

A Majority Group's Perspective-taking Towards a Minority Group: Its Antecedents and Impact on Support for Minority Helping

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Abstract

This research investigates the impact of perspective-taking on a majority group's support for government action to help a minority group. Data among a sample of Indonesian Muslims ($N = 380$), representing a religious majority group in Indonesia, showed that perspective-taking was a strong positive predictor of Muslims' support for government action to help Christian minority. Relative Muslim prototypicality vis-à-vis Christians depressed perspective-taking. Contrariwise, inclusive victimhood reflecting a perception that Muslims are equally afflicted relative to Christians in intergroup conflicts, involving both groups, promoted perspective-taking. Relative Muslim prototypicality was augmented by the extent to which this majority group glorified Islam and was motivated to protect Islamic power. However, inclusive

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victimhood instead attenuated relative Muslim prototypicality. These findings suggest the importance of enhancing inclusive victimhood, given its impact in promoting perspective-taking which is beneficial to the majority's support for minority helping.

Keywords

Minority helping, perspective-taking, relative Muslim prototypicality, inclusive victimhood, Islamic glorification

From prejudice (Scheepers, Gijsberts, & Hello, 2002) and discrimination (Fox, 2005) to violence (Bjørge, 2003), minority groups within a society often come to terms with multifarious predicaments. What minority groups have in common is their political powerlessness vis-à-vis majority groups. Thus, minority groups rely on help from the government to protect their vulnerability (Friedman & Squires, 2005). Herein, then, lies the problem because the majority group sometimes resists instead of supporting government action. The dominant barrier resides upon the perception that minority groups threaten the majority's social identity (Renfro, Duran, Stephan, & Clason, 2006) or social status (Jackson & Esses, 1997). Yet, despite such a seemingly gloomy prospect, past studies (Berndsen & McGarty, 2012; Mallett, Huntsinger, Sinclair, & Swim, 2008) have revealed that perspective-taking is a potent factor that motivates the majority group to support government action to help the minority group. The focal aim of the current research is to apply this insight to the context of intergroup relations in Indonesia between Muslims representing a religious majority group and Christians representing a religious minority group. To this end, we examine the extent to which Muslims' willingness to take the perspective of Christians impacts the first group's support for government action to help the latter group (henceforth referred to as 'minority helping').

In the current research, consistent with the previous findings, we demonstrate that perspective-taking, which denotes 'putting oneself in the shoes of another' (Galinsky & Ku, 2004, p. 595) or the process by which one discerns and evaluates a situation from others' viewpoints (Galinsky, Maddux, Gilin, & White, 2008), enhances Muslims' support for minority helping. We further show that relative ingroup prototypicality (Wenzel, Mummendey, & Waldzus, 2007), which in the context of the current research describes the tendency of Muslims to unilaterally claim that the norms and values of their group are more representative than and more

superior to those of Christians within a superordinate identity encompassing both groups (i.e., Indonesia), decreases Muslims' perspective-taking. In contrast, inclusive victimhood (Vollhardt, Nair, & Tropp, 2016), which in the context of the current research refers to the extent to which Muslims perceive that their group and Christians are similarly victimised in conflicts involving both, gives rise to Muslims' perspective-taking.

Perspective-taking and Minority Helping

Minority helping occurs at either a personal level or an impersonal level. Personal minority helping denotes how members of a majority group are willing to perform actions such as donation and voluntarism to help the minority group (Batson, Chang, Orr, & Rowland, 2002). Impersonal minority helping, which is the focus of the current research, denotes how members of a majority group are willing to support government programmes, policies or actions to help the minority group. These government initiatives can take multifarious forms such as affirmative action programmes (e.g., Crosby, Iyer, Clayton, & Downing, 2003), reparations actions (e.g., Bilali, 2013) and compensation (e.g., Iyer, Schmader, & Lickel, 2007). Yet, despite their differences, these multifaceted forms of impersonal minority helping essentially refer to the government action that is aimed at alleviating injustice for the minority group (Forde-Mazrui, 2004).

As argued by Batson et al. (2002), perspective-taking contributes to the recognition and understanding of the interests and desires of the other party. Having these characteristics, perspective-taking helps people properly ascertain whether their actions towards the other party are just and fair. Moreover, taking the perspective of a member of the other party has been found to give rise to positive evaluations, not only of that individual member but also of the entire group to which the individual member belongs (Dovidio et al., 2004; Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000; Vescio, Sechrist, & Paolucci, 2003). By enhancing people's concern over the fairness of their group actions and people's positive attitudes towards the other party, it is reasonable to argue that perspective-taking enhances the majority's support for minority helping. Indeed, research by Berndsen and McGarty (2012) demonstrated how taking the perspective of Indigenous Australians led non-Indigenous Australians to support the government policies to provide Indigenous Australians with monetary compensation. Based on these rationales and the empirical findings, we,

therefore, predicted that the more Muslims were willing to take the perspective of Christians, the more they would support government actions to help the latter group (Hypothesis 1).

Facilitating and Impeding Factors of Perspective-taking

Prior studies have revealed factors that promote or hamper perspective-taking. Inclusive victimhood has been confirmed as a strong catalyst of perspective-taking. As argued by Vollhardt and Bilali (2015), inclusive or common victimhood implies a certain degree of universalism that presumably makes it a potent trigger of perspective-taking. Substantiating this notion, surveys in Rwanda, Burundi and eastern Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) by Vollhardt and Bilali (2015) reported that inclusive victimhood was positively linked to perspective-taking towards the adversary outgroups. This finding is in keeping with the rationale of common ingroup identity model (CIIM) (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2012). This model describes that positive outgroup attitudes could be raised by persuading group members to cling on an inclusive, superordinate identity instead of an exclusive, separate identity.

