collective action ($b = .28$, $SE = .11$, $t = 2.65$, $p = .010$; 95% CI $[.07, .49]$). In line with our expectations, the expression of disappointment marginally increased collective action behaviour compared to the control condition for those who were low on perceived legitimacy ($b = -.47$, $SE = .25$, $t = -1.92$, $p = .058$; 95% CI $[-.96, .02]$), but marginally reduced collective action behaviour for those with high perceived legitimacy ($b = .49$, $SE = .25$, $t = 1.91$, $p = .059$; 95% CI $[-.02, .99]$). However, this time we did not find any significant interaction between *D2* (disappointment vs. fear) and perceived legitimacy ($b = .15$, $SE = .10$, $t = 1.45$, $p = .15$; 95% CI $[-.05, .35]$).

Assessing the moderated mediation model for collective action

We next tested a moderated mediation model, in which collective guilt would transmit the effect of the experimental condition and perceived legitimacy interaction on collective action (self-report and behavioural). In doing so, we employed the same data analysis strategy of the first study by using PROCESS (model 8; see Figure 2). In the model, the interaction between *D1* (disappointment vs. control) and perceived legitimacy on willingness to participate in collective action ($b = .50$, $SE = .22$, $t = 2.24$, $p = .027$; 95% CI $[.06, .94]$) became insignificant after collective guilt was added to the model ($b = .38$, $SE = .22$, $t = 1.74$, $p = .085$; 95% CI $[-.05, .80]$) and the interaction's indirect effect was significant ($\alpha^*b = .12$, $SE = .07$, 95% CI $[.02, .29]$). As expected, the indirect effect linking *D1* to willingness to participate in collective action via collective guilt for those low on perception of legitimacy was significant ($\alpha^*b = -.36$, $SE = .17$, 95% CI $[-.76, -.08]$). In addition, the indirect effect reached a significant level to link *D2* (disappointment vs. fear) to willingness to participate in collective action through collective guilt ($\alpha^*b = .19$, $SE = .09$, 95% CI $[.06, .41]$). Specifically, the interaction between *D2* (disappointment vs. fear) and perceived legitimacy on willingness to participate in collective action ($b = .38$, $SE = .21$, $t = 1.83$, $p = .071$; 95% CI $[-.03, .80]$) became non-significant after collective guilt was added to the model ($b = .19$, $SE = .21$, $t = .91$, $p = .366$; 95% CI $[-.23, .61]$). The indirect effect

linking *D2* to willingness to participate in collective action via collective guilt for those low on perception of legitimacy was significant ($\alpha^*b = -.27$, $SE = .15$, 95% CI $[-.66, -.04]$).

The experimental condition is coded as follow:

	<i>D1</i>	<i>D2</i>
Disappointment with White Americans	0	0
Control (No emotional expression)	1	0
Fear of White Americans	0	1

We also ran the same moderated mediation model for collective action behaviour. Again, the interaction effect between *D1* (disappointment vs. control) and perceived legitimacy on collective action behaviour ($b = .28$, $SE = .11$, $t = 2.65$, $p = .010$; 95% CI $[.07, .49]$) was reduced after collective guilt was added to the model ($b = .22$, $SE = .10$, $t = 2.16$, $p = .033$; 95% CI $[.02, .43]$) and the interaction's indirect effect was significant ($\alpha^*b = .06$, $SE = .04$, 95% CI $[.01, .15]$). As expected, the indirect effect linking *D1* to behavioural collective action via collective guilt for those low on perception of legitimacy was significant ($\alpha^*b = -.17$, $SE = .09$, 95% CI $[-.41, -.03]$) (see note 4).

Discussion

The findings of Study 2 replicated the first study's results in a different context of intergroup conflict—intergroup tensions between White and Black Americans. Importantly, we found that outgroup's expression of disappointment with a receiver group not only induced collective action on a self-report measure, but also on a behavioural measure, as a function of legitimacy perception. The results again revealed that collective guilt mediated the relationship between the expression of disappointment and willingness to participate in collective action, for those low on legitimacy perception. Moreover, the effect of outgroup's expression of disappointment is particular to collective guilt rather than outgroup anger.

