

Guilt and Shame as Intergroup Emotions
Applied within the South African Context

by

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ABSTRACT

The present paper will inform about three studies that seek to make a contribution to the area of self-conscious emotions, namely guilt and shame, and their consequences for intergroup relations in a South African context. As with previous research, this research investigated whether belonging to a particular group (i.e. being a white South African) is likely to evoke feelings of collective guilt and collective shame when reminded of the atrocities of Apartheid, even though the individual members did not personally contribute to their group's negative history. The first study aimed to investigate experimentally the effects of experienced collective ingroup guilt and shame on the desire to make reparation. The second study aimed to test the relationship between guilt/shame and reparation of white South Africans in the field. Furthermore, the second study aimed to account for the dialectical aspects of the intergroup situation by exploring guilt/shame and reparation of white South Africans as expected by young black South Africans (as members of the previously oppressed group). The third study aimed to replicate the differences between experienced guilt/shame/reparation and reported ingroup identification by white South Africans and the expected guilt/shame/reparation from white South Africans and reported ingroup identification by black South Africans as found in the study 2. In addition, the third study aimed to control the antecedents for collective guilt and for collective shame. It also explored the impact knowledge about atrocities of the ingroup (white participants) has on emotions and reparation attitudes and whether perceived status relations at present and in the future impacts the emotions as well general reparation attitudes.

INTRODUCTION

Apartheid in South Africa was a system of legalised racial segregation enforced by the National Party government between 1948 and 1994. During apartheid, practices and policies of separation along racial lines were developed. During this time, legislation classified inhabitants and visitors into racial groups (black, white, coloured, and Indian or Asian). South African blacks were stripped of their citizenship, legally becoming citizens of one of ten tribally based and nominally self-governing bantustans (tribal homelands). These homelands were relatively small and kept as economically unproductive areas of the country. The government also segregated education, medical care, and other public services and black people ended up with services greatly inferior to those of white people. The system of apartheid sparked significant resistance and the penalties imposed on political protest, even non-violent protest, were severe. During the states of emergency which continued intermittently until 1989, anyone could be detained without a hearing by a low-level police official for up to six months. Thousands of individuals died in custody, frequently after gruesome acts of torture. Those who were tried were sentenced to death, banished, or imprisoned for life, like Nelson Mandela. Apartheid was dismantled in a series of negotiations from 1990 to 1993, however the legacies of apartheid still shape South African politics and society.

Research shows that when members of a group are reminded of certain historical events, where their forebears have behaved in a way that is inconsistent with the norms or values of that group, even though they themselves were not personally involved in these events, these members may feel guilt (Doosje, Branscombe, Spears & Manstead, 1998). Because of South Africa's history, it is likely that white South

Africans may feel guilty for the historical wrongdoings of their forebears even though they themselves were not involved in Apartheid. The present study seeks to make a contribution to the area of collective emotions, namely guilt and shame, and their consequences for intergroup relations in the South African context.

Doosje et al. (1998) conducted the first social psychological study on collective guilt. According to Doosje et al. (1998), guilt, at an individual level, can be classified as a self-conscious emotion. In order for it to occur, it is necessary that people see themselves as having deviated from a set of rules or standards which they hold. Guilt is the result of cognitive processes that take place within an individual when there is a discrepancy between how one thinks one should have behaved and how one actually behaved (Doosje et al., 1998, p. 872).

Both Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and Self-categorisation Theory (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherall, 1987) offer insight into when and why groups that people belong to influence their perceptions, emotions, and behaviours. According to Social Identity Theory, individuals derive their self-image not only from who they are as individuals but also from the social groups to which they belong. According to Self-categorisation Theory, people derive meaning from the social environment by categorising themselves and others according to their group memberships. Following the debate in Germany around a book published by Jonah Goldhagen in 1996 entitled *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust*, and based on the above theoretical assumptions, Doosje et al. (1998) suggested that when individuals acknowledge membership of a group, they may experience specific emotional reactions as a result of the actions of that group, even

though they did not personally behave in an objectional way. Thus when the behaviour of other ingroup members is inconsistent with norms or values of the group, it is argued that people can experience guilt on behalf of their group (Doosje et al., 1998).

In the study, Doosje et al. (1998) examined the impact of the history of one's own group's treatment of another group on feelings of collective guilt and behavioural reactions to guilt. They conducted two experiments with individual group members who could not have personally contributed to their group's negative history. The first study, a laboratory experiment, manipulated actual past behaviour of the ingroup toward an outgroup in an experimentally created group. In this study, the researchers hypothesised that when group members were presented with a description of the ingroup's history where they had undervalued an outgroup, ingroup members would feel guilty. In addition, they investigated whether people would be more willing to engage in compensatory behaviour if their group had behaved in a harmful manner than when their group's actions toward another group had been fair even though they were not personally involved harming the other group. The results of the experiment indicated that ingroup members did feel more guilt when they had undervalued another group in the past. Secondly, the results indicated that people were more willing to compensate the other group members when ingroup behaviour had been unfair to the other group.

The second study of Doosje et al. (1998), a field experiment, manipulated the perceived past behaviour of the ingroup toward an outgroup in a meaningful intergroup context. The study also investigated whether collective guilt resulted in

reparation in order to alleviate feelings of collective guilt. Ingroup identification was also measured as it is suggested that it is important to distinguish between low and high identifiers' responses to group-threatening information (Doosje et al., 1998, p. 878). The participants were presented with a one-page summary of the history of the Dutch colonisation of Indonesia. There were three history conditions which were (1) favourable, (2) unfavourable, and (3) ambiguous. In the favourable history condition, participants were told that the Dutch had improved the Indonesian infrastructure, had introduced a solid legal system and had also initiated a good education system. In the unfavourable history condition, participants were told that the Dutch had exploited Indonesian land, had abused the Indonesian labour and they had killed a lot of Indonesians. In the ambiguous condition, participants were told that the Dutch had introduced a solid legal system and they had also improved the Indonesian infrastructure but they had abused Indonesian labour. Various pictures were included under each condition to strengthen the different history conditions. The results of the experiment demonstrated that group members can experience emotions as a consequence of the way their group's behavioural history is portrayed. Secondly, the results support the hypothesis that members of a group can experience guilt because of past behaviour of their ingroup toward another group even though they personally did not play a role in harming the outgroup. In addition, these feelings of guilt motivated compensation for the past behaviour of their group. In terms of ingroup identification, the results show that, under the ambiguous history condition, high identifiers (i.e. people who identify strongly with their group) are less likely to experience collective guilt than low identifiers. Low identifiers were also more willing to compensate outgroup members than high identifiers when the favourable and unfavourable history conditions were presented simultaneously (Doosje et al.,

1998). The studies of Doosje, et al. (1998) suggest that people may be sensitive to information regarding the behaviour of their fellow group members which results in specific emotional reactions. These emotional reactions might lead ingroup members to engage in behaviour such as reparation.

The finding made by Doosje et al (1998), i.e. that people can feel emotions on behalf of ingroup members, was specifically tested by Yzerbyt, Dumont, Wigboldus and Gordijn (2003). Yzerbyt et al. (2003) who conducted an experiment which tested the model of social emotions, that even though people themselves are not the victim of intentional harm perpetrated by a third party, people will feel anger. The research hypothesis was that if the victims can be seen as part of the ingroup and the perpetrator can be seen as part of the outgroup, observers feel angry toward the perpetrator. Another goal of the study was to investigate whether specific features of the events would have some consequences in terms of particular action tendencies. The study also examined the moderating role of group identification in the emergence of the specific emotional experiences and in the occurrence of the behavioural reactions toward the outgroup. Participants were students at the Catholic University of Louvain (UCL). They were given a survey which was allegedly aimed at surveying people's opinions about a series of events that had been reported in national newspapers. Half of the participants however were given the impression that the study was aimed at comparing the opinions of students to those of professors whereas the other half of the participants were given the impression that the study was aimed at comparing the opinions of students at UCL with students at other universities. Participants were then told via a bogus article, supposedly from a national newspaper, that the Board of Directors of the University of Ghent had decided to enforce the use

of English as the sole language in the third, fourth and fifth years of university. After reading this article, participants were asked to indicate their feelings on a series of twelve, 7 point rating scales. Three of these items related to anger (angry, irritated, revolted), three items were related to sadness (sad, depressed, down), three items were concerned with fear (scared, anxious, terrified) and three were associated with happiness (happy, amused, cheerful). In order to assess the extent to which participants endorsed each of the 12 action strategies, participants were once again asked to indicate these on rating scales. The four sets of action tendencies were selected to be as closely related to the four emotions as possible. Three of the action tendencies were intended to relate to offensive tendencies ('to intervene', 'to get angry', 'to set oneself against'), three were concerned with an absence of any reaction and to crying ('to do nothing', 'to lock oneself away at home', 'to cry'), three were concerned with avoidance tendencies ('to hear no more about it', 'to stop thinking about it', 'to be reassured'), and three were related to making light of the event ('to make fun of', 'to mock it', 'to be exuberant about it'). The results of the study showed that when the distinct memberships of the participants and the victims were emphasised, the participants reported stronger feelings of anger than any other emotion. When common group membership with the victims was highlighted, the results confirmed that the impact of an emotional event is more pronounced among high identifiers than among low identifiers. The results also confirmed that the offensive action tendencies were entirely mediated by corresponding emotions. The results of the study therefore showed that the extent to which people perceive themselves as having a common group membership with the victims of harmful behaviour influences both their emotions and their action tendencies (Yzerbyt et al., 2003).

In a more recent study, Smith, Seger and Mackie (2007) investigated what differentiates emotions that occur on an individual level from those emotions that occur on a group level. In this study the authors argue that there are four key criteria which define group-level emotions: (1) group emotions are distinct from the same person's individual-level emotions; (2) group emotions depend on the person's degree of ingroup identification; (3) group emotions are socially shared within a group; and (4) group emotions contribute to regulating intra- and intergroup attitudes and behaviour. Two surveys were conducted. The aim of the first survey was to obtain evidence regarding the four criteria. In the first study, participants from Indiana University (IU) were asked to report the emotions that they experienced when thinking about themselves as (1) unique individuals, (2) members of university and (3) political party ingroups. The study was described to the participants as looking at individual's perceptions of themselves and groups that they belong to. To assess individual emotions, participants were instructed to rate a list of emotions (angry, satisfied, afraid, hopeful, proud, disgusted, uneasy, happy, grateful, guilty, respectful and irritated) by indicating the extent to which they felt these emotions as individuals. To assess group identification and group emotions, identification with IU was assessed and using the same 12 emotions described above, students were asked about their emotions as an IU student. Participants were also asked to indicate whether they identified themselves as a Democrat or a Republican. To measure intergroup attitudes and behavioural tendencies, participants completed feeling thermometer scales (range: 0 – 100) to measure the evaluations of a number of groups including IU students, Democrats, Republicans and other filler groups. In addition, they had to complete a number of action tendency items which assessed participants' willingness to perform specific types of actions relevant to party members or to IU student status. The results

of the first study provided support for all four criteria namely that (1) group emotions are distinct from the same person's individual-level emotions; (2) group emotions do depend on the person's degree of ingroup identification; (3) group emotions are socially shared within a group; and (4) group emotions do contribute to regulating intra- and intergroup attitudes and behaviour. The aim of the second survey was to replicate and extend the results. The second study was a much larger sample size and in order to be able to add to the generalisability of the results, the authors tested their hypothesis for group identification as an American as well as sought to replicate the results for the Republican and Democratic groups. And finally, in order to demonstrate that the results were not dependent on specific details of the question wording used to elicit group emotions, the authors reworded the instructions to make explicit that they wanted reports of emotions that are experienced when the participant thought of him- or herself as a group member. Once again, the results of the second study conducted by Smith et al. (2007) provided support for all four criteria. Therefore the results of both studies conducted by Smith et al. (2007) supported all four criteria thereby providing evidence that emotions can be experienced, not only on an individual level, but also on a group level.

From the study conducted by Doosje et al. (1998), it is known that there is a relationship between collective guilt and reparation. Recent studies took collective guilt and reparation a step further by including collective shame in the study (Tangney, Miller, Flicker & Barlow, 1996; Čehajić & Brown, 2006; Lickel, Schmader, Curtis, Scarnier & Ames, 2005; Brown, González, Zageeka, Manzi & Čehajić, 2008, Brown & Čehajić, in press). These authors examined collective guilt and shame in various contexts since prior to these studies, little work had been done to

"disentangle the potentially divergent intergroup consequences of collective guilt and collective shame" (Brown et al., 2008, p. 77).

