

**Group-based guilt and shame in the desegregated context: the role of the perception of
social change and ingroup identification**

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Abstract

A correlational study on group-based guilt and shame of white South Africans in post-Apartheid South Africa investigates the role of the perception of social change and how it impacts on the group-based emotions guilt and shame as well as reparation intentions when controlled for ingroup identification. The study also aimed to control for the antecedents of group-based guilt and collective shame. Results revealed that guilt is predicted by perceived responsibility and is influenced by shame, while shame is predicted by image threat and guilt. The results further propose that the perceptions of status change for the ingroup and the outgroup predict the feelings of shame for high ingroup identifiers while status change (or lack thereof) for the ingroup predicts the willingness for symbolic reparation for low ingroup identifiers. The results are presented and discussed.

Introduction

People can have either positive feelings (e.g. pride) or negative feelings (e.g. guilt and shame) when reminded of what it is to be a member of a group. Group-based emotions such as guilt and shame are distinct emotions, and arise from different antecedents even though these emotions share a common variance (Lickel, Schmader, Curtis, Scarier & Ames, 2005, Iyer Schmader & Lickel, 2007, Brown, Cehajic, Gonzalez, Zagefka, & Manzi, 2008a, Brown & Cehajic, 2008). Personal acceptance of group-based responsibility for transgressions has been recognised as being associated with group-based guilt (e.g. Cehajic & Brown, 2006), while perceived responsibility has been associated with group-based guilt and shame (e.g. Cehajic & Brown, 2006). Image threat, on the other hand, has been identified as being specific for group-based shame (e.g. Iyer et al., 2007, Cehajic & Brown, 2006).

In a study conducted by Doosje, Branscombe, Spears, and Manstead (1998) the researchers showed how it is possible to elicit feelings of group-based guilt and that those feelings are distinct from feelings of personal guilt. The study of Doosje et al. (1998) also showed that reparation tendencies occur as a result of guilt at the group level. The authors demonstrated that under certain circumstances, group-based guilt is associated with reparation tendencies. Shame, on the other hand, has led to tendencies to either pay reparation as an appeasement function (e.g. Keltner, Young, & Buswell, 1997) or to go into withdrawal (e.g. Lickel et al., 2005, Iyer et al., 2007).

In the study of Doosje et al. (1998) it was also shown that ingroup identification is associated with feelings of guilt. These researchers argued that “identification with one’s group is crucial to

the understanding of reactions to the past behaviour of one's group" (Doosje et al., 1998, p. 878). From studies such as Doosje (1998), we know that depending on whether there is high or low identification with a group, it will lead to moderating the relationship between guilt and reparation tendencies. The study of Doosje et al. (1998) showed that the less identification that was felt with a group, the more the members felt guilty and the more they were willing to pay reparation and vice versa.

Dumont and Waldzus (2009) took a different direction and did not focus on ingroup identification, but social change instead. Dumont and Waldzus (2009) argued that implied reparation tendencies and group-based guilt are seen as functional within the social change process by both the ingroup and outgroup. The authors first showed that social change plays a role in reparation. For example, they found that the less the perceived status change for whites was, the more white group members were prepared to compensate the outgroup. It was also found that while group-based guilt was related to a preference for symbolic reparation, group-based shame was related to an undifferentiated intention of reparation (Dumont & Waldzus, 2009).

The aim of the present study is to show how the perceptions of social change impacts group-based guilt and shame as well as reparation and whether the relationships between social change and group-based guilt/shame and reparation is moderated by ingroup identification. The study was conducted with white South Africans.

Guilt and Shame

There has been much debate on whether emotions can be group-level, and if so, what the implications are. Approaches such as appraisal theories have considered emotion to be an individual experience that arises when an individual appraises an event as either helpful or harmful in the attainment of reaching individual desires or goals (e.g. Keltner, Ellsworth, & Edwards, 1993).

Doosje et al. (1998) were the first to study collective guilt as a social psychological phenomenon. These authors made use of social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and self-categorisation theory (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). Although these two theories offer an insight into the influences of a the group to which an individual belongs, as well as when and why people perceive and experience emotions and behaviour, Doosje et al. (1998) felt it appropriate to use such theories. Doosje et al. (1998) explained that according to social identity theory, people derive part of their self image from the social groups to which they belong. Consistent with self-categorisation theory, individuals can either at their individual or group level of inclusiveness, categorise themselves and their actions (Turner, et al., 1978). Doosje et al. (1998) explain that as a sense of achieving who they are arises, people identify with particular social groups. Doosje et al. (1998) further explained that under some circumstances, enhancement with group identity can lead to increased self-esteem when people identify with a group. As quoted by Brown et al. (2008b) the extent to which people self-categorize themselves as group members according to Smith (1999), shapes their emotions.

Authors have argued that although the words ‘guilt’ and ‘shame’ are often used interchangeably and / or used as to have the same meaning they are actually distinct emotional experiences (e.g. Lewis, 1971; Niedenthal, Tangney, & Gavanski, 1994). A number of authors explain that the key difference between guilt and shame is the extent to which the self is the focus (Baumeister, Stillwell, & Heatherton, 1994; Tangney, Miller, Flicker & Barlow, 1996). Lewis (1971) argued on an interpersonal level and presented guilt as involving the individual’s negative evaluation of specific behaviours. Baumeister et al. (1994) agree by stating that guilt is the negative emotion that is felt out of remorse over a specific action or inaction. Doosje, Branscombe, Spears, and Manstead (1998) discuss that guilt is expected to occur when there is a discrepancy between how one thinks one should have behaved and how one actually behaved. The main emphasis of guilt, according to Brown, Gonzalez, Zagefka, Manzi, and Cehajic (2008a) is on the wrongdoings and its consequences for the other. Tangney (1991) talks about guilt being an affective state associated with a focus on specific behaviours. Further, these are behaviours that regularly involve harm to someone or something.

Doosje et al. (1998) demonstrated (Study 1) that it is possible to experience feelings of group-based guilt, which is distinct from feelings of personal guilt. Guilt induced in the intergroup context is based in the appraisal that one’s ingroup is responsible for specific negative actions towards an outgroup/ or its members (e.g. Doosje et al., 1998; Iyer, Leach, & Crosby, 2003; Lickel et al., 2005). As explained in Brown and Cehjac (in press), collective guilt arises primarily when the group members feel that they have some responsibility for, or control over the misdeeds or the repercussions of those misdeeds that were carried out by their ingroup (e.g. see Lickel, Schmader & Barquissau, 2004).

Shame, on the other hand, is defined by Lewis (1971), as negative evaluation of self. Niedenthal et al. (1994) explain that when people feel ashamed, they feel as if they are a “bad person” and that the self has been humiliated or disgraced. Experiencing these feelings will impact on a person’s self-image – the way they see themselves and their reputation. As quoted in Brown et al. (2008b), the main emphasis of shame, according to Branscombe, Slugoski and Kappen (2004) is that it involves public exposure as well as being viewed as incompetent, not being in control, weak and potentially even disgusting ‘in the eyes of others.’ Lickel, Schmader, Curtis, Scarnier and Ames (2005) explain that felt shame within an intergroup context not only leads to blame of the group but in addition, the individuals involved perceive a threat to their self image as the transgression is understood to reflect a flaw in the individual’s group identity.

To summarise, it can be stated that emotions such as guilt and shame are distinct emotions that can be experienced on both the individual and group level. Further, guilt and shame are both considered to be fairly intense negative emotions, created by a conflict between actual actions and moral standards (Harvey & Oswald, 2000).

Guilt/shame and Reparation

There are different consequences of guilt and shame. The works of several authors suggest that guilt is positively related to empathy and is expected to bring into play reparative actions (e.g. Baumeister et al., 1994; Eisenberg & Miller, 1987; Frijda, Kuipers & Ter Schure, 1989).

