

University of Texas at El Paso

From the Selected Works of Cigdem V. Sirin

2016

Group Empathy in Response to Non-Verbal Racial/Ethnic Cues: A National Experiment on Immigration Policy Attitudes

Cigdem V. Sirin, *University of Texas at El Paso*

Nicholas A. Valentino, *University of Michigan - Ann Arbor*

José D. Villalobos, *University of Texas at El Paso*



Available at: <https://works.bepress.com/cigdemvsirin/21/>

Group Empathy in Response to Nonverbal Racial/Ethnic Cues: A National Experiment on Immigration Policy Attitudes

American Behavioral Scientist
2016, Vol. 60(14) 1676–1697
© 2016 SAGE Publications
Reprints and permissions:
sagepub.com/journalsPermissions.nav
DOI: 10.1177/0002764216676246
abs.sagepub.com



**Cigdem V. Sirin¹, Nicholas A. Valentino²,
and José D. Villalobos¹**

Abstract

In this study, we argue that nonverbal racial/ethnic cues can activate one's empathy toward disadvantaged out-groups, particularly when such cues resonate with one's own in-group cultural experiences with discrimination. To explain this phenomenon, we propose Group Empathy Theory and test our expectations via a national survey experiment on undocumented immigration. We find trait-level group empathy is strongly linked with empathic reactions to vignettes depicting immigrant detainees in distress, which in turn affect immigration policy attitudes. We also find African Americans and Latinos are considerably more likely than Anglos to exhibit empathy for disadvantaged groups other than their own and oppose deportation policies aimed at undocumented immigrants.

Keywords

Group Empathy Theory, immigration, African Americans, Latinos, discrimination

We live in an information environment full of nonverbal racial/ethnic cues. When Hurricane Katrina slammed into New Orleans, Louisiana, a number of Associated Press (AP) and Agence France Presse (AFP) photos emerged showing stranded people wading through water while carrying food and other goods for survival. Careful readers

¹University of Texas at El Paso, El Paso, TX, USA

²University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI, USA

Corresponding Author:

Cigdem V. Sirin, University of Texas at El Paso, 500 West University Avenue, Benedict Hall 302, El Paso, TX 79968, USA.

Email: cigdemsirin@utep.edu

noticed that the captions for those photos varied by the race of the subject (see Kinney, 2005; Wade, 2007). White survivors were described as desperately searching for food. African American survivors, on the other hand, were described as looters. This racially biased news coverage quickly spread through social media and triggered a discussion on divergence in group-based perceptions surrounding the hurricane's devastating consequences (Alfano, 2005; Sommers, Apfelbaum, Dukes, Toosi, & Wang, 2006).

While some Americans may not notice racially distinct portrayals, others seem to be quite sensitive to them. In the case of the Hurricane Katrina photo controversy, it took steely eyed readers to notice the double standard in depictions that the Associated Press apparently overlooked when it initially released its now infamous slideshow of photos. Those readers reacted strongly on behalf of the victims depicted as looters, with some pundits sounding a call to revisit the debate over institutionalized racism (e.g., Solnit, 2009). Others saw the incident as simply an unintentional mistake marred by overblown negative reactions from objectors perhaps seeking to "play the race card" and exploit the tragedy for political purposes (e.g., Malkin, 2010). What might lead people to have such different reactions to the same visual information?

One might assume a simple social-identity explanation is at work: Members of the disadvantaged group (in this case, African Americans) would be more sensitive when one of their own is unfairly accused. However, there seems to be substantial variation in empathic reactions among all groups, majority and minority, to the plight of the oppressed at home and around the world. African Americans, for example, seem far more tolerant of immigrants than Anglos (Brader, Valentino, Ryan, & Jardina, 2010; Kinder & Sanders, 1996; Schuman, Steeh, Bobo, & Krysan, 1997). Group Empathy Theory (Sirin, Valentino, & Villalobos, 2016) provides an explanation for these reactions that encompasses a wide variety of circumstances related to group conflict. In this study, we argue that nonverbal racial/ethnic cues (i.e., visual representations of people's race/ethnicity rather than direct verbal references) can activate empathy toward disadvantaged groups and, in turn, boost opposition to unfair treatment and restrictive policies targeting such out-group members. We expect empathy to emerge most strongly when an individual sees an out-group member subjected to unfair treatment that maps onto and resonates with historical patterns of discrimination involving one's own group. We predict, therefore, that African Americans and Latinos will be more likely than Anglos to exhibit empathy for other disadvantaged groups. Furthermore, group empathy should alter reactions even when minorities are in direct competition for rights and resources. However, the theory also predicts variation in empathy among Anglos (with those higher in group empathy reacting more positively toward disadvantaged minorities), and expects that such variation is thus politically consequential among all groups.

We test these expectations via a national survey experiment with Anglos and oversamples of African Americans and Latino respondents on the topic of undocumented immigration. The experiment is designed to compare Anglo versus African American and Latino reactions to a vignette depicting an ambiguous but potentially threatening incident at an immigrant detention center in the United States. The racial/ethnic origin of the detainee featured in the vignette is *nonverbally* manipulated. We use only a

photo of the detainee to cue White, Latino, Black, or Arab race/ethnicity, without openly referring to the detainee's name or national origin. Even in the absence of explicit verbal references to the race/ethnicity of the immigrant detainee in distress, we find significant variation in empathic reactions and policy judgments. Minority respondents, particularly African Americans, react most empathically and are subsequently most willing to extend policy protections to non-White immigrants when they are exposed to vignettes that imply mistreatment of the detainee whose race/ethnicity is visually depicted.

Empathy, Race/Ethnicity, and Nonverbal Cues

Empathy is generally conceptualized as the ability to experience the emotional state and take the perspective of another individual (Davis, 1994). Scholars have found the emotional experience of empathy to be associated with a number of positive psychological conditions such as life satisfaction, richer social networks, higher self-esteem, and decreased aggressiveness (e.g., Eisenberg & Fabes, 1998; Richardson, Hammock, Smith, Gardner, & Signo, 1994). Empathy is also linked with key prosocial interpersonal behaviors such as civic volunteering, social cooperation, and helping those in need (Davis, 1983; Rumble, Van Lange, & Parks, 2010; Wilhelm & Bekkers, 2010). Empathy may thus play a major causal role in shaping sociopolitical attitudes and behavior (O'Brien, Konrath, Grühn, & Hagen, 2012).

As Duan and Hill (1996) point out, empathy has been widely conceived of both as a long-term trait (e.g., Buie, 1981; Sawyer, 1975) and short-lived, situation-specific experience (Rogers, 1959; Scotland, 1969; Truax & Carkhuff, 1967). Trait empathy captures individual differences stemming from some combination of genetics, socialization, and life experiences (Davis, 1980; Hoffman, 1984). According to this view, some individuals become more empathic than others as they enter adulthood, and this trait is relatively stable thereafter (Cao, 2010). Situational triggers, on the other hand, may also lead to variation in empathy that is independent of the baseline trait (e.g., Batson & Coke, 1981; Batson, Chang, Orr, & Rowland, 2002; Cao, 2010; Zillmann, 2006). While certain situations may invoke empathy even among those low in trait empathy, individuals with greater empathic predispositions will still likely react more strongly to people in distress.

We perceive group empathy as a trait that develops through early life socialization experiences where one's membership in a disadvantaged group is salient.¹ Compared with members of the racial or ethnic majority in a given society, group-based trait empathy should be stronger among disadvantaged minorities due to their life experiences and collective memories of oppression and discrimination. As such, we expect that minorities will be more reactive to an ambiguous situation that could be interpreted as discriminatory against a member of a different minority group. Therefore, while anyone high in trait empathy should react similarly, we expect significant racial/ethnic group differences.