The study by Čehajić and Brown (2006) called "*The Burden of Our Times*" looked at the different appraisals of ingroup negative behaviour as predictors of group-based guilt and shame. They argued that it is not the event per se that determines whether people would experience guilt or shame but rather how the event is appraised. Čehajić and Brown's (2006) argument was based on Lewis' (1971) distinction between guilt and shame as emotional responses to personal wrongdoings (cited in Čehajić & Brown, 2006, p. 4). Whilst both emotions are self-conscious and negative, there is a difference in their focus. Guilt, which has a focus on misdeeds, is more likely to lead to some form of restitution to the victim for example an apology or reparation. The feeling of guilt for one's wrongdoing is associated with a focus on specific behaviours and their consequences for the other ("I did a bad thing and now the other is suffering as a result"). Shame on the other hand, which has a focus on the self, is more likely to lead to withdrawal from or avoidance of the situation that gave rise to it. Feelings of shame involve a greater emphasis on the implications of the wrongdoing for the self ("I did this bad thing and therefore I am a bad person") (Čehajić & Brown, 2006, p. 4).

In accordance to Lewis' (1971) distinctions, Čehajić and Brown (2006) argue further that whether people experience guilt or shame will depend on how they appraise the ingroup's negative actions. They propose that the perception of the group's responsibility for the crimes committed will lead to feelings of guilt through some acceptance of collective responsibility which they termed group-based responsibility

whereas perceptions of the ingroup's ruined public image as a result of the same transgression, will lead to feelings of shame. In this experiment, Serbian adolescents were presented with an interview abstract between two young people talking about war crimes committed by Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BIH) during the 1992 – 1995 war. Those three years were characterised by mass killings, rapes and deportation, particularly of the non-Serbian population. Čehajić and Brown (2006) sought to manipulate the appraisal focus on the ingroup's negative behaviour. In the *Ingroup Responsible* condition (i.e. condition of guilt) the aim of the manipulation, via the interview abstract, was to heighten a perception of ingroup responsibility. In the *Image Threat* condition (i.e. condition of shame) the aim of the manipulation, via the interview abstract, was to stimulate a perception that the group's public image was threatened. In the *Control* condition, participants were not presented with any interview abstract and were told to answer a range of questions in regard to the events that took place during the 1992 – 1995 war. In total two experiments were conducted. In the first experiment, Čehajić and Brown (2006) hypothesised that there would be an increased perception of ingroup responsibility for the crimes committed during the war, followed by an increased personal acceptance of collective responsibility and subsequent feelings of guilt in the *Ingroup Responsible* condition. They also predicted that there would be a greater loss of perceived public respect followed by increased shame in the *Image Threat* condition. Participants were high school and undergraduate students. Once participants had finished reading the interview abstracts in the *Ingroup Responsible* condition and the *Image Threat* condition, they were asked to write down their thoughts and feelings while focusing on the consequences for the outgroup and on the consequences for the ingroup, respectively. This step was not necessary in the *Control* condition. The results of the first experiment supported the

hypothesis that a perception of ingroup responsibility would lead to increased feelings of guilt, whereas a perception that the ingroup's reputation has been damaged, would lead to greater feelings of shame. The second experiment sought to replicate the results of the first study in the same context. There was however an additional aspect of the study which was to investigate the link between the perception and acceptance of responsibility, and also investigate the moderating effects of perceived legitimacy of collective responsibility. The procedure for the second study was the same as the first study. The results of the second study supported the hypothesis that perception of ingroup responsibility predicted guilt whereas predication of image threat predicated shame. The results also indicated that perceived legitimacy of collective responsibility moderated the link between perception and acceptance of collective responsibility. In other words, individuals who accepted some collective responsibility were those individuals who perceived the ingroup to be responsible, and did not question the appropriateness of the notion of collective responsibility. Less than one quarter of the participants however agreed that collective responsibility was a legitimate concept.

Another study that attempted to measure both collective guilt and collective shame was conducted by Lickel, et al. (2005). This study demonstrates that the two collective emotions of guilt and shame can be distinguished empirically and that they can then lead to different outcomes. The goal of the study by Lickel et al. (2005) was to disentangle shame- and guilt-related constructs. They assessed people's experiences with multiple group memberships in which there was likely to be some variation in interdependence and in the perception of shared identity. The groups used were family, friendship and ethnic groups. Participants were asked to recall a time when they felt vicariously ashamed or guilty for something a member of each of these

groups did. The authors then examined the degree to which their ratings of independence varied and how relevant the event was to a shared identity and how this predicted their appraisal of the event, their emotional reactions, and their behavioural motivations. The results indicate that vicarious shame and guilt are distinct emotional reactions. They are predicted by unique appraisals of events and by different aspects of one's association to a wrongdoer. If a person had a highly interdependent association with that person and felt that they should have been able to control his or her actions, they felt guilty for another's wrongdoing. On the other hand, if a person felt that the person's behaviour was relevant to a social identity that they shared in common with the wrongdoer and they appraised the other person's behaviour as a negative reflection on themselves, they felt ashamed for another's wrongdoing. Each emotion also predicted a unique behavioural response. Guilt predicted a desire to make amends for another's wrongdoing whereas shame predicted a desire to distance oneself from the situation and the wrongdoer (Lickel et al., 2005).

According to Brown et al. (2008), collective guilt “arises mainly when group members perceive that they have some responsibility for their ingroup’s misdeeds or the subsequent repercussions of those misdeeds” (p. 76). As indicated in previous research, collective guilt should lead ingroup members to want to compensate outgroup members (Doosje et al., 1998). Collective shame, on the other hand, “involves being publicly exposed as incompetent, not being in control, weak and potentially even disgusting in the eyes of others” (p. 76). This definition emphasises the reputational aspect. The outcome of this implied threat to the ingroup's image should lead to the avoidance of the event that gave rise to it or perhaps give rise to feelings of hostility towards the outgroup (Brown et al., 2008). Tangney, et al. (1996)

also distinguished between shame and guilt. According to Tangney et al. (1996), shame is more a public emotion whereas guilt is more a private affair. Therefore in order to experience feelings of shame, a disapproving audience is a key component whereas guilt is thought to be the reaction of one's internalised conscience to a breach of one's personal standards and thus may be felt when one is entirely alone (Tangney et al., 1996, p. 1256).

The different impact of guilt and shame was studied in two longitudinal studies and one cross-sectional study using non-indigenous Chileans as the ingroup and an indigenous group, the Mapuche, as the outgroup by Brown et al. (2008). The first study tested the hypothesis that feelings of collective guilt held by the ingroup over the historical mistreatment of the outgroup will be causally related to positive reparation attitudes to the outgroup. The second hypothesis proposed a moderation of the guilt-reparation relationship by shame i.e. participants who scored high on shame would show a weaker relationship between guilt and reparation than participants who scored low on shame. The participants in this study were school children from an area where the proportion of the Mapuche population was very large. Two sets of data were collected approximately eight weeks apart. The results of the study supported hypothesis 1, i.e. that collective guilt did have a longitudinal effect on reparation attitudes. Collective shame, on the other hand, had no direct relationship with reparation attitudes. The authors do however say that collective shame should not be dismissed as an unreliable variable as it was a significant predictor of reparation attitudes at both time 1 and time 2 in the cross-sectional analyses. They therefore conclude that it appears that collective shame can be "alleviated" in the short term the same way as collective guilt can be, and that is, by supporting favourable reparation

attitudes. In terms of the second hypothesis, no moderation effect of shame on the guilt-reparation relationship was found. The second study increased the lag period to a much longer period of six months and the procedures and measures were identical to the first study. The results of the second study, once again, confirmed the first hypothesis i.e. guilt was still a significant predictor of later reparation attitudes. In addition, the effects of collective shame, as indicated in the first study, showed to have little direct long-term effect on reparation attitudes. An explanation offered by the authors for this result, as indicated in their first study, is that shame might be alleviated in the short term by attempting to make reparation. However, because of the underlying negative attribution that shame implies, such an attribution means that relief in the long term may be gained from avoidance strategies. In terms of the moderating effect of shame on the guilt-reparation relationship, the results confirmed this only for respondents reporting low initial levels of collective shame. For participants who scored high on shame, the positive consequences of guilt seemed to have been suppressed. The authors suggest that this is because collective guilt and collective shame have different consequences for people's desire to compensate others for their ingroup's past misdeeds (Brown et al., 2008).

In the third study, Brown et al. (2008) once again predicted that collective guilt and collective shame would be positively associated with reparation attitudes. In terms of the second hypothesis, the authors wanted to investigate what might be underlying the association between the cross-sectional positive correlations between collective shame and reparation attitudes that were found in the previous studies. The authors focussed on the implication that a coping strategy for collective shame is to manage the ingroup's reputation by appearing to support reparation to the outgroup. This image-

management consequence of shame has been supported by other research (Brown & Čehajić, in press). Brown et al. (2008) therefore predicted that the link between shame and reparation would be mediated by ingroup members' desire to improve the groups' public reputation. The results confirmed that both collective shame and collective guilt are positively associated with reparation attitudes. And as predicated, the association between collective shame and reparation attitudes was mediated by a desire to improve or maintain the ingroup's reputation (Brown et al., 2008). Brown et al. (2008) suggest that this reputational aspect of shame is what can lead to short-term prosocial effects as ingroup members seek to present their group in a better light. They also suggest that one might expect collective shame to be more sensitive to anonymity manipulations than would be collective guilt. This could be because, as indicated in the study conducted by Brown et al. (2008), if ingroup members who experience collective shame are more concerned about the groups' public image, then anonymous reparation would not be seen as a strategy to improve the group's public image in the eyes of others. Public reparation, on the other hand, could be seen as a strategy to improve the group's public image in the eyes of others.

Based on the outlined research on collective guilt/shame and reparation three studies, one experiment and two field studies, were conducted which are reported in the present paper. All three studies aimed to investigate the relationship between collective guilt, collective shame and the willingness to reparate within a natural setting, South Africa. In addition to this, the field studies (study 2 and study 3) considered the intergroup situation by studying the emotions of collective guilt and collective shame of the former perpetrator group and the expectations of the former victim group. Study 3 further explored the impact knowledge about atrocities of the

ingroup (white participants) has on emotions and reparation attitudes as well as explored whether perceived status relations at present and in the future impacts the emotions as well general reparation attitudes.

STUDY 1: EXPERIMENT

Two hypotheses were tested in the present field experiment. The first hypothesis (H1) states that both the feelings of collective guilt and shame experienced by ingroup members will be causally related to attitudes in favour of making reparations to outgroup members. This will be a replication of the study conducted by Brown et al. (2008). Since it is known that shame should be less strongly and less durably related to reparation and that reparation is assumed to be functional to increase the reputation of the ingroup it was hypothesised in the second hypothesis (H2) that shame is more strongly associated to public reparation than anonymous reparation.

A precondition for this study is a wrongdoing in the history of the ingroup towards an outgroup even though participants did not personally contribute to their group's negative history. The present experiment made use of the Sharpeville Massacre, which is one of the many atrocities committed during the Apartheid years. The Sharpeville Massacre occurred on 21 March 1960 when between 5,000 and 7,000 black South Africans converged on the local police station in the township of Sharpeville, offering themselves up for arrest for not carrying their pass books. The aimed non-violent campaign turned into a massacre when white South African police began shooting on a crowd of unarmed Black protesters, leaving many dead or wounded – many of them shot in the back.

The independent variables of the experiment, namely (1) collective shame, and (2) collective guilt, were manipulated by providing participants with a brief overview of the Sharpeville Massacre. The overview served to remind the participants of the injustices perpetrated by their group during this time. In addition, participants were given an interview abstract between two young people in regard to this event. Under the condition of guilt, participants were led to believe that the ingroup (i.e. white South Africans) has acknowledged and taken responsibility for their past wrongdoings. Under the condition of shame, participants were led to believe that the reputation of the ingroup (i.e. white South Africans) has been threatened by their past wrongdoings and they are now in the position where they have to try to repair their distorted image. The interview abstracts were developed in accordance to Čehajić and Brown (2006) (see Appendix A). The third condition served as a control condition. Under this condition the questionnaire contained neither an overview of the Sharpeville massacre nor a copy of the interview abstract.

The dependent variable was reparation attitudes. In order to test the second hypothesis i.e. that shame should be strongly associated to public reparation than anonymous reparation, the questionnaire distinguished between general reparation, public reparation and anonymous reparation.

Method

Sample

Participants were white students from the University of Fort Hare. Altogether 57 participants completed the questionnaire with 20 participants completing the guilt condition questionnaire, 21 participants completing the shame condition questionnaire and 16 participants allocated to the control group.