General discussion

The social-functional approach to emotion suggests that emotional expressions evoke affective reactions in observers and influence their corresponding behaviour (Keltner & Haidt, 1999; Van Kleef, 2009). Applying this approach to the context of intergroup conflict, across two studies we examined the intergroup effect of disappointment on collective guilt

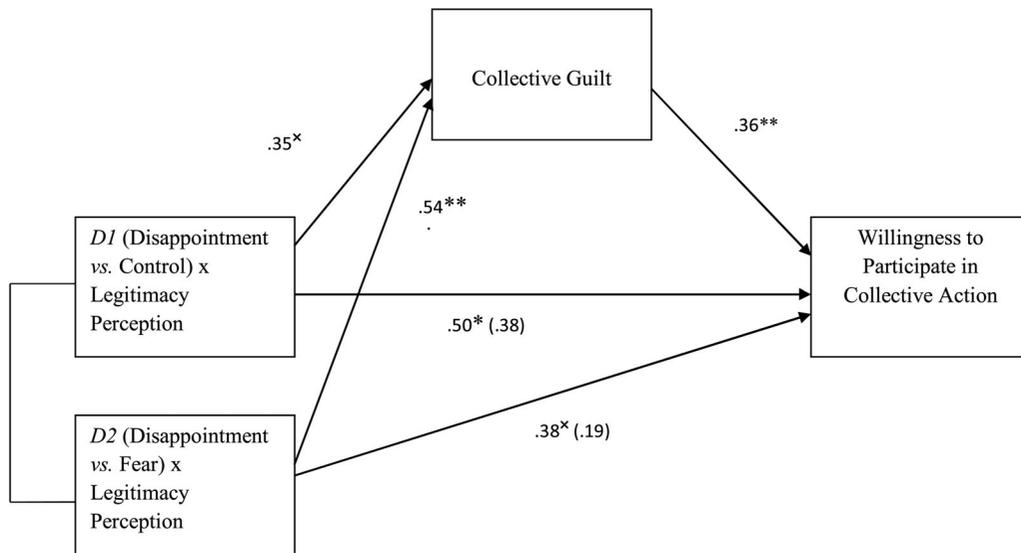


Figure 2. The moderated mediation model for collective action in Study 2.
Note: Values reflect unstandardised path coefficients. ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$, $\times p \leq .077$.

and collective action. In Study 1, we tested whether exposing Israelis to Palestinian expressions of disappointment with Israel in the 2014 Gaza War would induce collective guilt among Israelis and increase their willingness to protest ingroup transgression. By focusing on the different context of intergroup conflict, in Study 2, we investigated whether exposing White Americans to Black Americans' expression of disappointment evokes collective guilt and collective action to protest institutional discrimination and police mistreatment. In accordance with the social-functional approach, we expected that such an effect would be restricted to those ingroup members who were open to receive the message enveloped in the outgroup expression of disappointment – and specifically receivers who perceived the intergroup situation as illegitimate and unjust. Results showed that the effect of intergroup disappointment on collective guilt and collective action was moderated by legitimacy appraisal of the target. In line with our hypotheses, findings demonstrated that the expression of disappointment evoked collective guilt and collective action only among participants who do not legitimise the last war between Israelis and Palestinians (Study 1) and who do not perceive Black and White racial relations as legitimate (Study 2). Specifically, participants low on perceived legitimacy reported higher levels of collective guilt and willingness to take part in collective

action (Study 1 and Study 2) and collective action behaviour (Study 2) in the disappointment condition compared to the fear and the control conditions. Moreover, collective guilt mediated the relationship between the expression of disappointment and collective action, as moderated by the target's legitimacy appraisal.

The present study extends earlier research, which has mostly focused on the experience of emotions in intergroup relations. It demonstrates that understanding the impact of exposure to the expression of others' distinct emotions is important to our broader understanding of the affective underpinnings and psychological outcomes of intergroup conflict (see also Kamans et al., 2014). Specifically, we showed that communicating intergroup disappointment can potentially stimulate collective guilt and action in the context of an intractable conflict.

Lelieveld et al. (2013) previously demonstrated that disappointment expressions by ingroup members increased guilt in negotiations, whereas if the expresser was an outgroup member, disappointment did not induce individual guilt in the observer in the interpersonal conflict. Our work expands on this by demonstrating for the first time that expressions of outgroup disappointment evoke collective guilt and collective action specifically among ingroup members who do not justify the ingroup transgression, even in a severe type of intergroup conflict.