Taken together, it is thereby logical to argue based on CIIM that inclusive victimhood plays a significant role in enhancing perspective-taking. Building on this argument, we generated two hypotheses. First, we predicted that Muslims' inclusive victimhood would positively predict this majority group's willingness to take the perspective of Christian minority (Hypothesis 2a). Based on this prediction and the previous prediction that perspective-taking directly motivated the majority to support minority helping (see Hypothesis 1), we proposed another hypothesis. More specifically, we predicted that Muslims' inclusive victimhood would promote Muslims' support for minority helping by fostering this majority group's perspective-taking towards Christian minority (Hypothesis 2b).

There is a possibility that in fostering perspective-taking, induction of inclusive victimhood could be challenging. The reason is that an inclusive identity can become a battleground when group members generalise or project their distinct ingroup characteristics onto such an overarching entity. This tendency is dubbed relative ingroup prototypicality and is theorised within ingroup projection model (IPM) (Wenzel et al., 2007). Relative ingroup prototypicality leads to pejorative outgroup attitudes because it renders ingroup members to see the values and norms of

another group as deviant, inferior and disrespectful. In support of this argument, relative ingroup prototypicality attenuates sympathy, interest in intergroup contact and tolerance (Waldzus & Mummendey, 2004; Waldzus, Mummendey, & Wenzel, 2005). As perspective-taking bears within it people's appreciation and recognition of others' viewpoints (Vescio et al., 2003) and because relative ingroup prototypicality blocks such an outgroup-focused orientation, it makes theoretical sense to argue that relative ingroup prototypicality will obstruct perspective-taking. Using this rationale, we predicted that relative Muslim prototypicality would negatively predict Muslims' willingness to take the perspective of Christian minority (Hypothesis 3a). Considering this prediction (Hypothesis 3a) and the previous prediction on the beneficial impact of perspective-taking on minority helping (see Hypothesis 1), we generated another hypothesis. We predicted that relative Muslim prototypicality would hinder Muslims' support for minority helping by attenuating majority group's perspective-taking towards Christian minority (Hypothesis 3b).

Predictors of Relative Ingroup Prototypicality

People join a group because they aspire to bolster their positive self-esteem. This aspiration could be attained when the values, norms, or culture of people's own group are respected by other groups (Derks, van Laar, & Ellemers, 2007). However, when these groups' properties are devalued by the other groups, people feel their social identity is threatened (Branscombe, Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1999). To recover their positive self-esteem, people in turn are motivated to protect their threatened social identity (Branscombe et al., 1999). This protective reaction reflects the cognitive process of the IPM (Wenzel et al., 2007) suggesting that the impetus of ingroup projection is a motivation to protect people's positive identity that is perceived as being under threat. Corroborating this theory, Finley (2006), for example, found that a threat to positive group identity augmented relative ingroup prototypicality. We, accordingly, predicted that motivation of Muslims to protect their threatened social identity (i.e., social identity protection) would positively predict their relative Muslim prototypicality vis-à-vis the Christian minority (Hypothesis 4a).

Previous studies (Waldzus, Mummendey, Wenzel, & Boettcher, 2004; Wang, Wang, & Kou, 2016) have shown that greater group size

and perception of higher power by members of the majority group more relative to the minority group members leads them to engage in relative ingroup prototypicality. Indeed, as Wenzel et al. (2007, p. 364) put it, 'a majority may claim relative ingroup prototypicality to argue for the legitimacy of status relations'. From this, it becomes clear that a threat to the power of their group and the motivation to protect it are likely to foster the majority's sense of relative ingroup prototypicality (Wenzel et al., 2007). In short, we argue that the majority group's motivation to protect its threatened power could heighten relative ingroup prototypicality in the same manner as the group's motivation to protect its threatened social identity. We, therefore, predicted that motivation of Muslims to protect their threatened power would positively predict their relative Muslim prototypicality vis-à-vis the Christian minority (Hypothesis 4b).

Waldzus, Mummendey, Wenzel and Weber (2003) found that perceived similarity of the ingroup with its outgroup was one of the antecedents of relative ingroup prototypicality. More specifically, they observed that the perceived similarity was negatively associated with ingroup relative prototypicality. We propose in the current research that inclusive victimhood could decrease the majority group's sense of relative ingroup prototypicality. This is because inclusive victimhood connotes the acknowledgement by the ingroup members that both their group and their adversary group have experienced an equal degree of victimisation during or after the conflicts in which both groups were involved (Noor, Shnabel, Halabi, & Nadler, 2012; Vollhardt, 2015). Given its role in fostering perceived intergroup similarity, we suggest that inclusive victimhood arguably will attenuate relative ingroup prototypicality. We, therefore, predicted that perception of inclusive victimhood by the Muslim majority group members would negatively predict their relative Muslim prototypicality vis-à-vis the Christian minority (Hypothesis 5).

On the Role of Ingroup Glorification

Wenzel et al. (2007) explained that relative ingroup prototypicality within the IPM operates not only on cognitive processes but also on motivational processes. At the core of the motivational process of relative ingroup prototypicality is ingroup identification (Wenzel, Mummendey, Weber, & Waldzus, 2003). Roccas, Klar and Livitan (2006)

discussed ingroup glorification as a form of ingroup identification that points to the beliefs in ingroup superiority and deference to ingroup norms and symbols. Wenzel (2001) empirically found that the properties of ingroup most likely to be projected as prototypical within an inclusive category are those considered superior to the outgroup. Being positively associated with the beliefs in ingroup superiority, ingroup glorification can be logically conceived as a precursor of relative ingroup prototypicality. We, accordingly, predicted that Islamic glorification would positively predict relative Muslim prototypicality vis-à-vis the Christian minority (Hypothesis 6a).

Roccas et al. (2006) reasoned that ingroup glorification implicates a motive to defend ingroup superiority, which drives people to protect their threatened social identity and power. This protective nature of ingroup glorification has been confirmed in some studies. Ingroup glorification has been found to be a better predictor of negative intergroup attitudes, such as, outgroup derogation and denial of ingroup accountability for and legitimisation of ingroup historical wrongdoings (Castano, 2008; Roccas et al., 2006). Drawing on this rationale and the empirical findings, we argue that ingroup glorification may give rise to people's motivation to protect their threatened social identity and power. It was hypothesised by us that Islamic glorification would positively predict either social identity protection (Hypothesis 6b) or power protection (Hypothesis 6c).