Convenience sampling techniques were used in this study. The participants were randomly assigned to each condition using www.randomizer.org. The criteria used in Research Randomizer were three sets of 30 unique numbers per set ranging from 1 to 60. These criteria were run three times, one set being applied to the guilt condition, the second set being applied to the shame condition and the third set applied to the control condition. The programme generated two sets per result. For each result generated by Randomizer, duplicate numbers were found in both set # 1, set # 2 and set # 3. In addition, for the range 1 to 60, certain numbers were missing. A coin strategy was used to replace the duplicate numbers generated by Randomizer with the missing numbers for each result. The details of this coin strategy can be found in Appendix B.

Procedure

Upon receiving the questionnaire, participants were asked to read the instructions carefully. It was explained that the questionnaire was anonymous and it would not be possible to identify them in any way. In addition, it was made clear in the beginning that participation was completely voluntary and participants were able to withdraw at any time without giving any explanation. The participants were given the impression that the experiment was addressing the perception of historical events in South Africa. All participants were given an overview of an historical event, in this case the Sharpeville Massacre, which served to remind them of the injustices perpetrated by their own group, i.e. white South Africans during the Apartheid years. They were then provided with a discussion about the event between two people. The first condition which is intended to manipulate collective guilt had the participants believe that the ingroup has taken responsibility for their past wrongdoings. The second condition

which is intended to manipulate collective shame had the participants believe that the ingroup's reputation has been threatened by their past wrongdoings.

On completion of the questionnaire, all participants were debriefed by the researcher where the real purpose of the survey was provided which was to investigate emotions as an intergroup phenomenon.

Measurements

Participants were asked to respond to each statement on the questionnaire by indicating the degree of their agreement or disagreement to these statements. Item ratings were made on a 5-point Likert type scale ranging from 1 (Totally Disagree) to 5 (Totally Agree). All items of the principle measures used in the experiment are provided in Appendix C.

Collective guilt

This was measured using the collective guilt scale developed by Brown and Čehajić (in press) who reported a Cronbach's Alpha of .84. The Cronbach's Alpha for the scale in this experiment is .87 and an example is "*I sometimes feel guilty for what the white South Africans have done to black South Africans during the Apartheid years.*"

Collective shame

This was measured using the collective shame scale developed by Brown and Čehajić (in press) who reported a Cronbach's Alpha of .74. The Cronbach's Alpha for the scale in this experiment is .81 and an example is "*Even though I do not discriminate against black South Africans, I feel bad when I realise that other white South Africans do.*"

Identification with the ingroup

Identification with the ingroup was measured using items developed by Leach, van Zomeren, Zebel, Vliek, Pennkamp, Doosje, Ouwerkerk and Spears (in press). According to Leach et al. (in press), ingroup identification is made up of multiple components. Their study identified five components of ingroup identification which they integrated into a hierarchical two-dimensional model that differentiates group level self-definition from self-investment. The self-definition dimension is manifested in individuals' perceptions of themselves as similar to an ingroup prototype and as sharing commonalities with the ingroup. The self-investment dimension manifests in individuals' positive feelings about their ingroup membership and a sense that they have a bond with the ingroup (Leach et al., in press). The three components which fall under the self-investment dimension are solidarity, satisfaction and centrality and the two components which fall under the self-definition dimension are individual self-stereotyping and ingroup homogeneity. The ingroup identification scale for this experiment used three items from the solidarity component, two items from the satisfaction component and two items from the centrality component. An example of this scale is "*I feel a bond with white South Africans.*" One item (*I often think about the fact that I am a white South African*) was removed as the Corrected Item-Total Correlation was below .3. The Cronbach's Alpha without this item is .77.

Reparation

The reparation scale for this experiment was made up of three sub-scales namely general reparation, public reparation and anonymous reparation.

The general reparation scale comprised four items which were taken from the reparation attitude scale developed by Brown et al. (2008). The reparation attitude scale developed by Brown et al. (2008) consists of seven items and the Cronbach's Alpha for this scale is .86. The Cronbach's Alpha for the scale in the present study is .86 and example is "*I believe white South Africans should try to repair some of the damage they caused in South Africa.*"

The public reparation scale comprised three items. These items were developed for the purpose of the present experiment and revealed a Cronbach's Alpha of .41. Whilst this scale reliability is weak, when looking at the Corrected Item-Total Correlation, all three items correlated above .3. An example is "*I think that white South Africans should publicly apologise for all the mistreatment and deprivation that they have caused black South Africans.*"

The anonymous reparation scale comprised three items. This scale was developed for the purpose of the experiment. The scale revealed a Cronbach's Alpha of .78 and an example is "*I think that white South Africans should donate money anonymously towards the development of black schools.*"

Results

Preliminary analysis

An Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) was conducted by which the experimental groups were compared to the control group in order to establish whether or not the manipulation of collective shame and collective guilt was successful. The ANOVA revealed that the three groups differ significantly from each other in their guilt scores, $F(2, 54)=5.37, p=.007$, and in their shame score, $F(2, 54)=6.48, p=.003$. The Bonferroni post-hoc statistic revealed that participants in the guilt condition ($M=3.40, SD=.886$) had significant higher guilt scores than the control group ($M=2.60, SD=1.17$), $p<.05$. The results also revealed that participants in the shame condition ($M=3.46, SD=.593$) had the tendency to score significant higher on shame than the control group ($M=2.82, SD=.940$), $p=.068$.

At first glance one could conclude that the manipulation was successful. However, it is known that shame and guilt tend to correlate with each other (Brown, et al., 2008). In order to determine that the manipulation in the present experiment increased only the targeted collective emotions, it was necessary to test the functional relationship between guilt and shame for the three different conditions.

Using the Bonferroni post-hoc statistic the participants' scores of shame in the guilt condition ($M=3.80, SD=.899$) were compared with the participants' scores of shame in the control condition ($M=2.82, SD=.940$) as well as with the participants' scores of guilt in the shame condition ($M=3.61, SD=.816$) with the participants' scores of guilt in the control condition ($M=2.60, SD=1.16$). The results revealed that participants in the guilt condition scored significantly higher in shame relative to the control group ($p<.01$), and that participants in the shame condition scored significantly higher in

guilt relative to the control group ($p < .01$). These results indicate that the manipulation in the present experiment was not successful since the manipulation of guilt increased not only the feelings of guilt but also the feelings of shame and vice versa.

Using Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) it was also tested whether the two experimental groups differ significantly from the control group in respect to ingroup identification. The results revealed that neither participants in the guilt condition ($M=3.61$, $SD=.54$) nor participants in the shame condition ($M=3.49$, $SD=.66$) differ significantly in their ingroup identification from participants in the control condition ($M=3.75$, $SD=.81$), $F(2, 54) = .691$, $p = ns$.

As a consequence of the reported results, the two experimental conditions were merged to one experimental condition and consequently only the first hypothesis could be tested.

Main analysis

The first hypothesis, which stated that both the feelings of collective guilt and shame experienced by ingroup members will be causally related to attitudes in favour of making reparations to outgroup members, was tested using the Analysis of Variance (ANOVA). The ANOVA revealed that participants in the experimental condition (shame and guilt) showed significantly stronger general reparation attitudes ($M=2.52$, $SD=.879$) than in the control condition ($M=1.48$, $SD=.711$), $F(1, 55) = 7.829$, $p < .01$. The results indicate that the relationship between guilt/shame and general reparation could be confirmed.

Discussion

The results indicate that the manipulation was not successful since the collective guilt condition also increased feelings of shame relative to the control group and that the collective shame condition also increased feelings of guilt relative to the control group. Therefore in both conditions, both collective guilt and collective shame, were triggered however not as independent emotions. Because of this, only hypothesis 1 which stated that both the feelings of collective guilt/shame experienced by ingroup members will be causally related to attitudes in favour of making reparations to outgroup members, could be tested. As a consequence, the two experimental conditions were merged to one experimental condition in which both collective guilt and shame were manipulated. The results indicate that the relationship between collective guilt/shame and general reparation could be confirmed. In addition, because the manipulation was not successful, Hypothesis 2 which stated that shame is strongly associated to public reparation than anonymous reparation could not be tested.

The difficulty experienced in manipulating collective guilt and collective shame independently is in line with other research. Čehajić and Brown (2006) sought to manipulate the appraisal focus of ingroup negative behaviour. The aim of the manipulation in the *Ingroup Responsible* condition (i.e. the guilt condition) was to heighten a perception of ingroup responsibility for the atrocities. The aim of the manipulation in the *Image Threat* condition (i.e. the shame condition) was to stimulate a perception that the group's public image was threatened. Čehajić and Brown (2006) hypothesised that participants in the *Ingroup Responsible* condition would experience an enhanced perception of ingroup responsibility for the committed atrocities which would lead to an increased personal acceptance of collective responsibility. This would in turn, lead to increased feelings to guilt experienced by

the participants in this condition. In the *Image Threat* condition, Čehajić and Brown (2006) hypothesised that a greater loss of perceived public respect would lead to an increase in the feelings of shame experienced by the participants. The results of the studies conducted by Čehajić and Brown (2006) indicate that the manipulation worked in the *Ingroup Responsible* condition because this experimental group differed significantly in the perception that they are responsible for the crimes committed relative to the control group and the *Image Threat* condition. Whereas in the manipulation of the *Image Threat* condition, this experimental group differed in the perception that their image was threatened relative to the control group and not relative to the *Ingroup Responsible* condition. In addition, whilst the manipulation was successful, no differences were found between the groups in terms of group-based responsibility, guilt, shame and perceived harm to the outgroup. The results from the present experiment seem to confirm the results found in the study by Čehajić and Brown (2006). However, as the present experiment did not measure the antecedents for collective guilt and collective shame, it is not possible to replicate the results of Čehajić and Brown (2006). In other words, it is not possible to check whether the focus on ingroup responsibility for atrocities in the interview abstract for collective guilt led to greater feelings of guilt (and not shame) and whether the focus on the threat to the group's image in the interview abstract for collective shame led to greater feelings of shame (and not guilt). Further research is required in the area of differentiating between guilt and shame in experimental conditions.

The results also revealed that ingroup identification did not play a role in how much collective guilt or collective shame participants would experience since no differences were found among the three experimental conditions.

To test whether we could find the relationship between collective guilt, collective shame and reparation in a natural setting, a field survey (study 2) was conducted in the South African context, taking the historical context into account. The first hypothesis (H1) states that both the feelings of collective guilt and shame experienced by ingroup members will be related to attitudes in favour of making reparations to outgroup members. In addition, from previous field studies it is known that collective guilt and collective shame correlate highly with each other (Brown et al., 2008) therefore the second study also investigated the relationship between collective guilt and collective shame.

The present experiment, as well as previous studies, both experiments and surveys, have focussed on the former perpetrators' emotions and behaviours in respect of past historical wrongdoings. It could be assumed that individuals feel collective guilt when they feel that the group norms or values' of the ingroup relative to an outgroup have been violated. Group norms or values are context dependent and situation specific and are therefore determined through intergroup relations. For example, favouring the ingroup and derogating members of the outgroup may be more normative for one group than they are for other groups.

Taking the outlined specifics of the intergroup context into account, the second aim of the first field study (study 2) was to consider the intergroup situation by studying the emotions of collective guilt and collective shame of the former perpetrator group, white South Africans, and the expectations of the former victim group, black South Africans. The first field study (study 2) will therefore not only assess the former

perpetrator's emotions in respect of their past historical wrongdoings, and their willingness to pay reparation to the former victim group, but it will also assess the expected emotions of the former perpetrator group by the former victim group and the expected reparation and the behavioural outcomes of the former perpetrator group by the former victim group.

STUDY 2: FIELD STUDY 1

The first field study (study 2) aimed to test whether the relationship between collective guilt, collective shame and reparation could be found in a natural setting. In addition, the study also investigated the relationship between collective guilt and collective shame. Thirdly, the study aimed to explore the former perpetrators' emotions, their willingness to pay reparation to the former victim group for the past historical wrongdoings of their group and ingroup identification in relation to the expected emotions of the former perpetrator group by the former victim group, the expected reparation and the behavioural outcomes of the former perpetrator group by the former victim group and ingroup identification.

Method

Sample

Participants were learners from Cambridge High School, a middle-class mixed race group school (white participants) and Nkwenkwezi High School, a lower income school for black adolescents (black participants) all based in East London, South Africa. The average age of the students was 15.28 (with a range from 13 – 25). Altogether 216 participants - 109 black participants and 107 white participants submitted completed questionnaires with 8 participants not indicating their race. One-hundred and twenty-five females and 90 males partook in the survey with 1

participant not indicating his/her sex. Questionnaires were distributed to adolescent school pupils during the 2008 June examinations.