Previous studies and coverage on reparation have been exceptionally broad-based. Two types of reparation, symbolic reparation and financial reparation will be used in the current study to elucidate the uniqueness of group-based shame and guilt.

Symbolic reparation is a form of public reparation. Dumont and Waldzus (2009) explain public reparation to be observable to an outside audience, and would therefore not include any form of reparation that is anonymous. In other words, the outside audience can be anyone other than the ingroup. Symbolic reparation as described by Dumont and Waldzus (2009) is a type of reparation that includes public apologies, acknowledgement of wrongdoings, disclosure of facts related to violence, public naming, in addition to judicial proceedings or administrative procedures. On the other hand, financial reparation includes compensation that is monetary in nature such as an anonymous payment into a bank account, an increase in an employee's wages, or payment of school fees for a person that is from the former 'victim' group. Financial reparation may be a public or anonymous (private) form of reparation.

As already discussed, there is guilt at the interpersonal level and guilt at the intergroup level and it is important to distinguish between the two. Firstly, Doosje et al. (1998) elucidates how guilt at the individual level can result from an inconsistency between people's internalised standards and their personal behaviour and this should be associated with action tendencies that are aimed at compensating for the prior wrongdoings. In addition, it has been suggested by quite a few authors that by experiencing collective guilt, ingroup members should want to make some form of reparation to the outgroup (e.g. Branscombe, Slugoski, & Kappen, 2004; Brown et al., 2008a, Doosje et al., 1998; Swim & Miller, 1999). Many studies have linked collective guilt to a desire to effect apologies or reparation such as monetary compensation and affirmative action policies as an action to compensate for wrongdoings (Branscombe, Slugoski, & Kappen, 2004; Doosje et al., 1998; Iyer et al., 2003). In a study of relations between the non-indigenous majority and one of the minority groups in Chile, Brown et al. (2008a) found in Study 1 and 2 that collective guilt

predicted reparation attitudes longitudinally. Also, a study conducted by Brown and Cehajic (1998) showed that the effects of guilt of the Bosnian Serbs towards making reparation to Bosnian Muslims was positively predicted. Furthermore, in the study of Dumont and Waldzus (2009) it was found that group-based guilt was positively related to a preference of symbolic rather than materialistic (a form of reparation that can be either public or private) reparation.

Some researchers suggest shame could serve more of an appeasement function (e.g. Keltner, Young, & Buswell, 1997) while others suggest that shame will lead to avoidance (e.g. Lewis, 1971). As discussed in Brown et al. (2008a), shame at an individual level has been conceptualised as either the emotion that follows from a negative self-perception with the sense that one's character is flawed (e.g. see Lewis, 1971; Tangney, 1991); or that shame may be linked to the damage to one's reputation that may result from one's misdeeds being exposed publicly (e.g. see Smith, Webster, Parrott, & Eyre, 2002). Tangney (1990) demonstrated that the experience of shame at the interpersonal level may lead to a reduction of the capacity for empathy that in turn results in an assortment of interpersonal and intrapersonal developments that consequently causes a discontinuation of any empathetic connection. Similarly, in a study conducted by Harvey and Oswald (2000), it was found that guilt and shame inducing situations may cause participants to react antisocially such that they may only respond pro-socially once they have had their personal integrity reaffirmed. On the interpersonal level, Lewis (1971) suggested that with the focus on self, shame would most likely lead to avoidance of a situation or withdrawal from it. At the individual level, experiencing shame would therefore result in an individual rather distancing him/ herself from the presenting situation/ negative evaluation, rather than trying to facilitate a reparative action.

On the contrary, feelings of group-based shame have an enormous reputational consequence for a person. As the conceptualisation of individual shame and collective shame contain the same duality (e.g. see Brown et al., 2008a), the reputational aspect of shame (individual and group-based) ought to be accentuated. Therefore, collective shame can either lead to denial or reparation. As a strategy to alleviate group-based shame, Brown et al. (2008a) explain that ingroup members endorse restitutive policies as a means of improving their group's image in the eyes of others. Reparation can be paid in order to restore the reputation of a group and / individual. For instance, a study between non-indigenous and indigenous groups in Chile, Brown et al. (2008a) found that the desire to improve the ingroup's reputation mediated the relationship between shame and reputation. It will be assumed for the present study, as in the study of Dumont and Waldzus (2009) that group-based shame will lead to any form of reparation, provided it leads to a feeling that one's group is essentially good and a superior reputation can be maintained. In the study of Brown et al. (2008a), it was shown that shame predicts public materialistic reparation. Past studies have shown that public reparation was predicted by private materialistic reparation as well as group-based shame (Brown et al., 2008a; Dumont & Walzus, 2009). Dumont and Waldzus (2009) found shame to predict private materialistic reparation in the form of the hiding hypothesis. Further, in hypothesising that shame predicts materialist rather than symbolic reparation, Dumont and Waldzus (2009) did not find this as shame also predicted symbolic reparation in the study. These researchers found that group-based shame was related with an undifferentiated intention for reparation.

The role of perception of social change

“Social change refers to perceived changes in the intergroup relations in relation to the ideal intergroup context” (Dumont & Waldzus, 2009, p. 60). The way in which people perceive social change is rooted in their beliefs of how social change is taking place. According to Schmid, Hewstone, Tausch, Cairns, and Hughes (2009), individuals conceptualise perceived group threat by believing that the “outgroup is in some way detrimental to the ingroup” and this conceptualisation “may not only concern real threats, such as competition over resources, territory, or status, but may also be more intangible and symbolic in nature, such as identity based threats and threats to group values, trust, or morality” (p. 1087).

The present study looked at the participants’ perceptions of past, present and future economic status for both the ingroup and outgroup (i.e. for both the white and black South Africans). As discussed by Terry and O’Brien (2001), Tajfel and Turner (1979) explained that group members of high status groups should react negatively to the possibility that their status may change particularly when members feel that their high status position is legitimate. However, it is important to keep in mind that participants in this study were reminded of the past atrocities committed by their ingroup, and depending on the level of group identification, participants may have believed that their group’s past atrocities were not fair or justified and may therefore have felt that their decline in status position was not deserved. On the other hand, the past atrocities may have created a perceived threat to their ingroup’s image, particularly in a context undergoing social change. Data collected by Dumont and Waldzus (2009) from a multi-racial school showed that participants perceive the future of South Africa as a country in which both white and black South Africans have equal economic status on a high level. This was a common

goal for both white and black South Africans to share equally high status. However, in the study of Dumont and Waldzus (2009), it also was found that there is a current consensual view of the perceived gain of social status for black South Africans and a perceived loss of status for white South Africans.

Another aim of the present study is to look at how the perception of social change determines the degree of willingness to show reparation. In the study of Dumont and Waldzus (2009), the results showed that group-based guilt and the implied reparation intentions were seen as functional in the social change process by members of the former ‘perpetrator’ group. The nature of this functionality, however, depended on the perception of the social change process. What differentiates the study of Dumont and Waldzus (2009) from other studies is the fact that these researchers were able to extend beyond prior research by firstly investigating differential relations of guilt and shame with different reparation types (symbolic reparation, public materialistic reparation and private materialistic reparation). Secondly these researchers looked at relating these emotions (guilt and shame) to the former perpetrator and former victim groups’ perceptions of social change. “The interplay between perceived changes in the intergroup relations and the desired outcome determine the functionality of group-based emotions and reparation” (Dumont & Waldzus, 2009, p. 60). Dumont and Waldzus (2009) explain that perceived ingroup responsibility and accepted group-based responsibility are both equally involved in group-based emotions as image threat is. In addition, other studies (e.g. Schmader & Lickel, 2006; Brown et al., 2008a) had shown that reputation intentions and reputation management were significantly related. This was not true of the study of Dumont and Waldzus (2009). The conclusion that was drawn from study 1 and 2 of Dumont and Waldzus is that the

role played by group-based guilt is a specific response to the acceptance of group-based responsibility for atrocities that were harmful towards the outgroup and this lead to symbolic reparation from the ingroup. In investigating the functionality of group-based emotions and reparation intentions for the social change process, Dumont and Waldzus (2009) also found in Study 2 that shame predicted all three types of reparation, while guilt only predicted symbolic reparation. They explain that although shame is in general related to an unspecific intention for any type of reparation, shame may also lead to reputation management that implies preference for materialistic reparation, when under the condition of salient image threat.