Background of the Study

The backdrop of the current research is Christian–Muslim intergroup relations in Indonesia, which have been coloured by disharmony over the last decade (Khanif, 2015). This tension is particularly attributable to multifarious acts of intolerance by some Muslim hardliners against Christians, ranging from intimidation, church burning and demolition to even murders (Harson, 2015). Muslims constitute the majority religious group in Indonesia. Their population is approximately 202.9 million, making Indonesia the country with the largest Muslim population on the globe (Tracy, 2009). Of the total Indonesian population, approximately 10 per cent (25 million) are Christians, which splits into 7 per cent Protestant and 3 per cent Catholic (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2010). In response to the hardships they experience, Christians in Indonesia have often petitioned the Indonesian government to secure their rights to conduct religious activities (Simanjuntak & Gunawan, 2015).

The administration of the various instruments used in the current study was in the Indonesian language. We developed Indonesian versions of some scales using backward–forward translation from Degroot, Dannenburg and van Hell (1994). Exceptions were made for scales that were adopted from the previous studies within the Indonesian context or those developed by the authors.

Method

Participants

Participants were 380 Muslim students from State Islamic Institute of Pekalongan (IAIN Pekalongan), Jawa Tengah, Indonesia (151 male, 224 female; 5 participants did not self-report their gender; Mean_{age} = 19.57, SD_{age} = 1.75). All the participants in the study did so voluntarily and were offered no rewards.

Procedure and Measures

The questionnaire consisting of scales and other materials was given to participants in the class rooms. The participants were asked to indicate their agreement with statements given in the questionnaire which required them to give their responses on a scale, which ranged between 1 (not at all) and 5 (very much). The questionnaire sought first the informed consent. It was followed by a series of questions to assess Islamic glorification, inclusive victimhood, social identity protection, power protection, Muslim prototypicality, Christian prototypicality, perspective-taking, a bogus article, article credibility, and support for minority helping.¹ Islamic glorification was assessed with the help of eight items ($\alpha = 0.65$) adapted from Roccas et al. (2006). Inclusive victimhood was assessed with two items ($r = 0.29, p < 0.001$) adapted from Vollhardt and Bilali (2015). Social identity protection ($\alpha = 0.76$) and power protection ($\alpha = 0.76$) were each assessed using four items, created by the authors. Muslim prototypicality ($\alpha = 0.70$) and Christian prototypicality ($\alpha = 0.74$) were each assessed with two items adopted from the study by Mashuri, Alroy-Thiberge and Zaduqisti (2017). Adopting the procedure of Waldzus et al. (2003), we derived relative Muslim prototypicality by subtracting Muslim prototypicality from

Christian prototypicality. Perspective-taking was assessed with the help of three items ($\alpha = 0.87$) adapted from Andrighetto, Mari, Volpato and Behluli (2012). A bogus article fictitiously published in a famous newspaper in Indonesia depicting some Muslims' intolerance and violence against Christians, as well as this religious minority's appeals for the Indonesian government to help them tackle the problems, was then presented. We adapted this procedure from the study by Mashuri et al. (2017). Article credibility was assessed with the help of four items ($\alpha = 0.78$).² Support for minority helping ($\alpha = 0.85$) was assessed with five items adapted from the study by Mashuri and Zaduqisti (2014). Upon self-reporting their gender and age, participants were debriefed and thanked.

Results

Preliminary Analyses

Descriptive Statistics

Table 1 presents correlations among observed variables. As shown in this table, some variables had high correlations. We, hence, tested for multicollinearity based on variance inflation factor (VIF) by regressing minority helping on other variables. The results revealed no predictors with VIF values that were greater than 10. This suggested that multicollinearity may not be a serious problem that could bias results obtained from multiple regression analysis (Bowerman & O'Connell, 1990).³

Construct Validity

We assessed construct validity of variables in the current study in terms of convergent validity and discriminant validity by means of confirmatory factor analysis (CFA; Brown, 2006). The initial step prior to the CFA was transforming all variables into a latent construct, except for a single item of relative Muslim prototypicality that was retained as an observed variable. All latent constructs were derived from item parcelling procedure, except for inclusive victimhood that consisted of two items. The composition of the item parcelling was built upon exploratory factor analysis (EFA) using PROMAX⁴ rotation to inspect the dimensionality of each latent construct (Hall, Snell, & Foust, 1999). To compose item parcels for unidimensional constructs, we used an item-balancing technique (Sass & Smith, 2006), whereas a domain-representative

Table 1. Correlations among Observed Variables in the Study

Variables	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Islamic glorification	4.13 ⁺	0.56	-	-0.04	0.46 ^{**}	0.51 ^{**}	0.25 ^{**}	-0.05	-0.10 [*]
2. Inclusive victimhood	2.92 ^{ns}	0.96		-	-0.03	-0.01	-0.19 ^{**}	0.16 ^{**}	0.07
3. Social identity protection	4.44 ⁺	0.62			-	0.47 ^{**}	0.17 ^{**}	-0.10	-0.02
4. Power protection	3.98 ⁺	0.80				-	0.31 ^{**}	-0.04	-0.11 [*]
5. Relative Muslim prototypicality	1.45 ⁺	1.34					-	-0.13 ^{**}	-0.08
6. Perspective-taking	2.62 ⁻	0.97						-	0.37 ^{**}
7. Minority helping	3.14 ⁺	0.88							-

Source: Authors' own.

Notes: M = Mean; SD = Standard Deviation; + The mean of the variable is significantly greater than its midpoint; - the mean of the variable is significantly less than its midpoint; ^{ns} The mean of the variable is not significantly different from its midpoint; * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.001$. The scores for all variables range from 1 to 5 (the midpoint is 3), except for relative Muslim prototypicality which ranges from -4 to 4 (the midpoint is 0).

technique was used for multidimensional constructs (Kishton & Widaman, 1994).