We do not argue that all minority groups experience identical forms of discrimination. For instance, Latinos often suffer from being branded as non-English-speaking

foreigners even if they are native-born English-speaking Americans (Branton, Cassese, Jones, & Westerland, 2011; Masuoka & Junn, 2013). Arab Americans have their own distinct experiences with marginalization as outsiders, often stereotypically tied to fears about terrorism (Sides & Gross, 2013). Both of these groups' experiences are notably different from the African American experience: born of slavery and tied to a continuous history of oppression and discrimination. Such diverse experiences and cultural specificities should not, however, inhibit the development of out-group empathy. There is common ground for minorities from different groups to perceive societal discrimination as a shared experience albeit in different contexts. Such is the case with racial profiling. As Alsultany (2006) puts it, "Prior discussions on racial profiling focused on 'DWB' (Driving While Black/Brown), and shifted to 'FWA' (Flying While Arab), creating a parallel experience shared by African Americans, Latinos, and now Arabs in being racialized and criminalized" (p. 141). Do such parallel experiences, and the potential for empathy for others, tie out-groups together politically?

Certainly, in-group members who see other members of their group experiencing nearly identical forms of discrimination are quick to show support and unify under a common banner. Beyond such in-group empathy, a cornerstone of Group Empathy Theory rests on the notion that groups are able to see past their differences (e.g., job competition between African Americans and Latinos) to a point where empathy triggered by discrimination of an out-group becomes an overriding, predominant force with powerful policy implications. We argue that individuals familiar with unfair treatment should be the quickest and most steadfast to come to the defense of any other person treated unfairly, whether or not the context is similar to their own. If so, the overall experience of discrimination—regardless of its specific forms—should still amplify one's sensitivity to the unfair treatment of others.

Empathy has been conceptualized as comprising both affective and cognitive dimensions (Davis, 1980). Empathic people are both able to cognitively identify the emotional state of another and also be motivated to help another in distress. On the affective dimension, empathy can be both *reactive* (i.e., responsiveness to the emotional experiences of another) and *parallel* (i.e., experiencing emotions similar to those of another, see Davis, 1994; Stephan & Finlay, 1999). For instance, if one witnesses an incident of racial profiling, one may respond with sympathetic concern and compassion for the targeted person's well-being—which is a form of reactive empathy. But, if the observer also experiences feelings of anger and disgust in response to such unfair treatment, she or he is paralleling the emotions of the other. Since minorities are more likely to respond similarly to discrimination as a result of their personal or collective memory born of their real-world experiences, we expect the affective dimension of empathy to be felt more strongly among minority group members than the majority.

The cognitive component of empathy captures the capacity to assume the perspective of another person. Critical here is the ability to see the world through the eyes of another, and to interpret threats and opportunities in the same way the empathized person would. Batson and Ahmad (2009) conceptualize this dimension dichotomously, adopting self- and other-oriented perspective-taking abilities. Self-oriented perspective taking (also known as the "imagine-self" perspective) involves imagining what

one might think in another's situation or "shoes." Self-oriented perspective taking seems to reduce stereotyping and boost positive evaluations of individuals and even entire out-groups. By comparison, other-oriented perspective taking (aka the "imagine-other" perspective) entails one's ability to imagine what another person thinks given his or her situation. Batson and Ahmad (2009) find that other-oriented perspective taking leads not only to increased situational attribution and concern for the plight of the targeted individual but also more positive attitudes toward the individual's out-group as a whole. Given their own experiences of unfair treatment, members of minority groups are likely to possess a greater ability for both self- and other-oriented perspective taking when witnessing the plight of disadvantaged out-groups.

With these considerations in mind, we propose the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: Compared with Anglos, African Americans and Latinos will exhibit (a) higher affective empathy for and (b) heightened ability to take the perspective of undocumented immigrants in general and non-White immigrant detainees in particular, even if the detainee is not from the respondent's own racial/ethnic group.

Hypothesis 2: Compared with Anglos, African Americans and Latinos will exhibit stronger opposition to deportation policies, particularly those targeting non-White groups.

Hypothesis 3: Majority-minority differences in immigration policy attitudes will be mediated by empathy toward racial/ethnic groups depicted in our experimental vignettes.

Research Design

We conducted a national survey experiment featuring an ambiguously threatening news vignette about an interaction between an undocumented immigrant and detention center officials.² Only nonverbal racial/ethnic cues were manipulated to determine if the race/ethnicity of the immigrant detainee altered reactions to the vignette among different respondent groups. The survey experiment was fielded online by Knowledge Networks in two waves from December 2013 to January 2014 with an approximately 10-day interval between the waves. The first wave consisted of a pre-test survey that included measures of group empathy, along with other relevant measures such as personal experience with discrimination and perceived discrimination of other groups. Participants were exposed to the experimental treatments in the second wave. Up to three reminders were sent to respondents to participate in each wave.

Knowledge Networks employs KnowledgePanel, which is the largest national, probability-based online panel in the United States with a higher level of accuracy and sample representativeness than volunteer opt-in panels (see Chang & Krosnick, 2009). KnowledgePanel members are randomly selected and statistically representative of the U.S. population. Out of 1,799 respondents who participated in the first wave, 244 Anglos, 217 African Americans, and 210 Latinos completed both waves, yielding a total of 671 participants for the second wave. The overall response rate was 6.8% (7.4% for Anglos, 6.2% for African Americans, and 6.7% for Latinos).³ The overall

completion rate was 75% (77.3% for Anglos, 71% for African Americans, and 76.7% for Latinos). About 49% of the respondents were women. The median respondent was 49 years old with some college experience and a household income of around \$35,000 to \$40,000.

For the experiment, we used a 3×4 between-groups design based on the race/ethnicity of the respondent (Anglo, African American, and Latino) and race/ethnicity of the immigrant detainee (White, Latino, Black, and Arab) featured in the vignette. A news story depicted an ambiguous incident in which a detainee claimed he was suffering from a serious health condition that required transportation to a hospital outside a detention facility for medical treatment, but detention center officials denied him medical services because they considered him a flight risk. It was up to the participants to decide specifically how to interpret the incident.⁴ The news report read as follows⁵:

Controversy at the Detention Center: Medical Negligence or Flight Risk?

Recently, there have been several investigative reports regarding the condition of undocumented immigrants being held in detention centers around the United States. The reports indicate that some detainees are held for long periods of time under inhumane conditions, lacking sufficient nutrition, proper sanitary facilities, access to legal counseling, or even contact with family members. The reports also discuss cases of medical negligence concerning the treatment of detainees with serious health problems. In one case, a detainee told authorities he was suffering from severe chest pain, profound shortness of breath, and dizziness, and asked for immediate medical attention. However, these situations require supervised transportation to a hospital several miles away from the detention center. In response, detention center officials denied the detainee this medical service because they considered him to be a flight risk. The officials said they had a reasonable cause to deny medical attention outside the facility. The detainee, on the other hand, said that the denial of medical attention was unwarranted and that his health was continuing to deteriorate.

The news story was accompanied by a photo with a caption that read “Detainee denied medical attention due to alleged flight risk.” We manipulated racial/ethnic cues *nonverbally*, never openly referring to the targeted person’s race/ethnicity or national origin. To select our nonverbal racial/ethnic cues, we chose photos that reflected the intended race/ethnicity while holding other traits as constant as possible to avoid various potential confounds. Specifically, we selected pictures from a pool of 40 photos based on ratings provided by an independent panel of eight judges naïve to our hypotheses.⁶ The judges rated how much each person appeared White, Latino, Black, and Arab as well as friendly, attractive, wealthy, law-abiding, educated, and trustworthy. To ensure the internal validity of our experiment, we used pictures judged to be significantly different from one another on the race/ethnicity dimension—with perceptions of the race/ethnicity of the person in the picture matching the intended racial/ethnic cue for each experimental condition—but statistically indistinct across all other traits.⁷ This nonverbal manipulation also allowed us to examine racial/ethnic-based responses without overtly sensitizing participants to the intent of the study.

