

Of saints and sinners: How appeals to collective pride and guilt affect outgroup helping

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Esther van Leeuwen,¹ Wilco van Dijk,² and Ümit Kaynak¹

Abstract

We examined how appeals to collective guilt and pride can motivate people to help members of a disadvantaged outgroup. Results from two experiments supported the prediction that appeals to collective pride are more effective than appeals to collective guilt in prompting high identifying group members', but not low identifying group members' willingness to help the outgroup. Study 2 demonstrated that, as expected, pride appeals generated more empathy for the disadvantaged group than guilt appeals, particularly among high identifiers, and empathy mediated the relationship between emotional appeals and helping. The results complement existing research on collective guilt by demonstrating how high identifiers can be persuaded to help members of a disadvantaged outgroup even in the context of historical harmdoings.

Keywords

collective pride, collective guilt, intergroup helping, empathy

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From large-scale humanitarian disasters to development aid, appeals to feelings of guilt are often used to promote help efforts. Indeed, research has shown that feelings of collective guilt can be a powerful catalyst for prosocial behaviour towards other groups that are less fortunate than our own (Brown & Cehajic, 2008; Doosje, Branscombe, Spears, & Manstead, 2006; Halloran, 2007; Klandermans, Werner, & van Doorn, 2008; Schmitt, Miller, Branscombe, & Brehm, 2010). But when the primary goal is to promote helping of a disadvantaged outgroup, appeals to collective guilt may not always be

the best strategy. This is because the experience of collective guilt implies an acceptance of the ingroup's responsibility for the outgroup's disadvantage, which constitutes a threat to people's social identity. High identifying group members

¹VU University Amsterdam, The Netherlands

²Leiden University, The Netherlands

Corresponding author:

Esther van Leeuwen, Department of Social and Organisational Psychology, VU University Amsterdam, van der Boechorststraat 1, 1081 BT, The Netherlands.
Email: EAC.van.Leeuwen@vu.nl

in particular tend to distance themselves from the problem and deny their ingroup's responsibility (Zebel, Doosje, & Spears, 2009a). In the current research, we therefore approached the problem of outgroup helping from a different angle. Our point of departure was the question how we can motivate people, through appeals to collective emotions, to help members of a disadvantaged outgroup? Specifically, we compared the effectiveness of appeals to collective *guilt* over the ingroup's negative historical treatment of the disadvantaged outgroup to appeals to collective *pride* over the ingroup's positive historical treatment of that group. In two experiments, we tested the notion that appeals to collective pride result in a stronger motivation among high identifying group members to help a disadvantaged outgroup than appeals to collective guilt.

Collective Guilt

Collective guilt is an aversive, self-focused emotion that can arise when one's group is responsible for an existing social inequality or the historical ill-treatment of another group (Leach, Iyer, & Pedersen, 2006; Wohl, Branscombe, & Klar, 2006). Collective guilt differs from personal guilt in that it can be experienced even when the personal self was not involved in any wrongful acts towards the other group (Doosje, Branscombe, Spears, & Manstead, 1998). A prerequisite for the experience of collective guilt is that people view themselves as members of the perpetrating or "guilty" ingroup (Doosje et al., 1998). However, since people are motivated to perceive their ingroup positively to the extent that they identify with their group (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), the recognition of (past) ingroup transgressions is in conflict with their need for a positive social identity. Group members can therefore engage in a variety of defensive strategies that are aimed at avoiding or alleviating the aversive experience of collective guilt, including the denial of responsibility, dehumanization of the victims, and legitimization of the ingroup's actions or the status quo (Castano & Giner-Sorolla, 2006; Morton & Postmes, 2011; Sibley, Robertson, & Kirkwood,

2005; Wohl & Branscombe, 2008). These defensive strategies are particularly pronounced among high identifying group members, who are most motivated to defend their group identity (Gunn & Wilson, 2011; Wohl et al., 2006). Indeed, prior research has found that high identifying group members express more doubt about the appropriateness of collective guilt (McGarty et al., 2005) and report less collective guilt about their ingroup's transgressions than low identifying group members (e.g., Doosje et al., 1998; Myers, Hewstone, & Cairns, 2009).

Klein, Licata, and Pierucci (2011) found evidence for a curve linear relationship between identification and collective guilt, such that identification was positively associated with guilt among low identifiers but negatively associated among high identifiers. It is important to realize that "low identifiers" (typically defined as scoring below the median of a scale) are not the same as "nonidentifiers." Most low identifiers do self-categorize as members of the ingroup, but they may view themselves as peripheral rather than central members (Jetten, Branscombe, Spears, & McKimmie, 2003), or their emotional ties to the ingroup are simply not as strong as those of high identifiers. Regardless of their own level of identification, outsiders still view them as members of that particular group. Consequently, low identifiers do not remain unaffected by their ingroup's reputation, and prior research found that low identifiers are just as likely as high identifiers to help an outgroup if this could improve their ingroup's reputation (van Leeuwen & Täuber, 2012). In the context of collective guilt, when given an opportunity to repair past ingroup wrongdoings, Klein et al. (2011) as well as Doosje et al. (2006) observed that low identifiers were more likely to take this chance than high identifiers.

Within the collective guilt literature, the dominant assumption appears to be that the experience of collective guilt will more or less directly translate into a willingness to repair the harm committed to the outgroup (e.g., Brown, González, Zagefka, Manzi, & Cehajic, 2008; Klandermans et al., 2008; Wohl et al., 2006).