Following a procedure by Lim and Ployhart (2006), we specified three measurement models and compared their goodness of fit to the data by means of the CFA. The first model was a seven-factor oblique representing the hypothesised measurement model, created by allowing the latent constructs to freely correlate with one another. The second model was a seven-factor orthogonal specified by fixing correlations among the latent variables into zero. The third model was a one-factor model by specifying the parcels or items to load on a single latent construct. Within this approach, both the convergent validity and discriminant validity hold when the goodness of fit of the oblique measurement model is significantly better than the orthogonal and one-factor models. The difference test of the model comparison was done by re-scaling the chi-square (see Satorra & Bentler, 2001). The results revealed that the hypothesised seven-factor oblique ($\chi^2 = 97.897$, $df = 70$) fitted the data significantly better than did the seven-factor orthogonal model ($\chi^2 = 698.583$, $df = 99$; $\sum \chi^2 [29] = 508.40$, $p < 0.001$) or the one-factor model ($\chi^2 = 1105.617$, $df = 91$; $\sum \chi^2 [21] = 966.43$, $p < 0.001$). Convergent validity and discriminant validity of the variables in the current study, thus, found support.

Testing of the Hypothesised Model

We tested the hypothesised model by means of path analysis using Mplus 7.4 (Muthén & Muthén, 1998–2015). The initial inspection revealed that the data violated the assumption of multivariate normality (Skewness = 7.45, Mean = 1.33, SD = 0.21, $p < 0.001$; Kurtosis = 76.89, Mean = 62.68, SD = 1.07, $p < 0.001$). The data consisted of no missing values. Among the available options, we decided to use MLM⁵ as a robust estimator that is suitable for complete data that violate the assumption of multivariate normality (Wang & Wang, 2012). Following the recommendation of Hu and Bentler (1999), the assessment of the goodness of fit of the hypothesised model rested on some parameters including chi-square (χ^2), root mean square error approximation (RMSEA), comparative fit index (CFI) and Tucker–Lewis index (TLI). As a rule of thumb, the hypothesised model lives up to excellent fit to the data when the chi-square is not significant, RMSEA is less than 0.05, and CFI and TLI are greater than 0.95.

The path analysis revealed that the hypothesised model fitted the data well ($\chi^2 = 8.81, p = 0.55$; RMSEA = 0.00 (90 per cent confidence interval [CI] = [0.00, 0.051]; CFI = 1.00, TLI = 1.01). No modification indices were reported for any recommendation to refine the hypothesised model. This model explained 14 per cent variance of minority helping (SE = 0.04, $p < 0.001$), 4 per cent variance of perspective-taking (SE = 0.02, $p = 0.069$), 14 per cent variance of relative Muslim prototypicality (SE = 0.03, $p < 0.001$), 26 per cent variance of power protection (SE = 0.05, $p < 0.001$) and 21 per cent variance of social identity protection (SE = 0.06, $p < 0.001$). As shown in Figure 1, in support of Hypothesis 1, perspective-taking significantly and positively predicted minority helping ($\beta = 0.37, SE = 0.05, p < 0.001, 95$ per cent CI = [0.271, 0.470]). In the case of Hypothesis 2a, inclusive victimhood positively predicted perspective-taking ($\beta = 0.05, SE = 0.02, p = 0.027, 95$ per cent CI = [0.006, 0.096]). The role of inclusive victimhood in promoting minority helping via perspective-taking was also significant (indirect effect: $\beta = 0.05, SE = 0.02, p = 0.027, 95$ per cent CI = [0.006, 0.096]), verifying Hypothesis 2b.

We also found support for Hypothesis 3a that stated that relative Muslim prototypicality will negatively predict perspective-taking ($\beta = -0.04, SE = 0.02, p = 0.045, 95$ per cent CI = [-0.204, -0.008]). The role of relative Muslim prototypicality in depressing minority helping via perspective-taking was significant (indirect effect: $\beta = -0.04, SE = 0.02, p = 0.045, 95$ per cent CI = [-0.078, -0.001]). This finding was in line with Hypothesis 3b. Power protection was positively related ($\beta = 0.25, SE = 0.05, p < 0.001, 95$ per cent CI = [0.147, 0.359]), but social identity protection was unrelated to relative Muslim prototypicality ($\beta = -0.01, SE = 0.05, p = 0.85, 95$ per cent CI = [-0.110, 0.092]). Hypothesis 4b, but not Hypothesis 4a, was thereby supported. Hypothesis 5 was also confirmed in which we found that relative Muslim prototypicality was negatively predicted by inclusive victimhood ($\beta = -0.19, SE = 0.05, p < 0.001, 95$ per cent CI = [-0.286, -0.085]). Relative Muslim prototypicality was positively predicted by Islamic glorification ($\beta = 0.12, SE = 0.06, p = 0.042, 95$ per cent CI = [0.004, 0.237]), which provided support to our Hypothesis 6a. Finally, in support of Hypothesis 6b and 6c, we found that Islamic glorification was a positive predictor of social identity protection ($\beta = 0.46, SE = 0.06, p < 0.001, 95$ per cent CI = 0.344, 0.579]) and also of power protection ($\beta = 0.51, SE = 0.05, p < 0.001, 95$ per cent CI = [0.400, 0.611]).