In this regard, the current research also adds to the social-functional literature by indicating legitimacy appraisal as a potential boundary condition that may determine the predictive power of receivers' emotions and subsequent behaviour as a response to emotional expressions. Van Kleef and Côté (2007) have demonstrated the moderating role of appropriateness and justifiability of emotional expression on cooperation and completion in the interpersonal negotiation. Unlike that study, in the current research, we identified the moderating role of perceived legitimacy of intergroup relations and conflict. Legitimacy appraisals play an important role in understanding why even extreme versions of violence and inequality are accepted and supported in society (see Jost & Major, 2001). These appraisals are central in evoking collective guilt (Miron et al., 2006), which in turn influence collective action (Shepherd, Spears, & Manstead, 2013). For this reason, we argued that the communicative value of disappointment is particularly critical for evoking collective guilt and subsequent collective action for those who do not legitimise the ingroup's actions. Also, it seems that this effect is specifically observed for collective guilt, rather than other emotions, which are critical for collective action, such as outgroup-directed anger (Study 2).

Of note, in the current study we measured only outgroup-directed anger, and not ingroup-directed anger. Since ingroup anger is linked with a high level of arousal and action readiness (Frijda et al., 1989; Roseman, 1984), it can potentially trigger collective action against one's ingroup transgression (Shepherd et al., 2013). Similar to collective guilt, also, individuals can feel anger towards their ingroup when the ingroup is appraised as responsible for the outgroup's discrimination or disadvantage (Leach, Iyer, & Pedersen, 2006). Future research, therefore, should examine whether outgroup expression of disappointment evokes ingroup-directed anger as well as collective guilt- and whether, both these emotions have an equal role in motivating collective action. Surprisingly, our results also demonstrated that the expression of disappointment by the outgroup slightly reduced the experience of collective guilt for those who strongly justify the intergroup context. One possible explanation for these findings might be that participants who justify harmful actions tried to protect the ingroup's moral identity against the communicative value of disappointment that signals blame and responsibility. Hence the informative value of disappointment may have different

implications for those with different levels of legitimacy appraisals. One important task for future research is to identify the dynamics that influence emotional and behavioural responses of targets who justify ingroup transgressions.

One limitation of this study is that it did not include any explicit measures tapping into the informative function of disappointment. Although we assumed that disappointment signals the information that the expresser is morally right, this emotion may also communicate other types of information. Research has shown that disappointment conveys the information that progress towards a desired goal is not achieved (Frijda, 1986) and at times also feelings of weakness (Van Dijk & Zeelenberg, 2002) and a loss of control (Zeelenberg, Van Dijk, Manstead, & Van der Pligt, 1998). As well, intergroup expectations might be very low in areal-world intergroup conflict. Therefore, if one is disappointed, that means that something extremely dramatic was violated. Therefore, the concrete mechanism at play as well as the accurate informative function of disappointment in intergroup conflict should be further examined in future research.

Our findings may have some applied value for best practices in framing intergroup violence by media and policy-makers. Consideration of our findings could improve policy-makers' ability to develop more beneficial interventions by taking into account their target audience's social and psychological characteristics. Specifically, interventions and media messages framed using outgroup disappointment may be more effective to mobilise individuals to take actions against ingroup transgression among those who do not legitimise the intergroup violence. Taken together, the present study not only integrates the social-functional approach to emotions with intergroup literature, but also offers some first insights on possible strategies relevant to practitioners attempting to overcome barriers to peace and social change.

Notes

1. Although, a total of 114 participants were randomly assigned to one of three experimental conditions, 23 failed the attention-check questions (see note 3 for these attention check questions). Therefore, the final analyses included 91 participants. When we included the participants who gave the wrong answers to the attention check questions of the story, the results described in the current study showed the same pattern.

2. The current study was conducted as a part of a larger research project.
3. Participants in the emotional expression conditions answered relevant three multiple choice attention-check questions. These questions were as follow: (1) "According to the article, who participated in the study?", (2) "According to the article, when is the study conducted?", and (3) "According to the study, what is the most dominant emotion reported by participants?". Participants in the control (no emotional expression) condition answered two multiple choice attention check questions that are relevant with the cover story: (1) "What is the name of the restaurant?"; and (2) "Where did Muhamad work before he became the owners of the restaurant?"
4. We ran the same analysis described under "assessing the moderated mediation model for collective action" by identifying political ideology as a moderating variable (instead of legitimacy perception). The results indicated that the interaction's indirect effect was not significant.
5. Although, a total of 164 participants were randomly assigned to one of three experimental conditions, 106 participants identified themselves as White/European Americans. Of them three failed the attention-check questions (see note 6 for these questions). Therefore, the final analyses included 103 participants.
6. Participants in the control condition, answered two multiple choice attention check questions. These questions were as follow: (1) "According to the article, who participated in the survey", and (2) "According to the study, what is the most dominant emotion reported by participants?" Participants in the control condition answered only one multiple choice attention check question ("According to the article, what are the incidents that have attracted research attention in the recent years?").