Previous research (e.g., Schmitt et al., 2010; Zebel et al., 2009a) has therefore explored factors that can increase the experience of guilt among high identifiers, and thus the willingness to help the victimized outgroup. However, there is some evidence that the relationship between guilt and helping is not as straightforward as often assumed. For example, Leach et al. (2006, Study 3) found that feelings of collective guilt, although associated with the abstract goal of compensation, did not predict the willingness to engage in collective action. Iyer, Leach, and Crosby (2003) showed that collective guilt, while predicting support for compensatory policy, did not predict support for noncompensatory efforts such as affirmative action. And Doosje et al. (2006, Study 1) found that ingroup identification and the experience of collective guilt were positively related when the negative historical information was said to come from an ingroup source, and thus hard to dismiss, but identification was *negatively* related to the willingness to provide financial compensation to the victimized outgroup in this condition. This suggests that high identifiers may be induced to report guilt for past transgressions that are hard to deny, but reported guilt does not automatically translate into restorative actions. It is therefore important to focus more explicitly on the relationship between collective guilt and helping, as was the aim of the current research.

The aforementioned defensive strategies that prohibit the experience of collective guilt in response to ingroup transgressions are a serious problem for programs aimed at reconciliation and repair of past transgressions (Halloran, 2007). Indeed, when the primary goal is to elicit an apology from a perpetrating group for historical harmdoings, then feelings of guilt seem an essential part of this process. However, when the goal is to seek support for policies aimed at improving the disadvantaged group's position, we propose that appeals to guilt may not be the most effective strategy to achieve this goal, given that high identifying group members in particular have strong defensive mechanisms that keep them from experiencing guilt. Instead, an appeal

to feelings of collective *pride* may be more effective to incite high identifiers' generosity towards the disadvantaged outgroup.

Collective Pride

It may seem strange to speak of feelings of pride in the same context as historical harmdoings. However, the historical treatment of another group can be a source of ambiguity. For example, the Dutch colonization of Indonesia has had many adverse consequences for Indonesia, such as the exploitation of land and labour, but also some positive consequences such as the introduction of an advanced educational system and a solid legal system (Doosje et al., 1998). Positive historical acts on behalf of the outgroup are potential sources of collective pride, and as such, contribute positively to group members' social identity. Whereas an appeal to feelings of collective guilt over the negative historical treatment of another group may lead high identifiers to protect their ingroup from the association with negative affect, an appeal to feelings of collective pride over the positive historical treatment of another group could have the exact opposite effect by lowering the defensive barriers in order to associate positive affect with the ingroup.

Some indirect evidence in support of this argument can be found in research by van Leeuwen (2007) that was conducted in the aftermath of the December 2004 tsunami in Southeast Asia. When appealing to feelings of collective guilt over the Dutch colonial history in Indonesia, Dutch participants who had experienced a threat to their national identity were less willing to help the Indonesian province of Aceh to recover from the tsunami compared to Dutch participants whose national identity was not threatened. At the same time, participants whose national identity was threatened were more willing than participants whose identity was not threatened to help other affected areas in Southeast Asia in a domain that was considered a source of national pride, that is, watermanagement. In other words, when social identity concerns were activated, an appeal to collective guilt reduced the willingness

to help, whereas helping increased when it was associated with a domain of national pride.

Individual pride is a self-focused emotion that occurs when one approves of one's commendable actions (Leach, Snider, & Iyer, 2002). There is little empirical research that has focused directly on the experience of pride as a collective emotion (but see Harth, Kessler, & Leach, 2008; Leach, Ellemers, & Barreto, 2007). However, in a more general sense, literature provides ample indication that people can experience pride on behalf of their group. The experience of collective pride is, for example, reflected in Cialdini's (1976) notion of "basking in reflected glory." Pride is also closely linked with the theoretical concepts of social identity and collective self-esteem (Crocker & Luhtanen, 1990; Rubin & Hewstone, 1998). Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) proposes that our treatment of other groups is motivated by the desire to achieve, maintain, or enhance a positive social identity. To the extent that people identify with their ingroup, positive ingroup behaviours are sources of collective pride that contribute positively to group members' self-esteem. In direct investigations of collective pride, Harth et al. (2008) found that intergroup inequality that is ingroup focused and legitimate increased feelings of collective pride, and Leach et al. (2007) observed that collective pride was directly related to perceived ingroup morality. There is, therefore, both indirect and direct evidence for the existence of pride as a collective emotion. However, no research to date has examined how the positive historical treatment of another group reflects on group members' feelings of collective pride, or how this affects their willingness to help that group in the present.

Overview of the Studies

We examined, in two studies, the effects of appeals to collective guilt and pride on outgroup helping in the context of World War II. The data were collected during (Study 1), or soon after (Study 2) the annual Dutch commemoration of the victims of WWII on the 4th of May 2010.

During WWII, many Dutch people collaborated with the Nazis in the persecution of Jews,¹ and this is a clear source of collective guilt for the Dutch (Zebel et al., 2009a, 2009b). However, many Dutch people also resisted the Nazi regime through acts of sabotage and by hiding victims in their homes (e.g., the harbouring of Anne Frank and her family). These acts of resistance can be considered a source of collective pride. Although WWII had ended more than 65 years ago at the time of data collection, the surviving victims and their relatives still suffer the consequences of their persecution. For example, many of the properties that were confiscated by the Nazis, including valuable family heirlooms, have never been returned to their rightful owners. In this and other domains, there is much that the Dutch government can still do to help the surviving victims of WWII and their relatives.