As explained by Dumont and Waldzus (2009), the way in which the social change process is perceived as either contradicting the ideal intergroup relations or as unsatisfying, determine (a) the demands for group-based emotions and reparation and (b) the willingness to pay reparation and to express group-based emotions. On the one hand, the researchers predicted a negative relation between perceived social change and group-based guilt and reparation. This prediction is made as it is believed by the researchers that “those participants who see less social change than they wish for might consider group-based guilt and readiness for reparation as important factors to advance social change” (Dumont & Waldzus, 2009). Conversely, the results of study 1 and 3 of Dumont and Waldzus (2009) showed that white participants expressed less intention for reparation the more loss of status they anticipated for their ingroup. It is therefore predicted in the present study that when participants see social change happening (or social change that exceeds their expectations), the participants may feel reluctant towards showing group-based guilt and reparation.

To summarise the aforementioned, group-based emotions and reparation can be seen as functional for the achievement or prevention of social change. The function of group-based guilt and reparation intentions for members of the former perpetrator and victim groups depends on the perceptions of achieved social change in relation to the actual change aimed for. Further, individuals who see less social change than they would like to, are most likely to regard reparation intentions and group-based guilt as factors that are central to improve social change. On the other hand, when it is already perceived by individuals that considerable social change is already taking place (or that more social change is taking place than what they would hope for), these participants are most likely to be reluctant to, or feel less of an urge, to show or demand group-based emotions and reparation.

The moderating function of ingroup identification

Drawing on the work of Tajfel and Turner (1979), social identity theory suggests that the self-concept of individuals is developed from both personal identity and membership in social groups. Terry and O'Brien (2001, p. 272), state that as people define themselves in terms of group membership, they are motivated to achieve a positive social identity by belonging to groups that compare favourably with relevant outgroups (a self-enhancement process).

Group identification as explained by Tajfel (1981) is "that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership in a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that group membership" (p. 255). In addition to trying to maintain group membership and the existence of the social category, Terry and O'Brien (2001) explain that high status group members try to sustain the positive contribution that the

group identity provides to their self concept. Identification with a group, according to Maitner, Mackie, and Smith (2007, p. 225), “translates appraisals from concerns about how events impact the self personally to concerns about whether events promote or hurt the group.” Ingroup identification develops during group members’ interaction. McCoy and Major (2003, p. 1007) define group identification as “the importance, or centrality, of the group in the self-concept.” Tajfel (1981) defines group identification to contain a cognitive component and an affective component. Using social identity theory, “identity can be seen as a direct product of relative group status” (Doosje et al., 2002, p. 58). However, not wanting to reduce social identity by limiting it to a correlate of group status, Doosje et al. (2002) also argue that social identification provides members the ability through group action to be able to change the situation.

In the study conducted by Doosje, Spears, and Ellemers (2002), the first phase showed how the initial level of identification in combination with *anticipated* changes in the intergroup status hierarchy predicted subsequent levels of identification. Many researchers have recommended that it is necessary to make a distinction between high and low identifiers’ responses to group-threatening information (e.g. Doosje, Ellemers, & Spears, 1995; Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1997; Spears, Doosje, & Ellemers, 1997; Doosje, Branscombe, Spears, & Manstead, 1998). People who are high in ingroup identification are people who are highly committed to their ingroup; members feel strong ties with their group; and these members consider their group to be important to them (e.g. see Spears, Doosje, & Ellemers, 1997). As discussed in Glasford, Dovidio, and Pratto (2009), “high identifiers are more concerned with group goals than personal goals” (2009, p. 416; see also Ellemers et al., 1997; van Vugt & Hart, 2004). Drawing on social identity theory, Terry and O’Brien (2001, p. 274) explain that “high status group members who

perceive their status position to be legitimate [...] are likely to react to a threat [...] more negatively than those members that view their status position as less legitimate.” In addition, “identity threat leads high identifiers to perceive both the out-group and in-group as more homogenous” (Doosje et al., 2002, p. 59). In the first study of Doosje et al. (2002), it was found that the groups were perceived as most homogenous when the high identifiers group’s future was uncertain (uncertain in that there was the potential to change). It was found by Doosje et al. (2002) that high identifiers maintain commitment to their group and were willing to identify and perceive their group as a cohesive unit, despite an uncertain future. However, it was found that solidarity with their group is only expressed by low identifiers to the extent that improvement to the group is a likely prospect. Low identifiers are people who are not highly committed to their group, and are more likely than high identifiers to choose an individually orientated way of dealing with a low status position (Doosje et al., 2002). In the second study conducted by Doosje et al. (1998), it was found that the negative emotions (group-image threatening) such as guilt and shame of the Dutch students were avoided by the high identifiers. It was found in the study of Doosje et al. (1998) that it was most likely that the low identifiers would accept that their group had done something wrong and that these low identifiers felt more guilty than the high identifiers.

Based on previous studies of the links between group-based guilt and identification, it has been shown that a paradox exists. Roccas and Liviatan (2006, Study 1) found with Israeli students (known as the ingroup who had committed past infractions), that the two modes of identification had contrasting relationships with group-based guilt. The one mode of identification was related positively with group-based guilt, while the other was related negatively. On the one hand,

identification “with one’s group should be associated with experiencing stronger group-based emotions and should thus be associated with feeling stronger group-based guilt” (Roccas & Liviatan, 2006, p. 699). On the other hand, “being identified with the group should also be associated with legitimisation of the group’s wrongdoings...feeling little or no guilt” (Roccas & Liviatan, 2006, p. 699). In the first instance, as explained by Cehajic and Brown (2006), as people have accepted at least some responsibility for their group’s transgressions committed in the past, they will feel guilty, and will therefore take a portion of the responsibility and by implication take some of the control over its outcomes. As quoted in Cehajic and Brown (2006), building on empirical evidence on group-based guilt, one should expect that an appraisal that focuses on ingroup responsibility for the committed transgressions will be a key antecedent of the emotion guilt. In relating to the second instance, Cehajic and Brown (2006) gave explanation that findings have shown that by minimising or legitimising the harm experienced by victims, people succeed in avoiding guilt about their group’s behaviour (Roccas, Klar, & Liviatan, 2006; Wohl, Branscombe, & Klar, 2006). Further, Cehajic and Brown (2006) explained that people may legitimise the harm done to others as a means to protect their ingroup, while the legitimacy of collective guilt is said to refer to the perceived appropriateness of feeling any collective guilt at all. For instance, Brown et al. (2008b) argued that people who think of themselves as group members may lead themselves to appraise events in biased ways that benefit their ingroup, as a means to protect their collective identity. For example, the study of Doosje et al. (1998) showed that when members are reminded of their nation’s colonial past (such as of atrocities committed) members who are strong identifiers are likely to either justify or rationalise the past atrocities committed as a means to minimise the collective guilt of their group. In this way, members who strongly identify with their group are able to reappraise situations as a means to either avoid

feeling guilt, or minimise these feelings. As stated by Brown, Wohl and Exline (2008b), people's desire to protect their collective identity when they think of themselves as group members can lead them to appraise events in ways that benefit the ingroup, even if these ways are biased.