Procedure

Permission was obtained from the Headmaster prior to the data being collected. Since the data was collected within a different research project addressing idols, participants were advised that the questions form part of a project that addresses role models of people. They were asked to respond to every question or statement as honestly as possible even if they found it difficult to form an exact opinion. Participants were advised that the survey was anonymous and that no one would be able to discover their identity. In addition, it was made clear in the beginning that participation was completely voluntary and participants were able to withdraw at any time without giving any explanation. White participants and black participants were given questionnaires that had different foci. The survey for white participants focussed on how much collective guilt and collective shame white participants may feel and experienced reparation attitudes because of the atrocities committed by members of the ingroup in the past whereas the survey for the black participants focussed on how much guilt and how much shame black participants expected white South Africans to experience because of the atrocities committed by members of the outgroup in the past as well as expected reparation attitudes.

Measurements

Participants were asked to respond to each statement on the questionnaire by indicating the degree of their agreement or disagreement to these statements. Item ratings were made on a 5-point Likert type scale ranging from 1 (Totally Disagree) to

5 (Totally Agree). All items of the principle measures used in study 2 are provided in Appendix C.

Collective guilt (experienced versus expected)

Collective guilt (experienced by white participants) was measured by four items such as *"I sometimes feel guilty for what the white South Africans have done to black South Africans during the Apartheid years"* as developed Brown and Čehajić (in press). Brown and Čehajić (in press) report a Cronbach's Alpha of .84. Collective guilt (expected by black participants) was measured by the same four items although adjusted such as *"I think that white South Africans should feel guilty for what they did to black South Africans during the Apartheid years."* The Cronbach's Alpha in the present study is .87 for the black sample and .85 for the white sample.

Collective shame (experienced versus expected)

Collective shame (experienced by white participants) was measured by five items developed by Brown and Čehajić (in press) such as *"Even though I do not discriminate against black South Africans, I feel bad when I realise that other white South Africans do."* Brown and Čehajić (in press) reported a Cronbach's Alpha of .74. Collective shame (expected by black participants) was measured by the same five items although adjusted such as *"Even though I do not discriminate against white South Africans, I feel bad when I realize that other black South Africans do."* The Cronbach's Alpha for the scale in the present study is .85 for the black sample and .79 for the white sample.

Identification with the ingroup

Identification with the ingroup was once again measured using items developed by Leach et al. (in press). The scale consisted of seven items such as “*I feel a bond with black / white South Africans.*” The Cronbach's Alpha for the scale in this study is .93 for the black sample and .69 for the white sample.

General reparation attitude (experienced versus expected)

Both experienced reparation (by white participants) and expected reparation (by black participants) attitudes were measured by the same scale. The scale consisted of four items such as “*I believe white South Africans should try to repair some of the damage they caused in South Africa.*” These four items were selected from the reparation attitude scale (consisting of 7 items) which was developed by Brown et al. (2008). The Cronbach's Alpha for the scale developed by Brown et al. (2008) scale was reported as .91. In the present study, the Cronbach's Alpha is .81 for the black sample and .84 for the white sample.

Results

Hypothesis 1, which stated that both the feelings of collective guilt and shame experienced by white participants will be related to attitudes in favour of making reparations to outgroup members, was tested by using Multiple Linear Regression analysis, including experienced guilt, experienced shame and ingroup identification as independent variables and reparation attitudes as dependent variable. The model explained 25% of the variance of the dependent variable reparation attitudes, $F(3, 102)=12.487, p<.001$. The independent variable which revealed to be a significant predictor is experienced shame (beta=.344), $t(102)=2.99, p<.01$. Experienced guilt showed the tendency to approach significance with a beta of .179, $t(102)=1.72$,

$p=.088$. Ingroup identification does not contribute to explain variance of the dependent variable, $t(102)=1.36$, $p=ns$. The results partially confirm the hypotheses that both the feelings of collective guilt and shame experienced by ingroup members will be related to attitudes in favour of making reparations to outgroup members.

It was further tested whether collective guilt and collective shame correlate with each other. The results of the Pearson product-moment correlation revealed a strong positive relationship between collective guilt and collective shame for white participants ($r = .67$, $p < .001$).

A further aim of this field study was to explore the differences between experienced guilt/shame and reported reparation attitudes and ingroup identification by white South Africans and the expected guilt/shame/reparation from white South Africans and reported ingroup identification by black South Africans. The results of the one-way analyses of variance (ANOVA) indicate that there is a significant difference between the expectations of black participants in terms of how much guilt white South Africans should feel ($M=4.64$, $SD=1.34$), how much shame white South Africans should feel ($M=4.69$, $SD=1.22$) and how willing white South Africans should be to pay reparation ($M=4.83$, $SD=1.21$) compared to the actual guilt experienced by white South Africans ($M=3.94$, $SD=1.17$), $F(1, 216.95)=17.323$, $p<.001$, the actual shame experienced by white South Africans ($M=4.04$, $SD=1.0$), $F(1, 215.82)=19.045$, $p<.001$ and the actual willingness to reparate reported by white South Africans ($M=2.92$, $SD=1.17$), $F(1, 206.18)=134.565$, $p<.001$. There were no significant differences in ingroup identification of black participants ($M=4.69$, $SD=1.44$)

compared to the white participants ($M=4.51$, $SD=.75$), $F(1, 170.811)=1.44$, $p=ns$. The results are depicted in figure 1.

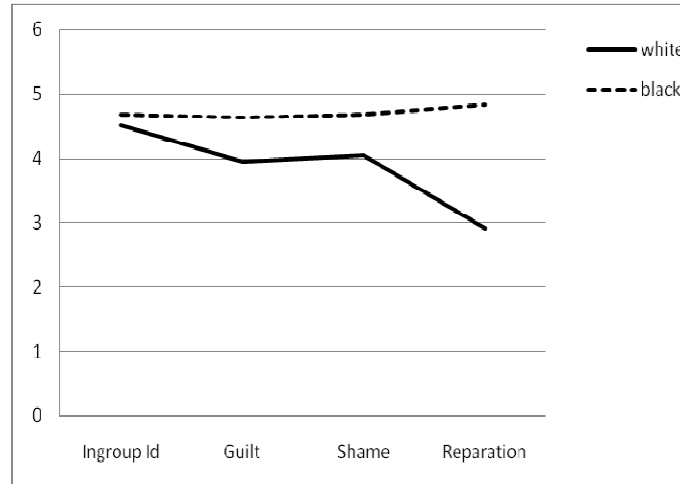


Figure 1: The differences between experienced guilt/shame and reported reparation attitudes and ingroup identification by white South Africans and the expected guilt/shame/reparation from white South Africans and reported ingroup identification by black South Africans.

Discussion

The results only partially confirm the hypotheses that both the feelings of collective guilt and shame experienced by ingroup members will be related to attitudes in favour of making reparations to outgroup members. Experienced shame is the only significant predictor of reparation attitudes with experienced guilt showing a tendency to approach significance. The results also revealed that ingroup identification did not play a role in how much collective guilt or collective shame participants would experience since no group differences were found. In addition, the results indicate a strong positive relationship between collective guilt and collective shame for white participants. These results, once again, support previous research that collective guilt and collective shame correlate highly with each other (Brown et al., 2008). This result supports the results found in the experiment where it would appear as though

collective guilt and collective shame are viewed as similar emotions. In order to attempt to differentiate between collective guilt and collective shame, it would be important to look at the antecedents of the two emotions (Čehajić & Brown, 2006). Therefore a second field study (study 3) was conducted where the antecedents for collective guilt (perception of ingroup responsibility and group-based responsibility) were measured and the antecedents for collective shame (image threat appraisal and reputation management) (Čehajić & Brown, 2006) were measured.

Study 2 also explored the differences between experienced guilt/shame and reported reparation attitudes and ingroup identification by white South Africans and the expected guilt/shame/reparation from white South Africans and reported ingroup identification by black South Africans. The results indicate that there is a significant difference between the expectations of black participants in terms of how much guilt white South Africans should feel, how much shame white South Africans should feel and how willing white South Africans should be to pay reparation compared to the actual guilt experienced by white South Africans, the actual shame experienced by white South Africans and the actual willingness to reparate experienced by white South Africans. The expectations are therefore higher than the experience of these emotions. This result has implications for intergroup relations. If expectations of one group, in this instance the previously non-dominant group, is higher than what the previously dominant group actually experience, misperceptions may arise. The second field study aimed to replicate these findings.

Previous studies that have investigated the relationship between collective guilt/shame and reparation have focussed on the dominant group at the time of the atrocities who

are still in the dominant position, as being the perpetrator (see for instance Doosje et al., 1998; Brown, et al., 2008). In South Africa however, because of the societal transformation, the intergroup relations between white South Africans and black South Africans seem to have changed with the previously non-dominant group, black South Africans, having now become the dominant group. One could therefore argue that collective emotions and willingness to pay reparation can depend on group status.

In addition, in previous research, when reminding participants of the atrocities of the ingroup, general events were used (Doosje et al., 1998, Brown et al., 2008). Apartheid in South Africa is characterised by a number of events such as the Sharpeville Massacre, the Soweto Uprising, etc, and the degree of knowledge about such events in relation to collective emotions and the willingness to pay reparation may moderate the feelings of guilt/shame and reparation. Study 3 thus sought to control for perception of intergroup status relations as well as control for the degree of knowledge about the ingroup's historical atrocities.

STUDY 3: FIELD STUDY 2

Since the previous studies indicated that the collective emotions guilt and shame seem to be difficult to be separate, the second field study aimed to control the antecedents for collective guilt (perception of ingroup responsibility and group-based responsibility) and for collective shame (image threat appraisal and reputation management) as suggested by Čehajić and Brown (2006). The consideration of these antecedents will provide evidence whether guilt and shame appear as independent emotions in the context under investigation.

As it was not possible to test the second hypothesis in the first study (experiment), which states that shame is strongly associated to public reparation than anonymous reparation, the second field study aimed to investigate this relationship. The first hypothesis (H1) therefore states that people with feelings of high shame and low guilt should predominantly prefer public reparation in comparison to those who score high on guilt and low on shame, low on shame and low on guilt, and high on guilt and high on shame. Once again the relationship between collective guilt and collective shame will be tested.

This study also aimed to explore the impact knowledge about atrocities of the ingroup (white participants) has on emotions and reparation attitudes. The following analysis describes the degree of knowledge white participants reported.

Another aim of study 3 was to explore whether perceived status position at present and in the future impacts the emotions as well general reparation attitudes. The final aim of study 3 was to replicate the differences between experienced guilt/shame/reparation and reported ingroup identification by white South Africans and the expected guilt/shame/reparation from white South Africans and reported ingroup identification by black South Africans as found in the study 2.

Method

Sample

Participants were from Hudson High School, a middle-class mixed race group school based in East London, South Africa. The average age of the students was 15.98 (with a range from 15 – 19). Altogether 118 participants - 58 white participants and 60 black participants submitted completed questionnaires. Fifty-nine females and 59 males partook in the survey.

Procedure

Permission was obtained from the Headmaster prior to the data being collected. Participants were advised that the researchers would like to learn more about learners' ideas on whether history is important for a person's life. They were asked to respond to every question or statement as honestly as possible even if they found it difficult to form an exact opinion. Participants were advised that the survey was anonymous and that no one would be able to discover their identity. In addition, it was made clear in the beginning that participation was completely voluntary and participants were able to withdraw at any time without giving any explanation. Once again, white participants and black participants were given questionnaires that had different foci. As with the first field study (study 2), the survey for white participants focussed on how much collective guilt and collective shame white participants feel and how willing they are to reparate because of the atrocities committed by members of the ingroup in the past; whereas the survey for the black participants focussed on how much guilt and how much shame black participants expected white South Africans to experience because of the atrocities committed by members of the outgroup in the past as well as how much they expect the white South Africans should pay reparation.

Measurements

Apart from knowledge of historical events and perceived economic status, participants were asked to respond to each statement on the questionnaire by indicating the degree of their agreement or disagreement to these statements. Item ratings were made on a 5-point Likert type scale ranging from 1 (Totally Disagree) to 5 (Totally Agree). All items of the principle measures used in study 3 are provided in Appendix C.

Collective guilt (perceived versus expected)

This scale comprised five items which were taken from the collective guilt scale developed by Brown and Čehajić (in press). The collective guilt scale developed by Brown and Čehajić (in press) consists of four items and the Cronbach's Alpha for this scale is .84. An example of the collective guilt (experienced by white participants) is "*I sometimes feel guilty for what the white South Africans have done to black South Africans during the Apartheid years*" and an example of the collective guilt (expected by black participants) is "*I think that white South Africans should feel guilty for what they did to black South Africans during the Apartheid years*". The Cronbach's Alpha in the present study is .81 for the black sample and .91 for the white sample.