About 10 days prior to participants' exposure to the experimental vignette, we administered a survey, which included our 14-item "Group Empathy Index" (GEI) designed to measure trait empathy at the group level. The GEI is adapted from Davis's (1980, 1983) "Interpersonal Reactivity Index" (IRI). The IRI is widely used to tap individual-level empathy, and has been shown to exhibit substantial test-retest reliability (see Pulos, Elison, & Lennon, 2004). It comprises a seven-item "Perspective Taking" subscale and a seven-item "Empathic Concern" subscale to tap the dimensions we described above. For instance, one item in Davis's original "Empathic Concern" subscale asked respondents how strongly they felt the statement "I often have tender, concerned feelings for people less fortunate than me" described them. We adapted this to a group context with the statement "I often have tender, concerned feelings for people from another racial or ethnic group who are less fortunate than me." Group perspective taking was captured via statements such as "I sometimes find it difficult to see things from the other person's point of view, particularly someone from another race or ethnicity" (reverse coded). For each of these items, respondents placed themselves on a 5-point scale ranging from "describes me extremely well" to "does not describe me well at all."

After exposure to the experimental vignette, we measured empathic reactions to the specific individuals in the story. Participants were first asked to indicate on a 5-point scale to what extent they experienced feelings of sympathy and compassion for the detainee (i.e., key indicators of reactive empathy) and feelings of anger and disgust toward the treatment of the detainee (i.e., key indicators of parallel empathy).⁸ We then generated our additive affective empathy measure by combining the responses to all four emotive indicators (Cronbach's $\alpha = .89$).⁹

We next measured the other-oriented perspective-taking abilities of the participants by asking them to indicate on a 5-point scale how well the following statement described them: "I could easily imagine how the detainee felt in this situation." As for the self-oriented perspective-taking measure, participants indicated on a 5-point scale how well the following statement described them: "Apart from imagining how the detainee felt, I could also easily imagine how I personally would feel if I were in that person's situation." We then combined these two measures (Cronbach's $\alpha = .84$) to generate our additive perspective-taking measure.¹⁰

Participants also reported their policy attitudes concerning undocumented immigrants. Specifically, participants reported how strongly they supported or opposed more intensive immigration policies aimed at capturing and deporting undocumented immigrants of White, Latino, Black, and Arab descent. The response options ranged from *very strongly support* to *very strongly oppose* on a 5-point scale (higher values thus indicating higher opposition to deportation policies targeting these groups).

Empirical Results

We first examine the relationship between trait-level general group empathy measured in the first-wave pretest survey and situation-specific empathic reactions to the immigrant detainees featured in our experimental vignettes in the second wave. This

Table 1. The Link Between General Empathy as a Trait and Empathic Reactions to the Experimental Vignette.

	Model 1: Affective empathy	Model 2: Perspective taking
Group Empathy Index	.432*** (.06)	.374*** (.07)
African Americans	.017 (.03)	.008 (.03)
Latinos	.071** (.03)	.028 (.03)
Age	-.088* (.05)	-.005 (.05)
Gender	.013 (.02)	-.024 (.02)
Education	.024 (.08)	.116 (.09)
Income	-.077* (.04)	-.044 (.05)
Ideology	.221*** (.04)	.140* (.05)
Party ID	.054* (.02)	.033 (.03)
Constant	.136* (.07)	.095 (.07)
N	653	650

Note. Coefficients (with robust standard errors in parentheses) estimated via ordinary least squares regression. Anglo respondents constitute the baseline category.

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

analysis is important for internal validity. If general group empathy is not linked to respondents' empathic reactions to the experimental vignettes, our proposed causal mechanism cannot explain our findings. The results of our ordinary least squares regression analyses (presented in Table 1) reveal that trait empathy is indeed a strong predictor of situational empathy both in its affective and cognitive dimensions—in response to the experimental vignettes ($p < .001$). In fact, compared with the effects of key sociodemographic and economic factors (i.e., race/ethnicity, age, gender, education, and income), ideology, and party identification, trait-level group empathy emerges as the primary determinant of situational empathy.¹¹

Before we tested our hypotheses, we also confirmed that, as our theory would predict, personal experience with discrimination sensitizes respondents to the unfair treatment of individuals from other groups, which is part of the process that leads to heightened group empathy. As mentioned before, the pretest survey we administered in the first wave included measures of personal experience of discrimination and perceived discrimination of other groups. Specifically, we asked respondents how fairly they felt they have been personally treated by law enforcement officials. Respondents also reported how fairly they think members of several key groups in society (including African Americans, Latinos, Arabs, and undocumented immigrants) have been treated by law enforcement. Response options ranged on a 4-point scale from *very fairly* to *very unfairly*. Pairwise comparisons of group means indicate that African Americans and Latinos have significantly higher perceptions of discrimination against specific racial/ethnic minority groups and undocumented immigrants as a whole ($p < .05$). Figure 1 displays profile plots of the relationship between respondents' personal experience with discrimination and perceived discrimination of African Americans,

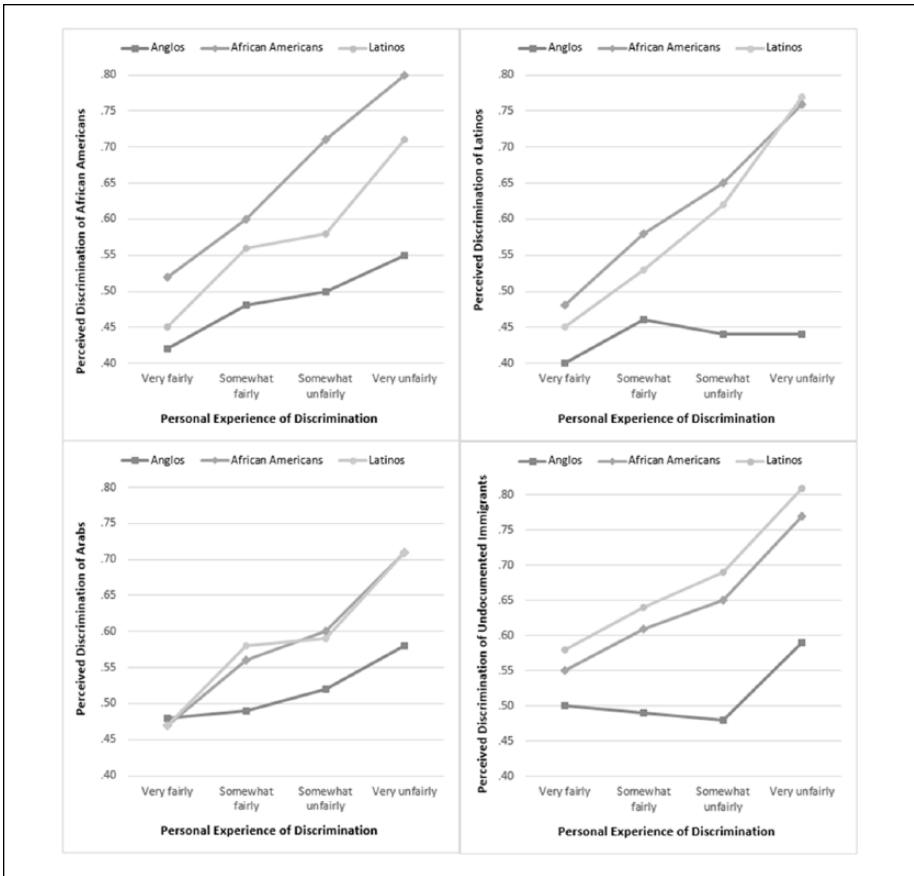


Figure 1. Profile plot of perceived discrimination against minorities and undocumented immigrants by respondents' personal experience of discrimination and race/ethnicity. Note. Estimated group means calculated using analysis of covariance. Covariates are age, education, gender, ideology, income, and party identification.