Acknowledgments

The authors would like to thank Racheli Cohen, Shani Facher, Keren Aurbach, Yossi Hasson, and Eric Shuman for their help in the process of conducting this research and the editor and two anonymous reviewers for their helpful comments.

Funding

This work was supported by the European Research Council Grant (Grant Number 335607) awarded to the last author.

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Appendix

Materials of Study 1

The disappointed condition described the following situation:

Post-War Poll: Majority of Palestinians Disappointed with Israel.

BETHLEHEM (Ma'an) – A poll released by the Palestinian Center for Public Opinion on Sunday shows widespread disappointment with Israel in Gaza, due to the recent war and because direct peace negotiations between the Palestinian Authority and Israel failed. Participants were asked to indicate to what extent they feel fear, disappointment, hatred sadness, anger toward Israel, and anger toward Hamas. Survey results reflected the most dominant emotion is disappointment, whereas other emotions were not reported at the significant levels. Importantly, 81 percent of Palestinians reported that "I am really disappointed with Israel". The poll was conducted by the Palestinian Center for Public Opinion, and involved a nationally representative sampling of 3640 Palestinians in Gaza. Respondents were split almost equally between men and women.

The fear condition described the following situation:
Post-War Poll:

Majority of Palestinians are Afraid of Israel

BETHLEHEM (Ma'an) – A poll released by the Palestinian Center for Public Opinion on Sunday shows widespread fear of Israel in Gaza, due to the recent war and because direct peace negotiations between the Palestinian Authority and Israel failed. Participants were asked to indicate to what extent they feel fear, disappointment, hatred sadness, anger toward Israel, and anger toward Hamas. Survey results reflected the most dominant emotion is fear, whereas other emotions were not reported at the significant levels. Importantly, 81 percent of Palestinians reported that “I am really afraid of Israel”. The poll was conducted by the Palestinian Center for Public Opinion, and involved a nationally representative sampling of 3640 Palestinians in Gaza. Respondents were split almost equally between men and women.

Materials of Study 2

The disappointed condition described the following situation:

Poll: Majority of Black Americans are Disappointed with White Americans

In recent years, there have been a number of incidents involving Black Americans and the police in the United States. These events have sparked movements and protests nationwide. In addition, all of these events have sparked new conversations about race relations, institutional racism, and the relationship between the police and the African-American community in America.

A recent Gallup's 2015 Minority Rights and Relations poll shows that Black Americans expressed widespread disappointment with White Americans in the United States, due to ongoing institutional racism in society and mistreatment by police.

Black American participants were asked to indicate to what extent they feel fear, disappointment, hatred, sadness, and anger toward White and Black

Americans. Survey results indicated that the most dominant emotion towards White Americans is disappointment, whereas other emotions did not emerge as strongly. Importantly, 81 percent of Black Americans endorsed the statement “I am disappointed with White Americans as a group”.

The poll was administered to a nationally representative sample of 2473 Black American adults living across all 50 U.S. states. Respondents were split almost equally between men and women.

The fear condition described the following situation:

Poll: Majority of Black Americans are Afraid of White Americans

In recent years, there have been a number of incidents involving Black Americans and the police in the United States. These events have sparked movements and protests nationwide. In addition, all of these events have sparked new conversations about race relations, institutional racism, and the relationship between the police and the African-American community in America.

A recent Gallup's 2015 Minority Rights and Relations poll shows that Black Americans expressed widespread fear of White Americans in the US, due to ongoing institutional racism in society and mistreatment by police.

Black American participants were asked to indicate to what extent they feel fear, disappointment, hatred, sadness, and anger toward White and Black Americans. Survey results indicated that the most dominant emotion toward White Americans is fear, whereas other emotions did not emerge as strongly. Importantly, 81 percent of Black Americans reported that “I am afraid of White Americans as a group”

The poll was administered to a nationally representative sample of 2473 Black American adults living across all 50 U.S. states. Respondents were split almost equally between men and women.