Perceived ingroup responsibility (white participants only)

Perceived ingroup responsibility was measured by three items such as "*I think that members of my group are also responsible for the committed atrocities*" as developed by Brown and Čehajić (in press). Brown and Čehajić (in press) report a Cronbach's Alpha of .84. The Cronbach's Alpha in the present study is .68 for the white sample.

Group based responsibility (white participants only)

Group based responsibility was measured by two items such as *"Although I don't carry the responsibility for the past, I am ready to have a responsible attitude towards the crimes committed in the name of my group"* as developed Brown and Čehajić (in press). Brown and Čehajić (in press) report a Cronbach's Alpha of .72. The correlation co-efficient in the present study is $r=.53$ ($p<.001$) for the white sample.

Collective shame (experienced versus expected)

Collective shame (experienced by white participants) was measured by five items such as *"Even though I do not discriminate against black South Africans, I feel bad when I realise that other white South Africans do"*. An example of the collective shame (expected by black participants) is *"Even though I do not discriminate against white South Africans, I feel bad when I realize that other black South Africans do"*. Brown and Čehajić (in press) reported a Cronbach's Alpha of .74. The Cronbach's Alpha for the scale in the present study is .60 for the black sample and .72 for the white sample.

Image threat appraisal (white participants only)

Image threat appraisal was measured by three items such as *"I think that atrocities committed by members of my group reflect poorly on the image of my group"* as developed Brown and Čehajić (in press). Brown and Čehajić (in press) report a Cronbach's Alpha of .67. The Cronbach's Alpha in the present study is .67 for the white sample.

Reputation management (white participants only)

This was measured using five items from the reputation management scale consisting of nine items as developed by Brown, et al. (2008). The Cronbach's Alpha for this scale is reported as .91 (Brown, et al., 2008). However, two items, "*I would like other people to have a better impression of White South Africans in relation to how we have treated Black people*" and "*If we do not resolve the outstanding issues about the Black people in South Africa, it will damage the reputation of White South Africans.*") were removed in the present study as the Corrected Item-Total Correlation was below .3. The Cronbach's Alpha for the remaining three items is .64.

Identification with the ingroup

Identification was measured by seven items such as "*I feel a bond with black / white South Africans.*" Identification with the ingroup was once again measured using items developed by Leach, et al., (in press). The Cronbach's Alpha for the scale in this study is .77 for the black sample and .66 for the white sample.

Reparation attitude (experienced versus expected)

The reparation scale for this experiment was made up of three sub-scales namely general reparation, public reparation and anonymous reparation.

General reparation: Both general reparation (experienced by white participants) and general reparation (expected by black participants) were measured by using the same four items such as "*I believe White South Africans should try to repair some of the damage they caused in South Africa.*" This scale comprised four items which were taken from the reparation attitude scale developed by Brown, et al. (2008). The

reparation attitude scale developed by Brown, et al. (2008) consists of seven items and the Cronbach's Alpha for this scale is .86. The Cronbach's Alpha for the scale in the present study is .74 for the black sample and .82 for the white sample.

Public reparation: Both public reparation (experienced by white participants) and public reparation (expected by black participants) were measured by using the same five items such as "*I think that white South Africans should publicly apologise for all the mistreatment and deprivation that they have caused Black South Africans.*" These items were developed by the researcher which has a Cronbach's Alpha of .81 for the black sample and .77 for the white sample.

Anonymous reparation: Both anonymous reparation (experienced by white participants) and anonymous reparation (expected by black participants) were measured by using the same five items such as "*I think that White South Africans should donate money anonymously towards the development of Black schools.*" These items were developed by the researcher which has a Cronbach's Alpha of .84 for the black sample and .80 for the white sample.

Knowledge of historical events

Participants were provided with a list of names referring to the following historical events: Sharpeville Massacre (refers to an event when white South African police began shooting on a crowd of unarmed Black protesters, leaving many dead or wounded – many of them shot in the back), Soweto Uprising (refers to a protest by the students against the introduction of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in Black schools), Release of Nelson Mandela (refers to the day that Nelson Mandela, South

African's first black president, was released from prison), 1994 Elections (refers to the first democratic elections in South Africa), and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (refers to a Commission that was set up by the first democratic Government of South Africa to help deal with what happened under Apartheid). Participants were asked to tell us how much they knew about each of these events by indicating the percentage they would achieve if they were to be tested about these events in a class test. The following example was provided. If a teacher tested your knowledge about 9/11 what would your mark look like? If you tick 0%, it would mean you did not know anything about 9/11; if you tick 20% it would indicate that you have heard about it but you cannot report about the event; if you tick 60% it would mean you have a reasonable knowledge about the event; and if you tick 90% it would mean that you have extensive knowledge about the event.

Perceived economic status

Perceived economic status was measured using the Intergroup Perception Ladder representing an adaptation of Cantril's Self-Anchoring Scale (see Finchilescu & de la Rey, 1991), which assess intergroup comparison by including the temporal dimension. Participants were presented with a drawing of a ladder with 11 rungs (labelled from 0 to 11) and asked to imagine that this ladder represents economic status in South Africa. The top step represented the best economic status one could imagine, while the bottom step represented the worst. The task of the participants was to indicate their opinion about which step the ingroup and comparison group stood on in the past (25 years ago), on which they stand on today, on which they will stand on in 15 years time, in 50 years time, and on which they should ideally stand. The variables of the current and future economic status position of white participants was computed by the

difference between the status position of the ingroup relative to the outgroup at present, in 15 years time and in 50 years time. Negative values indicate non-dominant while positive values indicate dominant economic status position.

Results

Preliminary Analysis

Antecedents of guilt and shame

The antecedents for guilt were tested using Multiple Linear Regression analysis, including group based responsibility, perceived ingroup responsibility, image threat appraisal and reputation management as independent variable and guilt as dependent variable. The model explained 50.3% of the variance of the dependent variable guilt, $F(4, 53)=13.38, p<.001$. As predicted, group based responsibility (beta=.437), $t(56)=4.31, p<.001$, and perceived ingroup responsibility (beta=.468), $t(56)=4.58, p<.001$, are the two factors for collective guilt. Both, image threat appraisal, $t(56)=.379, p=.706$, and reputation management, $t(56)=.933, p=.335$, do not contribute to explain guilt.

The antecedents for shame were again tested using Multiple Linear Regression analysis, including group based responsibility, perceived ingroup responsibility, image threat appraisal and reputation management as independent variable and shame as dependent variable. The model explained 56% of the variance of the dependent variable shame, $F(4, 53)=16.65, p<.001$. Contrary to our prediction, shame reveals to be impacted by group based responsibility (beta=.283), $t(57)=2.99, p<.01$, perceived ingroup responsibility (beta=.422), $t(57)=4.37, p<.001$, and image threat appraisal (beta=.357), $t(57)=3.54, p<.01$. The predicted antecedent reputation management did not impact the collective feelings of shame as predicted, $t(57)=.383, p=ns$. The results

show that the antecedents assumed for guilt also influence the collective emotion shame.

Status positions

In order to determine whether white participants perceive white people (and are perceived by black participants) as the dominant group, the economic status relations between black and white people in South Africa were assessed using the intergroup perception ladder with 11 rungs (labelled from 0 to 11) was used. The top step (11) represented the most *economic power* one could imagine while the bottom (0) step represented the least *economic power*. There were five categories: today, 25 years ago, in 15 years time, in 50 years time and ideally.

Figures 2 and 3 depict the perception of white and black participants indicating how their economic status changed over the last 25 years and how it is anticipated to change in the next 15 years and 50 years. The results of a paired sample t-test revealed that white participants perceive their ingroup's economic status as dominant 25 years ago ($M=9.11$, $SD=2.87$) relative to black people ($M=3.18$, $SD=3.19$), $t(54)=7.63$, $p<.001$, and that black participants perceive whites' economic status as dominant 25 years ago ($M=9.84$, $SD=1.74$) relative to the black people as ingroup ($M=2.27$, $SD=2.37$), $t(54)=-15.31$, $p<.001$.

At the present, white participants perceive their ingroup's economic status as non-dominant ($M=6.09$, $SD=2.38$) relative to black people ($M=9.23$, $SD=2.11$), $t(54)=-6.85$, $p<.001$, while black participants perceive white people ($M=7.84$, $SD=2.59$) and black people (ingroup) as equal in terms of economic status ($M=7.87$, $SD=2.41$),

$t(57)=.081, p<.001$. The economic status relations in 15 years time are perceived by white participants that the ingroup represents the non-dominant group ($M=4.75, SD=3.31$) relative to black people ($M=9.07, SD=2.91$), $t(55)=-6.16, p<.001$. This perception is shared by black participants who perceive the outgroup (white people) in 15 years time as non-dominant ($M=6.98, SD=2.99$), relative to the black people as ingroup ($M=8.94, SD=1.94$), $t(57)=4.52, p<.001$.

The economic status relations between white and black South Africans are perceived to be stable over the next 50 years. White participants perceive their ingroup's economic status as non-dominant ($M=5.40, SD=4.24$) relative to black people ($M=8.80, SD=3.37$), $t(54)=-3.75, p<.001$, and black participants perceive white people as non-dominant ($M=7.08, SD=3.47$) and black people (ingroup) as dominant ($M=9.02, SD=1.91$), $t(56)=5.23, p<.001$.

The participants were also asked to indicate how the status relations should be ideally between white and black people in South Africa. White participants indicate that the ingroup ($M=8.64, SD=3.68$) and black people ($M=9.00, SD=3.28$) should have equal economical status, $t(53)=-.604, p=ns$, as do black participants ($M=8.75, SD=2.33$) relative to white people ($M=8.34, SD=2.44$), $t(55)=.966, p=ns$.

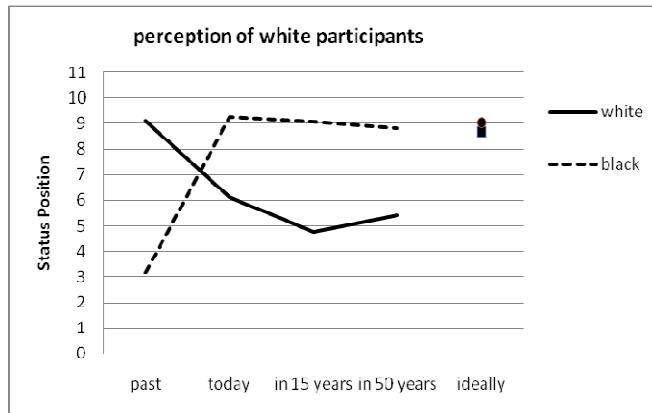


Figure 2: Perception of economic status relations by white participants

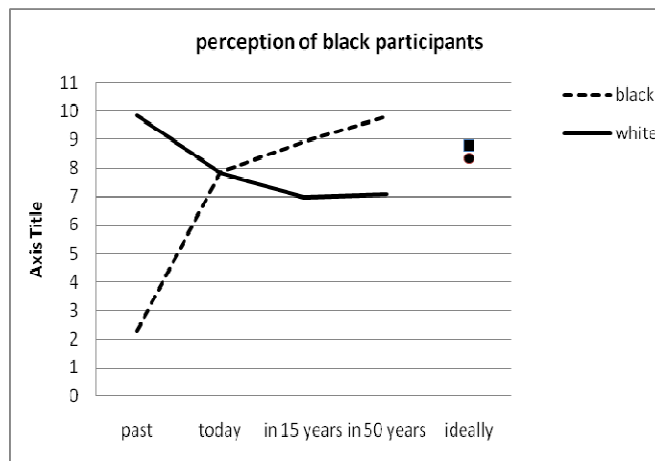


Figure 3: Perception of economic status relations by black participants

The results indicate that white people in South Africa are perceived by the in- and outgroup as the dominant group of the past. Currently, white participants perceive white people as non-dominant while black participants perceive equal status relations. In 15 years time and in 50 years time, both white and black participants perceive white people as non-dominant and black people as dominant group in terms of economic status. Both, white and black participants indicate that ideally the status relations should be equal.