Latinos, Arabs, and undocumented immigrants, broken down by race/ethnicity (controlling for age, education, gender, income, ideology, and party identification). While higher personal experience with discrimination correlates with heightened perceptions of discrimination against minorities and undocumented immigrants across all racial/ethnic groups, the relationship is far stronger for both African Americans and Latinos. This pattern is in line with our theoretical expectations.

We next examine affective empathic reactions to the experimental vignette.¹² The analysis of variance (ANOVA) results presented in Table 2 demonstrate statistically significant between-group differences among Anglos, African Americans, and Latinos, $F(2, 666) = 5.126, p < .05$.¹³ Having obtained this significant omnibus F -test result, we conducted post hoc analyses for pairwise comparisons by using Bonferroni adjustments

Table 2. Analysis of Variance Results—Affective Empathy.

	SS	df	F	p
Race/ethnicity of the respondent	1.615	2	5.126	<.05
Race/ethnicity of the detainee	0.078	3	0.165	>.10
Race/ethnicity of the respondent × Race/ethnicity of the detainee	0.946	6	2.130	<.05
Intercept	160.537	1	6159.304	<.01

to determine whether specific means were significantly distinct. In line with Hypothesis 1a, both African Americans and Latinos overall reacted more empathically than Anglos to the plight of the undocumented immigrants depicted in the news vignettes regardless of the individual pictures ($M_{\text{African American}} = 0.53$; $M_{\text{Latino}} = 0.53$; $M_{\text{Anglo}} = 0.43$, $p < .05$).

The results also indicate a significant interaction between the race/ethnicity of the respondent and race/ethnicity of the immigrant detainee, $F(6, 666) = 2.130$, $p < .05$. As illustrated in Figure 2, Anglo respondents' empathic reactions remained relatively constant across experimental conditions ($M_{\text{Anglo}} = 0.44, 0.42, 0.41$, and 0.43 for the White, Latino, Black, and Arab detainee vignettes, respectively). By comparison, African Americans reacted more empathically to the vignettes featuring non-White detainees ($M_{\text{African American}} = 0.52, 0.60$, and 0.52 for the Latino, Black, and Arab detainee conditions, respectively) than the White detainee vignette ($M_{\text{African American}} = 0.47$). This further corroborates Hypothesis 1a for African American respondents. We should also note that the mean level of affective empathy for the White detainee among African American respondents was slightly *higher* than empathy expressed among Anglo respondents ($M_{\text{African American}} = 0.47$; $M_{\text{Anglo}} = 0.44$). This suggests that the results are not simply driven by "White antipathy" among African Americans toward the dominant group.

As for Latinos, the pattern is somewhat different and surprising given our theoretical expectations. While Latinos reacted much more empathically than Anglos to the vignettes featuring non-White detainees ($M_{\text{Latino}} = 0.53, 0.48$, and 0.48 for Latino, Black, and Arab detainee conditions), they were quite likely to side with the White detainee as well ($M_{\text{Latino}} = 0.61$). Our first guess about this pattern is that the Latino community identifies strongly with all immigrants and therefore differences in empathic reactions by out-group are muted. In addition, the Latino community is more heterogeneous than the African American community and a large number of native-born (and later generation) Latinos have experienced an acculturation process that in some instances may set their political views and values in closer concert to Anglos (de la Garza, Falcon, & Garcia, 1996). In any case, our expectation that Latinos might empathize even more strongly with non-White immigrants than those depicted as White was not borne out.

Table 3 presents the ANOVA results concerning participants' perspective-taking abilities in response to the experimental vignettes. We find statistically significant between-group differences with regard to the race/ethnicity of the respondents, $F(2, 666) = 4.729$, $p < .05$. Pairwise comparisons with Bonferroni adjustment suggest that

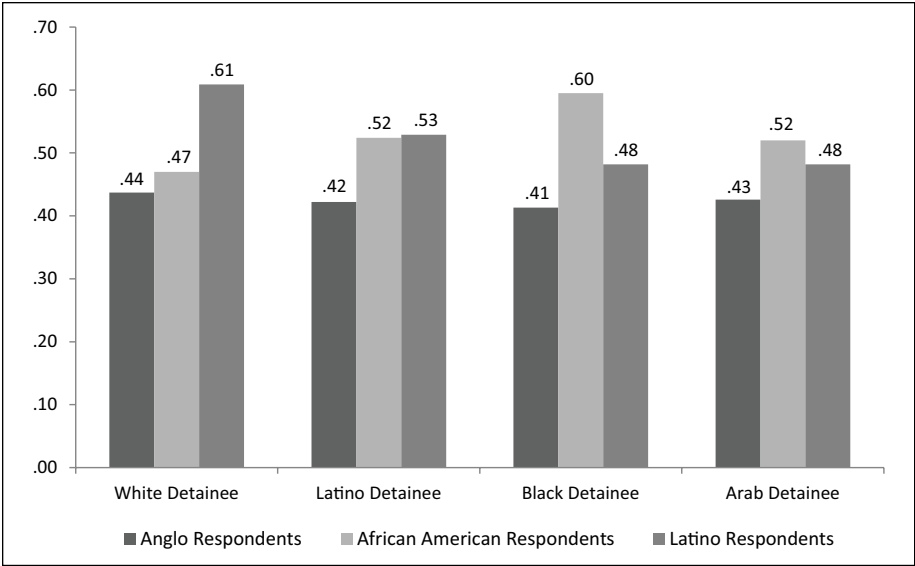


Figure 2. Empathic reactions to the immigrant detainee featured in the experimental vignette.
Note. Estimated marginal means calculated using analysis of variance.

Table 3. Analysis of Variance Results—Perspective Taking.

	SS	df	F	p
Race/ethnicity of the respondent	0.492	2	4.729	<.05
Race/ethnicity of the detainee	0.441	3	2.825	<.10
Race/ethnicity of the respondent × Race/ethnicity of the detainee	0.312	6	0.632	>.10
Intercept	133.523	1	908.122	<.01

African Americans exhibit higher perspective-taking ability than Anglos on exposure to the news vignette about immigrant detainees, while Anglos and Latinos do not significantly differ from one another ($M_{\text{African American}} = 0.48$; $M_{\text{Latino}} = 0.45$; $M_{\text{Anglo}} = 0.42$). This corroborates the predictions of Hypothesis 1b concerning perspective taking only for African Americans. There is no significant interaction between the race/ethnicity of the respondent and race/ethnicity of the immigrant detainee featured in the experimental vignette ($p > .10$). Therefore, we do not find support for the portion of Hypothesis 1b that predicts heightened perspective taking among minority respondents in response to non-White detainees.

Regarding policy judgments on undocumented immigration, we first focus on attitudes toward Latino immigrants as the main disadvantaged group in this particular

Table 4. Analysis of Variance Results—Opposition to Deportation Policies Targeting Latino Immigrants.

	SS	df	F	p
Race/ethnicity of the respondent	3.625	2	12.452	<.01
Race/ethnicity of the detainee	0.086	3	0.197	>.10
Race/ethnicity of the respondent × Race/ethnicity of the detainee	0.874	6	1.583	<.10
Intercept	106.445	1	3705.386	<.01

context. The results (presented in Table 4) once again show significant between-group differences, $F(2, 666) = 12.452, p < .05$. Pairwise comparisons of group means with Bonferroni adjustment indicate that both African Americans and Latinos overall express higher opposition to immigration policies aimed at capturing and deporting Latino undocumented immigrants compared with Anglo respondents ($M_{\text{African American}} = 0.44$; $M_{\text{Latino}} = 0.47$; $M_{\text{Anglo}} = 0.30, p < .05$). Furthermore, African Americans do not significantly differ from Latinos with regard to their policy stance concerning Latino immigrants ($p > .10$).