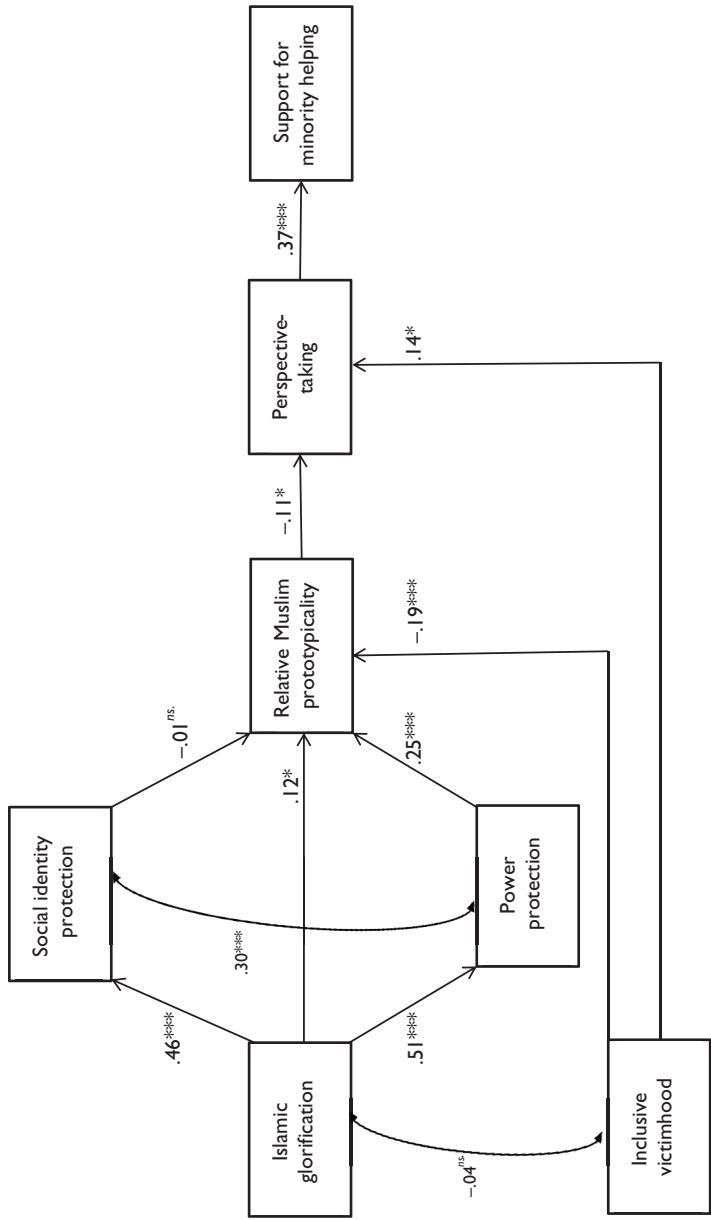


Figure 1. The Results of the Hypothesised Path Model Predicting Support for Minority Helping

Source: Authors' own.

Note: * $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.001$; ns $p \geq 0.05$ (not significant).

Alternative Models

To assess the theoretical plausibility of the hypothesised model, we examined four theory-driven alternative models. Following a suggestion by Nylund, Asparouhov and Muthén (2007), comparison of the goodness of fit for complex models was based on Bayesian information criterion (BIC). Burnham and Anderson (2004) recommended that the cut-off for the significant comparison is that the BIC of the hypothesised model should be at least 4 points less than the alternative models.

Alternative Model 1

Mullin and Hogg (1998) argued that threats increase uncertainty, which is experienced as aversive. Threats augment ingroup identification through which people attempt to defensively cope with an aversive experience. Based on this rationale, we proposed an alternative model in which social identity and power protections were specified as antecedents of Islamic glorification (see Figure 2 in the appendix). The BIC (6413.086) of this alternative model turned to be significantly greater than the BIC (6406.896) of the hypothesised model, $\Delta\text{BIC} = 6.19$.

Alternative Model 2

Jetten, Spears and Manstead (1997) reckoned and empirically found that within an inclusive category, group members who were highly motivated to defend their threatened social identity were more likely to perceive that their group was the most prototypical within such an overarching category. Based on this idea, we specified another alternative model in which relative Muslim prototypicality preceded social identity protection and power protection (see Figure 3 in the appendix). The results revealed that the BIC (6417.416) of this second alternative model was significantly greater than the BIC (6406.896) of the hypothesised model, $\Delta\text{BIC} = 10.52$.

Alternative Model 3

Research by Berthold, Leicht, Methner and Gaum (2013) revealed that perspective-taking significantly decreases relative ingroup prototypicality. We examined a third alternative model based on this finding. Within this alternative model, we specified that perspective-taking preceded relative Muslim prototypicality (see Figure 4 in the appendix). We found that the BIC (6502.290) of the third alternative model was significantly greater than the BIC (6406.896) of the hypothesised model, $\Delta\text{BIC} = 95.39$.

Alternative Model 4

Vollhardt (2015) has proposed the inclusive victim consciousness model which suggests that inclusive victimhood can be enhanced by perspective-taking. This model also describes that inclusive victimhood can in turn motivate outgroup-focused motivations, including endorsement of helping actions involving another group. Keeping this model in view, we derived the last alternative model in which perspective-taking positively predicted inclusive victimhood, which then enhanced minority helping (see Figure 5 in the appendix). The BIC (6450.247) of this alternative model was significantly greater than the BIC (6406.896) of the hypothesised model, $\Delta\text{BIC} = 43.35$.

In sum, the results from the model comparisons reported above confirmed that the hypothesised model fitted the data significantly better than the four alternative models.

Discussion

The primary findings of the current research showed that perspective-taking promoted Muslims' support for government action to help Christian minority. Perspective-taking, in turn, was positively predicted by Muslims' inclusive victimhood, but negatively by majority group's relative ingroup prototypicality vis-à-vis the Christian minority. The final finding was that the hypothesised model of the present research fitted our data to a significantly better amount than did the four alternative models derived from competing empirical findings and theories.

Theoretical Implications

Perspective-taking in the current study turned out to be the superior predictor of the majority group's support for minority helping. As Muslims within our research context represent a majority group that is more powerful than the Christian minority, such a finding is noteworthy. This is because power is likely to pose a formidable hindrance for perspective-taking by decreasing people's tendency to better understand how other people feel and think (Galinsky, Magee, Inesi, & Gruenfeld, 2006). Our finding, thereby, offers a new insight into the

beneficial impact of perspective-taking on the majority group's support for minority helping, regardless of the asymmetrical power relations between the first group and the latter group. This suggests that a majority group can play an important role as an agent of social change in ameliorating injustice on behalf of the minority group (Van Zomeren & Spears, 2009).