In order to address the second aim of the study which is to explore the impact knowledge about atrocities of the ingroup (white participants) has on emotions and reparation attitudes the following analysis describes the degree of knowledge white participants reported. The participants were informed that 60% of knowledge represents reasonable knowledge about the event. The 60% served in the present study as a benchmark to compare the average of knowledge of the participants for each event. The first event referred the Sharpeville Massacre. The participants reported to have an average knowledge about the Sharpeville Massacre of 72.45 (SD=29.83) which is significantly above the benchmark of 60%, $t(56)=3.15, p<.01$. The average knowledge about the Soweto Uprising was 25.89 (SD=25.59) which is significantly below the benchmark of 60%, $t(55)=-8.626, p<.001$. White participants report to have an average knowledge about the release of Nelson Mandela of 68.25 (SD=24.79) which is significantly above the benchmark of 60%, $t(56)=2.51, p<.05$. The average about the 1994 elections is 35.26 (SD=29.64) which is significantly below the benchmark of 60%, $t(56)=-6.29, p<.001$. Knowledge about the Truth and Reconciliation commission revealed to be extremely low relative to the benchmark of 60 % with 9.82 (SD=16.45), $t(55)=-22.82, p<.001$. The results indicate that white participants claim to have reasonable knowledge about the Sharpeville Massacre and the release of Nelson Mandela but lack knowledge about Soweto Uprising, the 1994 elections and in particular about the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

Main Analysis

The first hypothesis stated that people with feelings of high shame and low guilt should predominantly prefer public reparation in comparison to those who score high on guilt and low on shame, low on shame and low on guilt, and high on guilt and high on shame. Using median split the four groups were identified: high shame/low guilt

group (9), high guilt/low shame group (9), low shame/low guilt group (21), and high guilt/high shame group (19). The one-way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) revealed significant differences in respect to public reparation attitudes between the four groups, $F(3,54)=11.10$, $p<.001$. Contradictory to the assumption, the Bonferroni post-hoc statistic revealed that participants allocated to the high shame/high guilt group ($M=2.46$, $SD=.74$) showed significantly stronger public reparation attitudes relative to participants who were allocated to the high guilt/low shame group ($M=1.71$, $SD=.645$), $p<.05$, the low shame/low guilt group ($M=1.44$, $SD=.48$), $p<.001$, and the low guilt/high shame group ($M=1.71$, $SD=.49$), $p<.001$. The results indicate that participants who feel both collective shame and collective guilt show the tendency for public reparation.

Additionally, group comparisons using ANOVA were conducted for the dependent variables general reparation and anonymous reparation. The results for general reparation revealed significant group differences, $F(3,54)=12.04$, $p<.001$. Again, participants allocated to the high shame/high guilt group ($M=3.01$, $SD=.68$) showed significantly stronger general reparation attitudes relative to participants who were allocated to the low shame/low guilt group ($M=1.65$, $SD=.68$), $p<.001$, the low guilt/high shame group ($M=1.86$, $SD=.55$), $p=.05$, and the tendency to be different relative to the participants allocated to the high guilt/low shame group ($M=2.24$, $SD=1.09$), $p=.076$.

The results for anonymous reparation revealed significant group differences, $F(3,54)=4.87$, $p=.01$. Once more, participants allocated to the high shame/high guilt group ($M=2.43$, $SD=.78$) showed significantly stronger anonymous reparation

attitudes relative to participants who were allocated to the low shame/low guilt group group ($M=1.65$, $SD=.63$), $p=.01$, and the high guilt/low shame group ($M=1.58$, $SD=.72$), $p=.05$. The differences between participants allocated to the high shame/high guilt group and participants allocated to the low guilt/high shame group ($M=1.75$, $SD=.86$) revealed to be not significant. Hypothesis 1 could not be confirmed. Figures 4, 5 and 6 depict the results.

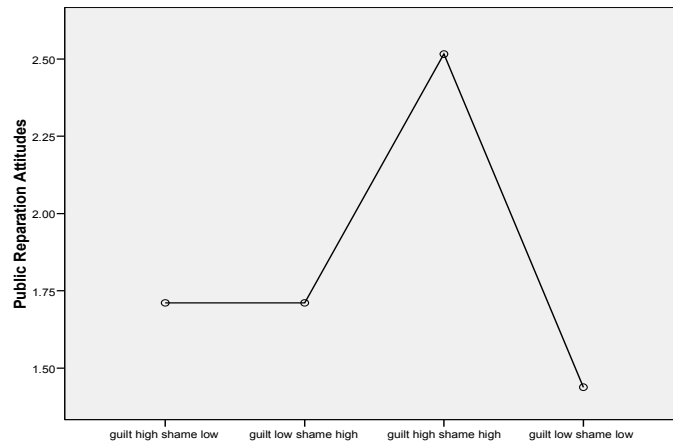


Figure 4: Public reparation results

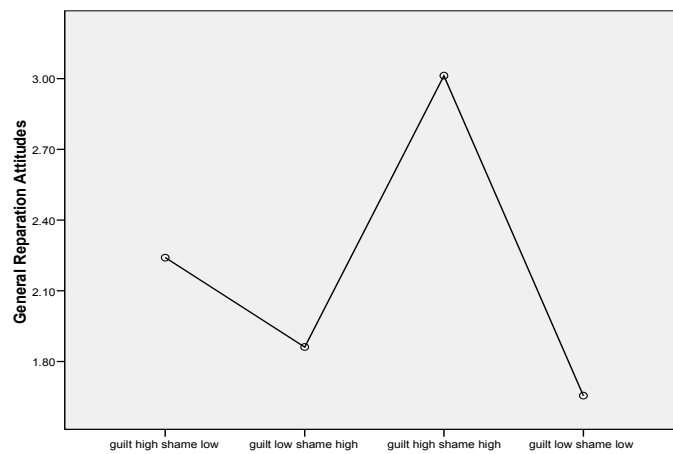


Figure 5: General reparation results

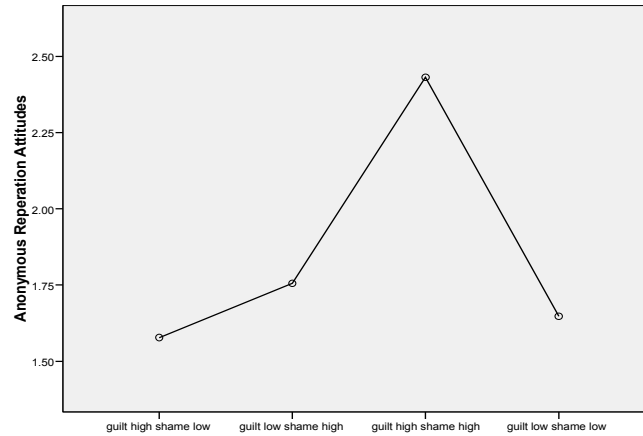


Figure 6: Anonymous reparation results

It was further tested whether collective guilt and collective shame correlate with each other as found in the previous studies. The results of the Pearson product-moment correlation revealed a strong positive relationship between collective guilt and collective shame for white participants ($r = .60, p < .001$).

To explore the impact knowledge about the atrocities has on collective emotions and general reparation attitudes for white participants, three stepwise multiple linear regressions were conducted including the five historical events (Sharpeville Massacre, Soweto Uprising, Release of Nelson Mandela, 1994 Elections and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission) as independent variable and guilt, shame and general reparation as dependent variables, respectively. Only, the model including Truth and Reconciliation Commission ($\beta = .224, p = .09$) as independent variable and guilt (variance explained 5%) as dependent variable revealed an approaching significance of $F(1, 54) = 2.85, p = .09$. The results suggest that it is not the reported knowledge about the events per se that impacts collective emotions such as guilt rather it is the public discourse about the historical event.

The third aim of the study was to explore whether perceived status position at present and in the future impacts the emotions as well general reparation attitudes. Three stepwise multiple linear regressions were conducted including the current and future status positions as independent variable and guilt, shame and general reparation as dependent variables, respectively. The model including the current status position ($\beta=.284$, $p=.05$) as independent variable and guilt (variance explained 8%), $F(1,53)=4.66$, $p<.05$, and the model including the current status position ($\beta=.499$, $p<.001$) as independent variable and general reparation attitudes (variance explained 25%) as dependent variables, $F(1,53)=17.57$, $p<.001$, revealed to be significant. The results indicate that white participants who perceive the ingroup as dominant experience the collective feeling of guilt and indicate increased tendencies for general reparation attitudes.

A further aim of this field study was replicate the differences between experienced guilt/shame and reported reparation attitudes as found in the previous field study (study 2). The results of the one-way analyses of variance (ANOVA) indicate that there is a significant difference between the expectations of Black participants in terms of how much guilt Whites should feel ($M=3.49$, $SD=.98$), and how willing Whites should be to pay reparation ($M=3.35$, $SD=1.00$) compared to the actual guilt experienced by Whites ($M=2.90$, $SD=1.09$), $F(1,116)=9.46$, $p<.01$, and the actual willingness to reparate reported by Whites ($M=2.22$, $SD=.93$), $F(1, 116)=33.17$, $p<.001$. The experienced feeling of shame reported by the white participants ($M=3.06$, $SD=.91$) do not differ significantly from the expected shame reported by the black participants ($M=3.22$, $SD=.81$), $F(1,116)=.961$, $p=ns$. Contrary to the results of

the previous field study, significant differences were found in respect to ingroup identification. Black participants ($M=3.80$, $SD=.81$) show significant higher ingroup identification compared to the white participants ($M=3.50$, $SD=.68$), $F(1, 116)=4.97$, $p=.05$.

The results are depicted in figure 7. As figure 7 indicates, the results replicate mainly the results found in the previous study that expectations of guilt and reparation from members of the former victim group differ from the experienced guilt and the willingness to pay reparation from members of the former perpetrator group. Contrary to the previous field study, no group differences were found in respect to shame but in respect to ingroup identification.

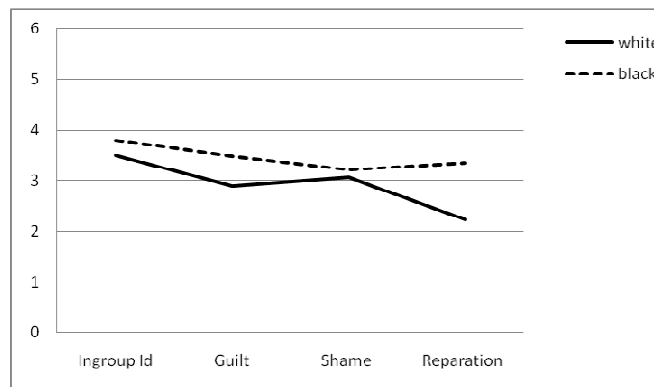


Figure 7: The differences between experienced guilt/shame and reported reparation attitudes and ingroup identification by white South Africans and the expected guilt/shame/reparation from white South Africans and reported ingroup identification by black South Africans.

Discussion

Study 3 aimed to control the antecedents for collective guilt (perception of ingroup responsibility and group-based responsibility) and for collective shame (image threat appraisal and reputation management) as suggested by Čehajić and Brown (2006). The results indicate as predicted that the main predictors of guilt are group based responsibility and perceived ingroup responsibility. Both image threat appraisal and

reputation management do not contribute to explaining guilt. The main predictors of shame were however group based responsibility, perceived ingroup responsibility and image threat appraisal. The predicted antecedent reputation management did not impact the collective feelings of shame. The results of study 3 therefore show that the antecedents assumed for guilt also influence the collective emotion shame.

The results of the study 3 also indicate that participants who feel both collective shame and collective guilt show the tendency for public reparation therefore hypothesis 1 which states that people with feelings of high shame and low guilt should predominantly prefer public reparation in comparison to those in the high guilt/low shame group, low shame/low guilt group, and high guilt/high shame group, could not be confirmed. The same pattern was found for both general reparation and anonymous reparation. Those participants allocated to the high shame/high guilt group also showed significantly stronger general reparation attitudes relative to the other participants and significantly stronger anonymous reparation attitudes relative to the other participants. The results thus indicate that participants who experience both high collective guilt and high collective shame experience a willingness to reparate, whether it be general reparation, public reparation or anonymous reparation.

Another aim of study 3 was to explore whether perceived status position at present and in the future impacts the emotions as well general reparation attitudes. The results suggest that white participants who perceive the ingroup to be currently dominant experience the collective feeling of guilt and indicate increased tendencies for general reparation attitudes. Perceived economic status has not been considered in previous studies in relation to collective emotions and reparation attitudes and the results

indicate that particular social structures are required in order for collective guilt, collective shame and reparation attitudes to be possible. The theoretical assumption is that collective emotions such as guilt and shame and the willingness to reparate are emotions and behavioural actions of the privileged group and only those who are currently in dominant positions are able to express these negative emotions and reparation attitudes. Further research should address whether status threat reduces collective emotions such as guilt and shame as well as the willingness to pay reparation.