From a social identity perspective, Doosje et al. (1998) explained that high identifiers (people for whom the group is important) ought to experience stronger emotions and feelings as a result of their group membership, than those members who are less identified with their group. As low identifiers may be more willing to accept that their group has done something wrong, it is expected that if low identifiers accept group-based responsibility for past atrocities committed, it is most likely that they will also experience feelings of group-based guilt (see Doosje et al., 1998). Klandermans et al. (2008) stated that identification is involved in the social construction of collective guilt because 'guilt by association' assumes a sense of belonging. Since collective guilt is related to a desire to apologise and/ or make reparation, it is expected in the present study that identification with the ingroup will lead to less reparation for past atrocities committed as ingroup members experience lesser feelings of collective guilt, than low identifiers would be prepared to reparate when they experience feelings of greater guilt. For instance, drawing on the first study of Doosje et al. (1998), the researchers found that the low identifiers felt more guilty about their group's behaviour, and were more willing than the high identifiers to compensate the outgroup, when both favourable and unfavourable aspects of their nation's past behaviour were presented. It was further found in the study of Doosje et al. (1998) that members that felt collective guilt about the ingroups' colonial past had felt that not only they, but the Dutch Government as well, should compensate the Indonesians. On the other hand, high identified members when faced with a high group-image threatening situation should be less willing to

accept the information, and may even display defensive behaviours (as already previously discussed).

Doosje et al. (2002) have suggested that the initial level of group identification is a crucial moderator of responses to different kinds of change. “Moderator analysis focuses on whether a particular known and measured variable influences the effect of one variable on another” (Lehmann, McDonald, Cote, Heath, Irwin, & Ambler, 2001, p. 91). Several authors (as cited in Edwards and Lambert, 2007) found that when the effect of an independent variable on a dependent variable varies according to the level of a third variable (known as a moderator variable), it interacts with the independent variable and moderation therefore occurs. Lehmann et al. (2001) explain that when a researcher wishes to focus on one component of an interaction, the term *moderator* typically is invoked. Lehmann et al. (2001) also indicate that the research question of interest is whether this variable’s effect on the dependent variable is changed (exacerbated or moderated) by the level of the other component of the interaction.

On the other hand, in order for mediation to occur, Edwards and Lambert (2007) explain that when the effect of an independent variable on a dependent variable is transmitted through a third variable (known as a mediator variable), mediation takes place. Even though much research conducted in psychology has used a combination of moderation and mediation, this study has made use of moderation effects. Edwards and Lambert (2007) have suggested that current methods that combine moderation and mediation have limitations that mask the nature of the essential moderated and mediated effects. In the present study it is expected that the level of

ingroup identification (high or low) moderates the relationship between group-based guilt/ shame and reparation.

To summarise, from the abovementioned, it can be stated that high identifiers are members that are willing to express commitment to their group even when there are no guarantees of high status. On the other hand, low identifiers will only be willing to commit to the group when their individual goals are aligned with the group. Further, as explained by Klandermans et al. (2008), negative emotions such as group-based guilt or shame will most likely only be experienced by people who admit to or accept that their group has done something wrong. Further, the “initial level of group identification is a crucial moderator of responses to different kinds of change, with high identifiers seizing on the potential for change in order to express their group identity and emphasise the collective dimension, whereas low identifiers wait until change is likely, if not certain” (Doosje et al., 2002, p.67).

The research context

South Africa experiences one of the most dramatic social change processes which is assumed to impact on the collective emotions of whites when reminded of their past and their group’s behavioural tendencies. It is assumed that when whites are reminded of their group’s past wrongdoings, not only will they feel guilt and shame, but they will also have intention for reparation. The hypothesis of the present study was tested with white South Africans who were considered the former privileged group under Apartheid, and have since been ‘challenged’ to face the former atrocities committed by their group.

While South Africa undergoes a process of reconciliation, it also undergoes a dramatic social change process. Reconciliation is dependent not only on the expression of group-based emotions (such as guilt and shame) and reparation intentions of the former perpetrator group, but also on how the outgroup (victim group) perceives the former perpetrator group, as well as on the responses and demands of the former victim group. Throughout prior years (during and before Apartheid) white South Africans in general were more privileged than black South Africans who had very little resources available to them (e.g. limited public medical care such as clinics and public hospitals; the lack of the right to a democratic vote, etc.). The current social change that has been put into place in order to make South Africa more racially integrated, is institutionalised in the form of Black Employment Equity and Black Economic Empowerment, Affirmative Action, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission that gave past transgressors the opportunity to confess, the Bill of Rights, as well as the equal right of all citizens to a democratic vote and improved community resources such as clinics. This social change process is aimed to change still existing intergroup differences between white and black South Africans.

Method

Sample

In total 63 white participants took part in the study. The participants were on average 17 years old ranging from 16 to 18 years of age. Thirty-four were female and 29 were male.

Procedure

The study was conducted at Hudson Park High School, a middle class desegregated school in the area of East London. Prior to the study, ethic clearance was obtained by the University of Fort

Hare, the school, as well as the parents of the participants. The questionnaires that were given to the participants who were introduced to a study that looks at the historical events that took place during the years of apartheid. The participants were asked to read the survey questionnaire carefully. The participants were also asked to provide their age, gender and race group. The participants were then told that as the questionnaire was anonymous, it would be not be possible to identify them in anyway. Along with assuring anonymity, the participants were told that by entering the study, they stood a chance of winning R100. In addition, it was asked that the participants ought to try and answer the questions accurately to the best of their ability, even if they found it difficult to form an opinion. Furthermore, the participants ought to try and answer honestly and use their first response. The aforementioned was outlined in a covering letter on the questionnaire, as can be seen in Appendix A.

Measurements

Item ratings on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (Totally Disagree) to 5 (Totally Agree) were used. This scale was used so that the participants could easily respond to each statement on the questionnaire that was provided to them. The participants in this way were able to indicate the level to which they agree or disagree with the statements provided. The items of the standard measures that were used in the present study are provided in Appendix C.

Antecedents

Perceived ingroup responsibility

The perception of ingroup responsibility was measured by four items that were developed by Cehajic and Brown (2006) and adjusted for this study to fit a South African context. Cehajic and

Brown (2006) reported a Cronbach's alpha of .84, and Dumont and Waldzus (2009) a Cronbach's alpha of .67. In the present study, the Cronbach's alpha was .78.

Accepted group-based responsibility

The acceptance of ingroup responsibility was measured by four items that were developed by Cehajic and Brown (2006) and adjusted to the South African context. Cehajic and Brown (2006) reported a Cronbach's alpha of .72, while Dumont and Waldzus (2009) reported a correlation coefficient of $r = .53$ ($p < .001$) (note that these authors only used two items in their study). The Cronbach's alpha of the four-item scale was .77 in the present study.

Image threat appraisal

The image threat appraisal was measured by four items that were developed by Brown et al. (2008, Study 3) and adjusted for the South African context. Brown et al. (2008) reported a Cronbach's alpha of .75, and Dumont and Waldzus (2009) using adapted items reported an alpha of .65. Brown and Cehajic (in press) explain that the image threat appraisal is measured using the items aiming to capture a sense of the group's image being threatened in terms of perceived loss of respect and negative judgment by others. The Cronbach's alpha for the scale in the present study was .75.

Group-based Guilt

Collective guilt was measured using the adapted collective guilt scale as developed by Brown et al. (2008) and Brown and Cehajic (2008). Brown and Cehajic (2008) reported a Cronbach's

alpha of .84, and using adapted scales Dumont and Waldzus (2009) reported a Cronbach's alpha of .90. The Cronbach's Alpha in the present study was .92.

Group-based Shame

Brown and Cehajic (in press) developed a collective shame scale that reported a Cronbach's alpha of .74. Using the adapted scales, Dumont and Waldzus (2009) reported a Cronbach's alpha of .71. For this study, an adapted scale of Brown and Cehajic (in press) for the collective shame as experienced by white participants was used. The Cronbach's alpha in the present study was .78.

Reparation

This survey made use of a reparation scale that is made up of two sub-scales, namely symbolic reparation and financial reparation.