Table 1 shows that the level of perspective-taking was low as its mean was significantly below the midpoint. In contrast, the level of Islamic glorification, social identity protection, power protection and relative Muslim prototypicality was high as their means were significantly above the midpoint. These findings suggest that participants in the current research had low positive outgroup attitudes, but high positive ingroup attitudes. This phenomenon reflected a different kind of intergroup bias, as people generally tend to place a high value on their own group rather than on an outgroup (Ashburn-Nardo, Voils, & Monteith, 2001). Despite its low score, perspective-taking in the current research was the strongest predictor of minority helping (see note 3). As such, although efforts to enhance perspective-taking could be challenging, it still could be beneficial in persuading the majority to support minority helping.

Both social identity protection and power protection were significantly correlated with relative Muslim prototypicality (see Table 1). However, path model used in the current research showed that when power protection was controlled, social identity protection did not significantly predict relative Muslim prototypicality. This finding was unexpected and may suggest that social identity protection is less important than power protection in predicting relative Muslim prototypicality. We contend that this problem might stem from the specific context in which the current research was carried out. In Indonesia, major religions besides Islam such as Christianity, Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism and Baha'i are constitutionally protected by its national ideology *Pancasila* (Nurish, 2014). Moreover, the Indonesian national motto *Binneka Tunggal Ika* (unity in diversity) declares that despite their unique differences, religious and ethnic groups are like different shades of an inclusive social category of Indonesians (Sapiie, 2016). As such, Muslims in Indonesia, despite their majority status, are fully aware and acknowledge that their religion is not the only one that matters and they should equally respect the other religions in the country. Consequently, social identity protection among Muslims in Indonesia is not consequential in elevating the extent to which the Muslim majority group perceives itself as more prototypical than Christians within a

superordinate category of religious groups in Indonesia, as was found in the present work.

Limitations and Directions for Future Studies

In the current research, we assessed collective victimhood in terms of specific, conflict-related inclusive victimhood. Some previous studies also have assessed general or global inclusive victimhood denoting perceived similarity of the sufferings between people's own group and non-adversary outgroups (Cohrs, McNeill, & Vollhardt, 2015; Vollhardt, 2015). Ironically, general inclusive victimhood has been found to be a positive predictor of competitive victimhood (Cohrs et al., 2015). It also reduces empathy and remorse for perpetration of wrongdoing against another group (Greenaway, Quinn, & Louis, 2011). Future studies may require how specific inclusive victimhood or general inclusive victimhood may seemingly impact on intergroup attitudes.

The focus of minority helping in the present research was on the support for government action instead of personal action. Literature suggests that the two types of minority helping may be triggered by different motives. Whereas the effect of perspective-taking on willingness to personally help the minority group (i.e., personal helping) could be triggered by a prosocial motive of empathic concern (Batson et al., 2002); support for government action to help that particular group may be activated by strategic motives wherein the minority helping is driven less by an act of kindness but more by an effort to exert dominance and superiority (Williams et al., 1999). To clarify the motives that underlie the impact of perspective-taking on support for minority helping, further studies need to be carried out.

The path model in the current research was examined within the context of perpetrator (i.e., Muslim majority) and victim (i.e., Christian minority) relationships. It would be interesting to investigate whether the empirical findings in the current research are consistent within a different context such as natural disaster where the element of perpetrator-victim relations is absent.

Finally, it might be interesting for future studies to assess the extent to which the minority group accepts government action. This is because the feasibility of government action depends not only on the support from the majority group but also on acceptance from the minority group. Intergroup helping literature demonstrates how receiving help from another group is not a simple process and is dependent upon several contexts (Nadler, Harpaz-Gorodeisky, & Ben-David, 2009).

Appendix I

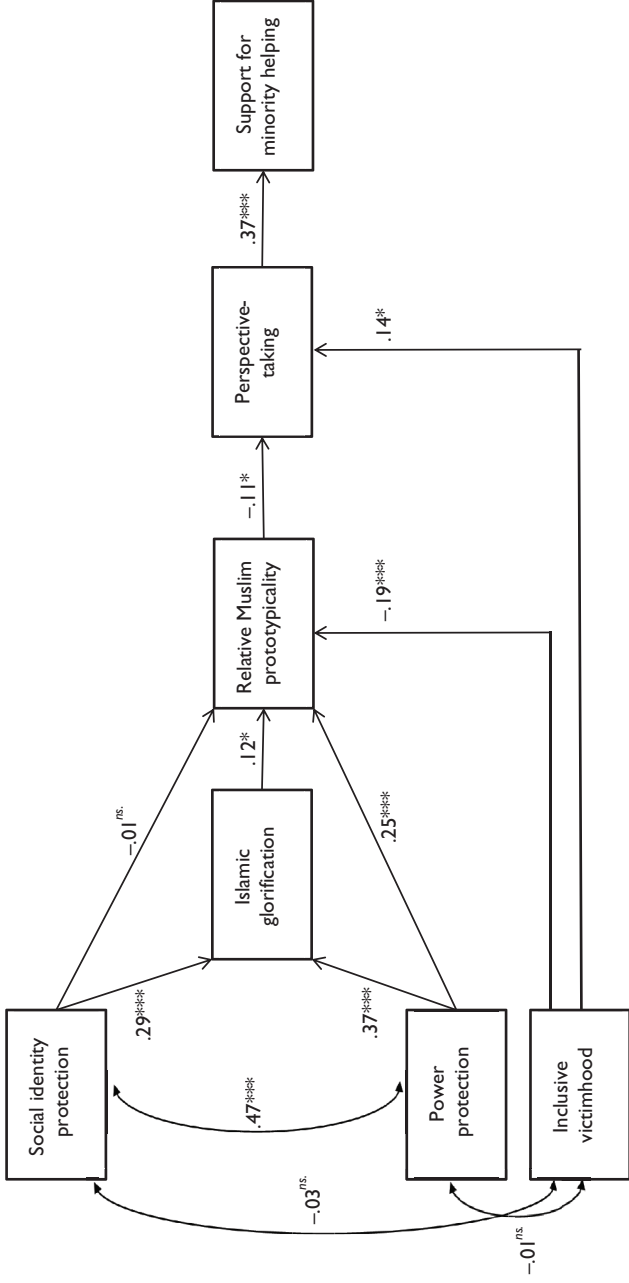


Figure 2. The Results of Alternative Path Model I Predicting Support for Minority Helping

Source: Authors' own.