Study 3 also aimed to explore what impact knowledge about atrocities of the ingroup (white participants) has on emotions and reparation attitudes of white participants. The results indicate that only the Truth and Reconciliation Commission revealed an approaching significance. What is unique about the Truth and Reconciliation Commission compared to the other events identified in study 3 is that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission was assembled post-apartheid and it was a crucial component of the transition to full and free democracy in South Africa. The process allowed anybody who felt they had been a victim of political motivated violence to come forward and be heard and perpetrators of political motivated violence could also give testimony and request amnesty from prosecution. It was a very public process with the hearings being made international news and many sessions were broadcast on national television. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission could therefore be considered a public discourse and this may be a prerequisite for the collective emotion of guilt.

The final aim of study 3 was to replicate the differences between experienced guilt/shame and reported reparation attitudes and ingroup identification by white South Africans and the expected guilt/shame/reparation from white South Africans and reported ingroup identification by black South Africans as found in the study 2. Once again the results indicate that expectations of guilt and reparation from members of the former victim group differ from the experienced guilt and the willingness to pay reparation from members of the former perpetrator group. These results suggest that intergroup emotions such as guilt/shame and the related intergroup reactions such as reparation seem not only to be reactions towards atrocities and the intentions to alleviate those negative emotions but are also expected by members of the former victim group. Since experiences and expectations differ as indicated in study 2 and study 3, the danger exist, that this discrepancy might cause future conflict.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

The present research aimed to make a contribution to the area of collective emotions, namely guilt and shame, and their consequences for intergroup relations in the South African context. As with previous research, this research investigated whether belonging to a particular group (i.e. being a white South African) is likely to evoke feelings of collective guilt and collective shame when reminded of the atrocities of Apartheid, even though the individual members did not personally contributed to their group's negative history. The results of the experimental study suggest that it is difficult to separate the two emotions, collective guilt and collective shame. In the field studies (study 2 and study 3) collective guilt and collective shame correlated highly with each other which is in line with previous research (Brown, et al., 2008). As the experimental study did not measure the antecedents for collective guilt

(perception of ingroup responsibility and group-based responsibility) and collective shame (image threat appraisal and reputation management), the second field study (study 3) aimed to control the antecedents for these collective emotions as suggested by Čehajić and Brown (2006). The results show that the antecedents for guilt also influence the collective emotion shame. This further supports the suggestion that the collective emotions of guilt and shame are interrelated and further research is required in the area of differentiating between guilt and shame as distinct collective emotions.

The current research also investigated the role ingroup identification played in how much collective guilt and collective shame participants would experience. Previous research indicates that ingroup identification can influence both emotions and their action tendencies (Doosje, et al., 1998, Yzerbyt et al., 2003). Doosje, et al. (1998) distinguished between high and low identifiers' responses to group-threatening information and results showed that high identifiers are less likely to experience collective guilt than low identifiers and low identifiers were more willing to compensate outgroup members than high identifiers. Yzerbyt et al. (2003) found that the extent to which people perceive themselves as having a common group membership with the victims of harmful behaviour influences both their emotions and their action tendencies. In the present study ingroup identification was not found to be a predictor for collective guilt/shame or for reparation attitudes. Group differences found in the present studies are rather inconsistent.

Another aim of this research was to replicate the study conducted by Brown et al. (2008) and examine the effects of collective guilt and collective shame on the desire to make reparation to the 'victim' outgroup, in this instance, black South Africans. The

results of all three studies found a relationship between collective guilt/shame and reparation attitudes which supports the findings of previous studies done in this area (e.g. Brown et al., 2008). No study, to our knowledge, has tested the assumption that guilt and shame predict different forms of reparation attitudes. Therefore based on the conclusion by Brown et al. (2008), the present research took reparation attitudes a step further and distinguished between general reparation, public reparation and anonymous reparation. It was hypothesised that shame is strongly associated to public reparation than anonymous reparation. The results of study 3 indicate that participants need to experience both high collective guilt and high collective shame in order to experience any willingness to reparate, whether it be general reparation, public reparation or anonymous reparation. The willingness to reparate is greatly reduced if participants experience either high shame and low guilt, high guilt and low shame and low shame and low guilt. There is a bigger variability in the willingness to reparate when both collective guilt and shame are summarised. An explanation for this could be once again because participants see collective guilt and shame as one emotion. This explanation is supported by the fact that the two emotions correlate highly with each other.

The results of the present study also raise some questions around the adequacy of distinguishing between general reparation, anonymous reparation and public reparation as suggested by Brown et al. (2008). De Greiff (2006) who conducted an analysis about massive reparation programmes in the past, proposes the distinctions between symbolic and materialistic reparation. Symbolic reparation (also named as moral reparation) includes public apologies, the acknowledgement of wrongdoings, disclosure of facts related to atrocities, public naming as well as judicial proceedings

or administrative procedures (e.g. truth commissions), whereas materialistic reparation includes mainly monetary compensation as well as return of people's belongings/resources/land (i.e. employment based on affirmative action). The psychological component of symbolic reparation is that each outlined form validates the victims' memories and identities and consequently contributes to (re)-establish social equality. The psychological component of materialistic reparation, on the other hand, is that each outlined form has the potential to redress economic inequalities. By taking previous research on the relationship between group-based guilt/shame and reparation into consideration, one could argue that symbolic reparation requires group-based guilt, while materialistic reparation is most likely to be associated with group-based shame. Once again, further research is required to investigate the relationship between collective guilt/shame and the different forms of reparation attitudes.

As previous studies have focussed exclusively on the former perpetrators' emotions and behaviours in respect of past historical wrongdoings, the present study considered the intergroup situation by studying the emotions of collective guilt and collective shame of the former perpetrator group and the expectations of the former victim group. These differences were explored in the two field studies. The results of both field studies indicate that there is a significant difference between the expectations of black participants in terms of how much guilt white South Africans should feel, how much shame white South Africans should feel and how willing white South Africans should be to pay reparation compared to the actual guilt experienced by white South Africans, the actual shame experienced by white South Africans and the actual willingness to reparate experienced by white South Africans. The expectations are

therefore higher than the experience of these emotions. These results have implications for present and future intergroup relations. If expectations of one group is higher than what experienced and reported by the other group, misperceptions may arise and there is the danger that this might result in further conflict.

What almost all studies on intergroup emotions have in common is that they have focussed exclusively on the “former perpetrator” group (the group that was involved in atrocities against an outgroup), which – and this might be coincidentally – almost all empirical studies represent still the “dominant” group in terms of economic status relative to the former victim groups (Dutch relative to people in Indonesia, non-indigenous Chileans relative to the Mapuches). However, South Africa provides somehow a unique situation since the country is transforming in terms that political and economic resources are re-distributed to redress historical injustice. This transformation process is perceived by white participants as losing their dominant status position while black participants indicate that their group is developing to the “new” dominant group. The question which was addressed in the present study was, whether status position of the former perpetrator group moderates their experience of collective feeling such as guilt and shame as well as their willingness to reparate. The results indicate that white participants’ feelings of guilt and willingness to reparate is determined from their perceived status position, that is to say, the more white participants perceive their ingroup as dominant the more they experience guilt and the more willing they are to pay reparation. These results indicate that particular social structures are required in order for collective guilt and reparation attitudes to be possible. A theoretical assumption is that collective emotions such as guilt and shame

and the willingness to reparate are emotions and behavioural actions of the privileged groups.

And lastly, the present study also controlled for the degree of knowledge about the ingroup's historical atrocities to see whether the degree of knowledge about certain events during Apartheid in relation to collective emotions and the willingness to pay reparation may moderate the feelings of guilt/shame and reparation. Only the Truth and Reconciliation Commission revealed an approaching significance. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission was unique in that it was a very public process with the hearings being made international news and many sessions were broadcast on national television. Future studies have to investigate whether it is the knowledge as such (chronology) or the discourse about the historical event (as represented by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission as historical event of the event of Apartheid) that impacts collective emotions and reparation attitudes.

The results of the present study indicate that the “born free generation” of South Africa do feel emotions on behalf of their parents and grandparents as well as it is expected by the former victim group that these collective emotions of guilt and shame and the willingness to reparate are experienced by former perpetrators group.

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APPENDIX A

Guilt interview

Please read the following interview abstract between two young White people in regard to the Sharpeville massacre which occurred 21 March 1960.

Johan: “How do you deal with the facts that members of your group have committed atrocities in the past and harmed Black people?”

Kobus: “Well, I don’t know how I am dealing with it. I am not dealing with it all. Why would I deal with something that I was not part of.”

Johan: “Ok. You might not be dealing with it in your head but do you feel anything? Do you feel anything when it comes to the past of committed atrocities?”

Kobus: “Well, sometimes I feel like I am carrying a heavy burden because of the things White South Africans have done in the past. Sometimes I wonder how the behaviour of my White South Africans fellows has affected the others. Sometimes I wish that certain things would have never happened and Black people would not have suffered as a consequence. But these things happened and we have to carry the consequences.”

Johan: “To which consequences are you referring to?”

Kobus: “We as White South Africans have to acknowledge our responsibility for the committed wrongdoings. Making up for the wrongdoings committed in the past implies responsibility”

On the space provided below, write down briefly what you feel about the atrocities committed during apartheid while focusing on the consequences for Black South Africans!

Shame interview

Please read the following interview abstract between two young White people in regard to the Sharpeville massacre which occurred 21 March 1960.

Johan: “How do you deal with the facts that members of your group have committed atrocities in the past and harmed Black people?”

Kobus: “Well, I don’t know how I am dealing with it. I am not dealing with it all. Why would I deal with something that I was not part of.”

Johan: “Ok. You might not be dealing with it in your head but do you feel anything? Do you feel anything when it comes to the past of committed atrocities?”

Kobus: “Well, sometimes I feel like I am carrying a heavy burden because of the things white South Africans have done in the past. Sometimes I wonder how we might look now in the eyes of the world. I am afraid that our reputation is endangered. I feel like other people are now thinking badly of us only because some bad things happened in the past. Now we have to carry the consequences.”

Johan: “To which consequences are you referring to?”

Kobus: “We have to deal now with the bad reputation. We have to try to repair our distorted image.”

On the space provided below, write down briefly what you feel about the atrocities committed during apartheid while focusing on the consequences for White South Africans.

APPENDIX B

The coin strategy employed to replace the duplicate numbers with the missing numbers was a Heads and Tails technique. If the coin fell on Heads, the duplicate number in Set # 1 was replaced by the first missing number. If the coin fell on Tails, the duplicate number in Set # 2 was replaced by the next missing and so on. This exercise was completed for both results, i.e. the Research Randomizer Results for the white sample and the Research Randomizer Results for the black sample. The missing numbers were listed in ascending order. The results can be found below:

Guilt Research Randomizer Results

Duplicate number	Outcome of coin throw	Missing number
2	Heads	3
6	Tails	8
7	Heads	13
10	Heads	14
15	Heads	22
18	Heads	24
21	Tails	27
25	Heads	33
28	Heads	38
31	Tails	39
35	Tails	41
36	Tails	42
37	Tails	48
47	Heads	49
51	Heads	54
53	Tails	57

The final set of numbers was as follows:

Set #1 (Heads)

1	3	4	6	13	9	14	11	22	16	17	24	20	21	23
33	38	30	39	35	36	37	44	46	49	50	54	53	55	56

Set #2 (Tails)

2	5	8	7	10	12	15	18	19	27	25	26	28	29	31
32	34	41	42	48	40	43	45	47	51	52	57	58	59	60

Shame Research Randomizer Results

Duplicate number	Outcome of coin throw	Missing number
19	Tails	2
20	Tails	8
26	Heads	9
27	Tails	14
28	Heads	16
34	Tails	18
35	Heads	22
37	Tails	24
42	Tails	25
47	Tails	30
53	Heads	43
55	Heads	46
57	Heads	54
59	Heads	58

The final set of numbers was as follows:

Set #1 (Heads)

1	5	6	7	11	12	19	20	23	9	27	16	31	32	34
22	37	38	39	41	42	44	47	49	50	43	46	56	54	58

Set #2 (Tails)

3	4	10	13	15	17	2	8	21	24	14	28	29	33	18
35	36	24	40	25	45	30	48	51	52	53	55	57	59	60

Control Research Randomizer Results

Duplicate number	Outcome of coin throw	Missing number
5	Tails	3
7	Tails	9
10	Heads	12
15	Tails	13
18	Heads	22
23	Heads	28
25	Tails	29
27	Tails	33
32	Heads	37
36	Tails	44
42	Heads	46
43	Tails	48
47	Tails	49
56	Heads	50
60	Tails	51

The final set of numbers was as follows:

Set #1 (Heads)

2	4	5	7	11	12	14	15	17	19	20	21	22	24	25
27	28	30	36	37	43	46	47	50	53	54	55	57	58	60