The symbolic reparation scale contains five items that were adapted and selected from the reparation attitude scale that was developed by Brown et al. (2008), reported a Cronbach's alpha of .91. These items were adjusted to fit the South African context by Dumont and Waldzus (2009, study 1) who reported an alpha of .88 for the white participant sample. The Cronbach's alpha in the present study was .81.

The financial reparation scale comprises a total of five adapted items. Four of these items were developed for the study of Dumont and Waldzus (2009, study 1) as the public materialistic reparation scale and the additional item has been developed for the purpose of this study. These

items were used to measure white participants' experiences of public materialistic reparation. In the study of Dumont and Waldzus (2009), a Cronbach's alpha of .76 was reported for the white sample. The Cronbach's alpha in the present study was .87.

Ingroup identification

The identification with the ingroup was measured using items adapted from the scale that was developed by Leach, van Zomeren, Zebel, Vliek, Pennkamp, Doosje, Ouwerkerk and Spears (2009). Using adapted items from the aforementioned researchers, Dumont and Waldzus (2009, Study 1) reported a Cronbach's Alpha of .66 for white participants. The Cronbach's Alpha in the present study was .90.

Intergroup Perception

Perceived economic status was measured by making use of the Intergroup Perception Ladder. The Intergroup Perception Ladder represents an adaptation of Cantril's Self-Anchoring Scale (see Finchilescu & de la Rey, 1991), and is able to assess intergroup comparison by including the temporal dimension. Participants were given a drawing of a ladder that contains 11 rungs (labelled from 0 to 11). The participants were then told to imagine that the ladder represents economic status in South Africa. The participants were asked to give their opinion on which step the ingroup and comparison group stood on in the past (approximately 25 years ago), on which step they stand today, as well as on which step they will stand in 15 years time, and ideally. An example was provided on the questionnaire to enable the participants to have an easier understanding. See Appendix B for the Perceived Economic Status Ladder used. The status change variables were created by calculating the linear contrast variables describing status

change for White (ingroup) and Black (outgroup) South Africans. Positive scores indicate gain of ingroup/outgroup status while negative scores indicate loss.

Results

Preliminary analysis

The preliminary analysis revealed that the economic social change process experienced by the participants is characterised by simultaneous loss of social status for white South Africans and gain of social status for black South Africans (see Figure 1). In order to study the possible function of group-based emotions and reparation for the social change process, we first created a linear contrast variable describing status change for white South Africans from the past to the present to the situation in 15 years to the situation in 50 years. The same linear contrast variable was created for black South Africans. Positive scores indicate gain of status while negative scores indicate loss of status.

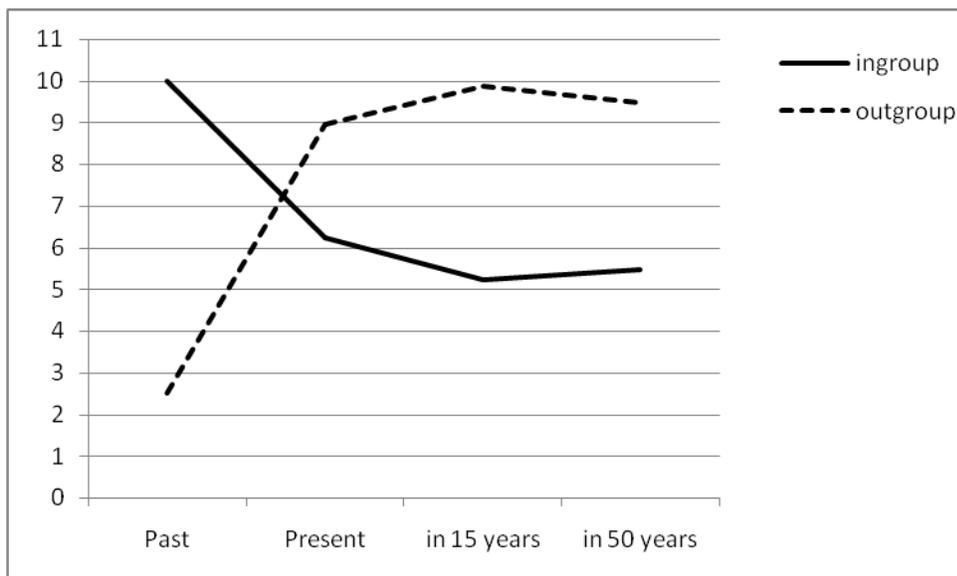


Figure 1. Economic Status Change for white (ingroup) and black South Africans (outgroup) perceived by white participants

Hypothesis Testing

It was hypothesised that guilt and shame should be predicted by different antecedents. Guilt should be predicted by perceived responsibility and acceptance of responsibility while shame should be predicted by image threat (H1). The hypothesis was tested using linear regression analysis. Since previous research has shown that guilt and shame share a huge amount of variance it was decided to control for these emotions in the respective models. The models stated perceived responsibility, acceptance of responsibility, image threat and guilt/shame as independent variables and shame/guilt as dependent variables. The first model tested the predictors for guilt (controlling for shame). The model revealed to be significant, $F(4,58) = 14.93$, $p < .001$, and explained 51% of variance of the dependent variable. Guilt was predicted by perceived responsibility ($beta = .317$) and shame ($beta = .431$). Acceptance of responsibility did not predict guilt in the present study. The second model tested the predictors for shame (controlling for guilt). Again, the model revealed to be significant, $F(4,58) = 14.01$, $p < .001$, and explained 49.5% of variance of the dependent variable. As hypothesised, shame was predicted by image threat ($beta = .311$) and guilt ($beta = .442$). The part of the hypothesis regarding shame was confirmed whereas guilt was only predicted by perceived responsibility.

Secondly, the aim of the present study was to replicate the results of Dumont and Waldzus (2009) which indicated that symbolic and public materialistic reparation is not only predicted by the emotions of guilt and shame but also by the perceived status change of the ingroup (H2). Table 1 shows the means, standard deviations and correlations between the principle variables. The two types of reparation were positively correlated with each other. Also consistent with previous findings, guilt and shame were positively correlated (e.g. Dumont & Waldzus, 2009)

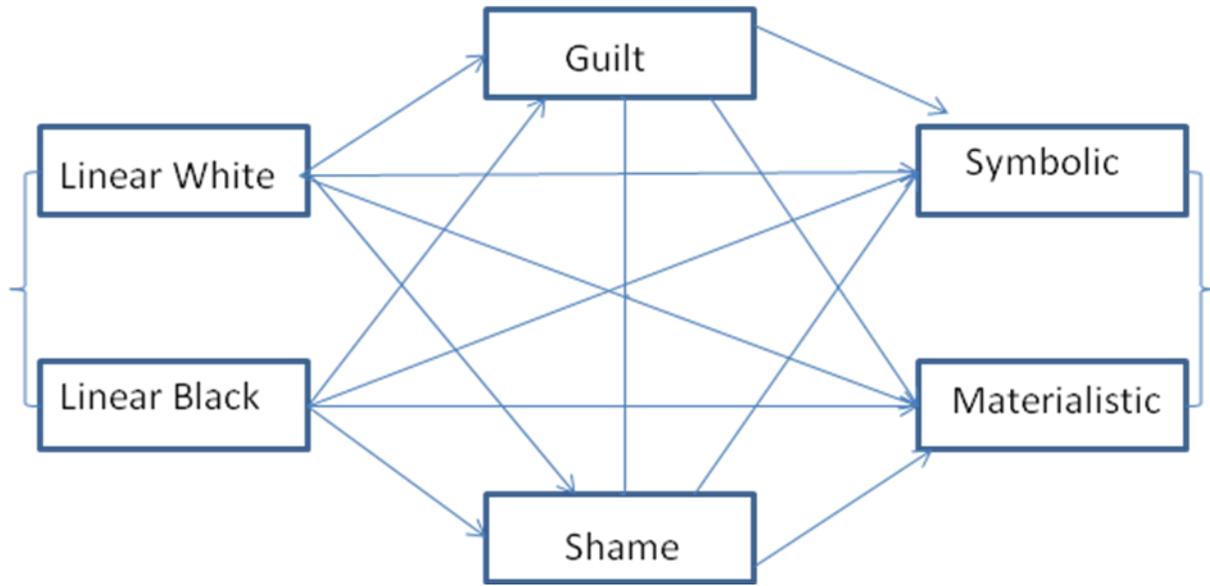
and identification was negatively correlated with both symbolic and public materialistic reparation (e.g. Doosje et al., 1998).