Note: * $p < .05$; *** $p < .001$; ns $p \geq .05$ (not significant).

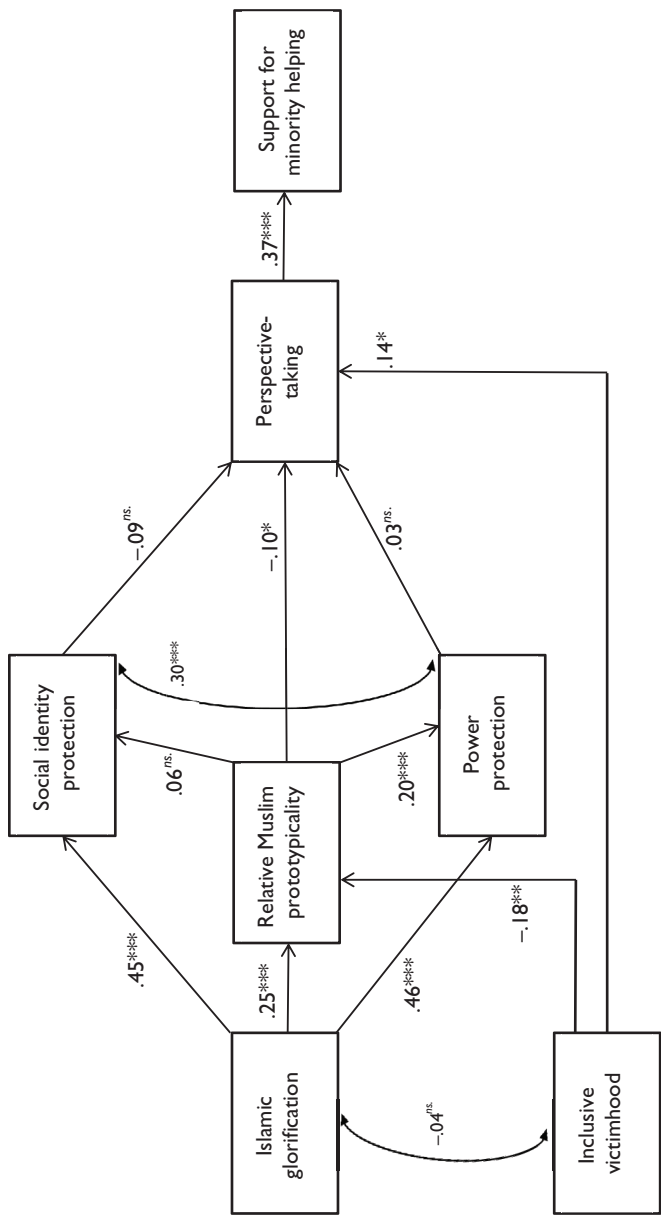


Figure 3. The Results of Alternative Path Model 2 Predicting Support for Minority Helping

Source: Authors' own.

Note: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .001$; *** $p < .001$; ns $p \geq .05$ (not significant).

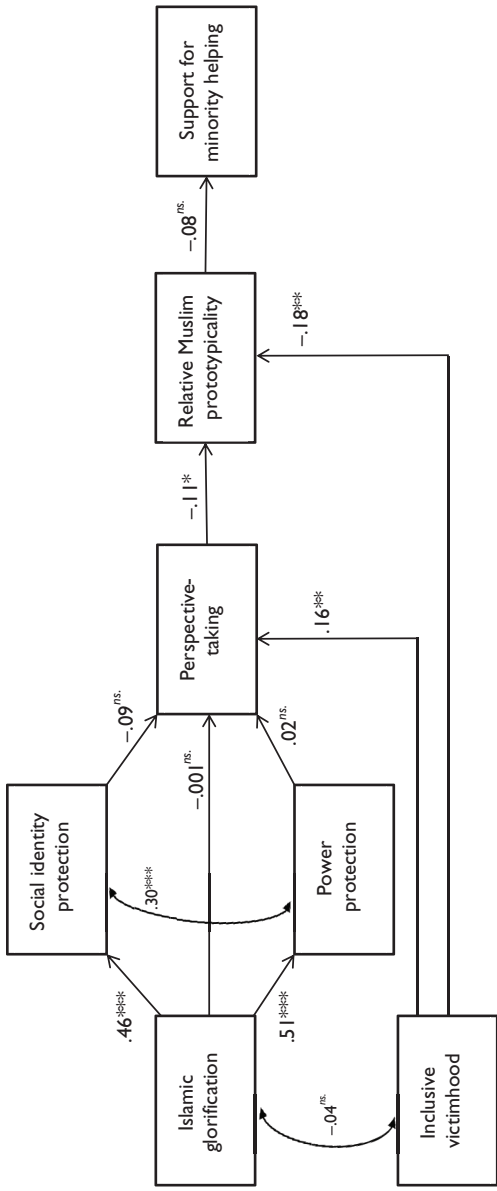


Figure 4. The Results of Alternative Path Model 3 Predicting Support for Minority Helping

Source: Authors' own.

Note: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; ns: $p \geq .05$ (not significant).