Set #2 (Tails)

1	3	6	8	9	10	13	16	18	23	26	29	31	32	33
34	35	38	39	40	41	42	44	45	48	49	51	52	56	59

APPENDIX C

Items of Principal Measures

STUDY 1 (Experiment)	
Measure	
Collective guilt	<p>I sometimes feel guilty, for what the White South Africans have done to Black South Africans during the Apartheid years.</p> <p>Thinking about some things the White South Africans have done in the Apartheid years, occasionally makes me feel guilty.</p> <p>I feel guilty for the human rights violations committed by White South Africans during the Apartheid years.</p> <p>Thinking about how White South Africans took away homes from Black South Africans makes me feel guilty.</p>
Collective shame	<p>White South Africans' past harmful actions towards Black South Africans reflect something negative about White South African culture.</p> <p>Even though I do not discriminate against Black South Africans, I feel bad when I realize that other White South Africans do.</p> <p>It makes me feel bad when I see an international report on the treatment on Black South Africans by White South Africans during the Apartheid years.</p> <p>I feel bad because the way White South Africans have treated Black South Africans during the Apartheid years has created a bad image of White South Africans in the eyes of the world.</p> <p>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.</p>
Identification with ingroup	<p>I feel a bond with White South Africans.</p> <p>I feel solidarity with White South Africans.</p> <p>I feel committed with White South Africans.</p> <p>I am glad to be a White South African.</p> <p>I think that White South Africans have a lot to be proud of.</p> <p>I often think about the fact that I am a White South African.</p> <p>Being a White South African is an important part of how I see myself.</p>
General reparation	<p>I believe White South Africans should try to repair some of the damage they caused in South Africa.</p> <p>I think that Black South Africans deserve some form of compensation from White South Africans for what happened to them during the Apartheid years.</p> <p>I think White South Africans owe something to Black South Africans because of the things they have done to them.</p> <p>I feel that Black South Africans should have economic benefits as reparation for the damage White South Africans have caused them.</p>
Public reparation	<p>I think that White South Africans should publicly apologise for all the mistreatment and deprivation that they have caused Black South Africans.</p> <p>I think that the government should introduce reparation taxation for all</p>

	<p>White South Africans which will be deducted directly from their savings accounts.</p> <p>I think that all White South Africans with property valued over R250,000 should pay a property tax that will go towards Black Housing Projects.</p>
Anonymous reparation	<p>I think that White South Africans should donate money anonymously into a bank account that would go towards Black South Africans.</p> <p>I think that White South Africans should donate money anonymously towards the development of Black schools.</p> <p>I think that White South Africans should donate food and clothing anonymously to Black South Africans.</p>

STUDY 2 (Field study)		
Measure	Experienced by white participants	Expected by black participants
Collective guilt	<p>I sometimes feel guilty, for what the White South Africans have done to Black South Africans during the Apartheid years.</p> <p>Thinking about some things the White South Africans have done in the Apartheid years, occasionally makes me feel guilty.</p> <p>I feel guilty for the human rights violations committed by White South Africans during the Apartheid years.</p> <p>Thinking about how White South Africans took away homes from Black South Africans makes me feel guilty.</p>	<p>I think that White South Africans should feel guilty for what they did to Black South Africans during the Apartheid years.</p> <p>Thinking about some things that the White South Africans have done in the Apartheid years, should make Whites feel guilty.</p> <p>I think White South Africans should feel guilty for the human rights violations committed by them during the Apartheid years.</p> <p>I think that when thinking about how White South Africans took away homes from Black South Africans, Whites should feel guilty.</p>
Collective shame	<p>White South Africans' past harmful actions towards Black South Africans reflect something negative about White South African culture.</p> <p>Even though I do not discriminate against Black South Africans, I feel bad when I realise that other White South Africans do.</p> <p>It makes me feel bad when I see an international report on the treatment on Black South Africans by White South Africans during the Apartheid years.</p> <p>I feel bad because the way White South Africans have treated Black South Africans during the Apartheid years has created a bad image of White South Africans in the eyes of the world.</p> <p>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.</p>	<p>I think that the White South Africans' past harmful actions towards Black South Africans reflects something negative about White South African culture.</p> <p>Even though I do not discriminate against White South Africans, I feel bad when I realise that other Black South Africans do.</p> <p>I think White South Africans should feel bad when they see an international report on the treatment on Black South Africans by White South Africans during the Apartheid years.</p> <p>I do not feel bad that the way White South Africans have treated Black South Africans during the Apartheid years has created a bad image of White South Africans in the eyes of the world.</p> <p>I think that the way White South African people are seen today by the rest of the world has become</p>

		more negative because of the way they behaved during the Apartheid years.
Identification with ingroup	<p>I feel a bond with White South Africans.</p> <p>I feel solidarity with White South Africans.</p> <p>I feel committed with White South Africans.</p> <p>I am glad to be a White South African.</p> <p>I think that White South Africans have a lot to be proud of.</p> <p>I often think about the fact that I am a White South African.</p> <p>Being a White South African is an important part of how I see myself.</p>	<p>I feel a bond with Black South Africans.</p> <p>I feel solidarity with Black South Africans.</p> <p>I feel committed with Black South Africans.</p> <p>I am glad to be a Black South African.</p> <p>I think that Black South Africans have a lot to be proud of.</p> <p>I often think about the fact that I am a Black South African.</p> <p>Being a Black South African is an important part of how I see myself.</p>

<p>General reparation</p>	<p>I believe White South Africans should try to repair some of the damage they caused in South Africa.</p> <p>I think that Black South Africans deserve some form of compensation from White South Africans for what happened to them during the Apartheid years.</p> <p>I think White South Africans owe something to Black South Africans because of the things they have done to them.</p> <p>I feel that Black South Africans should have economic benefits as reparation for the damage White South Africans have caused them.</p>	<p>I believe White South Africans should try to repair some of the damage they caused in South Africa.</p> <p>I think that Black South Africans deserve some form of compensation from White South Africans for what happened to them during the war.</p> <p>I think White South Africans owe something to Black South Africans because of the things they have done to them.</p> <p>I feel that Black South Africans should have economic benefits as reparation for the damage White South Africans have caused them</p>
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STUDY 3 (Field study)		
Measure	Experienced by white participants	Expected by black participants
Collective guilt	<p>I sometimes feel guilty, for what the White South Africans have done to Black South Africans during the Apartheid years.</p> <p>Thinking about some things the White South Africans have done in the Apartheid years, occasionally makes me feel guilty.</p> <p>I feel guilty for the human rights violations committed by White South Africans during the Apartheid years.</p> <p>Thinking about how White South Africans took away homes from Black South Africans makes me feel guilty.</p> <p>When I think of how White South Africans have expelled Black South Africans, I feel guilty.</p>	<p>I think that White South Africans should feel guilty for what they did to Black South Africans during the Apartheid years.</p> <p>Thinking about some things that the White South Africans have done in the Apartheid years, should make Whites occasionally feel guilty.</p> <p>I think White South Africans should feel guilty for the human rights violations committed by them during the Apartheid years.</p> <p>I think that when thinking about how White South Africans took away homes from Black South Africans, Whites should feel guilty.</p>
Perception of ingroup responsibility (white participants only)	<p>White people should feel responsible for the things that happened during Apartheid.</p> <p>I think that white people are responsible for what happened during Apartheid.</p> <p>I consider White South Africans as responsible for the atrocities committed during Apartheid.</p>	
Group-based responsibility (white participants only)	<p>Although I am not personally responsible for what has happened, I am ready to take responsibility for the behaviour of White people.</p> <p>Although I do not carry the responsibility for the past, I am ready to have a responsible attitude towards the atrocities committed in the name of White people.</p>	
Collective shame	<p>White South Africans' past harmful actions towards Black South Africans reflect something negative about White South African culture.</p> <p>Even though I do not discriminate against Black South Africans, I feel bad when I realize that other White South Africans do.</p> <p>It makes me feel bad when I see an</p>	<p>I think that the White South Africans' past harmful actions towards Black South Africans reflects something negative about White South African culture.</p> <p>Even though I do not discriminate against White South Africans, I feel bad when I realize that other Black South Africans do.</p>

	<p>international report on the treatment on Black South Africans by White South Africans during the Apartheid years.</p> <p>I feel bad because the way White South Africans have treated Black South Africans during the Apartheid years has created a bad image of White South Africans in the eyes of the world.</p> <p>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.</p>	<p>I think White South Africans should feel bad when they see an international report on the treatment on Black South Africans by White South Africans during the Apartheid years.</p> <p>I do not feel bad that the way White South Africans have treated Black South Africans during the Apartheid years has created a bad image of White South Africans in the eyes of the world.</p> <p>I think that 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</p>
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<p>Image threat appraisal (white participants only)</p>	<p>I consider that our image as White South Africans has been negatively affected by the way we have treated Black South Africans. Sometimes I believe that White South Africans have lost respect by others for the way they have treated Black South Africans in the past. Due to the way White South Africans have treated Black South Africans, I believe that now people judge White South Africans negatively.</p>	
<p>Reputation management (white participants only)</p>	<p>I would like to improve the image of White South Africans in the rest of the world in respect of how they now treat Black South Africans. I believe we should restore the international reputation of White South Africans associated with the treatment of Black South Africans. I would like other people to have a better impression of White South Africans in relation to how we have treated Black people. If we do not resolve the outstanding issues about the Black people in South Africa, it will damage the reputation of White South Africans. I want other countries to respect White South Africans again for the way we now treat Black South Africans.</p>	
<p>Identification with ingroup</p>	<p>I feel a bond with White South Africans I feel solidarity with White South Africans I feel committed with White South Africans I am glad to be a White South African. I think that White South Africans have a lot to be proud of. I often think about the fact that I am a White South African. Being a White South African is an important part of how I see myself.</p>	<p>I feel a bond with Black South Africans I feel solidarity with Black South Africans I feel committed with Black South Africans I think that Black South Africans have a lot to be proud of. I often think about the fact that I am a Black South African. Being a Black South African is an important part of how I see myself.</p>
<p>General reparation</p>	<p>I believe White South Africans should try to repair some of the</p>	<p>I believe White South Africans should try to repair some of the</p>

	<p>damage they caused in South Africa. I think that Black South Africans deserve some form of compensation from White South Africans for what happened to them during the war. I think White South Africans owe something to Black South Africans because of the things they have done to them. I feel that Black South Africans should have economic benefits as reparation for the damage White South Africans have caused them.</p>	<p>damage they caused in South Africa. I think that Black South Africans deserve some form of compensation from White South Africans for what happened to them during the Apartheid years. I think White South Africans owe something to Black South Africans because of the things they have done to them. I feel that Black South Africans should have economic benefits as reparation for the damage White South Africans have caused them.</p>
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Public reparation	<p>I think that White South Africans should publicly apologise for all the mistreatment and deprivation that they have caused Black South Africans.</p> <p>I think that the government should introduce reparation taxation for all White South Africans which will be deducted directly from their savings accounts.</p> <p>I think that all White South Africans with property valued over R250,000 should pay a property tax that will go towards Black Housing Projects.</p> <p>I think that all White South Africans who have a domestic worker with children should pay into an education fund for those children.</p> <p>I think that any White family with more than 5 hectares of land, should house a Black family.</p>	<p>I think that White South Africans should publicly apologise for all the mistreatment and deprivation that they have caused Black South Africans.</p> <p>I think that the government should introduce reparation taxation for all White South Africans which will be deducted directly from their savings accounts.</p> <p>I think that all White South Africans with property valued over R250,000 should pay a property tax that will go towards Black Housing Projects.</p> <p>I think that all White South Africans who have a domestic worker with children should pay into an education fund for those children.</p> <p>I think that any White family with more than 5 hectares of land, should house a Black family.</p>
Anonymous reparation	<p>I think that White South Africans should donate money anonymously towards the development of Black schools.</p> <p>I think that White South Africans should donate money anonymously towards the development of Black schools.</p> <p>All White children who receive pocket money should donate 50% of it to Black children.</p> <p>I think that White South Africans should donate food and clothing anonymously to Black South Africans.</p> <p>I think that every White South African with a child at a private school should anonymously sponsor a Black Child's education.</p>	<p>I think that White South Africans should donate money anonymously into a bank account that would go towards Black South Africans.</p> <p>I think that White South Africans should donate money anonymously towards the development of Black schools.</p> <p>All White children who receive pocket money should donate 50% of it to Black children.</p> <p>I think that White South Africans should donate food and clothing anonymously to Black South Africans.</p> <p>I think that every White South African with a child at a private school should anonymously sponsor a Black Child's education.</p>