The interaction between the race/ethnicity of the respondents and race/ethnicity of the immigrant detainees is in the expected direction, although only marginally significant, $F(6, 666) = 1.583, p < .10$. As Figure 3 illustrates, compared with African American and Latino respondents, Anglo respondents express the lowest opposition to deportation policies targeting Latinos across all experimental conditions, and their opposition in the Latino detainee condition is even lower ($M_{\text{Anglo}} = 0.29$) than in the White detainee condition ($M_{\text{Anglo}} = 0.34$). In contrast, African Americans more strongly oppose restrictive policies targeting Latinos when exposed to the vignette featuring a Latino detainee ($M_{\text{African American}} = 0.46$) compared with African Americans' policy attitudes toward Latinos expressed in the White detainee condition ($M_{\text{African American}} = 0.38$). Indeed, in the Latino detainee condition, African Americans do not significantly differ from Latino respondents concerning their positive policy judgments about Latino immigrants ($M_{\text{African American}} = 0.46$; $M_{\text{Latino}} = 0.47$). By comparison, Latinos express similar levels of support for Latino immigrants across both the White and Latino detainee conditions.

We next compare respondent groups' policy judgments concerning Black immigrants on exposure to the experimental vignette featuring the Black detainee versus the White detainee (see Table 5). Here we see a pattern similar to policy judgments concerning Latino immigrants. Once again we find a significant main effect of the race/ethnicity of the respondent, with African Americans and Latinos expressing higher opposition to deportation policies targeting Blacks compared with Anglos: $M_{\text{African American}} = 0.45$; $M_{\text{Latino}} = 0.47$; $M_{\text{Anglo}} = 0.34$; $F(2, 666) = 8.613, p < .05$. Second, there is again a marginally significant interaction effect, $F(6, 666) = 1.476, p < .10$. As Figure 4 illustrates, Anglos in the Black detainee condition express lower opposition to deportation policies targeting Black immigrants ($M_{\text{Anglo}} = 0.28$) than Anglos in the White detainee condition

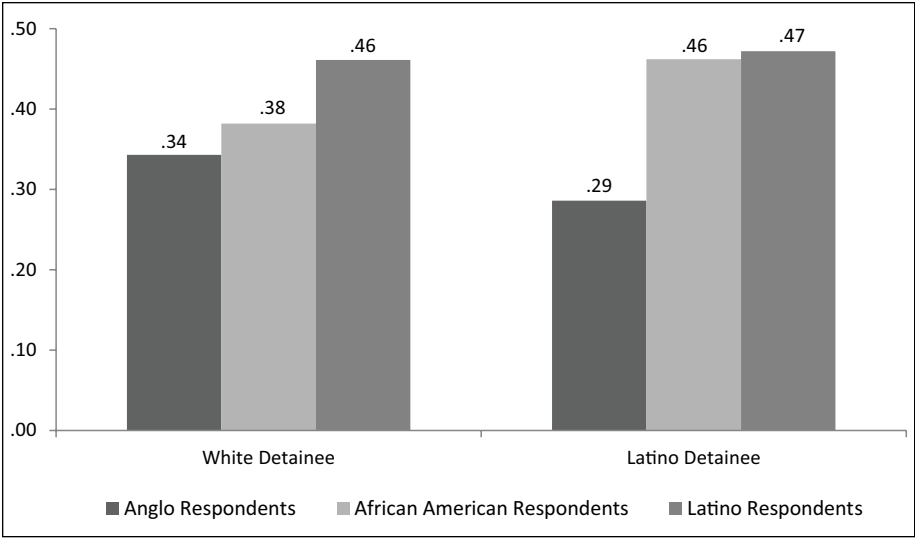


Figure 3. Opposition to deportation policies targeting Latino immigrants on exposure to the experimental vignette.
Note. Estimated marginal means calculated using analysis of variance.

Table 5. Analysis of Variance Results—Opposition to Deportation Policies Targeting Black Immigrants.

	SS	df	F	p
Race/ethnicity of the respondent	2.311	2	8.613	<.01
Race/ethnicity of the detainee	0.174	3	0.433	>.10
Race/ethnicity of the respondent × Race/ethnicity of the detainee	0.806	6	1.476	<.10
Intercept	112.671	1	1940.969	<.01

($M_{\text{Anglo}} = 0.39$). Latino opposition to deportation policies targeting Blacks, by comparison, is higher than not only that of Anglos but also African Americans in both White detainee ($M_{\text{African American}} = 0.40$; $M_{\text{Latino}} = 0.47$) and Black detainee ($M_{\text{African American}} = 0.49$; $M_{\text{Latino}} = 0.52$) conditions.

Table 6 presents the ANOVA results for policy attitudes toward Arab immigrants. Once again, the results indicate significant between-group differences regarding the race/ethnicity of the respondent: compared with Anglos, both African Americans and Latinos express much higher opposition to deportation policies targeting Arabs: $M_{\text{African American}} = 0.43$; $M_{\text{Latino}} = 0.42$; $M_{\text{Anglo}} = 0.28$; $F(2, 666) = 8.361, p < .01$. The interaction effect is also significant at the .01 level. As illustrated in Figure 5, similar to the results concerning policy attitudes toward Latino and Black immigrants, Anglos in the

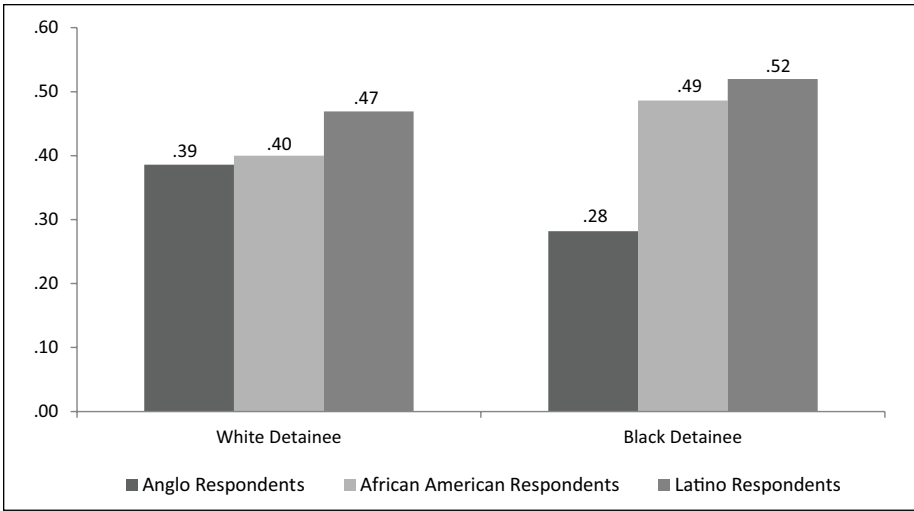


Figure 4. Opposition to deportation policies targeting Black immigrants on exposure to the experimental vignette.

Note. Estimated marginal means calculated using analysis of variance.

Table 6. Analysis of Variance Results—Opposition to Deportation Policies Targeting Arab Immigrants.

