

# Reparation Demands and Collective Guilt Assignment of Black South Africans

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## Abstract

The present research studied reparation demands of born-free Black South African adolescents as members of a former victimized group from a social psychological perspective. Two cross-sectional studies tested whether identification indirectly predicts reparation demands via assignment of collective guilt to White South Africans; and whether this indirect relation is moderated by cross-group friendship. The results support both hypotheses and show a stronger link between identification with the victimized group and collective guilt assignment in a segregated rather than a desegregated context (Study 1:  $N = 222$ ) and for participants reporting lower levels of cross-group friendship (Study 2:  $N = 145$ ). Reparation demands are important for strongly identified members of a victimized group in a postconflict situation. Their mediation by collective guilt assignment, mitigated by cross-group friendship, indicates that one major function is to insure recognition of the victims' past suffering and to repair the relationship rather than ostracizing the transgressor group or gaining access to resources.

## Keywords

intergroup processes, racial identity, resilience, multiple regression

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## Introduction

Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu called in 2011 for a “wealth tax” to be imposed on all White South Africans because they did (and most of them still do) benefit from the apartheid system (Lefko-Everett, 2011). He referred to the final report of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) which proposed that reconciliation between Black and White South Africans after the end of the apartheid system was not possible without reparation (TRC, 1998). This reparation demand was particularly rejected by the FW de Klerk Foundation which described it as unfair because not all White South Africans supported apartheid and as unconstitutional because it would introduce laws that are aimed at one racial group within the nonracial new South Africa (FW de Klerk Foundation, 2011). This debate illustrates how important the issue of reparations is in postconflict reconciliation processes even if the atrocities committed by one group toward another group have ended decades ago.

So far, reparations as part of the reconciliation process in a postconflict context have mainly been studied from the perspective of transgressor groups. Numerous studies focused either on predictors such as guilt (e.g., Brown, Gonzales, Zagefka, Manzi, & Cehajic, 2008) or on situational conditions such as changes in the status position of the transgressor group (Dumont & Waldzus, 2014) that make reparation offers more or less likely. Yet history tells us that reconciliation processes in postconflict contexts are less likely to be initiated by spontaneous reparation offers of transgressor groups but rather by reparation demands of victimized groups and their supporters. Reparation demands as legal action serve not only the purpose of monetary compensation but also to achieve acknowledgement of the violations and acceptance for the wrongdoing by the transgressors (Minow, 19989). The following two examples illustrate the latter. The first example refers to a U.K. High Court ruling which granted three elderly Kenyans, who as Mau-Mau members were tortured during the final days of the British Empire in the 1950s, the right to sue the British government for reparation despite the time that has lapsed (BBC, 2012a). The British government responded by apologetically declaring itself guilty although not liable (United Kingdom Mission to the United Nations, 2012). The second example refers to the response of the French President, Francois Hollande, to the initiatives of various Algerian Members of Parliament and civil society organizations to criminalize French colonialism and to demand compensation for the Algerian people. While addressing the Algerian Parliament, he described France’s colonial rule in Algeria as brutal and unjust, and he “recognised the suffering that colonialism inflicted on the Algerian people” (BBC, 2012b).

As important as it is to understand the predictors and conditions that are associated with reparation offers of transgressor groups, it seems equally important to extend our knowledge about relevant influences on reparation demands of victimized groups and their supporters. The present research aims to address the latter by studying three potentially important factors influencing reparation demands within postapartheid interracial relations in South Africa: (a) identification with Black South Africans as one of the victimized groups during apartheid, (b) the assignment of collective guilt toward White South Africans, and (c) intergroup contact between Black and White South Africans in postapartheid South Africa.

### *Identification With the Victimized Group*

Although reparation demands have rarely been studied, one can build on previous research addressing closely related topics. The abstaining from reparation demands, for instance, has been considered to be one component of the more general concept of forgiveness (Wohl & Branscombe, 2005). The granting of forgiveness as “a choice, held at the discretion of one who was harmed” (Minow, 2014), is highly influenced by the degree to which individuals identify with the victimized group. Brown, Wohl, and Exline (2008, Study 1), for instance, demonstrated experimentally that an official apology was more effective among those individuals who identified less with the victimized group. In a similar line, Philpot and Hornsey (2011) found that only identification with the victimized group reliably predicted awareness of apologies, in that high identifiers were less likely to remember apologies expressed by transgressor groups than those who identified less with the victimized group.

Victimized groups and their members are, however, not only influenced by social identity processes in their choice to forgive but also in their choice to demand reparations. The latter is suggested by research conducted by Pennekamp, Doosje, Zebel, and Fischer (2007) who explored the antecedents and consequences of group-based anger and found a positive relationship between identification with the victimized group and reparation demands. In their studies, this relation was mediated by group-based anger. The link between identification with the victimized group and reparation demands is not only consistent with general social psychological theories on intergroup relations such as social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) but also with specific models developed particularly for postconflict situations insofar as they assume that people are concerned with their group's interests and needs. For instance, based on Shnabel and Nadler's (2008) needs-based model of reconciliation one could argue that reparation demands related to emotions such as group-based anger serve the victimized groups' need to restore their sense of power in that resources are transferred from the transgressor to the victimized group (i.e., distributive justice).

However, empowerment is not only achieved by (re)gaining control over relevant resources (e.g., Keltner, Gruenfeld, & Anderson, 2003) but also by (re)gaining the ability to recruit human agency in the service of one's agenda (Simon & Oakes, 2006). The latter refers to social influence processes within a larger moral community in which both the transgressor and the victimized group and in many cases third parties are included (see also Turner, 2005). The question arises, how do victimized groups exert social influence by demanding reparations? Reparation demands, particularly as legal action, not only offer victimized groups and their supporters "a chance to speak and tell their story" publicly (Minow, 1998, p. 93) but also force transgressor groups to face and engage with their transgressions which, as outlined elsewhere, might result in the acknowledgment and in taking responsibility for the wrongdoing.

Legal pressure is an important yet not the only way in influencing the former transgressor group. Intergroup relations like any other social relations are also regulated by moral considerations and moral emotions such as guilt and shame (Rai & Fiske, 2011). For instance, previous research has demonstrated that the experience of guilt and shame motivate members of transgressor groups to repair and adjust their relationships with the victim groups after transgressions (e.g., Doosje, Branscombe, Spears, & Manstead, 1998; Dumont & Waldzus, 2014; Wohl, Branscombe, & Klar, 2006). Therefore, eliciting such moral emotions in the transgressor group is a form of social influence the victimized group can exercise, a form that might be of particular importance as it is compatible with the overall process of reconciliation. Although guilt and shame are both relevant moral emotions, we think that collective guilt assignment might be particularly relevant for reparation demands in a context in which the victimized group intends to continue and repair the relationship with the transgressor group; because guilt refers to the act of transgression committed in the past and not to the devaluation of the transgressor group as shame would imply.

### *Collective Guilt Assignment*

Collective guilt assignment was introduced as a construct by Wohl and Branscombe (2005; see also Wohl et al., 2006) who studied its implications for the willingness to forgive members of a social group for its past transgressions. The authors reasoned that when people perceive another group to have violated moral standards, collective guilt might be assigned to members of that group irrespective of whether those out-group members were personally responsible for the transgression or not. Collective guilt assignment means that members of the victimized group expect members of the transgressor

group to feel remorse for their group's transgressions (Wohl & Branscombe, 2005). Guilt assignment is different from out-group blame. Out-group blame focuses on the out-group's responsibility for past wrongdoing (e.g., out-group people can be held accountable for what their group did) and represents an important appraisal in provoking group-based anger (see Pennekamp et al., 2007). In contrast, collective guilt assignment refers to the attribution of the feelings members of the transgressor group should have in response to what they or their people have done (e.g., they should feel remorse). By assigning secondary emotions to members of the transgressor group, that is, emotions that are unique for humans as compared with animals (Leyens et al., 2000), the victimized group rehumanizes the former which is among others considered to be essential for initiating the forgiveness granting process (Minow, 1998). Thus, while group-based guilt assignment has been found—just like out-group blame—to reduce the willingness to forgive in the short run (Wohl & Branscombe, 2005) because it makes salient the moral transgression committed by the transgressor group and the moral necessity for some form of compensation toward the victimized group, it might paradoxically be a necessary precondition of forgiveness in the long run. Moreover, by assigning collective guilt to members of the transgressor group, the victimized group exerts social influence on both the transgressor groups and the larger moral community in that moral emotions serve to regulate social relations. Recognition of the wrongdoing and the victims' suffering are crucial for the victimized group to fully participate in further relations within the moral community. Following this logic, collective guilt assignment might be more important and more closely related to identification with the victimized group than reparation demands as such. This reasoning is in line with research of Wohl and Branscombe (2005) who found that salience of identity as a victimized group within a postconflict context increased collective guilt assignment and reduced the willingness to forgive.

Applying the above outlined reasoning, which is supported by previous research, the present research tested the hypothesis that there should be an indirect statistical relationship between identification with the victimized group and reparation demands via collective guilt assignment (Hypothesis 1).

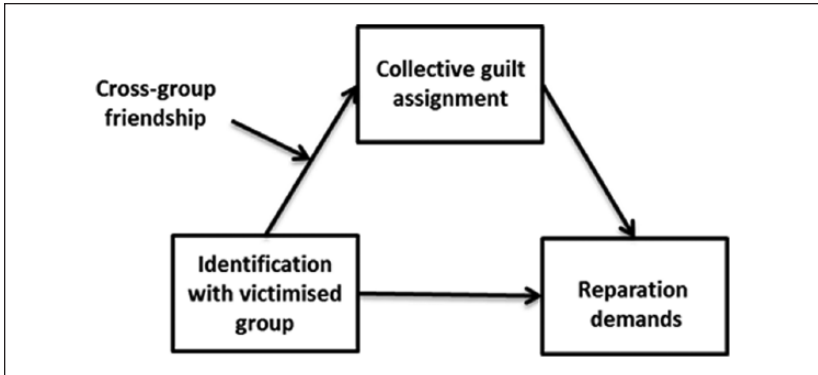
While the first part of the present research places attention on the relationship between identification with the victimized group, collective guilt assignment, and reparation demands, the second part will focus on situational conditions that determine these relationships. Social psychological research focusing on intergroup forgiveness and reconciliation has repeatedly shown the importance of contact to overcome tensions that emanate from intergroup conflicts. For instance, Hewstone, Cairns, Voci, Hamberger, and Niens (2006) in their study conducted in Northern Ireland, show that intergroup contact is

positively associated with forgiveness. Similar results are reported by Cehajic, Brown, and Castano (2008) who demonstrated the positive relationship between intergroup contact and intergroup forgiveness using a sample population of Bosnian Muslims. Taking these contact effects into account, we aimed to explore intergroup contact as factor that determines the relationship among identification with the victimized group, collective guilt assignment, and reparation demands as proposed in Hypothesis 1.

### *Intergroup Contact as Moderator*

Pettigrew and Tropp (2006), who conducted an extensive meta-analysis of 713 independent samples from 515 studies, demonstrate that the positive effect of contact on intergroup relations was larger when Allport's optimal conditions (equal status within the contact situation, intergroup cooperation, common goals, and support by authorities) were present. In addition to Allport's conditions moderating the relationship between contact and improving intergroup relations, recent research has also pointed toward the role of cross-group friendship (e.g., McGlynn, Niens, Cairns, & Hewstone, 2004; Page-Gould, Mendoza-Denton, Alegre, & Siy, 2010) and imagined (or indirect) contact (e.g., Stathi, Crisp, & Hogg, 2011).

McGlynn et al. (2004), who addressed the impact of cross-group friendship in their study on integrated education within a Northern Ireland context (i.e., pupils with different religious background attending the same school), conclude that integrated education increases not only the quantity but also the quality of contact, which affects positively on intergroup forgiveness. Indeed, cross-group friendship has been demonstrated to increase the perceived variability among out-group members (e.g., Islam & Hewstone, 1993) and to improve intergroup attitudes (e.g., Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Page-Gould et al. (2010) provided a social-cognitive explanation for the positive intergroup experience as a function of cross-group friendship. They demonstrated that self-extension processes of interpersonal closeness (i.e., the association of close others with the concept of self) extend to collective characteristics; in that, these self-extension processes affect the way social information is accessed and applied to "novel" out-group members. Given these results, there are reasons to assume that cross-group friendship might have the potential to fulfil the needs of members of victimized groups for justice and empowerment, as well as to facilitate forgiveness. Moreover, other research has shown that cross-group friendship can have a positive impact on intergroup relations by facilitating the recategorization of out-group members (e.g., Whites) as members of a more inclusive common in-group (e.g., South Africans, see Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). Such recategorization might lessen



**Figure 1.** Theoretical model of factors influencing reparation demands of a previously victimized group in a postconflict context.

the salience of a victimized group identity and consequently the relative predictive power of identification with that group (Wohl & Branscombe, 2005). In the present research, we therefore propose that cross-group friendship moderates the indirect relationship between identification with the victimized group and reparation demands via the assignment of guilt. More precisely, we hypothesize that the moderation effect of cross-group friendship should occur between identification with the victimized group and guilt assignment (Hypothesis 2), that is, the relationship between identification with the victimized group and guilt assignment would decrease as the opportunities for cross-group friendship between members of a victimized group and a transgressor group increase.

### The Present Studies

We report here on two studies that tested, first, Hypothesis 1 that identification with the victimized group indirectly increases demands for reparation via collective guilt assignment; and second, Hypothesis 2 that this indirect relation should be reduced by cross-group friendship, which is predicted to diminish the link between identification with the victimized group and collective guilt assignment (see Figure 1). The second hypothesis was tested both indirectly via the degree of educational integration as either segregated or desegregated (Study 1), and directly via the assessment of cross-group friendship (Study 2).

The two studies were conducted in postapartheid South Africa where a restorative justice model was applied after 1994 by establishing a TRC. The

South African TRC is one of the best known of more than 30 truth commissions that have been established worldwide since the 1980s, and it has been the model that subsequent truth commissions aimed to emulate (Chapman, 2007). What might be less known is the fact that the TRC concluded in its final report that reconciliation was not possible without reparation (TRC, 1998). The TRC, which differed from most other commissions in that it was authorized to grant amnesty for transgressions motivated by political objectives, reasoned that “reparation is essential to counterbalance amnesty” because the granting of amnesty denied victims the opportunity to institute civil claims against transgressors (TRC, 1998, p. 170). The TRC’s recommendations on reparations were not only opposed by businesses but also by the South African government. Nevertheless, the public discourse on reparation demands for apartheid victims continued and is likely to do so for a long time to come given the increasing activities of social movements such as the Khulumani Support Group and the prominence of its reparation case against international multinationals accused of having colluded with the apartheid government (Khulumani, 2013). Thus, the persistence of reparation discourse in South Africa led us to assume that the concept of reparation demands toward White South Africans is meaningful to and even salient among the “born-free generation” of Black South Africans (i.e., the generation born after 1994) and those Black South Africans who were young children at the end of apartheid.

## **Study I**

### *Method*

*Sample.* There were 222 participants, who categorized themselves as Black South Africans. Assuming that the opportunity for cross-group friendship is institutionally supported in desegregated rather than segregated educational contexts (Allport, 1954/1979; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), we recruited two different samples from the Eastern Cape Province in South Africa. The first sample consisted of 107 participants (42 males, 65 females) with an average age of 15.1 years ranging from 13 to 25 years who attended a school located in the low socioeconomic community of the township of Mdantsane. These participants were classified as pupils from a segregated context because the school only hosts Black students. The second sample consisted of 115 pupils (66 males, 49 females) with an average age of 16.6 years ranging from 15 to 20 years who were from a school in East London which according to its fee structure is mainly attended by pupils from middle-class families. This sample was classified as pupils from a desegregated context because this school



hosts students from different racial groups. Ethical clearance for this research was obtained from the local university, University of Fort Hare, and permission to conduct the study was granted by the headmasters of the respective schools.

**Procedure.** Participants were informed (verbally and on the front page of the questionnaire) that the questions formed part of a project that addressed learners' ideas on whether history is important for people's current lives. Participants completed the questionnaire in their classrooms after class and in the presence of a teacher and one research assistant. 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. On completion of the questionnaire, all participants were debriefed.

**Measures.** The items for all measures were anchored at 1 (*totally disagree*) to 5 (*totally agree*).

*Identification with the victimized group* was measured by five items selected and adapted from the 10-item self-investment scale proposed by C. W. Leach et al. (2008). These items were, "I feel a bond with Black South Africans," "I am glad to be a Black South African," "I think that Black South Africans have a lot to be proud of," "Being a Black South African is an important part of how I see myself," and "I often think about the fact that I am a Black South African" (segregated context:  $\alpha = .90$ ; desegregated context:  $\alpha = .75$ ).

*Collective guilt assignment* was assessed by a reformulated version of the group-based guilt scale proposed by Brown, Gonzalez et al. (2008) and Brown and Cehajic (2008) and consisted of the following four items: "I think that White South Africans should feel guilty for what they did to Black South Africans during the apartheid years"; "Thinking about some things that the White South Africans have done in the apartheid years, should make Whites occasionally feel guilty"; "I think White South Africans should feel guilty for the human rights violations committed by them during the apartheid years"; and "When thinking about how White South Africans took away homes from Black South Africans, Whites should feel guilty" (segregated context:  $\alpha = .86$ ; desegregated context:  $\alpha = .83$ ).

*Reparation demands* were assessed with two items adapted from Brown, Gonzalez et al. (2008) and reformulated for the South African context: "I think that Black South Africans deserve some form of compensation from White South Africans for what happened to them during the apartheid years" and "I think White South Africans owe something to Black South Africans because of the things they have done to them" (segregated context:  $r = .29$ ,  $n = 90$ ,  $p < .01$ );

**Table 1.** Means, Standard Deviations, and Intercorrelations Among Principal Variables of Studies 1 and 2.

		1	2	3	4
Study 1					
Segregated context	<i>M</i>	4.04***	3.88***	4.08***	
	<i>SD</i>	1.13	1.09	0.98	
	Min	1.32	1.10	1.80	
	Max	5	5	5	
Desegregated context	<i>M</i>	4.25***	3.68***	3.28**	
	<i>SD</i>	0.72	1.01	1.10	
	Min	1.20	1	1	
	Max	5	5	5	
Study 2					
Desegregated context	<i>M</i>	4.12***	3.74***	3.28**	3.55***
	<i>SD</i>	0.80	0.95	1.21	1.08
	Min	1.40	1	1	1
	Max	5	5	5	5
	<i>F</i> statistic	<i>ns</i>	<i>ns</i>	$F(2, 348) = 18.94, p < .001$	
1. Identification with victimized group			.79***/.24**	.59***/.22**	
2. Guilt assignment		.45***		.70***/.42***	
3. Reparation demands		.39***	.46***		
4. Intergroup contact		/.06	/.05	/-.06	

Note: Correlation coefficients of participants from segregated/desegregated context of Study 1 are reported in the upper right part of the table and of participants from Study 2 (desegregated contexts) in the lower left part of the table. Means\*\* ( $p < .01$ ) and means\*\*\* ( $p < .001$ ) are significantly different from scale center (3).

† $p < .10$ . \* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ . \*\*\* $p < .001$  (two-tailed).

desegregated context:  $r = .60, n = 114, p < .001$ ). The lower correlation between these two items in the segregated context might be due to the fact that both items focused on different groups, that is to say, the first item focuses on Black South Africans' deserving, while the second item focuses on White South Africans' owing. These two aspects might be more intertwined for contexts with more intensive intergroup contact (desegregated context). Nevertheless, we decided to average both items to cover these different aspects of reparation demands.

## Results and Discussion

**Preliminary Analysis.** Table 1 depicts the means, standard deviations, and correlations between the principal variables. Participants from the segregated and the desegregated context identified equally strong with the victimized

group and assigned equally strong guilt toward White South Africans. Although both samples demanded reparations from the White South Africans, the demands of participants from the segregated context was significantly stronger compared with the demands of participants from the desegregated context,  $t(210)^1 = 5.55, p < .001$ .

**Hypotheses Testing.** Hypothesis 1, which stated that identification with the victimized group has an indirect positive effect on reparation demands via guilt assignment, was tested for the two samples separately. The procedure applied followed the guidelines of Preacher and Hayes (2008) and used the bootstrapping method with 2,000 iterations. Table 2 summarizes the results for both samples. As predicted, the results revealed a significant indirect positive effect of identification with the victimized group on reparation demands, statistically mediated by collective guilt assignment for participants from the segregated and the desegregated contexts.<sup>2</sup> However, the results suggest a stronger indirect positive effect of identification with the victimized group for the segregated context ( $B = 0.50, SE = 0.15, 95\% CI [0.2179, 0.7991]$ ) compared with the desegregated context ( $B = 0.14, SE = 0.07, 95\% CI [0.0229, 0.3283]$ ). In order to conclude that the indirect positive effect of identification with the victimized group on reparation demands via guilt assignment is conditional upon cross-group friendship as predicted by Hypothesis 2, we tested for moderated mediation following the procedure as proposed by Preacher, Rucker, and Hayes (2007).

The test of the conditional indirect effect of identification with the victimized group was conducted by combining both samples and creating a dummy variable distinguishing segregated (0) and desegregated context (1). As in the previous analysis, identification with the victimized group was entered as an independent variable, reparation demands as a dependent variable, and guilt assignment as the mediator variable. The dummy variable was included as moderator variable, which was assumed to moderate the relationship between identification with the victimized group and guilt assignment. Guilt assignment as the mediator variable was significantly predicted by identification with the victimized group ( $B = 0.81, SE = 0.07, p < .001$ ), the dummy variable ( $B = 1.67, SE = 0.56, p < .01$ ), and the interaction between identification with the victimized group and dummy variable ( $B = -0.44, SE = 0.13, p < .001$ ). Reparation demands as the dependent variable was only significantly predicted by guilt assignment ( $B = 0.46, SE = 0.07, p < .001$ ). The Sobel test revealed that the indirect effect of the interaction on reparation demands via guilt assignment was significant,  $t(212) = 3.01, p = .002$  (one-tailed). Consistent with the separate analyses for the two contexts, in this combined model the strength of the indirect effect of identification with the victimized

**Table 2.** Indirect Effect of In-Group Identification for All Three Samples.

	Study 1						Study 2		
	Segregated context (n = 99)			Desegregated context (n = 114)			Desegregated context (n = 134)		
	B	SE	p	B	SE	p	B	SE	p
Identification with victimized group on guilt assignment	0.81	0.05	<.001	0.33	0.13	<.05	0.55	0.09	<.001
Direct effects of guilt assignment on reparation demands	0.61	0.12	<.001	0.42	0.09	<.001	0.45	0.11	<.001
Total effect of identification with victimized group on reparation demands	0.51	0.07	<.001	0.33	0.14	<.05	0.59	0.12	<.001
Direct effect of identification with victimized group on reparation demands	0.01	0.12	ns	0.19	0.13	ns	0.34	0.13	<.05
Model summary for dependent variable model	$R^2 = .49, F(2, 96) = 46.70, p < .001$			$R^2 = .19, F(2, 111) = 12.89, p < .001$			$R^2 = .25, F(2, 131) = 22.02, p < .001$		
Indirect effect	0.50	0.15	<.001	0.14	0.07	<.05	0.25	0.07	<.001
95% Bias-corrected confidence interval (number of bootstrap)	[.2179, .7991]			[.0229, .3283]			[.1265, .4115]		

group on reparation demand via assigned guilt was stronger in the segregated context ( $B = 0.38$ ,  $SE = 0.08$ ,  $p < .001$ ) than in the desegregated context ( $B = 0.15$ ,  $SE = 0.09$ ,  $p < .05$ ).

The results of Study 1 replicated Pennekamp et al.'s (2007) findings of the positive relationship between identification with the victimized group and reparation demands. The results further support our first hypothesis that the relationship between identification with the victimized group and reparation demands is an indirect one, which is statistically mediated by collective guilt assignment for both the segregated and desegregated samples. However, the actual indices suggested a stronger indirect effect for the segregated context when compared with the desegregated context. In order to conclude that this difference could be attributed to the moderator function of cross-group friendship, the second hypothesis needed to be tested. The results supported the conditional indirect effect of identification with the victimized group on reparation demands via assigned guilt, in that it was significantly stronger in the segregated context than in the desegregated context. Thus, the results support our argument that reparation demands are important for the victimized group mainly because of their link to collective guilt assignment. Interestingly, the mediation was complete in both samples; that is, there was no significant direct link between identification with the victimized group and reparation demands when guilt assignment was statistically controlled. In other words, there was no evidence of the victimized group's concern with reparation as a way to gain merely control over resources.

Given that this is, to our knowledge, the first study that tested the conditional indirect effect of identification with the victimized group on reparation demands via collective guilt assignment we decided to replicate the study. Moreover, the indirect variation of cross-group friendship by the degree of segregation on school level has several disadvantages, as it leaves the door open for various alternative explanations of the moderator effect such as local school politics, different subcultures, discourses on apartheid in the different schools, or differences in socioeconomic status of participants' families. In addition, the level of desegregation seems to be an indicator for the opportunity for cross-group friendship rather than for the actual cross-group friendship. Particularly in the South African context, it has been shown that desegregation does not necessarily mean that members of different groups engage in interpersonal contacts (e.g., Durrheim & Dixon, 2001; Tredoux & Dixon, 2009). Even if they do engage in contact with out-group members (i.e., number of out-group friends), the question remains whether these interpersonal contacts create closeness which is assumed to be characteristic for high-quality cross-group friendship (see McGlynn et al., 2004). Therefore, and in contrast to the previous study,

Study 2 was conducted only with participants from a desegregated education context and cross-group friendship was directly assessed in terms of interpersonal closeness.

## Study 2

### Method

**Sample.** Study 2 was conducted in a lower class multiracial school (desegregated context) in the small town of Gonubie outside East London, South Africa. As in Study 1, only those participants were included who categorized themselves as Black South Africans. In total, 145 pupils (55 males and 90 females) participated with an average age of 14.1 years ranging from 12 to 16 years. Ethical clearance for this research was obtained from the local university, University of Fort Hare, and permission for this study was granted by the headmaster of the school.

**Procedure.** The procedure and the questionnaire were identical to Study 1 with the exception of the cross-group friendship assessment. On completion of the questionnaire, all participants were debriefed.

**Measures.** As in Study 1, all items were anchored at 1 (*totally disagree*) to 5 (*totally agree*). *Identification with the victimized group* ( $\alpha = .79$ ), *collective guilt assignment* ( $\alpha = .77$ ), and *reparation demands* ( $r = .58, n = 132, p < .001$ ) were assessed as in Study 1.

*Cross-group friendship* was measured by two items: "My White friends are very similar to me" and "I feel close to my White friends" ( $r = .40, n = 122, p < .001$ ).<sup>3</sup>

### Results and Discussion

**Preliminary Analysis.** Table 1 depicts the means, standard deviations, and correlations between the principal variables of Study 2. Participants identified equally strong with the victimized group and assigned equally strong guilt toward White South Africans when compared with the two samples of Study 1. As in Study 1, participants demanded reparation from White South Africans. They did not differ in their reparation demands from participants in the desegregated context in Study 1 (Bonferroni:  $p = 1.000$ ). However, they were significantly less demanding when compared with the participants from the segregated context in Study 1 (Bonferroni:  $p < .001$ ).

**Hypotheses Testing.** As in Study 1, we first tested Hypothesis 1 that identification with the victimized group has an indirect positive effect on reparation demands via collective guilt assignment following Preacher and Hayes (2008) and using the bootstrapping method with 2,000 iterations. Table 2 reports the results. As predicted, the positive effect of identification with the victimized group on reparation demands was again statistically mediated by collective guilt assignment indicated by a significant indirect effect ( $B = 0.25$ ,  $SE = 0.07$ , 95% CI [0.1265, 0.4115]). Note that in contrast to Study 1, the mediation was only partial, as there was still a direct effect of identification with the victimized group on reparation demands (Table 2), indicating some group interest in reparation that is unrelated to the assignment of collective guilt.

Finally, we tested the second hypothesis that the indirect effect of identification with the victimized group on reparation demands via guilt assignment is conditional upon cross-group friendship, which was directly measured in Study 2. The results replicated the findings of Study 1 in that guilt assignment as mediator variable was significantly predicted by identification with the victimized group ( $B = 1.10$ ,  $SE = 0.29$ ,  $p < .001$ ), and the interaction between identification with the victimized group and cross-group friendship ( $B = -0.15$ ,  $SE = 0.08$ ,  $p = .05$ ). Reparation demands were only significantly predicted by guilt assignment ( $B = 0.48$ ,  $SE = 0.11$ ,  $p < .001$ ). Again, the Sobel test showed a significant indirect effect of the interaction between identification with the victimized group and cross-group friendship,  $t(126) = 1.73$ ,  $p = .04$  (one-tailed).

The conditional indirect effect of identification with the victimized group on reparation demands via assigned guilt was strongest for low levels of cross-group friendship ( $B = 0.34$ ,  $SE = 0.10$ ,  $p < .01$  at 1  $SD$  below the mean level), weaker for medium levels of cross-group friendship ( $B = 0.26$ ,  $SD = 0.07$ ,  $p < .01$  at mean level) and again weaker for high levels of cross-group friendship ( $B = 0.19$ ,  $SE = 0.07$ ,  $p < .05$  at 1  $SD$  above mean level). Thus, although there was a significant indirect effect of identification even at high levels of cross-group friendship, it was much weaker than at lower level, confirming the assumption that the indirect effect of identification with the victimized group on reparation demands via collective guilt assignment is conditional upon cross-group friendship.

## General Discussion

The present research addressed reparation demands of Black South Africans within postapartheid South Africa. We tested two hypotheses: First that identification with Black South Africans as a former victimized group is

indirectly related to reparation demands via collective guilt assignment; and second, that this indirect relationship is conditional upon cross-group friendship with White South Africans. The results of the two studies support both hypotheses. The conditional indirect effect of identification with the victimized group could be demonstrated using an indirect assessment (i.e., segregated vs. desegregated education context), and a direct assessment of cross-group friendship, in that the effect of identification with the victimized group on reparation demands via assigned guilt decreased with an increase of cross-group friendship.

The results tangentially support our argument that after transgressions, victimized groups may have a particular need for empowerment by reintegration into the larger moral community, which is more prominent than the need to gain control over relevant resources: In both samples of Study 1, identification with the victimized group was only related to reparation demands insofar as they were predicted by collective guilt assignment. Study 2 also supported our argument as the relation between identification with the victimized group and reparation demands was again reduced when guilt assignment was statistically controlled. However, Study 2 showed evidence of a weak, yet significant direct link between identification with the victimized group and reparation demands that was unrelated to guilt assignment. This direct link was not unexpected but nevertheless requires some interpretation for the present research context. One interpretation would be that such a direct link indicates some desire for empowerment by gaining control over relevant resources at the expense of the transgressor group. While such interpretation is still speculation, one could explain the difference between the two studies with regard to this direct effect by the particularity of the sample in Study 2: It was both desegregated and composed of participants from families with lower socioeconomic status. Such a combination might carry the potential for beliefs in negative interdependence between Black and White South Africans in terms of economic resources, rendering the instrumental function of reparation more relevant. Additionally, it is also possible that the disadvantaged position of the families of participants in Study 2 made them more prone to anger toward the transgressor group (Pennekamp et al., 2007).

The present results contribute to at least four research domains that are relevant not only for postapartheid South Africa but also for postconflict intergroup settings in general. First, while previous research studied several antecedences and consequences of in-group identification, collective guilt assignment and reparation demands, the present research is the first which addresses the interrelatedness of these concepts and how this interrelatedness is conditional upon cross-group friendship. Second, the present results complement the research on intergroup forgiveness. More specifically, they shed



light on the complexity and dynamics underlying the process of intergroup reconciliation. Most social psychological research on reconciliation has focused on intergroup forgiveness, for instance, by elaborating on involved social identity processes (e.g., M. M. Leach, Baker, & Zeigler-Hill, 2011); by testing the impact of seeking forgiveness by members of the transgressor group (e.g., apologies and reparation offers; see, e.g., Philpot & Hornsey, 2008; Wohl, Hornsey, & Bennett, 2012); or by assessing the effects of the granting of forgiveness on members of victim groups (e.g., Wenzel & Okimoto, 2010). With its focus on forgiveness, however, this research has not directly addressed the expectations and needs of members of the victimized group in such reconciliation processes. Reparation can be considered as one of those expectations because it is tied to our moral understanding of repairing relationships (Ekiyor, 2007). This argument is supported by the fact that most of TRCs established worldwide over the recent decades included in their final reports recommendations with regard to reparation to victims (Darcy, 2011).

Third, the present research implies that the assignment of emotions to the transgressor group might be as essential as self- and other-related emotions in the process of forgiveness and reconciliation (e.g., Iyer, Leach, & Pedersen, 2004). The results of the present study suggest that the role of collective guilt assignment cannot be reduced to its mere instrumentality in legitimizing, for instance, reparation demands. In contrast, the found relationship between identification with the victimized group and collective guilt assignment toward the transgressor group supports our reasoning that moral emotions held by the transgressor group may also be functional for the victimized group's reconciliation needs for reintegration and recognition in a larger moral community. Furthermore, attributing the capacity for such secondary emotions to the transgressor group in association with a particular behavior such as reparation may as well point toward the rehumanizing of members of the transgressor group. Rehumanizing members of the transgressor group might be considered as welcoming of the violator into the circle of humanity (Minow, 1998) and subsequently as an intention to forgive. Future research needs to address this conclusion.

Fourth, the present research underlines the significance of cross-group friendship in postconflict intergroup relations. Cross-group friendship has been shown to affect positively on intergroup forgiveness (e.g., Cehajic et al., 2008). The present results are in line with these findings by demonstrating the conditional effect of cross-group friendship on the proposed model. The effect was found for both the indirect and direct assessment of cross-group friendship. The results of the two studies indicated, however, that cross-group friendship does not have an effect on whether collective guilt is assigned or

not nor how much the participants identified with the victimized group. Furthermore, the results of cross-group friendship effects on reparation demands were rather ambivalent. Although the demand for reparation was lower in the desegregated context than in the segregated context, the interindividual differences in cross-group friendship within the desegregated context in Study 2 were unrelated to those demands. However, our results were consistent in that cross-group friendship reduced the indirect effect of identification with the victimized group on reparation demands via assignment of collective guilt. Thus, for members of the victimized group with higher quality friendships with members of the transgressor group, the assignment of collective guilt might be motivated by other aspects of their identity, for instance, by their sense of intragroup justice as members of a shared common in-group (e.g., South Africans or humans in general). Again, although in line with previous research and theorizing, this conclusion needs to be addressed by future research.

Other limitations of our research, which should be addressed in future, is first, that the current correlational data do not allow for conclusions on causal processes involved. The replication of the findings using a more controlled methodological approach is pending. However, as the three constructs that we studied in this research are part of a complex belief system, we would hesitate to propose simple causal predictions. As in other social identity contexts, we would consider the possibility of bidirectional causal processes as part of longitudinal change processes or experimentally induced variations (see Kessler & Mummendey, 2002). Second, the present studies assessed reparation in rather general terms. The question that arises is whether the proposed model applies in the same way for different reparation forms (e.g., demands for symbolic vs. materialistic reparation). It might be plausible to assume that the model applies less to materialistic reparation demands particularly for members of victimized groups who experience their group as low status within the current intergroup relations (Dumont & Waldzus, 2014). Last, given that cross-group friendship did not reduce collective guilt assignment in our studies, future research should examine under which conditions a shift of categorization toward an inclusive category reduces collective guilt assignment (Wohl & Branscombe, 2005) and reparation demands. It is questionable, however, that reduction of collective guilt assignment and reparation demands as mere attitudinal change is sufficient for reconciliation. Wohl and Branscombe (2005) argue that intergroup forgiveness is not merely a result of attitudinal changes but of changes in the structural relations between members of the victimized group and members of the transgressor group (see also Dixon, Levine, Reicher, & Durrheim, 2012).

As reparation offers by transgressor groups are widely accepted as facilitating intergroup reconciliation, we would like to argue that the assignment of collective guilt together with reparation demands by victimized groups are not necessarily an obstacle in this process. On the contrary, they seem to be a means in the process of granting forgiveness, because they not only offer victimized groups the opportunity to express their experiences publicly but also force transgressor groups to acknowledge and take responsibility for their wrongdoing which might eventually lead to the feelings of collective guilt and actual reparation offers. The assignment of collective guilt together with reparation demands promote thereby a kind of justice that is more adjusted to the needs of victimized groups which are not necessarily aiming at making the transgressor group suffer but rather restoring the victimized group's dignity. Taking such a perspective allows for a better understanding of the continuing discourses about reparations in interracial relations within the South Africa context (but also in other societies) whether informed by recommendations of TRCs, by prominent figure's persisting appeals (e.g., Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu's call for the "wealth tax") or by collective actions of social movements (e.g., Khulumani Support Group).

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### **Notes**

1. Variations in participant numbers and degrees of freedom between different analyses are due to the exclusion of data from participants with missing values.
2. It is important to note that this statistical mediation model does not imply a causal chain from identification on reparation demands via collective guilt assignment. Instead, it reflects a conditional relation. If the demand for reparation is not a need in itself but only meaningful because of its function to provide credibility for collective guilt assignment, the relation between identification and reparation demands should be mediated by such guilt assignment. In contrast, the demand for reparation that is motivated by the need to gain control over resources (and independent of their moral function) should manifest itself in a direct effect of identification on reparation demands when guilt assignment is statistically controlled.

3. We also asked the participants to indicate how many White friends they have. While most participants had no problems indicating closeness to their White friends, a large proportion of the participants refused to report an exact number ( $n = 51$ ). When using the number of out-group friends ( $n = 94$ ,  $M = 6.86$ ,  $SD = 7.86$ , ranging from 0 to 30) instead of the measure for cross-group friendship reported in this article, the results were similar but did not reach statistical significance.

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