Table 1: Means, Standard Deviations and Intercorrelations among Principle Variables

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Sample	M	4.08	-3.19	4.85	2.47	2.61	2.16	1.62
	SD	0.83	2.68	1.99	0.94	0.77	0.76	0.65
1 Identification			.12	-.08	.03	-.17	-.31*	-.25*
2 Status change whites economic				-.58***	.05	-.03	.25†	.08
3 Status change blacks economic					-.12	-.19	-.14	-.21
4 Guilt						.62***	.42**	.39**
5 Shame							.40**	.38**
6 Symbolic reparation								.62***
7 Public materialistic reparation								

Note. † $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Using Structural Equation Modelling software (AMOS 17.0), the path model as proposed by Dumont and Waldzus (2009) was tested including measured guilt and shame as well as the two linear contrasts for ingroup and outgroup as exogenous variables predicting the two different reparation types (see Model 1).



Model 1: Saturated Model for analysis of differential effects of the linear contrasts and the two emotions on the different reparation types.

Table 2 summarises the results. In line with the results of Dumont and Waldzus (2009), the two reparation types are not only predicted by the emotions guilt and shame but also by the perceptions of status change for the ingroup (see path linear white on symbolic reparation).

These results indicate that the perception of social change plays an important role for both the emotions and the willingness for restitution. The latter is in line with the proposed hypothesis 2.

Table 2: *Standardized regression weights of saturated path model*

<i>Dependent Variables</i>	Public			
	Guilt	Shame	Symbolic Reparation	materialistic reparation
<i>Explained variance</i>	2%	7%	55%	20%
<i>Predictors</i>				
Status change white	-.03	-.21	.31*	-.02
Status change black	-.14	-.32*	.13	-.14
Guilt			.24 [†]	.24 [†]
Shame			.29*	.20

Finally, it was aimed to test whether ingroup identification moderates the relationship between social change, emotions and reparation types (H3). In order to test the moderation of ingroup identification, we conducted a model comparison for high versus low identifiers. All errors and the regression weights of the direct paths from social change (linear white and linear black)/ emotions (guilt and shame) on reparations were restricted to be equal between groups. High and low identifiers were determined by computing the median (Median = 4.2). The low ($M = 3.4$, $SD = 0.66$) and high ($M = 4.74$, $SD = 0.24$) differed significantly in their ingroup identification, $F(1,61) = 118.79$, $p < .001$.

also aimed to show whether the relationship between group-based guilt/shame, reparation and social change is moderated by ingroup identification.

As previous research has shown guilt and shame share common variance (e.g. Lickel, Schmader, Curtis, Scarier & Ames, 2005, Iyer Schmader & Lickel, 2007, Brown, Gonzalez, Zagefka, Manzi & Cehajic, 2008, Brown & Cehajic, 2008), these emotions were controlled in the respective models, as suggested by Cehajic and Brown (2006). In the present study, it was hypothesised that guilt and shame should be predicted by different antecedents, namely that guilt should be predicted by perceived responsibility and acceptance of responsibility while shame should be predicted by image threat. The results of the first model revealed that guilt was predicted by perceived responsibility and is influenced by shame. The study also revealed that acceptance of responsibility did not predict guilt. The second model in this study revealed as hypothesised, that shame was predicted by image threat (as found by Iyer et al, 2007, Cehajic & Brown, 2006) and guilt. The way in which the group's public image is perceived will lead to feelings of shame as there is emphasis on the suggestion that the self is bad for what the self has or hasn't done. Shame does not focus on the relationship, but on the social identity ("something is wrong with our values/ identities").

The second aim of the study was to show how the perceptions of social change impacts group-based emotions of guilt and shame as well as reparation. This study took the country's historical context into account. The research obtained the participants' past, present and future perception of changes in economic status for both the ingroup and outgroup. The results of the preliminary analysis revealed that the economic social change process experienced by the participants is

characterised by a concurrent gain of social status for black South Africans (the outgroup) and a loss of social status for white South Africans (the ingroup). Such outcomes correspond with findings of Dumont and Waldzus (2009, Study 1) who showed consistent results as previously stated.

In line with prior research conducted by Dumont and Waldzus (2009), the results of the present study also revealed that symbolic reparation is predicted by guilt and shame as well as by the perceptions of status change of the ingroup. However, public reparation was not predicted by any of the stated variables. The results of this study signify that the ingroups' feelings of shame to make amends through compensation are determined from their perceived status position. Individuals who perceive less social change for their ingroup are likely to consider symbolic reparation intentions as important. These results are indicative of the perception of social change playing a key role for both the emotions and the willingness for restitution and reconciliation.

The final aim of the study was to test whether ingroup identification moderates the relationship between social change, emotions and reparation types. Prior research has shown that emotions and their action tendencies have been influenced by ingroup identification (e.g. see Doosje, et. al., 1998, Yzerbyt, Dumont, Wigboldus, & Gordijin, 2003). For instance, the level at which a member (individual) identifies with a prior perpetrator group may or may not lead to the member experiencing emotions (of guilt and shame) as well as expressing reparative tendencies. A model comparison was conducted in the present study with high versus low identifiers to test the moderation of ingroup identification. The results of the present study suggest that the perceptions of status change for the ingroup (status loss) and outgroup (status gain) predicts the

feelings of shame for high identifiers. Furthermore, results in the present study demonstrate that perceived status change (or the lack thereof) for the ingroup predicts the willingness for symbolic reparation for the low identifiers. This can be interpreted as an attempt by the white South Africans to make amends for previous wrongdoings provided that their own status is perceived to not be at stake. Doosje et al. (1998, Study 2) found that high identifiers are less prone than low identifiers to experience collective guilt and are less likely to pay reparation to outgroup members for past atrocities than low identifiers would. However, in the present study it was found that symbolic reparation is predicted by guilt for the high identifiers and by shame for the low identifiers.

Limitations of the study

A limitation of the study is that it focused on the desegregated context, such that the study only made use of a mixed race participant school. It may have been interesting to compare findings of the desegregated context with the findings from a segregated context (a context in which there are only whites in a particular setting and only blacks in another). However, since the end of the apartheid years, South Africa has become a country in which different cultures have come together to work, live, and entertain in the same areas, and although racism does still exist, there are few if any purely segregated areas.

Being a cross-sectional research design, a major limitation is that it is impossible to explain causal relationships. The second and more serious limitation of the present study was the small sample size particularly with respect to the statistical tests used. Consequently, the results have to

be treated with caution. In order to validate the finding further studies are necessary in which trends found in the present study are replicated.

Overall contribution of the study to research on group-based guilt and shame

The findings of the present research are in line with prior research and contributes for replications in the areas of antecedents, namely of perceived responsibility, accepted responsibility, and image threat (e.g. see Dumont and Waldzus, 2009, Cehajic and Brown, 2006, Iyer et al. 2007). Further contributions for replications show that status plays a role. Replicating findings stresses the importance to focus on status changes such that one must take the actual intergroup context into consideration. Factors to take into consideration are namely changes that took place post-apartheid such as affirmative action and Black Economic policies that have resulted in the previously advantaged ingroup (whites) to have to compete with a now better educated outgroup (blacks). This is a major threat that could lead to a decline in status position of the perceived ingroup. When the ingroup's status position is threatened, other factors such as racism may come into play, besides the lack of willingness to reparate for prior atrocities committed. Other factors to consider are linguistic in origin such as identity conflict. For instance, maintaining the Afrikaans language identity in the post-apartheid era and not losing it to another African language. Economic factors such as economic discrimination are also other factors for consideration.