	SS	df	F	p
Race/ethnicity of the respondent	3.455	2	8.361	<.01
Race/ethnicity of the detainee	0.236	3	0.382	>.10
Race/ethnicity of the respondent × Race/ethnicity of the detainee	1.241	6	2.185	<.05
Intercept	91.818	1	1164.873	<.01

Arab detainee condition express lower opposition to deportation policies targeting Arabs ($M_{\text{Anglo}} = 0.27$) than Anglos who were exposed to the White detainee vignette ($M_{\text{Anglo}} = 0.31$). In contrast, African Americans show higher policy support for Arab immigrants in the Arab detainee condition ($M_{\text{African American}} = 0.47$) than they do in the White detainee condition ($M_{\text{African American}} = 0.40$). By comparison, the direction of the variation in Latinos' policy stance is similar to Anglo respondents as their opposition to deportation policies targeting Arabs is lower in the Arab detainee condition ($M_{\text{Latino}} = 0.38$) than the White vignette one ($M_{\text{Latino}} = 0.43$). Nevertheless, Latinos show significantly higher policy support for Arab immigrants than Anglos in both experimental conditions.

Overall, these results corroborate Hypothesis 2. Compared with the members of the majority, minorities (particularly African Americans) express higher opposition to policies targeting undocumented immigrants *even if they do not share the same racial/*

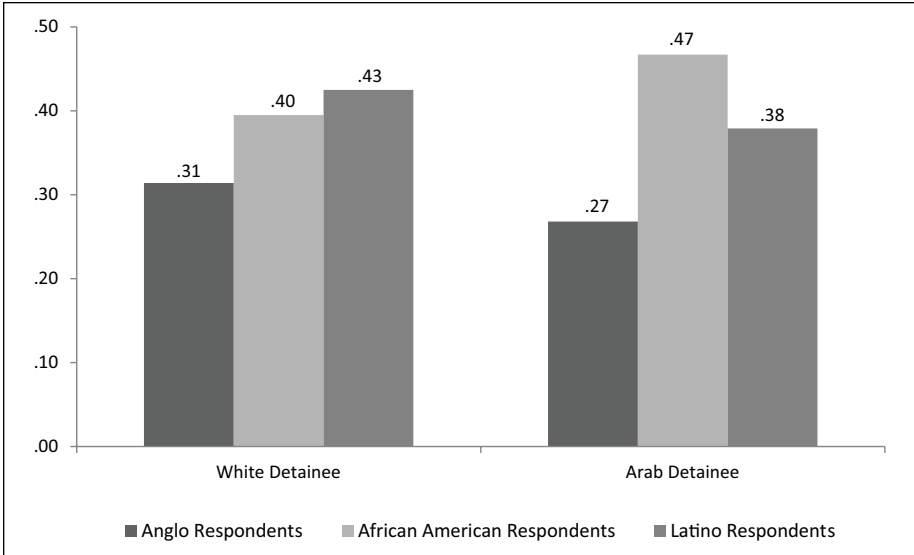


Figure 5. Opposition to deportation policies targeting Arab immigrants on exposure to the experimental vignette.

Note. Estimated marginal means calculated using analysis of variance.

ethnic background. We suspect group empathy is the causal mechanism behind such reactions. To test this, we use generalized structural equation models with logistic regression using robust standard errors (Baron & Kenny, 1986; Hayes & Preacher, 2010). We first estimate the effect of minority race/ethnicity on empathic reactions to the experimental vignettes with nonverbal racial/ethnic cues (*path a*) and then estimate the effect of group empathy (our mediator) on the outcome variable—policy judgments concerning undocumented immigrants—while controlling for minority race/ethnicity (*path b*). Finally, we estimate the direct effect of minority race/ethnicity on policy judgments while controlling for group empathy (*path c*). After obtaining path coefficients, we test the significance of indirect effects using a bootstrap procedure that yields bias-corrected confidence intervals.

The generalized structural equation model results (presented in Figure 6) show that (a) African American and Latino respondents react more empathically to the experimental vignettes and (b) such empathic reactions significantly increase the likelihood of opposing deportation policies targeting non-White immigrants. The bootstrap tests further demonstrate that the mediating effects of group empathy on policy judgments are statistically significant. We calculate the percentage of the total race/ethnicity difference mediated by group empathy on policy judgments by dividing the indirect effect by the total effect. Group empathy mediates the effect of race/ethnicity on opposition to deportation policies targeting Latino immigrants by 62% for African Americans and 58% for Latinos. On a parallel basis, empathy mediates policy

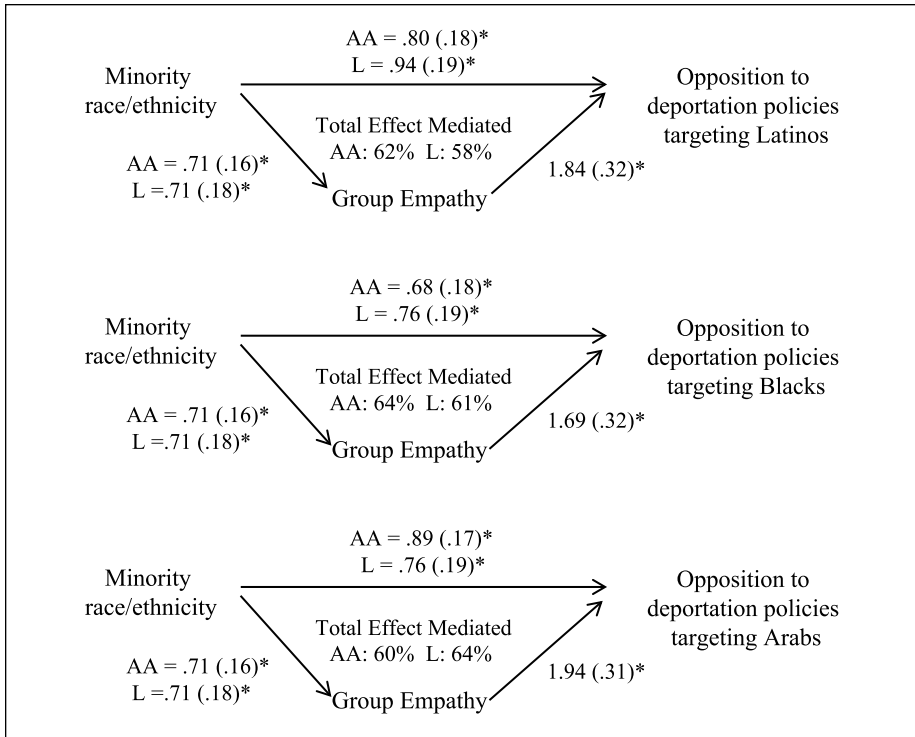


Figure 6. Path analysis of respondent's race/ethnicity, group empathy in reaction to nonverbal racial/ethnic cues, and policy attitudes.

Note. Path coefficients (with robust standard errors in parentheses) estimated via generalized structural equation modeling with logistic regression. The significance of indirect effects tested via bootstrapping with bias-corrected confidence intervals. "AA" denotes African Americans and "L" denotes Latinos. Anglo respondents constitute the baseline category. * $p < .001$.

judgments concerning Black immigrants by 64% for African Americans and 61% for Latinos. The results are also similar with respect to policy attitudes toward Arab immigrants, with 60% of the effect mediated by group empathy for African Americans and 64% for Latinos. Our mediation analyses thus strongly corroborate Hypothesis 3.

One might argue that such minority–majority variations in reactions to our experimental vignettes are driven not by differences in empathy for disadvantaged groups but because these groups simply have higher *antipathy* toward detention center officials as representatives of law enforcement. We think this is unlikely on its face, given that there was no reference to the race/ethnicity of the detention center officials in our vignettes. Nevertheless, it is possible that minorities may impute the race of these officials to be White, and react defensively in ways that look like empathy for other non-White groups. To test this alternative hypothesis, we examined between-group differences with respect to sympathy expressed toward detention

center officials on exposure to the experimental vignettes. The results of pairwise comparisons with Bonferroni adjustment indicate no significant differences among Anglos, African Americans, and Latinos: $M_{\text{Anglo}} = 0.33$; $M_{\text{African American}} = 0.31$; $M_{\text{Latino}} = 0.32$, $F(2, 654) = 0.180$, $p > .10$.

Discussion

In this study, we explored distinct intergroup reactions to undocumented immigrants of different racial/ethnic descent using nonverbal cues. Large racial/ethnic gaps in opinion about immigration, terrorism, and trade confound simple in-group identity explanations because often we see minority groups expressing high levels of policy support for others facing discrimination even when the groups are in direct competition for rights and resources. We propose Group Empathy Theory to help understand how one group could express high levels of support for another even in situations of direct material conflict or perception of threat.

Our central findings are clear. First, trait-level group empathy is strongly linked to empathic reactions to the immigrants in our vignettes regardless of the race/ethnicity of the respondent or immigrant. Group empathy matters in all groups in our sample. However, African Americans to the greatest extent, and Latinos to a lesser extent, were far more likely to express empathy for any immigrant detainee in distress than were Anglo respondents. Furthermore, these gaps were largest when the detainee was non-White. In those cases, African Americans and Latinos express far more empathy for non-White immigrants, including Latino, Black, and Arab detainees, than Whites do. Latinos, however, also express a great deal more empathy for White immigrants than either African American or Anglo respondents do. This is an interesting pattern, because it implies that Latinos may simply empathize with all immigrants as a result of their group's attachment to the immigrant community. In all, the strongest evidence for group empathic reactions comes from African American respondents, since they are much more likely to empathize with non-White immigrants.

Group empathic reactions to immigrants in distress also seem to have powerful policy consequences. Anglo respondents who view a non-White immigrant vignette systematically display lower levels of opposition to deportation policies, while African American respondents display more opposition when the immigrant is depicted as non-White compared with White. Latinos, again likely as a result of their strong in-group identity, are the most opposed to deportation policies regardless of the race/ethnicity of the immigrant. Finally, we discover that differences in empathic reactions powerfully mediate the racial/ethnic divides in policy attitudes in our experimental conditions.

What should we take away from all this? First, we would not want to leave readers with the impression that Anglos do not show empathy for others in distress, or that empathic reactions among Anglos have no political consequences. Anglos who empathize with the immigrants in our vignettes are far more likely to oppose deportation policies. However, we feel these results reveal important intergroup distinctions, on average, depending on whether respondents belong to groups in society that have

experienced systemic discrimination. When discrimination becomes embedded in a group's cultural history, and stories of how to manage that discrimination become a regular part of the socialization of young people, empathy for others in similar circumstances may also grow. As a result, although minority groups may be in more direct competition for rights and resources, they are nevertheless more likely than the majority group to extend policy privileges to each other.

The most provocative claim supported by these data is that groups do not need to identify with each other in any direct way for rights and privileges to be extended. The empathic process is more or less an automatic reaction to exposure to situations that resonate with one's own cultural experiences with discrimination. As a result, large gaps in policy support can emerge that seem to defy simple explanations based on economic or security threats, in this case the threats supposedly posed by undocumented immigrants entering the country.

Acknowledgments

We would like to give special thanks to Charles Boehmer, Amber Boydston, Lawrence Cohn, George Edwards, Ryan Enos, Emily Falk, Stanley Feldman, Nehemia Geva, Daniel Gillion, Ben Highton, Leonie Huddy, Kosuke Imai, David Jones, Kerem Ozan Kalkan, Don Kinder, Rick Lau, Lily Mason, Monika McDermott, Tali Mendelberg, Marc Meredith, Markus Prior, Gary Segura, David Sears, Jim Sidanius, Stefan Subias, Kathleen Staudt, Lynn Vavreck, and Claes de Vrees. We also thank our anonymous reviewers for their constructive feedback.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The author(s) declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Funding

The author(s) disclosed receipt of the following financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article: This project was funded in part by grants from the University of Michigan and the University of Texas at El Paso.

Notes

1. Our conceptualization of "group empathy" centers on intergroup empathy (i.e., empathy toward members of out-groups) rather than intragroup empathy (i.e., empathy toward one's in-group members).
2. All the survey and experimental materials are available in a supplementary appendix (available at <http://abs.sagepub.com/content/by/supplemental-data>).
3. Response rates were calculated based on the formulas developed for online panels by Callegaro and DiSogra (2008).
4. We followed Peffley and Hurwitz's (2010) strategy in developing this vignette.
5. This scenario was inspired by an actual incident (see Bernstein, 2009) as well as official reports on the conditions of immigrants held in detention centers (e.g., Schriro, 2009; see also Villalobos, 2011).
6. A graduate research assistant who is an amateur photographer with sophisticated camera equipment walked around the University of Michigan campus for several days asking

individuals if they would mind having their picture taken as part of our study. They each signed a release so that their image could be used in our publications. The initial pool consisted of 119 pictures rated by judges, 40 of which matched the intended race/ethnicity cues that we then tested to identify the photos we used in our experimental conditions.

7. For example, the photo selected for the Anglo passenger condition received a mean rating of 4.87 (on a 5-point scale where 5 means the individual was very typical of the group). The African American photo was rated 1.1 on the same "Anglo appearance" scale. Across the six other trait dimensions, mean differences between any two pictures neither exceeded 0.4 points nor approached statistical significance.
8. We adapted these measures from Stephan and Finlay (1999).
9. For ease of interpretation and comparison, we rescaled all measures to run from 0 to 1.
10. We created these measures based on Batson and Ahmad's (2009) conceptualization of "imagine-self" and "imagine-other" perspective taking.
11. As mentioned before, trait empathy and situational empathy are not identical constructs. Some situations may trigger empathy even among those low in trait empathy (see Batson & Coke, 1981; Batson et al., 2002; Cao, 2010; Zillmann, 2006). Indeed, the correlation between general group empathy as a trait (measured in the first wave using the GEI) and situational empathy (measured in the posttest of the second wave) is only 0.30 for the affective dimension and 0.27 for the cognitive dimension. As such, our analysis of the link between general group empathy and situational group empathy is not tautological.
12. While our analyses using the first wave's observational *survey* data include sociodemographic, economic, and political controls, we use a parsimonious, purist approach for the analyses of the second-wave *experimental* data by including only the experimental factors in the models given the random assignment of participants to experimental conditions. As Bowers (2011) cautions, adjusting for covariates "raises concerns that estimates of treatment effects may come to depend more on the details of the adjustment method rather than on the randomization and design of the study" (p. 461). We observe random balance across a host of major sociodemographic factors, as well as for income, party identification, and ideological orientation across our experimental conditions, which confirms the effectiveness of random assignment and affirms our parsimonious modeling decision (see Table 1A in the supplementary appendix, available at <http://abs.sagepub.com/content/by/supplemental-data>).
13. Given our unidirectional hypotheses, we use one-tailed tests.

References

- Alfano, S. (2005, September 3). *Race an issue in Katrina response*. Retrieved from <http://www.cbsnews.com/news/race-an-issue-in-katrina-response/>
- Alsultany, E. A. (2006). From ambiguity to abjection: Iraqi-Americans negotiating race in the United States. In Z. S. Salhi & I. R. Netton (Eds.), *The Arab diaspora: Voices of an anguished scream* (pp. 127-142). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Baron, R. M., & Kenny, D. A. (1986). The moderator-mediator variable distinction in social psychological research: Conceptual, strategic, and statistical considerations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 51, 1173-1182.
- Batson, C. D., & Ahmad, N. Y. (2009). Using empathy to improve intergroup attitudes and relations. *Social Issues and Policy Review*, 3, 141-177.
- Batson, C. D., Chang, J., Orr, R., & Rowland, J. (2002). Empathy, attitudes, and action: Can feeling for a member of a stigmatized group motivate one to help the group? *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 28, 1656-1666.

- Batson, C. D., & Coke, J. (1981). Empathy: A source of altruistic motivation for helping. In J. Rushton & R. Sorrentino (Eds.), *Altruism and helping behavior* (pp. 167-187). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Bernstein, N. (2009, April 2). Immigrant detainee dies, and a life is buried, too. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/04/03/nyregion/03detain.html>
- Bowers, J. (2011). Making effects manifest in randomized experiments. In J. N. Druckman, D. P. Green, J. H. Kuklinski, & A. Lupia (Eds.), *Cambridge handbook of experimental political science* (pp. 459-480). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Brader, T., Valentino, N. A., Ryan, T. J., & Jardina, A. E. (2010, September). *The racial divide on immigration opinion: Why African Americans are less threatened by immigrants*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC.
- Branton, R., Cassese, E. C., Jones, B. S., & Westerland, C. (2011). All along the watchtower: Acculturation fear, anti-Latino affect, and immigration. *Journal of Politics*, 73, 664-679.
- Buie, D. H. (1981). Empathy: Its nature and limitations. *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association*, 29, 281-307.
- Callegaro, M., & DiSogra, C. (2008). Computing response metrics for online panels. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 72, 1008-1032.
- Cao, X. (2010). *Pathways to eliciting aid: The effects of visual representations of human suffering on empathy and help for people in need*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA.
- Chang, L., & Krosnick, J. A. (2009). National surveys via RDD telephone interviewing versus the Internet comparing sample representativeness and response quality. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 73, 641-678.
- Davis, M. H. (1980). A multidimensional approach to individual differences in empathy. *JSAS Catalog of Selected Documents in Psychology*, 10, 85-102.
- Davis, M. H. (1983). Measuring individual differences in empathy: Evidence for a multidimensional approach. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 44, 113-126.
- Davis, M. H. (1994). *Empathy: A social psychological approach*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- de la Garza, R. O., Falcon, A., & Garcia, F. C. (1996). Will the real Americans please stand up: Anglo and Mexican-American support of core American political values. *American Journal of Political Science*, 40, 335-351.
- Duan, C., & Hill, C. E. (1996). The current state of empathy research. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 43, 261-274.
- Eisenberg, N., & Fabes, R. A. (1998). Prosocial development. In N. Eisenberg & W. Damon (Eds.), *Handbook of child psychology: Social, emotional and personality development* (pp. 701-778). New York, NY: Wiley.
- Hayes, A. F., & Preacher, K. J. (2010). Quantifying and testing indirect effects in simple mediation models when the constituent paths are nonlinear. *Multivariate Behavioral Research*, 45, 627-660.
- Hoffman, M. L. (1984). Interaction of affect and cognition in empathy. In C. E. Izard, J. Kagan, & R. B. Zajonc (Eds.), *Emotions, cognition, and behavior* (pp. 103-131). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Kinder, D. R., & Sanders, L. (1996). *Divided by color: Racial politics and democratic ideals*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Kinney, A. (2005, September 2). "Looting" or "finding"? Retrieved from http://www.salon.com/2005/09/02/photo_controversy/

- Malkin, M. (2010, August 27). *Hurricane Katrina and the race card: Five years later*. Retrieved from <http://www.nationalreview.com/article/244902/hurricane-katrina-and-race-card-five-years-later-michelle-malkin>
- Masuoka, N., & Junn, J. (2013). *The politics of belonging: Race, public opinion, and immigration*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- O'Brien, E., Konrath, S. H., Grühn, D., & Hagen, A. L. (2012). Empathic concern and perspective taking: Linear and quadratic effects of age across the adult life span. *Journals of Gerontology, Series B: Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences*, 68, 168-175.
- Peffley, M., & Hurwitz, J. (2010). *Justice in America: The separate realities of blacks and whites*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Pulos, S., Ellison, J., & Lennon, R. (2004). Hierarchical structure of the interpersonal reactivity index. *Social Behavior and Personality*, 32, 355-360.
- Richardson, D. R., Hammock, G. S., Smith, S. M., Gardner, W., & Signo, M. (1994). Empathy as a cognitive inhibitor of interpersonal aggression. *Aggressive Behavior*, 20, 275-289.
- Rogers, C. R. (1959). A theory of therapy, personality and interpersonal relationships as developed in the client-centered framework. In S. Koch (Ed.), *Psychology: A study of a science* (Vol. 3, pp. 184-256). New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.
- Rumble, A. C., Van Lange, P. A. M., & Parks, C. D. (2010). The benefits of empathy: When empathy may sustain cooperation in social dilemmas. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 40, 856-866.
- Sawyer, F. H. (1975). A conceptual analysis of empathy. *Annual of Psychoanalysis*, 3, 37-47.
- Schiro, D. (2009, October 6). *Immigration detention overview and recommendations*. Washington, DC: Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), Department of Homeland Security. Retrieved from <http://www.ice.gov/doclib/about/offices/odpp/pdf/ice-detention-rpt.pdf>
- Schuman, H., Steeh, C., Bobo, L., & Krysan, M. (1997). *Racial attitudes in America: Trends and interpretations*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Scotland, E. (1969). Exploratory studies of empathy. In L. Berkowitz (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 4, pp. 271-314). New York, NY: Academic Press.
- Sides, J., & Gross, K. (2013). Stereotypes of Muslims and support for the War on Terror. *Journal of Politics*, 75, 583-598.
- Sirin, C. V., Valentino, N. A., & Villalobos, J. D. (2016). Group Empathy Theory: The effect of group empathy on U.S. intergroup attitudes and behavior in the context of immigration threats. *Journal of Politics*, 78, 893-908.
- Solnit, R. (2009, August 26). *Four years on, Katrina remains cursed by rumour, cliché, lies and racism*. Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2009/aug/26/katrina-racism-us-media>
- Sommers, S. R., Apfelbaum, E. P., Dukes, K. N., Toosi, N., & Wang, E. J. (2006). Race and media coverage of Hurricane Katrina: Analysis, implications, and future research questions. *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy*, 6, 39-55.
- Stephan, W. G., & Finlay, K. (1999). The role of empathy in improving intergroup relations. *Journal of Social Issues*, 55, 729-743.
- Truax, C. B., & Carkhuff, R. R. (1967). *Toward effective counseling and psychotherapy: Training and practice*. Chicago, IL: Aldine.
- Villalobos, J. D. (2011). Promises and human rights: The Obama Administration on immigrant detention policy reform. *Race, Gender & Class*, 18, 151-170.

- Wade, L. (2007, August 28). *Racism in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina*. Retrieved from <http://thesocietypages.org/socimages/2007/08/28/racism-in-the-aftermath-of-hurricane-katrina/>
- Wilhelm, M. O., & Bekkers, R. (2010). Helping behavior, dispositional empathic concern, and the principle of care. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 73, 11-32.
- Zillmann, D. (2006). Empathy: Affective reactivity to other's emotional experiences. In J. Bryant & P. Vorderer (Eds.), *Psychology of entertainment* (pp. 151-182). New York, NY: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Author Biographies

Cigdem V. Sirin is an associate professor of political science at the University of Texas at El Paso. Her research interests focus on the role of domestic factors (including public opinion and racial/ethnic configurations) in conflict processes and decision making.

Nicholas A. Valentino is a professor of political science at the University of Michigan. His research interests center on political campaigns, racial attitudes, emotions, and social group cues in news and political advertising.

José D. Villalobos is an associate professor of political science at the University of Texas at El Paso. His research examines policy making and public opinion dynamics in the areas of the U.S. presidency, race/ethnicity, and immigration.