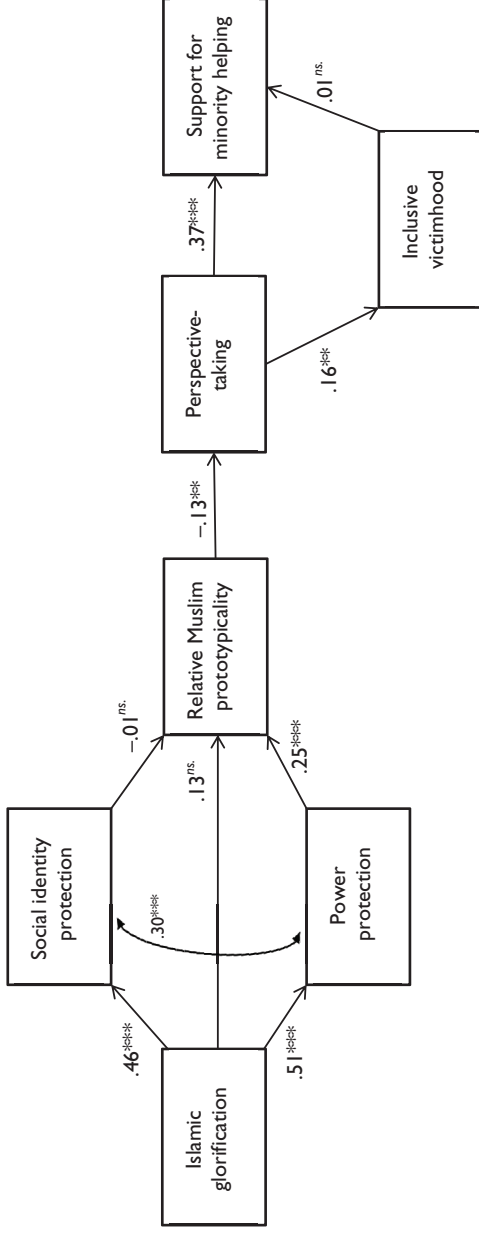


Figure 5. The Results of Alternative Path Model 4 Predicting Support for Minority Helping

Source: Authors' own.

Note: *** $p < .001$; ** $p < .001$; ^{ns} $p \geq .05$ (not significant).

Appendix II

Islamic Glorification

1. Other religions can learn a lot from Islam.
2. In today's world, the only way to know what to do is to rely on the leaders of Muslims.
3. Islam is the only true religion in this world.
4. One of the important things that we have to teach children is to respect the leaders of Muslims.
5. Relative to other religious groups, Muslims are a very moral religious group.
6. It is disloyal for Muslims to criticise Islam.
7. Islam is better than other religions in all respects.
8. There is generally a good reason for every rule and regulation made by Muslim authorities.

Inclusive Victimhood

1. The victimisation Christians have experienced is similar to what Muslims have experienced.
2. Muslims have suffered more than Christians [R].

Social Identity Protection

1. As a Muslim, I support actions aimed to protect Islam from anything that could undermine its identity and culture.
2. As a Muslim, supporting actions that prevent anything that could threaten Islamic norms and values is very important to me.
3. As a Muslim, I am always motivated to support any action aimed to make Islamic traditions not corroded by other religions.
4. As a Muslim, I support any action to protect Islamic ways of life in the current era.

Power Protection

1. As a Muslim, I support actions aimed to protect Islam from anything that could undermine its power vis-à-vis the other religions.

2. As a Muslim, I support any effort to show that Muslims are more successful and more victorious compared to other religious groups.
3. As a Muslim, I support any action to make Muslims more powerful than other religious groups.
4. As a Muslim, I support any action aimed to make Muslims better able to control other religious groups.

Muslim Prototypicality

1. Muslims are a prototypical religious group in Indonesia.
2. Muslims are a good example of religious groups in Indonesia.

Christian Prototypicality

1. Christians are a prototypical religious group in Indonesia.
2. Christians are a good example of religious groups in Indonesia.

Perspective-taking

1. I try to imagine what Christians have gone through in their lives.
2. I can empathise with what Christian people have experienced.
3. I find myself moved by the accounts of suffering by Christian people.

Article Credibility

1. The article presented above reflects the reality.
2. The article presented above is credible.
3. The article presented above is objective.
4. The article presented above is true.

Support for Minority Helping

1. The Indonesian government should give legal permission to Christians to build and use their churches.
2. The Indonesian government should protect Christians to conduct their worship.

3. The Indonesian government should protect Christians to live together with other religious groups.
4. The Indonesian government should give legal permission to Christians to establish their educational institutions.
5. The Indonesian government should firmly punish any person who bans Christians from praying in their churches.

Notes

1. The list of the complete items for each scale is presented in Appendix II.
2. The inspection of one-sample t-test revealed that the score of article credibility ($M = 4.21$, $SD = 0.67$) was significantly above the midpoint of 3, $t(379) = 35.12$, $p < 0.001$. This result confirms that the article about the predicaments of Christian minority was highly credible.
3. A multiple regression analysis by specifying perspective-taking, relative Muslim prototypicality, social identity protection, power protection, inclusive victimhood and Islamic glorification as predictors and minority helping as the dependent variable resulted in a significant equation, $F(6, 373) = 11.328$, $p < 0.001$. Within this regression equation, perspective-taking was the only significant predictor, $\beta = 0.371$, $SE = 0.044$, $t = 7.264$, $p < 0.001$. These observations confirmed that perspective-taking was a strong predictor of minority helping relative to other independent variables in the current research.
4. PROMAX is a technical term invented by Hendrickson and White (1964) which specifically refers to as one of oblique rotation in exploratory factor analysis, which allows constructs or dimensions of interest to correlate (please see Kim & Mueller, 1978).
5. MLM is a technical term in path analysis or SEM (especially within the scope of Mplus). It is maximum likelihood parameter estimates with standard errors and a mean-adjusted chi-square test statistic that are robust to non-normality (please see Muthén & Muthén, 1998–2015).

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