The present research also replicated the finding that identification plays an important role. Researchers had found in the current research as well as prior research that ingroup identification is influenced by emotions and the person's action tendencies (e.g. Doosje et al., 1998, Yzerbyt,

Dumont, Wigboldus, & Gordijn, 2003). It is important to keep in mind that the participants of the present study were born two to three years prior to the first democratic election, and were not yet born when FW de Klerk lifted the restrictions of 33 opposition groups during February 1990. The study participants were at that time therefore too young to experience anger, hatred, and frustration amongst the many other strong emotions that the perceived ingroup and outgroup were experiencing towards each other. Rather, such emotions may have at a later stage been taught by the older generation and it is therefore likely that since the study participants identify with the perceived perpetrators (ingroup), it is not strange that they would continue to carry the emotions of guilt and shame for the prior wrongdoings committed. Also, since this study's participants did not live during the Apartheid years, it is most likely that they do not know the full extent of oppression that the outgroup faced as they were not involved in the atrocities committed. Taking the aforementioned into account, it is possible that this younger generation (the study's participants) may experience different ingroup identification, emotions and action tendencies (regarding reparation) than an older generations living in South Africa would. However, since the majority of the participants may still be viewed as privileged in comparison to the perceived outgroup, they appear to carry guilt and shame to the extent that they are prepared to pay reparation, provided that their status level is left untouched. It would be interesting to compare such a study to one that makes use of participants that were adults during the Apartheid years.

The current research also showed the difficulty of separating the emotions of guilt and shame. Although authors have tried to explain that the main difference between the emotions of guilt and shame is the extent to which the self is the focus (Baumeister, Stillwell, & Heatherton, 1994;

Tangney, Miller, Flicker & Barlow, 1996), it remains difficult to separate these emotions. Guilt is argued to involve the negative evaluation of an action (e.g. Lewis, 1971; Baumeister et al., 1994), while shame is argued to involve a negative evaluation of self (e.g. Lewis, 1971; Niedenthal, 1994). Can guilt really be separated from shame? Does the one emotion not impact on and cause the other (especially on the interpersonal level)? The current research showed that shame does not focus on the relationship between groups, but rather on the *social identity* of an individual's group (e.g. "something is wrong with our values / identities"). Perceptions were taken into account, such that it was shown how perceptions of social change impacts on group-based emotions as well as reparation intentions. The study also aimed to further examine whether ingroup identity (high and low) moderates the relationship between social change, emotions and reparation types. Future research could focus on further extending our understanding of the social context (segregated and desegregated) by involving studies on outgroup trust and intergroup contact.

The context in which this research was conducted can be considered a context in which it matters the most as the present research indicates reparation intentions are dependent on the perception of whether or not the ingroup loses its status position. If it does not lose it, reparation intentions are more likely. Reparation is considered as a precondition for reconciliation. The people of South Africa have sought reconciliation since the ending of Apartheid (this was evident by the establishment of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission). This study therefore contributes to extending our understanding of collective emotions experienced by young people in South Africa, and consequently, the future of South Africa, as the youth of today are tomorrow's leaders.

The research also shows that there may be a misunderstanding between white and black people. Black people may think that white people do not display emotions (for instance whenever there is no reparation being paid or when they feel that not enough is being done), while white people may perceive themselves as not being in a position to support reparation, especially if they perceive their ingroup's economic status as declining. Furthermore, although the study shows otherwise, it may also be difficult for a group (such as the younger generation) that was not part of Apartheid, to have to compensate for outcomes that were not a cause of their direct actions. To overcome these possible misperceptions it is necessary that both groups engage with each other. Consequently, when applied to the younger generation the importance of appropriate intergroup contact is obvious.

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Appendix A

Dear participant,

This study aims to address historical events that took place during Apartheid in South Africa. I would like to thank you for giving some of your time to participate in the present study. To answer the questionnaire will take approximately 20 minutes to complete.

The study is anonymous. No one will be able to discover your identity. It is important to note that I am interested in your honest opinion. I would like to know what you personally think. There are no right or wrong answers! Try not to think too long about each statement. Usually your first response is the one you come back to in the end.

Clear instructions are given throughout the questionnaire, please follow them accurately. Please respond to every question/ statement even if you find it difficult to form an opinion.

At the end of the questionnaire you will be asked to fill in your email address, in order to be entered into a lottery in which you could win R100. In total two winners will be chosen. You will be informed via email whether you were the lucky one. Please note that it is not compulsory to fill in your email address, only if you wish to participate in the lucky draw.

Kind regards,

Rochelle and Ayanda

Appendix C

In this next section, we ask you some further questions about how you feel about what happened in the past between the white and black South Africans. Please indicate the degree of your agreement or disagreement to the statements below by ticking the suitable box. Please respond to all statements on the questionnaire.

	Totally Agree	Agree	Neither/ nor	Disagree	Totally Disagree
1					
White people should feel responsible for the things that happened during Apartheid.	⑤	④	③	②	①
2					
I think that white people are responsible for what happened during Apartheid	⑤	④	③	②	①
3					
I consider White South Africans as responsible for the atrocities (violence and wrongdoings) committed during Apartheid	⑤	④	③	②	①
4					
Responsibility on behalf of the wrongdoings committed by white people during the years of Apartheid should be put right by the white South Africans	⑤	④	③	②	①
5					
White South Africans should come together to take responsibility of the wrongdoings that took place in the past	⑤	④	③	②	①
6					
Although I am not personally responsible for what has happened, I am ready to take responsibility for the behaviour of White people	⑤	④	③	②	①
7					
Although I do not carry the responsibility for the past, I am ready to have a responsible attitude towards the atrocities (violence and wrongdoings) committed in the name of White people	⑤	④	③	②	①
8					
Even though I was too young to have ever been a contributor to Apartheid, I feel that it is my responsibility to make right the actions of white people	⑤	④	③	②	①
9					
White South Africans should come together to fix their errors of the past	⑤	④	③	②	①

10	White South Africans should do what they can in order to take responsibility for past wrongful actions	⑤	④	③	②	①
11	I consider that our image as white South Africans has been negatively affected by the way we have treated black South Africans	⑤	④	③	②	①
12	Sometimes I believe that white South Africans have lost respect by others for the way they have treated black South Africans in the past	⑤	④	③	②	①
13	Due to the way white South Africans have treated black South Africans, I believe that now people judge white South Africans negatively	⑤	④	③	②	①
14	Due to past actions, white South Africans many never be able to gain respect from others	⑤	④	③	②	①
15	Owing to past actions, I think that other nations will always look at white South Africans as having a bad image	⑤	④	③	②	①
16	I sometimes feel guilty, for what the white South Africans have done to black South Africans during the Apartheid years	⑤	④	③	②	①
17	I feel guilty when I realize what we, white South Africans, have contributed to the loss of black South Africans language and customs	⑤	④	③	②	①
18	I feel guilty for the human rights violations committed by white South Africans during the Apartheid years	⑤	④	③	②	①
19	Thinking about how white South Africans took away homes from black South Africans makes me feel guilty	⑤	④	③	②	①
20	To think how we, the white South Africans, have stolen the black South Africans' land makes me feel guilty	⑤	④	③	②	①
21	When I think of how white South Africans have stolen the black South Africans land, I feel guilty	⑤	④	③	②	①