Study 1

In this first study, data were collected by means of short interviews of people attending the annual commemoration of the victims of WWII on Dam square, Amsterdam. We manipulated feelings of collective pride or guilt by priming participants with either positive or negative acts committed by the Dutch during the war. National identification was measured. We predicted an interaction effect of identification and experimental condition (pride or guilt) on participants' beliefs about the extent to which the Dutch government should help the Jewish victims of the war and their relatives. Specifically, we expected that national identification should be positively related to helping in the pride condition (Hypothesis 1a), but negatively related to helping in the guilt condition (Hypothesis 1b). We also expected that reported feelings of pride and reported feelings of guilt would mediate the effect of experimental condition on helping depending on level of identification (i.e., moderated mediations). Specifically, we expected that more pride would be reported in the pride condition than in the guilt condition, and that reported pride would

mediate the effect of condition on helping for high identifiers but not for low identifiers (Hypothesis 2a). With respect to the relationship between guilt and helping, literature has shown that support for reparation increases when the material and immaterial costs of helping are lower (Schmitt et al., 2010). The immaterial or symbolic costs of helping include an implicit acknowledgement of responsibility for outgroup harm. Klein et al. (2011) argued that, for low identifiers, the symbolic costs of helping are lower than the positive consequences of helping in terms of reconciliation. We therefore expected that more guilt would be reported in the guilt condition than in the pride condition, and that reported guilt would mediate the effect of condition on helping for low identifiers but not for high identifiers (Hypothesis 2b).

Method

Seventy-five people were interviewed for this study. Eight people indicated being Jewish and were excluded from further analyses because, for them, helping could be construed as a form of ingroup helping. The remaining 67 (30 men, 37 women, $M_{\text{age}} = 36$, $SD = 12.54$) were equally distributed across two experimental conditions: guilt ($n = 33$) and pride ($n = 34$).

The 4th May is the day on which the Dutch commemorate the victims of the Second World War. At 8 p.m., the deceased are remembered in a national ceremony on the Dam square in Amsterdam through speeches, wreath layings and 2 minutes of silence. A male interviewer approached participants on the 4th of May on the Dam square in Amsterdam in the hours before the ceremony, and asked them to participate in a short interview about WWII.

The interviewer first asked participants to indicate their agreements with three statements assessing their *identification with the Netherlands* (“I feel strong ties with other Dutch people,” “I identify with other Dutch people,” “I feel committed to the Netherlands”; 1 = *not at all*, 5 = *very much*; $M = 3.63$, $SD = 0.75$; $\alpha = .88$). He then

proceeded by briefly providing some background information about the role of the Dutch in WWII, ostensibly as an introduction to the subsequent questions. In the *guilt condition*, he explained that,

as you may know, many Dutch openly collaborated with the occupier during WWII. Dutch people have helped the occupier evict Jewish people from their homes, and transport them to concentration camps. Dutch people also betrayed other Dutch people engaged in resistance. In comparison to countries such as Belgium and France, the Dutch gave little resistance to the Nazis.

In the *pride condition*, he explained that,

as you may know, many Dutch actively resisted the work of the occupier during WWII. This includes sabotaging telephone lines, railways, hiding Jewish people, or forging identity cards. In comparison to countries such as Belgium and France, the Dutch have resisted the Nazis very actively.²

Following this introduction, the interviewer asked participants to indicate to what extent thinking about the role of the Dutch during WWII made them feel *guilty* and to what extent it made them feel *proud* (1 = *not at all*, 5 = *very much*).³ *Outgroup helping* was subsequently assessed with nine items (e.g., “To what extent do you agree with the following statement”: “I support the government’s plan to allocate more funds to treat people suffering from complex psychotraumas as a result of WWII,” “I think the government should do all it can to help the victims of WWII and their families”; 1 = *not at all*, 5 = *very much*; $\alpha = .88$). At the end of the interview, participants were thanked and debriefed.

Results

Unless otherwise indicated, all variables were analysed in regression analyses with identification

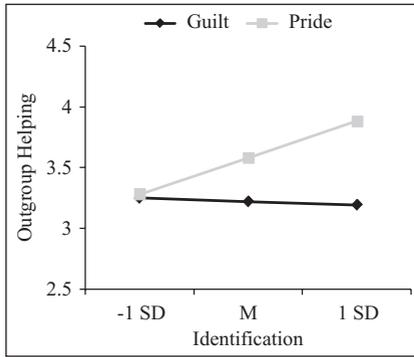


Figure 1. Relationship between identification, condition and outgroup helping, Study 1.

(transformed to z -scores), condition (coded -1 for guilt, 1 for pride) and their interaction term as predictors.

Pride and guilt. The degree to which participants reported feelings of pride was affected by condition, $b = .94, t = 10.83, p < .001$. More pride was reported in the pride condition ($M = 3.91, SD = 0.75$) than in the guilt condition ($M = 2.03, SD = 0.77$). The analysis also revealed a significant interaction term, $b = .29, t = 3.33, p = .001$. Simple slope analysis showed that identification was positively related to reported pride in the pride condition, $b = .43, t = 3.18, p = .002$, but not in the guilt condition, $b = -.16, ns$. This association between identification and pride is consistent with social identity theory's notion that pride is an integral component of social identification (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

The degree to which participants reported guilt was affected by condition only, $b = -.87, t = -8.85, p < .001$. More guilt was reported in the guilt condition ($M = 3.03, SD = 1.05$) than in the pride condition ($M = 1.29, SD = 0.46$). These results show that the manipulation was successful in priming either feelings of pride or guilt over the Dutch role in WWII.

Outgroup helping. Outgroup helping was affected by condition, $b = .18, t = 3.39, p = .001$, identification, $b = .14, t = 2.53, p = .014$, and their interaction term, $b = .17, t = 3.04, p = .003$.

Participants in the pride condition were more in support of helping the victims and survivors of WWII ($M = 3.59, SD = 0.38$) than participants in the guilt condition ($M = 3.22, SD = 0.55$). The positive relationship between identification and helping, however, was fully qualified by the interaction term (see Figure 1). Confirming Hypothesis 1a, simple slope analyses revealed that identification was positively related to helping in the pride condition, $b = .30, t = 3.67, p = .001$. However, in contrast to what was predicted in Hypothesis 1b, identification was unrelated to helping in the guilt condition, $b = -.03, ns$. Tested differently, more support for helping was found in the pride condition compared to the guilt condition among high identifiers ($+1 SD$), $b = .35, t = 4.55, p < .001$, whereas no difference was found among low identifiers ($-1 SD$), $b = .02, ns$.

Pride and helping. Outgroup helping was regressed on reported pride, identification (both transformed to z -scores) and their interaction term. Both pride, $b = .22, t = 3.92, p < .001$, and identification, $b = .13, t = 2.44, p = .018$, were significant predictors of helping, but their effects were fully qualified by the interaction term, $b = .12, t = 2.39, p = .020$. The interaction was explored through simple slope analyses examining the relationship between reported pride and helping for high ($+1 SD$) and low ($-1 SD$) identifiers. As expected in Hypothesis 2a, reported pride had a strong positive association with helping when identification was high, $b = .32, t = 5.40, p < .001$, but was unrelated to helping when identification was low, $b = .16, t = 1.50, ns$.

To examine whether the effect of condition on outgroup helping was mediated by reported pride, while this mediation was moderated by identification, we conducted a moderated mediation analysis using a bootstrap approach. Bootstrapping allows us to show that the strength of the hypothesized mediational effect is contingent on specific values of the moderator (i.e., *conditional indirect effect*; Preacher & Hayes, 2008; Preacher, Rucker, & Hayes, 2007). We predicted

in Hypothesis 2a that the degree to which reported pride mediates the effect of condition on helping would be moderated by identification, such that the mediation effect would be present among high identifiers but absent among low identifiers (cf. Preacher & Hayes, 2008, Model 3). Following recommendations, we resampled 5,000 times (Preacher & Hayes, 2008). Results showed that pride did not mediate the effect of condition on helping among low identifiers (i.e., 1 *SD* below *M*; boot indirect effect = 0.10, *SE* = .10, 95% CI = -.0913, .2967, $\zeta = 1.06$, *ns*). However, significant evidence for mediation was obtained when identification was high (+ 1 *SD*; boot indirect effect = 0.28, *SE* = .07, 95% CI = .1461, .4217, $\zeta = 4.12$, $p < .001$). These findings support Hypothesis 2a.

Guilt and helping. Outgroup helping was regressed on guilt, identification (both transformed to z-scores), and their interaction term. Unexpectedly, guilt predicted helping in a negative direction, $b = -.20$, $t = -4.44$, $p < .001$. The significant interaction term, $b = -.21$, $t = -5.18$, $p < .001$, revealed that guilt had a strong negative association with helping among high identifiers (-1 *SD*), $b = -.44$, $t = -6.70$, $p < .001$, but did not significantly predict helping among low identifiers (+1 *SD*), $b = .04$, $t = 0.50$, *ns*. Since the relationship between reported guilt and helping was in a direction opposite to what was expected in Hypothesis 2b, the subsequent moderated mediation analysis was no longer relevant.

Discussion

With respect to the effects of pride, the observed findings confirmed our expectations: Participants reported feeling more pride in the pride condition, and pride positively predicted high identifiers', but not low identifiers', willingness to help the victims of WWII.

With respect to guilt, however, we unexpectedly observed a negative relationship between reported guilt and helping among high identifiers, whereas the predicted positive relationship for low identifiers was absent. Doosje et al.

(2006) found that high identifiers did not report less guilt than low identifiers in situations where guilt was hard to deny. However, despite their feelings of guilt, high identifiers were less in favour of restorative actions than low identifiers in that study. In the current study, participants were not only confronted with explicit information describing their group's past mistreatment (or positive treatment) of the outgroup, but they also received this information in a face-to-face interview, conducted on a national commemoration day. Publicly admitting guilt over the Dutch collaboration with the Nazis is arguably much more threatening than privately and anonymously admitting guilt. However, the public setting and the unambiguous information provided as part of the manipulation would have made it impossible to directly deny guilt. When it is impossible to deny ingroup guilt, denial could be expressed indirectly through reduced willingness to help the outgroup. Making reparations implicitly acknowledges that the ingroup has illegitimately mistreated the outgroup, which may hurt social identity (Klein et al., 2011). It seems plausible that, the more high identifiers felt compelled to report guilt to the interviewer, the greater the identity threat they experienced. Consequently, high identifiers could have tried to deflect this threat by reducing their willingness to support the victimized outgroup. The high social costs involved in publicly admitting guilt could even have suppressed low identifiers' motivation to repair the intergroup equilibrium though helping the outgroup.

Study 2

The aim of the second study was twofold. First, we set out to test our hypotheses in a setting that was less threatening to participants. Instead of face-to-face interviews, data were collected by means of an Internet survey which participants could complete anonymously and in the privacy of their own home.

Second, we investigated the mediating role of empathy. Empathy implies concern for another's welfare, and its positive effects on helping are

well documented (see Batson, 1991, for a review). We reasoned in the general introduction to this paper that high identifiers, more than low identifiers, are motivated to associate positive affect with their ingroup while defending their ingroup against associations with negative sources of affect. Since empathy is a means by which separate entities connect emotionally (Davis, 1994), an increase in empathy for an outgroup which represents a source of ingroup pride strengthens the association between the ingroup and this source of positive affect. Conversely, the inhibition of empathy for a disadvantaged outgroup can effectively protect group members from associating negative affect with their ingroup.

To our knowledge, no research to date has investigated the relationship between collective pride and empathy. Prior correlational research did however inspect the association between collective guilt and empathy, often reporting a positive correlation between the two (Brown & Cehajic, 2008; Leith & Baumeister, 1998). However, according to Tangney (1995), collective guilt may not necessarily be a consequence of empathy, but rather a state that can be triggered by the same source as empathy. Indeed, Miron, Branscombe, and Schmitt (2006) argued that collective guilt, rather than reflecting an empathic concern for the harmed group, is a more self-focused distress response to the outgroup's suffering. Although collective guilt and empathy could coexist in correlational research due to their common cause, the causal relationship between the two is debatable. In our research, we activated feelings of collective guilt by confronting participants with negative historical actions of their ingroup, making it hard to deny collective guilt. In line with prior research demonstrating that the association between collective guilt and helping is absent when guilt is hard to deny (Doosje et al., 2006), we do not expect that guilt that is induced in this manner will increase empathy for the outgroup.

We propose that high identifying group members, more than low identifiers, should be motivated to empathize with the disadvantaged outgroup when the historical bond with this group is presented as a source of pride, but not

when it is presented as a source of guilt. This empathic bond should make them more attuned to the outgroup's current needs, and thus more willing to help the outgroup.

In addition to the predictions with respect to collective pride, guilt, and outgroup helping, as examined in the first study (Hypotheses 1a through 2b), we expected that an appeal to collective pride would elicit more empathy for the victims of WWII than an appeal to collective guilt, particularly among high identifiers (Hypothesis 3a). Moreover, empathy was expected to mediate the interaction between condition and identification on outgroup helping (Hypothesis 3b).

Method

Sixty-one psychology students (50 women, 11 men; $M_{\text{age}} = 20$, $SD = 2.07$) from the VU University Amsterdam participated in this study in return for course credits. All participants had a Dutch nationality and none indicated being Jewish. Participants were randomly assigned to one of two conditions: guilt ($n = 29$) and pride ($n = 32$).

The study was set up as an Internet survey which participants could fill out in their own time and in the privacy of their own home. The survey was included in a list of studies available for students in exchange for course credit. Students who signed up for the study received a link to the survey via email, with instructions to complete the study in a quiet and private environment. We stressed that their responses were anonymous. This setup was chosen to ensure greater anonymity and privacy in comparison to Study 1.

Unless otherwise indicated, all items were assessed on 7-point scales (1 = *not at all*, 7 = *very much*), with the introduction "To what extent does the following statement apply to you." The survey commenced with a measure of Dutch identification (4 items, e.g., "I feel strong ties with other Dutch people"; $M = 4.39$, $SD = 1.04$; $\alpha = .82$). It then presented participants with an article about the role of the Dutch in WWII, which they were instructed to read carefully. In the *guilt* condition, the article described that many Dutch had

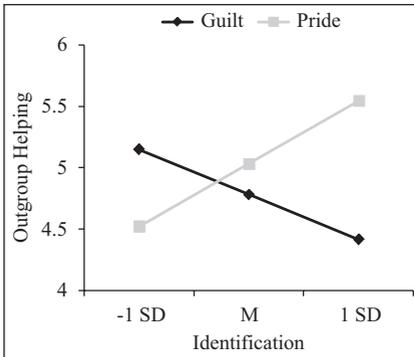


Figure 2. Relationship between identification, condition, and helping, Study 2.

collaborated with the Nazis and actively assisted with the deportation of Jews. In the *pride* condition, the article described the Dutch resistance to the Nazi regime, and described how many Dutch had actively helped to hide Jews and prevent their deportation.

Feelings of *collective guilt* and *pride* about the role of the Dutch with respect to the persecution and deportation of Jews in WWII were measured directly following the manipulation with single items (“When I think about the role of the Dutch with respect to the persecution and deportation of the Jews in WWII, I feel ... guilt/pride”). *Empathy* was measured with 4 items (e.g., “I feel strong ties with the people that were persecuted in WWII”; “I feel sympathy for the people that were persecuted in WWII”; $\alpha = .66$). *Outgroup helping* was assessed with 5 items (e.g., “I think the Dutch government should do all it can to help the victims of WWII and their kin”; “I support the plan of the Dutch government to change legislation in order to facilitate the retrieval of Jewish property that was confiscated during WWII”; $\alpha = .75$). At the end of the study, participants were thanked, their credits were assigned, and they were electronically debriefed.

Results

Unless otherwise indicated, all variables were analysed in regression analyses with identification

(transformed to z -scores), condition (coded -1 for guilt, 1 for pride) and their interaction term as predictors.

Guilt and pride. Pride was affected by condition only, $b = 1.82, t = 13.63, p < .001$. More pride was reported in the pride condition ($M = 5.30, SD = 0.94$) than in the guilt condition ($M = 1.62, SD = 0.83$). Guilt was affected by condition only, $b = -.62, t = -3.21, p = .002$. More guilt was reported in the guilt condition ($M = 4.38, SD = 1.27$) than in the pride condition ($M = 2.69, SD = 1.07$). These results show that the manipulations were successful.

Outgroup helping. Outgroup helping was affected by the interaction term between condition and identification only, $b = .44, t = 3.93, p < .001$. Simple slope analysis (see Figure 2) revealed that identification was positively related to helping in the pride condition, $b = .51, t = 3.12, p = .003$. This finding confirms Hypothesis 1a. In support of Hypothesis 1b, identification was negatively related to helping in the guilt condition, $b = -.37, t = -2.41, p = .019$. Tested differently, high identifiers were more in support of helping in the pride condition compared to the guilt condition, $b = .57, t = 3.59, p = .001$, whereas low identifiers were marginally less in support of helping in the pride condition compared to the guilt condition, $b = -.31, t = -1.99, p = .052$.

Pride and helping. We regressed outgroup helping on reported pride, identification (both transformed to z -scores), and their interaction term. The interaction term was significant, $b = .34, t = 2.90, p = .005$. Simple slope analysis revealed that reported pride was positively associated with helping among high identifiers ($+1 SD$), $b = .24, t = 3.04, p = .004$, but unrelated to helping among low identifiers ($-1 SD$), $b = -.09, t = -1.11, ns$. We conducted a moderated mediation analysis using a bootstrap approach to examine whether the indirect effect of condition on outgroup helping was mediated by reported pride, while this mediation was moderated by identification. Supporting Hypothesis 2a, pride did not mediate

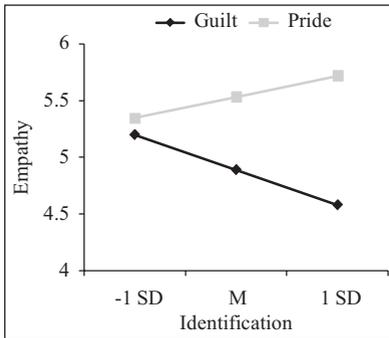


Figure 3. Relationship between identification, condition, and empathy, Study 2.

the indirect effect of condition on helping among low identifiers ($-1 SD$; boot indirect effect = -0.09 , $SE = .23$, 95% CI = $-.5496, .3772$; $\chi = .71$, ns). However, pride did mediate the indirect effect of condition on helping among high identifiers ($+1 SD$; boot indirect effect = 0.51 , $SE = .25$, 95% CI = $.0324, .9840$; $\chi = 2.14$, $p = .033$).

Guilt and helping. Outgroup helping was regressed on reported guilt, identification (both transformed to z -scores), and their interaction term. The interaction term was marginally significant, $b = -.23$, $t = -1.80$, $p = .077$. Guilt was unrelated to helping among high identifiers ($+1 SD$), $b = -.02$, $t = -0.14$, ns , but positively related to helping among low identifiers ($-1 SD$), $b = .27$, $t = 2.40$, $p = .02$. Supporting Hypothesis 2b, moderated mediation analysis using the bootstrap approach showed that the indirect effect of condition on outgroup helping was mediated by reported guilt among low identifiers ($-1 SD$; boot indirect effect = -0.20 , $SE = .09$, 95% CI = $-.3862, -.0070$; $\chi = -2.07$, $p = .038$), but not among high identifiers ($+1 SD$; boot indirect effect = 0.03 , $SE = .07$, 95% CI = $-.1732, .1156$; $\chi = -.40$, ns).

Empathy. Empathy was regressed on condition, identification, and their interaction term. Empathy was affected by condition, $b = .32$, $t = 2.80$, $p = .007$. More empathy was reported in the pride condition ($M = 5.53$, $SD = 0.87$) than in the guilt

condition ($M = 4.89$, $SD = 0.97$). However, this effect was qualified by the interaction term, $b = .24$, $t = 2.14$, $p = .037$, as predicted in Hypothesis 3a. The means are presented in Figure 3. Simple slope analysis revealed that condition was a positive predictor of empathy among high identifiers ($+1 SD$), $b = .57$, $t = 3.49$, $p = .001$, which means that high identifiers in the pride condition reported greater empathy for the victims of WWII than those in the guilt condition. Condition was unrelated to empathy among low identifiers, $b = .07$, $t = 0.45$, ns . Tested differently, the negative association between identification and empathy in the guilt condition was marginally significant, $b = -.31$, $t = -1.96$, $p = .050$, but the positive association in the pride condition was not, $b = .19$, $t = 1.09$, $p = .28$.

Empathy correlated positively with outgroup helping, $r = .45$, $p < .001$. We used the bootstrap approach to examine whether the observed interaction between identification and condition on outgroup helping was mediated by empathy. Zero fell outside the 95% confidence interval, which ranged from $.0027$ to $.2430$. In support of Hypothesis 3b, participants' reported empathy for the victims of WWII mediated the interaction between identification and condition on outgroup helping.

Pride, guilt, and empathy. To examine in more detail the extent to which empathy was specifically related to reported feelings of collective pride, empathy was regressed on pride, identification (both transformed to z -scores), and their interaction term. The analysis revealed a significant effect of reported pride, $b = .31$, $t = 2.66$, $p = .010$, which was qualified by the interaction term, $b = .27$, $t = 2.26$, $p = .028$. Simple slope analysis showed that reported pride positively predicted empathy among high identifiers ($+1 SD$), $b = .27$, $t = 3.53$, $p = .001$, but did not predict empathy among low identifiers ($-1 SD$), $b = .02$, $t = 0.26$, ns . We subsequently conducted a mediation analysis using the bootstrap approach to investigate whether the interaction between reported pride and identification on outgroup helping was mediated by empathy. Zero fell outside the 95%

confidence interval (which ranged from .0026 to .2770). These results demonstrate that empathy mediated the interaction between reported pride and identification on outgroup helping.

Empathy was also regressed on reported guilt, identification, and their interaction term. This analysis yielded no significant predictors. Empathy also did not mediate the interaction between reported guilt and identification on outgroup helping (zero was included in the 95% confidence interval which ranged from $-.1771$ to $.1037$).

Discussion

When asked to report their feelings of guilt in an unthreatening anonymous and private setting, we found full support for our general hypothesis that identification is negatively related to participants' willingness to help the disadvantaged outgroup when confronted with the ingroup's historical ill-treatment of that group. Moreover, reported guilt mediated the effect of our manipulation on helping among low identifiers. Replicating the results from Study 1, national identification was positively related to the willingness to help when appealed to feelings of pride, and reported pride mediated this effect among high identifiers.

Empathy for the victims of WWII was positively related to the willingness to help this group, which is consistent with existing literature (Batson, 1991). More interestingly, participants reported greater empathy in the pride condition than in the guilt condition, and this effect was most pronounced among high identifiers. Further analysis showed that empathy was predicted by feelings of pride among high identifiers but not among low identifiers, and that the interaction between reported pride and outgroup helping was mediated by empathy. In other words, the positive treatment of another group triggered feelings of collective pride, which led high identifiers in particular to strengthen their bond with the outgroup, as reflected in increased levels of empathy. Empathy, consequently, resulted in a greater willingness to help this group.

Feelings of collective guilt predicted outgroup helping among low identifiers, but this effect was not mediated by empathy, and reported guilt and empathy were uncorrelated. Literature on the association between empathy and collective guilt shows that the association between guilt and empathy is far from straightforward. Tangney (1995) argued that both guilt and empathy are likely to be aroused by another person's distress. But Miron et al. (2006), across two studies, failed to find a relationship between empathy and guilt. Instead, their results showed that collective guilt is a self-focused emotion that is associated with distress experienced when confronted with the suffering of another group. Outgroup helping can alleviate this aversive emotion. In a similar vein, participants in the current study could have used helping not so much out of genuine empathic concern for the well-being of the surviving WWII victims and their relatives, but rather to alleviate the negative emotion of guilt.

General Discussion

The results from the current research demonstrate that high identifying group members, compared to low identifying group members, (a) are more willing to help a disadvantaged outgroup when an appeal to collective pride is made compared to an appeal to collective guilt, and (b) have more empathy for the disadvantaged outgroup when appealed to collective pride compared to collective guilt. The observation that collective guilt increased low identifiers' but not high identifiers' willingness to help is consistent with existing literature (e.g., Doosje et al., 1998; Klein et al., 2011; Zebel et al., 2009a). Collective pride, however, has rarely been a topic of investigation in and of itself (but see Harth et al., 2008; Leach et al., 2007). This research is the first to study the relationship between collective pride, empathy, and helping, and thus the first to demonstrate that feelings of pride associated with the positive historical treatment of another group can increase empathic feelings for this group, which in turn promote the willingness to help this group.

Limitations

There are several limitations that need to be considered. Research on parochial altruism has demonstrated that people are often more cooperative towards the ingroup, and more defensive towards outgroups (Bernhard, Fischbacher, & Fehr, 2006; De Dreu et al., 2010). Although more specific literature on intergroup helping has actually failed to find convincing evidence of such an ingroup bias in helping (see Saucier, Miller, & Doucet, 2005, for a meta-analysis), it is possible that people nonetheless assume that helping is generally restricted to the ingroup and its allies. As a result, informing people that their ingroup has helped an outgroup in the past could lead them to conclude that this outgroup is closely allied with the ingroup—more so than when this outgroup was harmed—and this could stimulate high identifiers' motivation to help this group in the present. In that regard, our measure of empathy could have tapped into participants' psychological bond with the outgroup. The current research was not equipped to examine this explanation, but future research should include measures of categorization to assess to what extent past outgroup helping affects the perceived closeness between outgroup and ingroup and the subsequent willingness to help.

Another way of circumventing this problem is by manipulating collective pride in a manner that is not associated with helping. A reference could be made to a specific ingroup performance or competence that is associated with the outgroup, but that is unrelated to helping. For example, the Danish architect Jorn Utzon who designed the iconic Sydney Opera House following a competition “put Denmark on the world map with his great talent,” according to Danish Culture Minister Carina Christensen (“Sydney Opera House architect dies,” 2008). By manipulating collective pride on a dimension that differs from the dependent variable of helping, group members are unlikely to conclude that the outgroup is somehow an ingroup ally. Perhaps even more important, this could also exclude an alternative explanation for the current findings in terms of the need to be

self-consistent. Self-consistency needs can motivate people to adjust their current behaviour to be consistent with past behaviour (Swann & Buhrmester, 2012). In other words, past helping could trigger present helping simply because people want to be consistent. By disentangling the dimensions of historical pride and current outgroup treatment, self-consistency considerations may be eliminated.

Another limitation of the present work is the absence of a control condition. Although correlational analyses with reported pride and guilt indicated that it was mainly pride that elevated high identifiers' willingness to help and guilt that elevated low identifiers' willingness to help, future research should include a baseline control condition that allows for a more strictly controlled experimental investigation of these processes. Such a baseline condition should be selected with care, however. Since negative actions generally capture more attention than positive actions, many ambiguous situations that include both positive and negative historical actions could, without further information or emphasis, be construed by participants as primarily negative (e.g., WWII or a colonial history). Emphasizing both positive and negative elements simultaneously in those ambiguous situations does not create a neutral control condition either, as it merely provides more scope for low and high identifiers to focus on different aspects of the information (Doosje et al., 1998).

In both our studies, we assessed the willingness to help the outgroup through participants' support for government measures. This dependent variable could be criticized on the basis that it does not reflect actual behaviour, such as making a donation or signing a petition. Expressing support for government policy does not involve much personal cost and may therefore not always translate into actual behaviour—although the costs involved with signing a petition are probably similarly negligible. The problem with studying intergroup behaviour is that it is in fact quite difficult to assess actual *intergroup* behaviour, particularly with respect to large groups. Donating money or volunteering time and effort are clear

expressions of behaviour, but as they are essentially behaviours expressed by *individuals*, they can be criticized for not reflecting intergroup processes. For example, if we had asked participants to personally donate money for a foundation aimed at helping the victims of WWII, helping in the guilt condition could also be interpreted as the individual strategy of distancing from the collective, by presenting oneself as a generous and caring individual in contrast to the Dutch collective that inflicted such harm on the outgroup (see van Leeuwen & Täuber, 2012). We opted for the current measures since we reasoned that intergroup behaviour where large groups are concerned is often reflected in the actions of group representatives, such as governments, and (democratic) governments depend on the support of the people they represent. By assessing support for the Dutch government's actions in helping the Jewish victims of WWII, we aimed to assess support for *intergroup* helping, albeit not at a behavioural level.

Theoretical Implications

Prior research has produced mixed results regarding the relationship between collective guilt, identification, and helping. Correlational research often finds that identification is negatively related to the report of collective guilt (e.g., Doosje et al., 1998; Myers et al., 2009), although this correlation is certainly not universally observed (e.g., McGarty et al., 2005). Ferguson and Branscombe concluded in 2010 that “the role of group identification on collective guilt is likely to be complex and would be a useful avenue for future research” (p. 141). The current research may help shed more light on this complicated relationship. We believe that an important moderator in the relationship between identification, collective guilt, and helping, lies in the extent to which collective guilt can be denied directly or only indirectly. Perhaps not surprisingly, in the few existing studies in which collective guilt was directly and unambiguously manipulated, reported guilt was affected by this manipulation only, unmoderated by identification (e.g., Doosje et al., 1998, 2006).

This does not automatically mean that high and low identifiers accept responsibility for past transgressions, and subsequently suffer the identity implications, to an equal extent. Rather, it is possible that the defensive mechanisms set in at a later stage, where there is more room for deflection or denial of guilt. Such an opportunity exists when asked to help the disadvantaged outgroup. Since making reparations implies an acknowledgement and acceptance for past mistreatment of the outgroup (Klein et al., 2011), helping may threaten group members' social identity. Consequently, reported guilt in situations where guilt is hard to deny may not always automatically result in a greater willingness to help the disadvantaged outgroup. In fact, data from our first study suggest that when denial is very difficult while the threat associated with reporting guilt is exceptionally high (e.g., a public setting), reported guilt may even be negatively related to helping.

The finding that an appeal to collective pride increased high identifiers' willingness to help a disadvantaged outgroup sides with recent insights from research on strategic intergroup helping, which has demonstrated that people are sometimes highly motivated to help other groups as long as this allows them to feel good about their ingroup, and to communicate positive ingroup qualities to the outgroup (van Leeuwen & Täuber, 2010). For example, Nadler, Harpaz-Gorodeisky, and Ben-David (2009) found that high identifying group members are more motivated than low identifiers to help outgroup members in an attempt to protect their ingroup's high status position. And Hopkins et al. (2007) demonstrated that high identifiers helped other groups in order to demonstrate that kindness and generosity were important qualities among members of their ingroup (see also van Leeuwen & Täuber, 2012). Given that high identifiers are motivated to establish and maintain a positive social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), strategies that tap into that motivation by highlighting positive ingroup qualities should be more effective in enticing high identifiers towards acts of generosity on behalf of a disadvantaged outgroup than strategies that highlight negative ingroup qualities.

Practical Implications

The current research provides important new insights for those who want to stimulate the helping of disadvantaged outgroups. Of crucial importance is the question whether the disadvantaged group's primary goal is to receive an apology from the perpetrating group for (historical) harmdoings. If so, the experience and expression of guilt appears to be an essential component of this process (Wohl et al., 2006). Research has shown that the knowledge that guilt motivated an apology increased victims' willingness to forgive a perpetrator, compared to apologies motivated by pity (Hareli & Eisikovits, 2006). However, if the primary goal is to prompt outgroup helping, appeals to collective guilt may not be quite as effective as appeals that emphasize feelings of ingroup pride.

Some caution is in order when implementing pride appeals in campaigns aimed at the promotion of outgroup helping, however. Although research has demonstrated that providers of pride-motivated helping (i.e., helpers who provided assistance because it made them feel good about themselves) are seen as more kind than providers of guilt-motivated helping (i.e., helpers who assisted because if they hadn't, they would have felt bad about themselves; Shorr, 1993), other research suggests that members of disadvantaged groups may be unreceptive to strategically motivated help from more advantaged groups when the intergroup status relations are unstable (Nadler & Halabi, 2006; Täuber & van Leeuwen, 2012). Even well-intended offers of help could backfire because they are interpreted as strategic and ingroup-serving. Future research should therefore focus on the disadvantaged group's response to help offers from advantaged groups, and investigate under what conditions an offer of help will indeed improve the disadvantaged group's position without psychologically reinforcing the existing social inequality.

Notes

1. Although the Dutch victims of WWII also include many non-Jewish people, including Roma and Sinti

or people associated with resistance movements, we focused on Jewish victims in this study because (a) Jews constitute the biggest single group among the WWII victims, (b) the Jewish identity is strongly associated with WWII victimization, and (c) Jewish people are the most active and best organized group with respect to seeking compensation.

2. By explicitly referring to Jewish victims, while our participants were not Jewish, we aimed to activate a level of categorization in which Jews were viewed as the outgroup.
3. We based our measure of collective guilt on that used by Doosje et al. (2006; see also Doosje et al., 1998), who used the following items: "I feel guilty about the negative things the Dutch have done to Indonesians", "I feel regret for the harmful past actions of the Dutch toward the Indonesians", and "I can easily feel guilty about the bad outcomes received by Indonesians which were brought about by the Dutch in the past". We opted for a single item as opposed to a scale because we were interested in comparing the effects of collective guilt with those of collective pride in this study, which would have become more complicated if the methods used to assess these constructs varied. A single-item measure allowed us to create an exact mirror version for the assessment of collective pride.

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