22	I feel guilty for the manner in which the black South Africans have been treated in the past by white South Africans	⑤	④	③	②	①
23	When I think about the racism that exists towards the black South Africans, I feel guilty to be a white South African	⑤	④	③	②	①
24	White South Africans' past harmful actions towards black South Africans reflect something shameful about white South African culture	⑤	④	③	②	①
25	Even though I do not discriminate against black South Africans, I feel ashamed when I realize that other white South Africans do	⑤	④	③	②	①
26	It makes me feel ashamed when I see an international report on the treatment on black South Africans by white South Africans during the Apartheid years	⑤	④	③	②	①
27	I feel shame because of the way white South Africans have treated black South Africans during the Apartheid years as this has created a bad image of White South Africans in the eyes of the world	⑤	④	③	②	①
28	The way white South African people are seen today by the rest of the world has become more negative because of the way they behaved during the Apartheid years	⑤	④	③	②	①
29	I feel shame when I think about how white South Africans treated black South Africans in the past	⑤	④	③	②	①
30	To think how white people show intolerance by refusing to offer job contracts to black South Africans, causes me to feel shame	⑤	④	③	②	①
31	I feel ashamed when I realize that we, white South Africans have contributed to the loss of black South Africans language and customs	⑤	④	③	②	①
32	I want other countries to respect white South Africans again for the way we treat black South Africans	⑤	④	③	②	①

33	I believe we should restore the international reputation of South Africa in association with the treatment of black South Africans	⑤	④	③	②	①
34	If we do not resolve the outstanding issues about the black people in South Africa, it will damage the reputation of white South Africans	⑤	④	③	②	①
35	The reputation that South Africa has at an international level depends to a large extent on the treatment that we give to all the people of South Africa.	⑤	④	③	②	①
36	I believe that it is important that South Africa is seen in a more favourable manner by the rest of the world in relation to indigenous (local) issues	⑤	④	③	②	①
37	If we do not resolve the outstanding racial issues about white versus black people in South Africa, it will damage us as a country	⑤	④	③	②	①
38	If we do not change our attitude towards black South Africans, the international image of South Africa will become negative	⑤	④	③	②	①
39	I would like other people to have a better impression of white South Africans in relation to how we have treated black people	⑤	④	③	②	①
40	If white people can do this, they can do something worse	⑤	④	③	②	①
41	The history of white South Africans makes it difficult to be proud of my group	⑤	④	③	②	①
42	Knowing of what white people did, we will never be trusted	⑤	④	③	②	①
43	The history of white people makes it difficult to belong in this group	⑤	④	③	②	①
44	Given what white people did, one feels that there is something wrong with us as whites	⑤	④	③	②	①
45	I would be glad if white people were different, it would make it easier to belong to them	⑤	④	③	②	①

46	Because of past experiences, white people can be seen as inhumane	⑤	④	③	②	①
47	Because of what white people did, I'm not surprised that we are referred to as inhumane	⑤	④	③	②	①
48	Because of what white people did, it questions the values of us as whites	⑤	④	③	②	①
49	The relationship between white and black South Africans is damaged	⑤	④	③	②	①
50	The relationship between white people and black people is damaged because of the wrongdoings performed by whites towards blacks	⑤	④	③	②	①
51	The relationship between white and black South Africans will never be repaired, because of how the white South Africans treated the black South Africans	⑤	④	③	②	①
52	The relationship between white and black South Africans is destroyed because of what happened in the past	⑤	④	③	②	①
53	The relationship between white and black South Africans can never be reconciled due to the actions of the past	⑤	④	③	②	①
54	Past experiences have damaged the relationship between white and black South Africans	⑤	④	③	②	①
55	I think that White South Africans should publicly apologize for all the mistreatment and deprivation that they have caused Black South Africans	⑤	④	③	②	①
56	I think that the government should introduce reparation taxation for all White South Africans which will be deducted directly from their savings accounts	⑤	④	③	②	①
57	I think that every white South African should pay R10.00 per month towards the health care of black South Africans	⑤	④	③	②	①
58	I think that white South Africans should tell the truth about what happened in apartheid	⑤	④	③	②	①

59	I think that black South Africans deserve some form of compensation from white South Africans for what happened to them during the Apartheid years	⑤	④	③	②	①
60	I think white South Africans owe something to black South Africans because of the things they have done to them	⑤	④	③	②	①
61	I feel that black South Africans should have economic benefits as reparation for the damage white South Africans have caused them	⑤	④	③	②	①
62	I think that white South Africans should publicly apologize for all the mistreatment and deprivation that they have caused black South Africans	⑤	④	③	②	①
63	I think that white South Africans who have a black domestic worker should privately pay the worker 10% more	⑤	④	③	②	①
64	I think that white South Africans should privately give food and clothing to black South Africans	⑤	④	③	②	①
65	I think that white South Africans should donate money anonymously (privately) into a bank account that would go towards black South Africans	⑤	④	③	②	①
66	I think that white South African should donate food and clothing anonymously (privately) to black South Africans	⑤	④	③	②	①
67	All white children who receive pocket money should anonymously (privately) donate 50% of it to black children	⑤	④	③	②	①
68	I think that every white South African with a child at a private school should anonymously sponsor a black child's education	⑤	④	③	②	①
69	I think that white South Africans should donate money anonymously (privately) towards the development of black schools	⑤	④	③	②	①
70	I think that privately white people should get together to do more towards improving the health clinics of black South Africans	⑤	④	③	②	①

71	I think that all white South African who have a domestic worker with children should pay into an education fund for those children	⑤	④	③	②	①
72	I think that any white family with more than 5 hectares of land, should house a black family	⑤	④	③	②	①
73	I think that government should introduce reparation taxation for all white South Africans which will be deducted directly from their savings accounts	⑤	④	③	②	①
74	I think that all white South Africans with property over R250,000 should pay a property tax that will go towards black housing projects	⑤	④	③	②	①
75	I think that every white South African should take financial responsibility for a black South African, and support the black South African financially	⑤	④	③	②	①
76	I think that for the next ten years government should give a bigger pension payout to black South Africans	⑤	④	③	②	①
77	I think that black South Africans should get a 1% discount off all purchases made in shops	⑤	④	③	②	①
78	I think that all black South Africans should be given R200 on their birthday from government	⑤	④	③	②	①
79	I consider myself as belonging to white South Africans	⑤	④	③	②	①
80	Being a white South African is an important part of my life	⑤	④	③	②	①
81	I identify with white South Africans	⑤	④	③	②	①
82	I feel strong ties with white South Africans in general	⑤	④	③	②	①
83	White South Africans are an important group to me	⑤	④	③	②	①
84	I am glad to be a white South African	⑤	④	③	②	①

85	I feel committed with white South Africans	⑤	④	③	②	①
86	I am glad to be a white South African	⑤	④	③	②	①
87	I think that white South Africans have a lot to be proud of	⑤	④	③	②	①
88	Being a white South African is an important part of how I see myself	⑤	④	③	②	①
89	I feel a bond with white South Africans	⑤	④	③	②	①
90	I feel solidarity with white South Africans	⑤	④	③	②	①
91	I often think about the fact that I am a White South African	⑤	④	③	②	①
92	I feel close to me black friends	⑤	④	③	②	①
93	My black friends are very similar to me	⑤	④	③	②	①
94	I enjoy being around my black friends	⑤	④	③	②	①
95	Most black South Africans cannot be trusted to deliver on their promises	⑤	④	③	②	①
96	I think that black South Africans can be trusted on their apology for past wrong doings	⑤	④	③	②	①
97	Only few members of the black South African nation can be trusted	⑤	④	③	②	①
98	Despite the events that occurred during apartheid, I trust the black South Africans	⑤	④	③	②	①
99	I think that white South Africans cannot trust the black South Africans after everything they have done during the apartheid	⑤	④	③	②	①
100	Trust between the white and black South Africans is an important step towards reconciliation	⑤	④	③	②	①

Finally, we would like to ask you some general questions about yourself.

How old are you?

What gender are you?

Male		Female	
------	--	--------	--

What group do you belong to?

African		Coloured		Other, please specify	
White		Indian			

Thank you very much.

If you want to be part of the lucky draw, please provide your email address below:
