Social-Psychological Aspects of Intergroup Conflict and Reconciliation in Northern Ireland: The Role of Trust and Forgiveness

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements **ii**

Contents **iii**

List of Tables **viii**

List of Figures **ix**

Abstract **x**

Detailed Abstract **xi**

Chapter 1. The 'Troubles' in Northern Ireland: Past and present conflict and community relations **1**

Historical overview of the Northern Ireland conflict 2

The 'Troubles' 6

Present situation in Northern Ireland 9

Reconciliation in Northern Ireland 12

Research questions 14

Chapter 2. Social-psychological theory of intergroup conflict: Outgroup trust and intergroup forgiveness **18**

Definitions 20

Group 20

Intergroup relations 20

Intergroup conflict 21

Social-psychological theories of intergroup conflict 21

Ethnocentrism 21

Realistic Group Conflict Theory 22

Social Identity Theory 24

Personal and social identity distinction 25

Positive social identity 27

Self-Categorization Theory 29

Social identity perspective and intergroup conflict 32

Application of social-psychological theory of conflict to Northern Ireland 35
Current situation in Northern Ireland 40
Trust 42
Definition of the concept of trust 43
Group level trust 44
Outgroup trust and general attitudes 46
Trust and social relations 46
Trust in Northern Ireland 50
Forgiveness 51
Definition of forgiveness 53
Forgiveness and related concepts 54
Forgiveness and mental health 55
Forgiveness and empathy 56
Intergroup forgiveness 57
Forgiveness in Northern Ireland 58
Conclusion 60
Ethics 65
Analyses 66

Chapter 3: A comparison of extensions of trust and distrust to the outgroup in Northern Ireland **67**
Introduction 67
Definition of the concepts of trust and distrust 67
Trust, distrust and intergroup conflict 68
Trust and distrust evaluations 69
Group identification as a moderator 73
Present research 74
Study 1 75
Predictions 75
Method 76
Participants 76
Procedure 76

Impact of the Troubles, intergroup forgiveness and collective guilt 124
Limitations of Study 3 126
Implications and conclusions 128

Chapter 5: Predictors and mediators of intergroup forgiveness and outgroup trust in Northern Ireland **139**

Introduction 129
Conflict reconciliation in Northern Ireland 130
Cross-group friendship 132
Group identification 133
Intergroup forgiveness 134
Collective guilt 134
Present research 135
Study 4 136

Predictions 136
Method 137
Respondents 137
Procedure 137
Measures 137
Results 140
Discussion 145
Study 5 145
Outgroup trust 145
Perspective-taking 146
Predictions 149
Method 150
Respondents 150
Procedure 150
Results 152
Discussion 159

Study 6 159
Empathic Affect 160
Predictions 161
Method 161
Respondents 161
Procedure 161
Results 163
Discussion 170
General discussion 170
Cross-group friendship 171
Group identification 172
Collective guilt 173
Perspective-taking and empathic affect 174
Limitations 175
Implications and conclusions 176

Chapter 6: Summary and Conclusions **178**

Key findings and implications of the research 179
Group-level trust 179
Intergroup forgiveness 183
Potential limitations of the research 187
Further research 190
Trust 190
Intergroup forgiveness 192
Implications for reconciliation in Northern Ireland 193
Conclusion 197

References **198**

Appendices **221**

Results 80
Discussion 84
Study 2 85
Predictions 87
Method 87
Participants 87
Procedure 88
Results 89
Discussion 92
General discussion 92
Trust and distrust 93
Strength of ingroup identification 94
Conclusions and implications for trust-building in Northern Ireland **95**

Chapter 4: Impact of conflict on mental health: The mediating role of intergroup forgiveness and collective guilt **97**

Introduction 97
Mental health in Northern Ireland 98
Intergroup forgiveness 100
Collective guilt 101
Group identification 103
Victimhood and exposure to violence in Northern Ireland 103
Study 3 105
Predictions 105
Method 106
Respondents design and procedure 106
Measures 106
Results 111
Discussion 120
Mental health, impact of the Troubles, forgiveness and guilt 120
Collective guilt, intergroup forgiveness and group identification 122
Group identification 123

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1	Overview of Studies in the Thesis	61
Table 3.1	Simple Intercepts of Anxious Emotion and Slopes of the Trust/ Distrust Manipulation (Study 1)	83
Table 4.1	Correlation, Means, and Standard Deviations for Composite Variables (Study 3)	112
Table 4.2	Correlation, Means, and Standard Deviations for Indicators (Study 3)	114
Table 4.3	Sobel Tests for Mediated Relationships (Study 3)	117
Table 4.4	Alternative Models (Study 3)	119
Table 5.1	Correlation, Means, and Standard Deviations for Composite Variables (Study 4)	140
Table 5.2	Alternative Models (Study 4)	144
Table 5.3	Correlation, Means, and Standard Deviations for the Summated Perceptual Variables (Study 5)	153
Table 5.4	Sobel Tests for Mediated Relationships (Study 5)	156
Table 5.5	Alternative Models (Study 5)	158
Table 5.6	Correlation, Means, and Standard Deviations for the Summated Perceptual Variables (Study 6)	165
Table 5.7	Sobel Tests for Mediated Relationships (Study 6)	167
Table 5.8	Alternative Models (Study 6)	169

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 4.1	Path model showing results of structural equation analysis: effects of victimhood, group identification and exposure to violence on psychiatric morbidity, showing mediation via intergroup forgiveness and collective guilt. (Study 3).	116
Figure 5.1	Path model showing results of structural equation analysis: effects of cross-group friendship and group identification on intergroup forgiveness, showing mediation via collective guilt. (Study 4).	142
Figure 5.2	Path model showing results of structural equation analysis: effects of cross-group friendship and group identification on intergroup forgiveness and outgroup trust, showing mediation via collective guilt and perspective-taking. (Study 5).	154
Figure 5.3	Path model showing results of structural equation analysis: effects of cross-group friendship and group identification on intergroup forgiveness and outgroup trust, showing mediation via collective guilt, perspective-taking and empathic affect. (Study 6).	166

SHORT ABSTRACT

This thesis aimed to investigate the concepts of trust and forgiveness, in the context of post-conflict reconciliation in Northern Ireland. Chapter 1 gives an overview of the historical background of the conflict in Northern Ireland, the current situation in terms of the divided relationship between the Catholic and Protestant communities and argues that reconciliation initiatives need to encompass social, psychological and emotional aspects of the conflict. Chapter 2 outlines the theoretical framework for the empirical research in the following chapters. Social-psychological theories of conflict are discussed, with particular emphasis on the social identity perspective. These theories are then applied to the conflict, intergroup relations and reconciliation in Northern Ireland. The concepts of trust and forgiveness are defined and conceptualised from this theoretical background.

Chapters 3, 4 and 5 present empirical research which investigates aspects of trust and forgiveness in the context of Northern Ireland. Studies 1 and 2 examined the evaluation of the extension of trust and distrust to the outgroup, in relation to level of threat to one's community and strength of group identification. The findings from Studies 1 and 2 demonstrate that group identification is a predictor of evaluations of the extension of trust or distrust toward the outgroup under high/ low threat; the extension of distrust toward the outgroup elicited a greater negative evaluation in terms of damage to intergroup relations than the extension of trust. Study 3 investigated the mediating role of group-level forgiveness and guilt in the relationship between victimhood, exposure to violence and group identity, on the one hand, and mild psychiatric morbidity on the other. Results from Study 3 suggest that forgiveness and guilt can act as mediators in the relationship between impact of ethno-political conflict and mental health, at the group-level. Studies 4, 5 and 6 investigated the mediators of the relationship between cross-community contact (in the form of cross-group friendship) and ingroup identification on the one hand, and intergroup forgiveness and outgroup trust on the other. Together results from these studies showed that collective guilt, perspective-taking and empathic affect mediate the relationship between cross-group friendship and group identification on the one hand, and intergroup forgiveness and outgroup trust, on the other.

Together, the findings from this thesis further our knowledge of the concepts of trust and forgiveness in the context of conflict and reconciliation in Northern Ireland. Extensions of distrust to the outgroup were evaluated as damaging to intergroup relations between the two communities. Forgiveness was found to mediate the relationship between exposure to the conflict and well-being. Cross-group friendship, group identification, collective guilt, perspective-taking and empathic affect were found to be important predictors and mediators of outgroup trust and intergroup forgiveness. The theoretical and practical implications of these findings for intergroup relations are discussed, along with directions for future research in this area.

DETAILED ABSTRACT

In this thesis it is argued that post-conflict reconciliation in Northern Ireland needs to encompass social, psychological and emotional aspects of the conflict. In Northern Ireland today cycles of distrust and continuing acts of revenge remain problematic for peaceful community relations and therefore reconciliation initiatives need to build trust and encourage forgiveness between the two communities. This thesis set out to investigate the concepts of trust and forgiveness within a social-psychological theoretical framework. It was thought that better understanding of these concepts within the context of Northern Ireland would build on existing knowledge, for application in reconciliation initiatives.

Chapter 1 provides a historical overview of the origins of the conflict in Northern Ireland, the recent history of 'the Troubles' and the current situation. This chapter outlines the sequence of events that have led to the sectarian division between Catholics (Nationalists/ Republicans) and Protestants (Unionists/ Loyalists) in Northern Ireland, dating back to the 12th Century. I then discuss community relations since formal conflict resolution was reached in 1998 in the Belfast/ Good Friday Agreement. The continuing segregation, entrenched identities and continuing memory of the violent conflict, however, make a continuing reconciliation process necessary. It is argued that full reconciliation can only be reached when the psychological, emotional and perceptual residues of the conflict have been tackled. Trust and forgiveness are central to these aspects of reconciliation and I therefore aimed to explore these concepts in this thesis.

Chapter 2 builds a social-psychological theoretical framework within which to study the concepts of trust and forgiveness in the context of Northern Ireland.

Focusing on the social identity perspective, social-psychological theories of intergroup conflict are discussed in relation to the conflict in Northern Ireland and its reconciliation. At the heart of intergroup relations, the social identity perspective describes an individual's categorization of groups into those that they do or do not hold membership of and identification with those that they do hold membership of. Northern Ireland offers a context in which there is a clear social categorization between Catholic and Protestant communities which provide an ingroup/ outgroup distinction. Within this theoretical framework, the concepts of trust and forgiveness are defined and conceptualized at the group-level to set the background for the empirical research carried out in the following chapters.

The aim of the research reported in Chapter 3 was to examine perceptions of risk, threat, and emotions experienced once a community leader has made the decision to extend trust or distrust to the outgroup, under threat to the ingroup (compared to reduced threat) and depending on the strength group identification. Two studies are presented in this chapter which were carried out in the context of the conflict in Northern Ireland. Study 1 examined the impact of the extension of trust/distrust, threat/reduced threat, and high/low group identification on perceived risk and group-level emotion. Study 2 examined the impact of the extension of trust/distrust, threat/reduced threat and high/low group identification on expected negative intergroup relations and symbolic and realistic outcomes. Results from both studies demonstrated that: (1) the extension of distrust toward the outgroup elicited greater anger and less positive emotion, and was seen as more damaging to intergroup relations than was the extension of trust; (2) those who strongly identified with their ingroup experienced greater anxious emotion, more angry

emotion, less positive emotion, greater perceived risk to the ingroup and greater expected negative intergroup relations and outcomes.

Chapter 4 investigated the role that forgiveness and guilt play in the relationship between the impact of conflict in Northern Ireland and well-being. In keeping with the social identity orientation, this research utilized people's identification with either the Catholic or Protestant community in terms of strength of ingroup identification and group-level measures of intergroup forgiveness and collective guilt. A model was tested which investigated the mediating role of intergroup forgiveness and guilt in the relationship between victimhood (the extent to which the conflict affected the individual's life), exposure to violence (the level of violence in their area of residence) and group identity on the one hand, and mild psychiatric morbidity on the other. The results from this study revealed two findings. Firstly, intergroup forgiveness mediated the relationship between victimhood and both group identification and mild psychiatric morbidity. Secondly, collective guilt mediated the relationship between exposure to violence and both group identification and intergroup forgiveness. Overall this research shows that within the current sample, forgiveness and guilt can act as mediators in the relationship between impact of ethno-political conflict and mental health, at the group-level, and thus demonstrates their centrality to the reconciliation process.

Chapter 5 reports three studies which were designed to investigate the predictors and mediators of both intergroup forgiveness and outgroup trust, in the context of post-conflict reconciliation in Northern Ireland. More specifically, these studies examined the mediators of the relationship between cross-community contact (in the form of cross-group friendship) and ingroup identification on the one hand, and intergroup forgiveness and outgroup trust on the other. The first study

(Study 4) showed that having more cross-group friends was associated with greater collective guilt, which in turn leads to more intergroup forgiveness. The second study (Study 5) replicated these results and extended the model by demonstrating that having more cross-group friends and lower group identification were associated with greater outgroup trust, as well as greater intergroup forgiveness, and this occurred via perspective-taking with the outgroup. The third study (Study 6) extended the model further by showing that empathic affect mediated the relationship between cross-group friendship and outgroup trust. Overall studies 4, 5 and 6 demonstrate that cross-group friendship, religious group identification, collective guilt, perspective-taking and empathic affect all play an important role in developing intergroup forgiveness and outgroup trust. The research demonstrates the importance of these psychological phenomena in the post-conflict reconciliation process and implications for intergroup reconciliation initiatives in Northern Ireland are discussed.

Chapter 6 returns to the original aim of this thesis, namely to explore trust and forgiveness in relation to conflict reconciliation in Northern Ireland. This final chapter thus provides a summary of the key findings of the thesis in relation to group-level trust and forgiveness. Discussion in this chapter then turns to some of the limitations, before outlining the implications of this work and suggestions for future research. Overall, the findings from this thesis highlight the importance of group identification in Northern Ireland. This suggests reconciliation initiatives should be sensitive and accepting of Catholic and Protestant identities. This research highlights the role of forgiveness in wellbeing following the impact of the conflict. Furthermore it demonstrates the importance of cross-community contact in developing both group-level trust and forgiveness and the function of mediators

such as collective guilt, perspective-taking and empathic affect. Chapter 6 concludes by outlining the practical implications of the findings for future applied research on reconciliation in Northern Ireland.

Chapter One

The 'Troubles' in Northern Ireland: Past and Present

Conflict in Northern Ireland

"It is an observable phenomenon in Northern Ireland, and elsewhere, that tension and violence tend to rise when compromise is in the air" (Smyth, 2004, p.563).

The Northern Irish conflict can be understood as a sectarian division between two communities: those who would like Northern Ireland to unify with the Republic of Ireland (Nationalists/ Republicans, generally supported by Catholics), who make up about 44 percent of the population, and those who would like Northern Ireland to remain part of the United Kingdom (Unionists/ Loyalists, generally supported by Protestants), about 53 percent of the population (Northern Ireland Census, 2002). On April 10, 1998, a peace agreement ('The Belfast/ Good Friday Agreement') was signed. Although the agreement did signify the end of most paramilitary violence, it has not been a panacea for Northern Ireland's Troubles (Jarman, 2004; MacGinty, Muldoon, & Ferguson, 2007). As with many 'post conflict' societies, the wounds made during violent conflict take time to heal. In Northern Ireland, political and social stability has yet to be achieved (Hewstone et al., in press), and therefore an active reconciliation process is still a necessary part of the political agenda.

This chapter begins with an overview of the history of the Northern Ireland conflict, before discussing the present situation with reference to reconciliation strategies. I will discuss the origins of the conflict in Northern

Ireland, the more recent history ('the Troubles'), the current situation, and future reconciliation strategies, leading to the formulation of research questions addressed in this thesis.

Historical Overview of the Northern Ireland Conflict

To understand the schism between the Catholics (Nationalists/ Republicans) and Protestants (Unionists/ Loyalists) in Northern Ireland, it is necessary to outline a brief overview of the historical background of the conflict between the two communities. This helps to explain how the two groups became rival ethnic communities which exist in Northern Ireland to this day (Darby, 2003).

The origins of the Northern Ireland conflict date back to the British conquest of Ireland in the 12th Century. From this time, a significant number of Protestant British landlords began to colonize Ireland, displacing the Irish gentry (Foster, 2001). The historic province of Ulster, a stronghold of Gaelic culture in the north of Ireland, successfully resisted British encroachments until the17th century. The Nine Years War in Ireland, fought from 1594 to 1603, forced the native Catholic Gaelic lords to surrender their land. In 1609, this land was confiscated and given to Scottish and English settlers, most of whom were Protestant, in what became known as the Plantations of Ulster. The plantations included laws which prevented native Catholic Gaelics from owning, renting or working on land in planted areas (Darby, 1995). Inevitably, native Catholic Gaelics opposed this economic and cultural subordination, resulting in a rebellion in 1641. Massacres of Protestant English settlers at the hands of Catholic Irish

followed, as the two sides battled for supremacy and the right to occupy the land each now called home (Foster, 2001).

The impact of the violent dispute during the 17th century seeded the sectarian division of two distinct groups who differed in political allegiance, religious practice and cultural values; Catholic Irish who believed that their land had been stolen, and Protestant English who constantly feared and mistrusted the native Catholic Irish (Darby, 2003). The remnants of this time are still felt in Northern Ireland today where Ulster Protestants continue to portray images of the massacres on the banners of the Orange Order (The Orange Order is a Loyalist Protestant organization, found throughout Northern Ireland, which promotes the Union with Britain. The name comes from William of Orange, the Protestant king who defeated the Catholic James II at the Battle of the Boyne, see below). The Catholics were finally defeated in 1649 by Cromwell's army and land ownership in Ireland passed almost exclusively to Protestants (Foster, 2001).

In July 1690, tensions between the Catholic and Protestant communities came to a head again at the battle of the Boyne (Foster, 2001). The Protestant William of Orange won a massive victory on the banks of the river Boyne in Ireland, which ultimately deposed the Catholic King James II. The victory is still commemorated annually on 12th July by Protestants in Northern Ireland. Following the Catholic defeat, an all-Protestant Parliament of Ireland imposed the 'penal laws' barring Catholics from land ownership, political offices and schooling (Darby, 1976). These laws further entrenched the existing rivalry and mistrust between the two communities and glorified violent action by one community to 'defend' itself from the other.

In 1798 there was a Catholic uprising which lasted several months, against the British-dominated Kingdom of Ireland (Foster, 2001). The 1798 rebellion was probably the most concentrated outbreak of violence in Irish history and resulted in an estimated 15,000 - 30,000 deaths over the course of just three months. Largely in response to the rebellion The Act of Union was passed on the first of January 1801 which took away the measure of autonomy granted to Ireland's Protestant Ascendancy.

The rise of Irish Nationalism followed with campaigns for 'home rule' within Ireland early in the 20th century. An armed rebellion known as the Easter Rising took place in 1916 which fed into the Irish war of independence (Foster, 2001). These events were concluded in the Government of Ireland Act in 1920 devised by the British Government and the leaders of the Irish Republic (Darby, 2003). The treaty outlined a two-state solution which partitioned Ireland into the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland. The southern twenty six counties gained independence from Britain, becoming the Republic of Ireland. The other six North Eastern counties remained part of the United Kingdom. The new state of Northern Ireland had a majority Protestant/ Loyalist population, incorporating within its border a significant Catholic/ Nationalist minority (roughly 65 percent Protestant and 35 percent Catholic at the time of partition) (Darby, 2003). From 1921 until 1972, Northern Ireland was granted limited self-government within the United Kingdom. Sovereignty however, was retained in Westminster, as was responsibility for defence, foreign policy and other United Kingdom rulings (Darby, 1995).

The Partition of Ireland did little to ease the sectarian mistrust and division between Catholics and Protestants left in the six counties of Ulster which

were devolved to Protestant/ Loyalist/ Unionist rule. The Protestant majority remained mistrustful and fearful, and the Catholic minority angry at the Protestant bias in the distribution of housing and welfare services (Darby, 2003). Each community continued to be defined by its religious affiliation, with little mixing between the two groups. Education, neighbourhoods, workplaces, entertainment, and numerous other social activities remained segregated (Rowthorn & Wayne, 1988).

Physical segregation between the two communities stems not only from an ingrained fear of attack, but also from the very separate social structure of the two communities (Darby, 1976). For instance, as most schooling is conducted by religious denomination, it makes sense for Protestant and Catholic families to find housing closer to their schools. Church attendance is high in Northern Ireland, with the church community providing the structure for social interaction. Furthermore, marriages in Northern Ireland primarily take place with people from the same local area, creating elaborate family-based structures that tend to be exclusive and segregated (Darby, 1976). The high level of segregation with separate areas of residence, school districts, and employment, acted to preserve and strengthen sectarian attitudes towards the other community and created considerable conformity within each community (Darby & MacGinty, 2003). Moreover, the lack of contact accentuated feelings of deep distrust between the two communities and reinforced negative attitudes and disdain.

After the partition of Ireland in 1920, political tensions were still rife and sporadic violence continued between the two communities (Foster, 2001). The Irish Republican Army (IRA) (generally supported by members of the Catholic community) was resistant to the partition, and continued to fight for the union of

Northern Ireland with the Republic of Ireland. The Protestant community on the other hand opposed and feared Catholic ascendancy and fought to maintain British rule. The violence was cyclical in nature and often coincided with downturns in the local economy (e.g., riots during the depression of the 1930s). Conversely, when the economy picked up, as it did in the post-war years, ethnic violence subsided; for example, during a peak of the economy in the 1950s, the IRA was unable to launch a successful bid for secession due to apathy in the Catholic community (Darby 1976).

The 'Troubles'

The period from the start of civil unrest in Northern Ireland in the 1960s until the Good Friday Agreement of 1998-2000 has become known colloquially as the 'Troubles' (Foster, 2001). At the beginning of the 1960s, tensions grew as Catholics stepped up their campaign for civil rights, which included demands for equal voting, housing, and employment rights. Protestants feared that Catholics might obtain a local majority, and resisted the demands of the campaigners with the backing of the state and police repression (Darby, 2003). Tensions grew, leading to violent rioting and street fighting which further polarised the Catholic and Protestant communities.

In 1969, the Troubles began in earnest when the British government sent in troops to quell the spiralling violence (Foster, 2001). The British government themselves became a target for the Catholics, particularly the IRA, which had developed into a fully-fledged terrorist movement. The rising frustrations of the Catholic populace enabled the IRA to re-establish itself and its military methods

in 1969/1970. The goal of the IRA was to unify Northern Ireland with the Irish Republic and eject the British.

The Troubles have been cited as one of the most intractable ethno-political conflicts of the 20th century (Hayes & McAllister, 2002). It is estimated that 3,593 people died in the communal violence between 1969 and 1998 (Fay, Morrissey & Smyth, 1998). Furthermore, over 40,000 were injured during this time, which represents approximately 3 percent of the population (Hayes & McAllister, 2002). The violence includes over 35,000 shooting incidents and 15,000 bomb explosions. Given the relatively small population in Northern Ireland (1.68 million), the impact of the conflict was extensive (MacGinty, Muldoon, & Ferguson, 2007). The conflict involved the pro-united Ireland (Republicans or Nationalists, generally supported by Catholics) militant groups including the Irish Republican Army (IRA), pro-United Kingdom (Loyalists or Unionists, generally supported by Protestants) militant groups, and the British Army with a militarized police force.

Political attempts to solve the conflict in the 1970s were weak, and the British Government simply aimed to contain the violence (MacGinty et al., 2007). In the 1980s the level of IRA lead violence rose, coupled with increasing support for the IRA's political wing, Sinn Fein. There were several attempts made by the British government to reach constitutional settlement in Northern Ireland by facilitating power-sharing between the Catholic-Nationalists and Protestant-Loyalists (Hughes & Donnelly, 2004). Due to local opposition, however, the British government bypassed the people of Northern Ireland and instead turned to the Republic of Ireland to seek agreement. This resulted in the Anglo-Irish Agreement which was signed in 1986 by the British Government and the

Government of the Irish Republic (MacGinty et al., 2007). The Anglo-Irish agreement signified a partnership of the British and Irish governments in managing the conflict. At this point, violence did continue, but was contained so that neither side achieved advantage.

The most recent peace process began in the 1990s with secret negotiations between Sinn Fein (and through them, the IRA), and the British and Irish governments (MacGinty et al., 2007). These negotiations led to the Downing Street Declaration in 1993, which stated that it was the right of the people in the North and South of Ireland to bring about a united Ireland (Hughes & Donnelly, 2004). Following the declaration, an IRA ceasefire was called in August 1994, with the understanding they would be involved in political negotiations (Jarman, 2004). The main Loyalist paramilitary organisation followed suit in October of the same year (Hughes & Donnelly, 2004; Jarman, 2004). In order to take part in political negotiations, Sinn Fein were required to establish a timetable for the decommissioning of paramilitary weaponry (Hughes & Donnelly, 2004). The IRA, however, refused to comply and broke its ceasefire in 1996, by detonating a bomb in London's Canary Warf. Peace talks continued between nine Northern Irish political parties and the Irish and British governments, but Sinn Fein was excluded.

In 1997, the election of Tony Blair as British Prime Minister rejuvenated the peace process, with the aim of re-involving Sinn Fein in the political process (Hughes & Donnelly, 2004; MacGinty et al., 2007). Another IRA ceasefire was achieved when demands for decommissioning prior to Sinn Fein's involvement in talks were dropped (Hughes & Donnelly, 2004).

In April 1998, after 19 months of negotiation, the Belfast or Good Friday Agreement was signed, which signified formal conflict resolution in Northern Ireland. The Agreement is a treaty between the United Kingdom and the Irish Republic which aimed to create devolved administration, and support both Northern Ireland's place in the United Kingdom, and at the same time uphold minority rights and meet the cultural needs of the opposing communities (Monaghan & Shirlow, 2004). The Agreement intended to protect the rights of the two main communities by establishing; (1) an equality commission to promote equal opportunity between the two communities;(2) strengthening anti-discrimination legislation and combating unemployment and employment inequity between the two communities; (3) protecting and promoting the Irish and Ulster/ Scots language traditions; (4) adoption of the European Convention on human rights; (5) major reform of policing to ensure that it represents each community equally with 50:50 (Catholic/ Protestant) recruitment (Hughes & Donnelly, 2004). The Agreement therefore set out to tackle the conflict at a constitutional and policy level that aimed to resolve the unequal economic and social situation between the two communities.

Present Situation in Northern Ireland

Since formal conflict resolution was reached in the Belfast or Good Friday agreement in 1998, most British soldiers have been withdrawn from Northern Ireland (MacGinty et al., 2007). The IRA have disarmed and declared the end of the conflict and the main Loyalist militant groups remain armed but have confirmed a ceasefire. The reconciliation process, however, remains hindered by "low levels of violence, sporadic civil disturbances, political intransigence, and

public disaffection" (MacGinty et al., 2007, p. 2). Although most direct violence has ceased, paramilitary activity, paramilitary style shootings and beatings, 'punishment' attacks, and low-level sectarian disorder continue at a community level (Jarman, 2004; Kelleher, 2003). Expected improvements in the quality of life in Northern Ireland, post Agreement, have yet to be realised (Smyth, 2004).

Through the period of political transition, Jarman (2004) suggests that some forms of paramilitary violence have actually increased. There has been a growth in sectarian conflict over parade routes which have been reflected in the number of people requesting re-housing due to intimidation. Although requests fell in 1999-2000 to 877 from 1,736 in 1998-1999, they have since increased to 1,503 in 2002-03 (Jarman, 2004). There has also been a rise in other social problems including domestic violence and racist attacks. Domestic incidents have increased from 5,900 in 1995 to over 15,500 in 2003. Following a similar pattern, racist incidents have increased from 41 in 1996 to 352 in 2003. Even if some of these figures reflect an increase in reporting following the change in the make-up of the police, there is an underlying trend that is undeniable (Jarman, 2004). Furthermore, although paramilitary organisations have declared a ceasefire, they all remain intact with new purposes for their existence, e.g. organised crime.

Northern Ireland has remained a comprehensively segregated society in which the two communities "live separately, go to school separately, often have occupational segregation." (Huyse, 2005, p. 12). Ninety two percent of housing in Northern Ireland is still segregated on sectarian lines meaning that many single identity communities still exist "on the basis of barely tolerated coexistence" (Craig, 2005, p.19). Since 1998, recent trends indicate that segregation along sectarian lines is getting more, rather than less pronounced (Hughes & Donnelly,

2004; Tausch, Hewstone, Kenworthy, Cairns, & Christ, 2007). With reference to mixed neighbourhoods, the proportion of people wishing to live in a mixed neighbourhood increased between 1989 and 1996 from 71 percent to 83 percent, but decreased to 66 percent in 2001 (Hughes & Donnelly, 2004). A similar pattern is shown by preferences for the religious composition of the workplace. The proportion of respondents preferring a mixed religion workplace increased from 84 percent to 95 percent between 1989 and 1996, but decreased in 2001 to 76 percent. Government policies in the past few decades have favoured intergroup mixing. Although this would lead one to expect a general integration in society, the available data show that there has been little change from 1968 to 1998. Approximately 75 percent of Catholics and 55 percent of Protestants report that "all or most" of their friends are of the same religion as themselves (Hewstone et al., 2005), a consistent result in surveys from 1968 to 1998. As for 'mixed marriages,' only 5-10 percent of marriages crossed the communal divide (Hewstone et al., 2005; Niens, Cairns & Hewstone, 2003). Educational segregation is also a continuing part of Northern Irish society with an estimated 90 percent of children attending either a Catholic or Protestant school at both elementary and secondary level (Cairns & Hewstone, 2002).

Identification with one of the two religious communities has been shown to play an important role in maintaining the sectarian conflict (Hewstone et al., 2005). Strong identification with one of the two religious communities (Catholic vs. Protestant) has remained a marked part of Northern Irish society post-Agreement. To some extent the Agreement has legitimised the two identities by making a clear political divide between Catholic nationalism and Protestant unionism (Hughes & Donnelly, 2004), evidenced by the increasingly polarised

voting patterns in post-Agreement elections (McAuley & Tonge, 2007). In the 2005 Westminster elections, the Catholic nationalist (Sinn Fein) and the Protestant unionist (Democratic Unionists) hard-line parties outpolled more moderate parties (MacGinty et al., 2007). In Northern Ireland, identity is closely connected to the political successes of their community. Therefore, the threats presented by recent political reform are liable to create a stronger adherence to that identity (Hughes & Donnelly, 2004). Furthermore, each community has separate political agendas (MacGinty & Du Toit, 2007), schools (Tausch, Hewstone, Kenworthy, Cairns, & Christ, 2007), preferred newspapers, cultural traditions and sports (Gaelic football, hurling, and camogie are played and supported almost exclusively by Catholics, whereas hockey, rugby, or cricket are exclusively Protestant) (Hughes & Donnelly, 2004), which act to strengthen the separate identities. Group-based identity is thought to foster competition and social change which has acted to prolong conflict and prejudice (Jussim, Ashmore & Wilder, 2001), which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.

Reconciliation in Northern Ireland

Like many post-conflict resolution societies, violence and conflict do not completely come to an end as a result of a peace agreement and a political transition (Jarman, 2004). MacGinty et al. (2007) argue that although formal conflict resolution in Northern Ireland has addressed the economic and social inequality, it has yet to deal fully with the extent of the psychological, emotional and perceptual aspects of the conflict. These authors maintain that it is necessary to tackle these aspects in order to develop trust, intergroup cooperation and reconciliation, which are necessary for lasting peace in Northern Ireland.

Similarly, Huyse (2005) states that the "collective and individual hurt, pain and frustration that is the legacy of violence will only grow, not diminish, if left unaddressed." (p.11).

Conflict resolution is a term used to encompass theory and research on the antecedents of conflicts and their demise (Nadler & Saguy, 2004). Theory and research in this area has generally been dominated by a 'rational-economic' perspective. This perspective makes two basic assumptions (1) groups are in conflict over scarce resources (e.g., natural resources, employment, money), and (2) an end to the conflict will be brought about by negotiation of the optimal division of these scarce resources (Nadler, 2004). Under the constraints of these assumptions, conflict negotiators have focused their efforts on devising a division of disputed resources that will be accepted by both parties (Nadler & Saguy, 2004). In Northern Ireland, this has arguably been the case in the formal conflict resolution in 1998 (MacGinty et al. 2007).

It has been argued, however, that formal resolution in Northern Ireland and elsewhere does not fully meet the socio-emotional needs within a conflict resolution process. The 'reconciliation' perspective, which encompasses socio-emotional aspects, has thus emerged, and is currently gaining theoretical and empirical weight within the field of conflict resolution (Nadler, 2004; Nadler & Saguy, 2004). The reconciliation perspective focuses on the importance of psychological factors (emotional and cognitive) that can act to maintain or help to end conflict (Doosje, Branscombe, Spears, & Manstead, 1998; Halpern & Weinstein, 2004; Hewstone, Cairns, Voci, Hamberger, & Niens, 2006; Hewstone et al., 2004; Huyse, 2005; Nadler, 2004). In accord with the reconciliation perspective, Nadler (2004) argues that psychological mechanisms (emotional and

cognitive) act as major barriers to the resolution of a conflict (e.g., desire for revenge, guilt, distrust). For example, conflict related transgressions that both parties have inflicted on each other can result in the motivation to take revenge against and distrust of the perpetrator group. Revenge and distrust are likely to activate reciprocal acts of violence and distrust which prolong conflict. This cycle can be stopped when parties start to replace the desire for revenge and feelings of distrust with intergroup forgiveness and development of trust (Huyse, 2005; Nadler, 2004; Nadler & Saguy, 2004). The process of reconciliation thus aims to tackle these emotional barriers by facilitating forgiveness for conflict related transgressions and building mutual trust, in order to tackle distrust, between communities.

In Northern Ireland, many authors argue that a reconciliation process is necessary to remove psychological barriers to resolution in order to build peaceful inter-community relations (Craig, 2005; Hewstone et al., in press; Huyse, 2005; Jarman, 2004; MacGinty et al., 2007). Huyse (2005) contends that reconciliation is a process which "consolidates peace, breaks the cycle of violence and strengthens newly established or reintroduced democratic institutions...reconciliation brings about personal healing of survivors, the reparation of past injustices, the building or rebuilding of non-violent relationships between individuals and communities" (p.19).

Research Questions

According to Huyse (2005), reconciliation is a recent addition to the study and practices of post-conflict situations (like Northern Ireland) and is therefore

limited by large knowledge gaps. My thesis thus aims to investigate some of the social-psychological aspects of reconciliation in Northern Ireland.

Both segregation, and strong identification with one of the two religious communities (Catholic vs. Protestant) have been implicated in the maintenance of the troubled community relations in Northern Ireland (Cairns, 1982; Hewstone et al., 2005; MacGinty et al., 2007; Trew & Benson, 1996; Shirlow, 2003). MacGinty et al. (2007) maintain that one consequence of these aspects of society in Northern Ireland is the "abject failure of both groups to understand or empathize with the position of the other group" (p.7). Furthermore, it is thought that these conditions breed cycles of revenge and distrust between two communities which has further sustained cross-community tensions and prejudice (Foley & Robinson, 2004; Hayes & McAllister, 2002; Mitchell, 1999; O'Neill, 2002). Each community has their own account of their troubled history, which renders the other community as untrustworthy (MacGinty et al., 2007). The fear of violent attack and the mistrust of the other community creates a malign interpretation of even benign acts (Smyth, 2004). Hayes and McAllister (2001) argue that exposure to violence in Northern Ireland has increased public support for political violence, which has helped to fuel the cycle of violence between the two communities.

To combat these psychological and relational aspects of the continuing disharmony in Northern Ireland, there is now growing consensus that reconciliation initiatives in Northern Ireland should aim to build outgroup trust in order to tackle the continuing cycle of distrust, and develop intergroup forgiveness between the two communities (Foley & Robinson, 2004; Hewstone et al., 2006;

Hewstone, Cairns, Voci, VonHecker, & Kenworthy, 2005; Hewstone et al., 2004; Mitchell, 1999; Shirlow, 2003).

In this thesis I aim to explore trust and forgiveness, in relation to conflict reconciliation in Northern Ireland. In the first two empirical studies I examine evaluations of the extension of trust or distrust to the outgroup, depending on level of threat to one's community and strength of group identification. These two studies explore perceptions of risk, emotions, and negative outcomes experienced once a community leader has made the decision to extend trust or distrust to the whole outgroup, under conditions of experimentally-created high threat (compared to a low threat condition) and dependent on participants' level of group identification. In the third study I focus on the mediating effect of forgiveness on the impact of the ethno-political conflict in Northern Ireland, again assessing people's identification with either the Catholic or Protestant community. Specifically, this study explores the mediating role of group-level forgiveness and guilt in the relationship between victimhood (the extent to which the conflict has affected the individual's lives), exposure to violence (the level of violence in their area of residence) and group identification on the one hand, and mild psychiatric morbidity on the other. The fourth, fifth and sixth studies investigate the psychological mechanisms which lead to intergroup forgiveness and outgroup trust. These studies examine mediators of the relationship between cross-community contact (in the form of cross-group friendship) and ingroup identification on the one hand, and intergroup forgiveness and outgroup trust on the other. The fourth study considers cross-group friendship and group identification as predictors of intergroup forgiveness, as mediated by collective guilt. The fifth study extends this research by exploring perspective-taking as a

further mediator of the relationship between cross-group friendship and group identification on the one hand, and intergroup forgiveness and outgroup trust on the other. In a further extension, the sixth study investigated empathic affect (the emotional element of empathy) as a third mediator in the relationship between cross-group friendship and group identification on the one hand and intergroup forgiveness and outgroup trust on the other.

Before presenting these empirical studies, the next chapter presents an overview of social-psychological theories of intergroup conflict. Discussion of the application of these theories to the conflict in Northern Ireland follows, giving an appropriate theoretical framework for the conceptualisation of trust and forgiveness. The thesis ends with a summary of the major empirical findings, their theoretical implications, and limitations, before concluding with practical implications of the findings for future applied research on reconciliation initiatives in Northern Ireland.

Chapter Two

Social-Psychological Theory of Intergroup Conflict: Outgroup Trust and Intergroup Forgiveness

"Reconciliation is a concept to conjure with. It sums up all that is wholesome, high-minded and worthy in any society – but particularly a society emerging from conflict. . . the time was the growing sense of giving expression to one's own sense of identity and community self-esteem – to a sense of emotional and locational place" (Kilmurray, 2005, p.43).

Human beings are unique in their capacity for exceptionally complex social interaction. Social interaction and cooperation within groups is necessary for humans because it facilitates necessary resource exchange (psychological and material) and procreation (i.e., the vital elements essential for the continuation of the species) (Brewer & Gaertner, 2001). Interaction between groups, however, often facilitates hostility, prejudice and conflict, causing discrimination, oppression, destruction of communities and families, and the loss of many lives. Much theory and research into human behaviour has thus been aimed at understanding intergroup conflict in the hope that it will be possible to resolve conflict and reconcile opposing groups.

Social psychology is one such discipline which has developed a framework for the understanding intergroup conflict[1]: which is theoretical heart of this thesis. Social psychology aims to understand how individuals behave as group members

[1] It is recognised that social psychology can not completely explain social conflict and illustrates part of the complete picture. This thesis, however, focuses on the social-psychological aspects on social conflict

and in relation to other groups. It is these relationships that have been the core of much social-psychological analysis of conflict between groups. According to social-psychological theory, attitudes and emotions that form intergroup behaviour have origins in individuals' categorization of groups into those they have membership with and those they do not have membership with, and their identification with their membership groups (Sherif, 1966). Categorization of groups and identification with those that an individual is a member of, is subsequently thought to play a critical role in conflict between groups (Jussim et al., 2001; Williams & Jesse, 2001). Based on social-psychological theory, issues of identity may consequently need to be addressed in order to reduce conflict between groups (Jussim et al., 2001), an issue which will be explored in detail in this chapter.

In this chapter I first conceptualize the terms 'group', 'intergroup relations' and 'intergroup conflict'. Secondly, I will outline key social-psychological theory of intergroup conflict, focusing on social identity theory[2]. Thirdly, social-psychological theory of intergroup conflict will then be discussed in terms of its application to the conflict in Northern Ireland and its reconciliation process. Finally, I will apply this theory to the concepts of trust and forgiveness, in the context of intergroup conflict reconciliation in Northern Ireland.

[2] Other social-psychological theories of intergroup conflict include 'Optimal distinctiveness theory', 'Social Dominance Orientation', 'Terror management Theory'. Social identity theory has been chosen as the theoretical orientation of this thesis, and is therefore the focus of the review in this chapter.

Definitions

Group

Sherif (1966) defines a *group* as a social unit which has consequences for its individual members. These include (1) some level of structure or organization, and (2) a set of norms which regulate behaviour and attitudes. Group norms are the acceptable modes of behaviour, attitudes and values that define group membership.

According to Tajfel (1978), a group may consist of one to three components:

> A cognitive component, in the sense of the knowledge that one belongs to a group; an evaluative one, in the sense that the notion of the group and/or of one's membership of it may have a positive or a negative value connotation; and an emotional component in the sense that the cognitive and evaluative aspects of the group and one's membership of it may be accompanied by emotions (such as love or hatred, like or dislike) directed towards one's own group and towards others (pp. 28-29).

Intergroup relations

Intergroup relations can be conceptualized as "relations between two or more groups and their respective members" (Sherif, 1966, p.12). Intergroup behaviour thus occurs when individuals belonging to one group interact, with another group or its members in terms of their group identification. Sherif (1966) suggests that an appropriate frame of reference for studying intergroup relations is the "functional relationship between two or more groups, which maybe positive or negative" (p.12). Furthermore, Tajfel (1978) proposes that there are three criteria which distinguish intergroup behaviour: (1) at least two clearly defined social categories should be present in the situation; (2) behaviours and attitudes within

each group should be homogeneous; (3) members of other groups should be undifferentially treated.

Intergroup conflict

Within social psychology, *intergroup conflict* is defined as an incompatibility of goals, beliefs, attitudes, and/ or behaviour, between two or more groups (Jussim et al., 2001). Social conflict is conceptualized by Tajfel (1978) as "a conflict between large-scale socio-economic or socio-political groupings distinct from conflicts inside an individual, between individuals or between small groups." (p.29)

Social-Psychological Theories of Intergroup Conflict

Ethnocentrism

The roots of current social-psychological theory of intergroup conflict date back to the early twentieth century in sociological work carried out by Sumner (1906). In Sumner's (1906) ethnographic analysis of group behaviour, he recognized that people have a tendency to categorize themselves and others into two groups: those with whom they share group membership (ingroup) and those who are outside that group (outgroup). Furthermore, he documented that relations within the ingroup tend to be of comradeship and peace, but of hostility and war towards ougroups: "Loyalty to the group, sacrifice for it, hatred and contempt for outsiders, brotherhood within, warlikeness without" (Sumner, 1906, p13). Within his analysis he coined the term 'ethnocentrism' in order to refer to the tendency for people to perceive their ingroup as the centre of everything, whereas outgroups are simply rated in reference to it: "Each group nourishes its own pride

and vanity, boasts itself superior, exalts its own divinities, and looks with contempt on outsiders" (Sumner, 1906, p.13). From Sumner's (1906) investigation, he concluded that three facets epitomize intergroup relations: (1) ethnocentrism is a phenomenon involving ideological, attitudinal, and behavioural mechanisms that promote ingroup integration and outgroup hostility; (2) this phenomenon is a universal part of formation and differentiation of social groups; (3) it is functionally related to intergroup conflict and competition.

In summary, Sumner's theory brings together an understanding of conflict at an individual level in terms of attitudes and beliefs and its concomitant to intergroup behaviour. Sumner's (1906) work assumes that ethnocentrism is a universal part of intergroup relations. Since this initial insightful work, successive social-psychological theory and research has focused on investigating the conditions which exacerbate ethnocentrism and how this escalates to intergroup conflict.

Realistic Group Conflict Theory

In the early 1950's social psychologists began to investigate empirically conditions that create intergroup conflict. Sherif and his co-workers published the classic summer camp experiments which provide the bases for Sherif's (1966) Realistic Group Conflict Theory. Sherif (1966) contends that conflict arises between groups as a function of conflicting group interests in obtaining scarce resources, for example, real or imagined threat, economic advantage, political interests or prestige.

Sherif's (1966) theory of realistic group conflict was tested in a series of famous experiments carried out in the late 1940s and early 1950s. These

experiments investigated the development of intergroup conflict through zero-sum competition (Sherif, 1966). Participants comprised a homogeneous group of boys, who were not previously acquainted, that had been selected for a summer camp. At the summer camp, the boys were initially allowed to interact freely and make friendships based on personal attraction. Once friendships had been established, the boys were divided into two different groups which cut across initially formed friendships. Within a week, the group division destroyed initial friendships and instead created friendship along group lines. The two groups were then brought into contact in order to take part in competitive games. Observations at this stage found that hostility and conflict escalated between the two groups, while solidarity and cooperativeness arose within groups. Sherif (1966) concluded that "goals that only one group could attain" (p.85) are the sufficient condition for intergroup conflict to arise.

Despite the revolutionary influence of Sherif's work, it has since been criticized. Sherif's (1966) experimental design did not include an appropriate control condition and was therefore unable to provide adequate empirical evidence that a conflict of interest is a *necessary* condition for the emergence of intergroup conflict (Tajfel, 1978).

Subsequent social-psychological analysis has shown that intergroup conflict could result when a conflict of interest was absent (see Mummenday & Otten, 1998). This perspective cultivated Tajfel's (1978) pioneering work on social identity. Tajfel (1978) adopted a 'minimal' position which maintains that "mere division of people into groups induces ingroup favoritism and discrimination against the outgroup" (p.173), and formed the basis of his social identity theory.

Social Identity Theory

Social identity theory is possibly the most salient theory in social psychology since its conception in the 1970's (Brown, 2000). Its originator Henri Tajfel devised the theory in an attempt to explain inter-group discrimination (Turner & Onorato, 1999). Social identity theory has dominated the field of investigation into intergroup relations, forming the basis of empirical study of intergroup behaviour and the inspiration for much theory in the area (Tyler, Kramer, & John, 1999). Social identity theory is a theory of intergroup relations which includes cognitive, emotional and motivational components, as will be discussed below.

According to social identity theory (Tajfel, 1978), a part of an individual's identity is defined by their group memberships, and behaviour within their own group (ingroup) and towards other groups (outgroups) is fundamentally linked to individual's need to develop a positively valued social identity. Social identity theory has two basic tenets. Firstly, social identity theory asserts that there is a distinction between interpersonal and intergroup behaviour which determines social and personal identity, respectively. Social identity is a causal mechanism in intergroup behaviour and is primarily determined by self and social categorization into ingroups and outgroups. Secondly, social identity theory assumes that people aim to preserve or attain a positive social identity. One way in which people do achieve this is by making comparisons in favour of their ingroup, compared to outgroups. Individuals, therefore, have social identities that enhance their self-esteem and cohesiveness through the comparison of their own group (ingroup) with other groups (ougroups) (Williams & Jesse, 2001).The details of these two tenets will be discussed in turn.

Personal and social identity distinction

Tajfel (1978) was one of the first to propose that it is useful to distinguish between interpersonal and intergroup behaviour because they embrace qualitatively different characteristics. He proposes that discrimination, from prejudice to conflict, can be understood as a function of this distinction. Interpersonal behaviour, which derives from personal identity, is regarded as interaction between individuals based on their personal characteristics, and not affected by their group memberships (e.g., interactions between close friends). Intergroup behaviour, which is based on social identity, consists of interactions which are fully determined by individuals' group memberships (e.g., interactions between armies during battle). The degree to which is based on the context is based on interpersonal or intergroup interactions determines the extent to which identity is personal or social (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

According to social identity theory, personal and social identity hold a polar relationship so that at any one time identity is placed at some point along this continuum (Turner & Reynolds, 2001). The point along the continuum is determined by the extent to which the individual is 'acting in terms of self' versus 'acting in terms of the group'. When social identity becomes more salient than personal identity, behaviour becomes depersonalized (i.e., individuals tend to define themselves less as separate individuals and more as the interchangeable representative of some social category membership; Tajfel, 1978). For example, if three people are in heated discussion about gender roles, one's gender membership may become a salient self-identification, i.e., identification in terms of sex-category membership will be salient. Social identity is therefore an extension of the self which is dynamic in the face of varying social situations.

Social identity is primarily determined by group membership which is characterized by people's tendency to categorize themselves and others into two groups: those with whom they share group membership (ingroup) and those who are outside that group (outgroup) (Tajfel, 1978). Tajfel (1981) defined social identity as "that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership in a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (p.255). Social identity therefore has both a cognitive and an emotional component. The cognitive component encompasses the belief that one belongs to a certain group (e.g., I am a member of group X). The emotional component of social identity involves the importance of the group membership to the self (e.g., I am proud to be a member of group X). Williams and Jesse (2001) note that social identity has three functions: (1) to tell you who you are; (2) to tell others who you are; (3) to tell you who others are. Social identity is therefore descriptive (what the attibutes of the group's members are), prescriptive (how the members should behave and think), and evaluative (how the group compares to other groups) (Williams & Jesse, 2001).

In sum, functionally, social and self categorizations help to provide structure to the social environment and provide an individual with her/ his location within this environment (Tajfel, 1978). Social identity is the core component of intergroup behaviour, because it is social identity attachment which dictates that behaviour is carried out in terms of the group, as opposed to individual needs (Tajfel, 1978).

Positive social identity

The second tenet of social identity theory is that people aim to preserve or attain a positive social identity, which adds the motivational component to social identity theory. One way in which people do achieve this is by making positively valued distinctions for their own group (ingroups), as compared to other groups (outgroups): "a positive social identity is based to a large extent on favorable comparisons that can be made between the ingroup and some relevant outgroups" (Tajfel & Turner 1986 p.16). The tendency to evaluate one's own groups more positively in relation to other groups is termed ingroup favouritism.

According to social identity theory, comparison of one's ingroup to relevant outgroups is a phenomenon termed intergroup differentiation (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). There are three variables which influence intergroup differentiation: (1) the social situation affords evaluative intergroup comparison (2) the outgroup is perceived as a relevant comparison (e.g., based on similarity, proximity, and situational salience) (3) the salience of the group membership to the individual, i.e., I am currently a member of X community. Intergroup differentiation is essentially competitive in that it aims to maintain or achieve superiority over the outgroup on some dimension (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). The dimension which creates comparison and differentiation must be a characteristic that is shared and valued by both groups.

Evidence for social identity theory's proposition that an individual makes favourable comparisons for their ingroup, compared to relevant outgroups, comes from Tajfel's (1978) classic "minimal groups paradigm" experiments. The minimal group paradigm consists of creating ad hoc groups based on arbitrary criteria, for example expressing preference for one or other of two painters

participants have never heard of before, guessing the number of dots in rapidly projected clusters, or a random coin toss (in reality, in all experiments, participants are randomly assigned despite the preference they make) (Tajfel, 1978). Participants have no face-to-face interaction within or between groups during the experiment. They are informed of their own group membership, but the group membership of all other participants is kept anonymous. Participants are then isolated for a short time and asked to allocate various amounts of resources (e.g., money) to other participants (without being able to see them) when only their group membership is known. Tajfel (1978) found that the results were highly significant in the direction of awarding more money to members of the 'ingroup'. Tajfel (1978) concluded from these experiments that the mere social categorization of people into distinct groups could produce intergroup behaviour in which participants favoured ingroup members over outgroup members.

A second set of experiments (Tajfel, 1978) were designed to assess different strategies adopted by participants. Strategies included: Maximum Joint Profit (MJP) (i.e., awarding maximum joint amount on each matrix, to all participants would receive maximum payment from experimenters); Maximum Ingroup Profit (MIP; Maximum Difference (MD) in favour of the ingroup at the price of sacrificing maximum joint profit and maximum ingroup profit; and Fairness (F) of choices. There was a strong pull in the direction of the MD strategy compared to MIP and MJP. Furthermore, allocations towards ingroup members tended to be MJP, whereas allocations toward the outgroup tended to be MD. These results indicated that participants chose to give maximum differentiation in favour of the ingroup, i.e., 'gratuitous' discrimination in favour of the ingroup. Tajfel (1978) suggests that the simplest explanation, for which, seemed to be that participants

were motivated to achieve positive differentiation in favour of the ingroup, even at the cost of giving less to the outgroup.

Since these initial experiments, further studies have found that participants prefer their ingroup to the outgroup, interpret ambiguous ingroup member behaviour more leniently than an outgroup members, excuse anti-normative behaviour made by an ingroup member more readily than such behaviour by an outgrouper, and ascribe more positive attributes to the ingroup than to the outgroup (Leyens et al., 2000).

Self-Categorization Theory

Based on research findings and issues arising from social identity theory, Turner's (1999) developed his 'Self-Categorization Theory' in the late 1970's. Self-categorization theory is a separate theory to social identity theory, but they share the same meta-theoretical routes (Turner, 1999). Self-categorization theory expands on social identity theory in its application to intergroup relations and social conflict. The term 'social identity theory' or the 'social identity perspective' often refers to the combination of both theories. In subsequent chapters in this thesis, both terms will be used to refer to this combination. I will therefore outline the main features of self-categorization theory.

Self-categorization theory develops the distinction between social and personal identity set out in the original social identity theory (Turner, 1999). Self-categorization focuses on social identity as the cognitive mechanism which facilitates group behaviour. The theory suggests that an individual's self-identity is formed by cognitively grouping the self as identical to a class of stimuli and as contrasted to another class of stimuli. Personal identity is formed from self-

categories which define the individual in terms of individual differences from other (ingroup) members. Social identity, on the other hand, is formed from self-categories which define the individual in terms of shared similarities with certain social categories, in contrast to other social categories e.g., ingroup versus outgroup.

Categorization of the self in terms of social categories allows self-stereotyping and depersonalisation. Self-stereotyping results in perceptual accentuation of intragroup similarities and intergroup differences i.e., it increases the perceived similarity between self and ingroup and heightens perceived difference between self and outgroup. Depersonalisation occurs when social identity becomes salient so that the self becomes defined more in terms of group membership and associated characteristics, than individual traits.

Instead of conceptualising personal and social identity as a continuum, self-categorization theory suggests that they represent different levels of self-categorization (Turner, 1999). For example, at any given time, both social and personal identity may be salient for self-definition. However, the perceptual effects, in terms of accentuation of intragroup similarities and intergroup differences, will work against each other. These perceptual effects are determined by the relative salience of different levels of self-categorization in a given situation.

Therefore when social identity becomes salient, the individual's self-identity becomes depersonalised so that they see themselves "less as differing individual persons and more as the interchangeable representatives of some shared social category membership" (Turner, 1999, p.12). For example, when a member of the Catholic community defines themselves in terms of their Catholic social identity,

in contrast to the Protestant social grouping, the similarities between themselves and other members of the Catholic community will be accentuated, as will the differences with members of the Protestant community.

The salience of personal and social categorization varies as a function of: (1) relative accessibility of a particular self-category or the readiness of a perceiver to use a particular categorization; and (2) fit between category specifications and reality to be represented. Relative accessibility depends on an individual's past experience, present expectations, and current motives, values, goals and needs. A further important factor which determines an individual's readiness to define themselves in terms of social categories is their strength of identification with a given social group; this is discussed in detail in a further section of this chapter.

The fit between category and reality is dependent on comparative and normative fit. Comparative fit is the degree to which the average differences perceived between a collection of stimuli, is more or less than the average differences perceived between that collection of stimuli and a reference (comparative) collection of stimuli. If the average differences within a collection of stimuli is perceived as less than the difference between that collection and a reference collection, then it will be categorised as an entity. For example, a collection of individuals will be classified as a social group if their perceived intragroup differences are less than their intergroup differences. Normative fit is the extent to which the similarities and differences fit with normative beliefs about a particular social category i.e., the attitudes and actions expected from a particular social group.

Both comparative and normative fit determine that "self-categorization is dynamic, context-dependent and determined by comparative relations within a given context" (Turner, 1999, p.13). This implies that re-categorization is possible, in that individuals may be categorised as members of different groups in one context, e.g., Catholic and Protestants, but can be categorised as members of the same group in another, e.g., Northern Irish.

In summary, the theory claims that firstly, the level and kind of identity used to represent the self is dependent on the motives, values, expectations, background knowledge and social context in which comparison takes place. Secondly, when social identity is salient, self-identity becomes depersonalised through self-stereotyping. Thirdly, depersonalisation facilitates group behaviour e.g., collective action.

Social identity perspective and intergroup conflict

In application to social conflict, the social identity perspective relates back to Sherif's (1966) realistic group conflict theory. Similar to this theory, the social identity perspective holds the underlying theoretical assumption that intergroup attitudes are determined by intergroup relations, rather than individual or interpersonal processes.

The social identity perspective refutes earlier theories of prejudice that suggest that negative outgroup attitudes are pathological and irrational, deriving from dysfunctional individual differences or personality factors. Instead the social identity perspective argues that social conflict needs to be understood as "psychologically meaningful, as an expression of how people define themselves socially and of their understanding of the reality of their intergroup relations" (Turner, 1999, p.19). From this grounding, the social identity perspective suggests

social conflict is rational. It is based on people's historical understanding of their position in the social structure of their environment and their theories of the social world.

The social identity perspective does not argue that the ingroup favouritism phenomenon uncovered by Tajfel (1978) directly translates to a causal connection between ingroup identification and ingroup bias. The theory actually suggests that the relationship is mediated by a number of factors which include: (1) level of ingroup identification; (2) salience of social identity; (3) perceived social structure of intergroup relationships; (4) relevance to the dimension being compared and/ or relevance of the outgroup on the given dimension (Turner, 1999). Tajfel and Turner (1979) propose that rigid social structures (social mobility), the need for positive differentiation, competition, and conflict of interest (realistic group conflict theory) all act to amplify social identity salience. This can be an active part of social conflict, prejudice and discrimination.

Tajfel and Turner (1979) argue that social mobility is also an important moderator of the salience of social identity. When group boundaries are permeable, individuals recognize that they are able to move across groups if they are unhappy with the conditions imposed by their current group membership. In this situation personal identity will remain salient. If however, group boundaries are impermeable, then there is little escape from unsatisfactory, underprivileged or stigmatizing conditions that may be imposed as a result of that group membership. In this case, Tajfel and Turner (1979) maintain that individuals are likely to act out of their group membership in order to facilitate social change. Perceived rigidity of group boundaries, therefore, is likely to result in collective action on behalf of the whole group, in order to maintain positive social identification.

Group boundaries can be rigid when they are based on enduring social stratifications, for example, socio-economic, ethnic, religious, racial, national, or based on birth criteria (Tajfel, 1978).

Tajfel (1978) also proposed that when conflict of interest and competition (for the same valued dimension) exists between groups, individuals believe that it would be extremely difficult to 'betray' their own group in order to move to another group, again cementing the salience of group identification. These situations act to augment cohesiveness, cooperation and morale within a group, which thus heightens social identification with the ingroup. Tajfel and Turner (1979) therefore argue that the greater the intensity of conflict between opposing groups, the greater the likelihood that individuals will behave as a function of their membership to these groups, again reinforcing group membership.

More recently, Mummendy and Otten (1998) found that within the minimal group paradigm, ingroup favouritism tends to occur when positive stimuli are being allocated (between the ingroup and the outgroup), whereas fairer allocations tend to be made when negative stimuli (e.g., costs and burdens) are being allocated. Mummendy and Otten (1998) suggest that groups with no particular need for positive social identity follow the 'Fairness' strategy in their allocation decisions within the minimal group paradigm. For social discrimination and intergroup conflict to occur, they maintain that further aggravating conditions are required. These conditions include, for example, identity threat or repairing aversive emotion states, which both increase the salience of ingroup membership. Aggravating conditions thus "provide information beyond the mere categorization underlining the ingroup-outgroup distinction and, thus, potentially provide a

rationale for discriminatory treatment between groups" (Mummendy & Otten, 1998, p.136).

In sum, social-psychological theory of social conflict combines realistic group conflict theory (Sherif, 1966), social identity theory (Tajfel, 1978) and self-categorisation theory (Turner, 1999). Together these theories maintain social conflict is a rational product of intergroup relations. From the social identity perspective, factors which enhance social identity salience are essential in a social-psychological understanding of social conflict. The next section of this chapter will apply these social-psychological theories of social conflict to the Troubles in Northern Ireland.

Application of Social-Psychological Theory of Conflict to Northern Ireland

The social identity perspective suggests that individuals have a tendency to categorize themselves and others into either ingroups or outgroups, which characterizes intergroup behaviour. Social categorization in this way enables people to structure their social environment and their place within it. This applies to Northern Ireland which is characterized by a clear social categorization with the sectarian division between the Catholic (Nationalists/ Republicans) and Protestant (Unionists/ Loyalists) communities. As discussed in Chapter 2, social categorization in Northern Ireland is historically based with the division made along religious, cultural, political and ethnical lines.

Social categorizations provide individuals with a clear ingroup/ outgroup distinction. In Northern Ireland, these can be recognized by a number of social cues which differentiate the group membership as Catholic-Irish or Protestant-British. Cairns (1982) indicates that the five most frequently listed cues include:

(1) area of residence which is dictated by the high level of residential segregation which still exists in Northern Ireland; (2) school attended as most children in Northern Ireland attend denominational schools; (3) names, which tend to be characteristic of either the Catholic or Protestant community e.g., David is typically Protestant and Patrick is typically Catholic; (4) appearance which includes facial features, build and clothing; (5) speech including both accent and content of speech.

Group division in Northern Ireland is highly distinct. It is devoid of any categories which cut across the Catholic/ Protestant division. Other Categories which exist in Northern Ireland, like Nationalist or Unionist party or Orange Order, complement the sectarian division rather than contradict it (Cairns, 1982). Furthermore, religious affiliation in Northern Ireland is thought to be a more important characteristic of an individual than social class or sex, "religious categorization is made at birth and maintained throughout life" (Cairns, 1982, p.281). This is not to say that the conflict in Northern Ireland is considered a 'holy war'. The terms 'Catholic' and 'Protestant' tend to be ethnic and political labels, rather than religious affiliations. It is often the case in Northern Ireland that someone will describe themselves as not religious (e.g., does not attend church or is an atheist), but describe oneself as Catholic or Protestant at the same time (Cairns & Darby, 1998).

Social categorization in Northern Ireland therefore offers two clearly distinct and non-overlapping categories with highly impermeable group boundaries (Cairns, 1982). Any movement between groups is therefore almost impossible and certainly seen as a betrayal of group membership. For example, individuals who enter into mixed marriages tend to be disenfranchised from both

communities (Cairns, 1982) and thus only 5-10 percent of marriages cross the sectarian divide (Hewstone et al., 2005). According to Tajfel (1978) these are conditions that would facilitate social identity salience which increases the likelihood that individuals will act collectively on behalf of their group, in order to obtain a positive social identity.

Social identity salience is heightened further when there is a realistic conflict of interest between the groups (Sherif, 1966; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). As discussed in Chapter 1, the Catholic and Protestant communities have historically experienced an ongoing conflict of interests in terms of scarce resources (e.g., land ownership, occupational inequality, wealth and status) and competition over whether Northern Ireland should be part of Republic of Ireland or the United Kingdom. In accord with Realistic Group Conflict Theory (Sherif, 1966), the conflict in Northern Ireland has been a zero-sum competition between those who would like Northern Ireland to unify with the Republic of Ireland and those who would like Northern Ireland to remain part of the United Kingdom. These factors have subsequently enhanced cohesiveness, cooperation and homogeneity within each distinct group which again acts to increase the salience of group identification as an extension of the self (Tajfel, 1978).

In sum, the social categorizations in Northern Ireland meet the conditions laid out by Tafel (1978) that lay the foundations for intergroup level behaviour and social identity salience. Social identity theory states that individuals strive to maintain a positive social identity by evaluating their ingroup positively in the light of outgroups (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

As discussed above, social identity contains two components: belief that one belongs to a group and the importance of that group membership to one's self.

Evidence of the first component comes from the fact that nearly all Northern Irish citizens tend to label themselves in either the Catholic or Protestant camp (Cairns, 1982). In the 2002 census, 44% of respondents indicated that their religious affiliation was Catholic, 53% indicated they were Protestant, while only 3% indicated no religious affiliation (Northern Ireland Census, 2002). The second component of social identity may be more relevant on an individual level as a scale of 'strength of ingroup identification'. Strength of ingroup identification reflects the importance of group membership to the self, when people define themselves as group members (Tajfel, 1978). Hewstone, Rubin and Willis (2002) suggest that in the context of intergroup relations, strength of ingroup identification determines whether social categorization will result in social comparison in favour of his/ her ingroup. Strength of identification will vary dependent on the individual but within the context of intergroup relations, rather than being a stable personality variable (Hewstone et al., 2002). The extent to which individuals identify with their ingroup will consequently affect how they react to group-based phenomena.

Strength of identification has been found to be a predictor of many intergroup effects (Jetten & Spears, 2003; Jetten, Spears, & Postmes, 2004; Stephan & Stephan, 1999). Those with high ingroup identification tend to demonstrate stronger group-based effects than those whose identification is low. For example, Stephan and Stephan (1999) contend that generally only those who strongly identify with their ingroup are likely to experience feelings of threat with respect to outgroups. Other processes affected by identification include ingroup favouritism (Hodson, Dovidio, & Esses, 2003), intergroup attribution biases

(Doosje & Branscombe, 2003), ingroup stereotyping (Hutchison & Abrams, 2003) and perceived ingroup homogeneity (Castano & Yzerbyt, 1998).

In the context of Northern Ireland, strength of group identification with either the Catholic or Protestant community has been found to relate to a number of different attitudes and behaviours (Gallagher, 1989; Hewstone et al., 2004; Kenworthy, Hewstone, & Miller, In press; Stringer & Cornish, 1991). Gallagher (1989) has demonstrated, in experimental research using Catholic and Protestant participants, that strength of religious ingroup identification is related to outgroup discrimination and to ingroup favouritism (see also Cairns, Kenworthy, Campbell, & Hewstone, 2006). Stringer and Cornish (1991) found that those with stronger group identification were more likely to show a preference for residential areas occupied by their own religious denomination. Moreover, Hewstone et al. (2004) found that in Northern Ireland the level of support for pro-social behaviours toward the outgroup was moderated by participants' level of identification with their religious ingroup. In this research it was found that high identification with one's religious community is negatively associated with intergroup forgiveness and outgroup trust (Hewstone et al., 2004).

In conclusion, according to a social-psychological analysis of intergroup conflict, addressing issues of social identity is an essential component in the psychological aspects of conflict reconciliation in Northern Ireland. At the individual level within the intergroup context in Northern Ireland, social identity is likely to contribute to both ingroup bonds and hostility towards the outgroup (Jussim et al., 2001). In the research presented in this thesis, strength of ingroup identification with either the Catholic or Protestant community will be considered

as an important variable in relation to psychological variables involved in intergroup conflict reconciliation in Northern Ireland.

Current Situation in Northern Ireland

As discussed in Chapter 1, formal conflict resolution in Northern Ireland has not been a panacea for peace. It was argued that psychological aspects of conflict reconciliation need to be addressed in order to tackle the ongoing sectarian divide and low-level violence. Since the Belfast or Good Friday Agreement in 1998, some aspects of paramilitary violence have actually increased (Jarman, 2004), segregation of the two communities is more pronounced (Hughes & Donnelly, 2004; Tausch et al., 2007) and voting patterns are more polarized towards the Catholic nationalist (Sinn Fein) and the Protestant unionist (Democratic Unionists) hard-line parties (MacGinty, 2007).

In terms of social identity theory, formal conflict resolution as represented by the Good Friday Agreement has potentially acted as a threat to social identity for individuals who identify strongly with either the Catholic or Protestant community. MacGinty et al. (2007) argue that the agreement has actually reinforced the traditional single identities of Catholic nationalism and Protestant unionism. Political rhetoric in Northern Ireland is often centrally related to the intergroup context and therefore strengthens existing bi-polar categorization.

Although the Catholic community has historically been considered the minority, it is now thought that both communities have a claim to minority status (MacGinty et al., 2007). Catholic nationalists have shown increasing economic, cultural and political confidence in recent years. The Protestant unionist community, in comparison, is becoming increasingly disaffected and fragmented.

Moreover, both communities comprise a similar percentage of the population in Northern Ireland and share mutual insecurity over their identity position.

MacGinty et al. (2007) propose that both groups have continued to develop new grievances over the course of the conflict, which have contributed to the enduring nature of the dispute in Northern Ireland. Catholic and Protestant identity has been passed on from generation to generation (Cairns, 1982), establishing secure social identities which have simply been updated in political expression or recent grievance. The high level of residential segregation and separation in terms of political agendas (MacGinty & Du Toit, 2007), schooling (Tausch et al., 2007) and cultural traditions (Hughes & Donnelly, 2004) has further strengthened the division and salience of the two social identities. As a result, Catholic and Protestant social identity has shown itself to be extremely resistant to change. This is reflected in the enduring attitudes (MacGinty & Du Toit, 2007) and behaviours (Jarman, 2004) which characterize the social division in Northern Ireland today.

The centrality of identification with either the Catholic or Protestant community implies that the reconciliation process in Northern Ireland needs to address conflict-related social problems from a social identity orientation. In Chapter 1, I argued that a reconciliation process which incorporated socio-emotional (psychological) aspects of peacemaking was necessary in the context of Northern Ireland. The social-psychological components of intergroup conflict reconciliation include building trust, in order to combat distrust, and developing forgiveness for conflict-related transgressions. The analysis above concludes that these social-psychological variables should be conceptualized within a social identity orientation. Next, I will therefore define, discuss and conceptualize in

terms of social identity, the concepts of trust in relation to distrust, and forgiveness.

Trust

Distrust has been identified as a central component of intergroup conflict and prejudice (Dovidio, Gaertner, Kawakami, & Hodson, 2002; Lewicki & Tomlinson, 2003; O'Neill, 2002). In Northern Ireland, it is thought that it is "the debilitating cycle of fear and distrust, which lies at the heart of our current impasse." (Brady 2004, p.2). Distrust is thought to be associated with an increasing unwillingness to take risks, impedes cooperation and provokes feelings of fear and anxiety (Tschannen-Moran & Hoy, 2000). In the context of intergroup conflict, distrust becomes a self-fulfilling cyclical process which exacerbates conflict and inspires retribution. Anticipated outgroup defection leads to distrust of the outgroup, which in turn fuels unease, leading to further distrust (Brewer & Gaertner, 2001).

In order to combat the cycle of distrust, it is argued that trust needs to be developed. Trust has been recognized as a possible solution to social problems including community relations, conflict resolution and prejudice reduction (Blackstock, 2001; Dovidio et al., 2002; Lewicki & Tomlinson, 2003; Lewicki & Wiethoff, 2000). Fisher (1994) proposes that trust needs to be built during conflict reconciliation in order to counteract misperception and miscommunication during the process. Similarly, Nadler and Saguy (2004) argue that sufficient levels of trust must exist before acts of socio-emotional reconciliation can ensue. In relation to reconciliation in Northern Ireland it has been stated that "if there is ever to be a

durable peace and genuine reconciliation . . . trust and confidence must be built, over time, by actions in all parts of society." (Mitchell, 1999, p. 37).

Unfortunately, developing trust between disparate communities is a difficult process. Brady (2004) states that in Northern Ireland it was "the issue of building trust between the two communities that was to prove the most critical and the most difficult to secure" (p.1). Greater understanding of trust and distrust in the context of Northern Ireland may therefore be able to aid efforts to build trust between the divided communities.

Definition of the concept of trust

Despite the variety of definitions within social psychology literature, common key elements are apparent (Tschannen-Moran & Hoy, 2000). General aspects of trust, which emerge among most definitions, include vulnerability to uncertainty and positive belief or expectancy about the other person or group. For example, Rousseau and her colleagues offer the following definition: "Trust is a psychological state comprising the intention to accept vulnerability based upon positive expectations of the intentions or behaviour of another" (Rousseau, Sitkin, Burt, & Camerer, 1998, p. 394). Frost, Stimpson and Maughan, (1978) alternatively propose that "trust is an expectancy held by an individual that the behaviour of another person or a group will be altruistic and personally beneficial" (Frost, Stimpson, & Maughan, 1978, p. 103). Yamagishi and Yamagishi (1994) maintain that trust is "an expectation that partners, including potential partners, have goodwill and benign intent in their dealing with us" and in this way, "trust provides a solution to the problems caused by social uncertainty" based on the implicit assumption that we do not have perfect information about a partner's intentions (Yamagishi & Yamagishi, 1994, p. 131). By combining these

definitions I will conceptualise 'trust' in this thesis as a positive expectation about the intentions/ behaviour of another person or group that implicitly affords the risk of defection and social uncertainty.

Group level trust

According to social identity theory (Tajfel, 1978) when individuals categorize themselves at the intergroup level, behaviour, attitudes and feelings are experienced at the group level. At the intergroup level, social identity becomes salient allowing individuals to experience trust on behalf of their ingroup. Intergroup trust is consequently the expression of trust to the whole outgroup, rather than a specific individual. In this context, trust judgments will be based on assessment and characteristics of the whole outgroup, as opposed to those made on an individual level. In the context of Northern Ireland, where social categorization is highly salient, it is likely that trust for the 'other community' will therefore be experienced at the group level.

At the group level, social identity becomes salient and individuals tend to evaluate their ingroup positively in comparison to outgroups, in order to maintain or obtain a positive social identity. As a result of individual's natural tendency to discriminate in favour of the ingroup (ingroup favouritism), positive sympathies such as trust are held only for the ingroup (Brewer, 1999). Brewer and Gaertner (2001) argue that social categorization creates cognitive boundaries for attaining the benefits of necessary cooperation, while limiting costs of non-reciprocation and defection. By limiting support to mutually agreed in-group members, costs of non-reciprocation can be contained. Intergroup discrimination is therefore built on a fundamental survival strategy, which leads to positive evaluations and expectations of the ingroup. These give rise to trust and cooperative behaviour

within the ingroup but not for the outgroup (Brewer, 1999; Brewer & Gaertner, 2001).

Moy and Ng (1996) suggest that ingroup favouritism occurs in order to protect against expected outgroup bias. They hypothesise that people will expect the outgroup to be more discriminatory than the ingroup. Using an experimental matrix game methodology to test their hypothesis, they found that participants did indeed expect that outgroup members would discriminate against their group (the ingroup) and that they attributed past discrimination most strongly to outgroup members. Moy and Ng (1996) conclude that their study revealed significant ingroup favouritism and that ingroup members behave and think as if outgroups can't be trusted.

Insko, Schopler, Hoyle, Dardis, and Graetz (1990) and Insko et al. (2001) similarly argue that there is a general tendency to distrust the outgroup. Their schema-based distrust hypothesis predicts that people have a tendency to distrust outgroups and thus people distrust other groups more than other individuals. They propose that this phenomenon is a result of "learned beliefs, or expectations, that intergroup relations are competitive, unfriendly, aggressive" and therefore untrustworthy (Insko et al., 1990, p.69). To test this prediction, Insko et al., (1990) experimentally investigated outgroup trust in the context of a Prisoner's Dilemma Game (PDG) matrix. They found that group discussion during play (on a PDG matrix) was characterised by frequent references to the potential untrustworthiness of the other group. There was also a negative correlation between the amount of recorded untrustworthiness and later cooperation on the PDG matrix. Furthermore, groups were more likely than individuals to withdraw from the game when the option was given to them, indicating an expectation that

group play is characterised by competition rather than cooperation. The authors conclude that their findings offer support for their schema-based distrust hypothesis.

Outgroup trust and general attitudes

Hewstone et al. (2005) state that outgroup trust is correlated with, but clearly conceptually different from, a measure of outgroup attitudes. Using results from a large, representative sample survey, confirmatory factor analysis, as well as hierarchical second-order analysis, revealed that trust and attitudes do differ conceptually from outgroup attitudes, despite being correlated. An important distinction between trust and attitudes is that trusting the outgroup poses a potential risk or threat to the self or ingroup in a way that holding a positive attitude does not. Hewstone et al. (2005) conclude that trust is therefore perhaps a more demanding gauge of intergroup relations than attitudes, and should not be included into a general attitude construct simply because it tends to correlate with attitudes. Moreover, Tam, Hewstone, Kenworthy and Cairns (in prep), found that outgroup trust is more predictive of intergroup behavioural tendencies than attitudes. Their findings support the notion that trust is a more demanding criterion of intergroup relations than attitudes, because outgroup trust involves a potential risk to the self or the ingroup, whereas holding a positive attitude does not.

Trust and social relations

In social relations it is theorised that trust is associated with enhanced cooperation, information sharing, improved communication and problem solving (Hayashi, Ostrom, Walker, & Yamagishi, 1999; Lewicki & Edward, 2003). Empirical research has found a well-established correlation between cooperation

and trust (Yamagishi & Yamagishi, 1994). Furthermore it is argued that trust is crucial to the development of long-term cooperative behaviour (Chaudhuri, Sopher, & Strand, 2002). However, despite these benefits, trusting behaviour is not always demonstrated because trust involves the risk of exploitation or defection (Cook et al., 2005). The concept of trust has been associated with risk and uncertainty by a number of authors. Cook et al., (2005) maintain that trust always involves some risk. Hardin (2002) notes that trust involves giving another the power of discretion to "affect one's interest" in the face of uncertainty: a move that is "inherently subject to the risk that the other will abuse the power of discretion" (p. 11). Equally, Baier (1985) claims that trusting others is always a risk "given the partial opaqueness to us of the reasoning and motivation of those we trust and with whom we cooperate" (p. 119).

According to Yamagishi and Yamagishi (1994), trust facilitates individuals' ability to deal with risk and uncertainty. They theorise that 'general trust' is a device, which allows us to deal with social uncertainty (Yamagishi & Yamagishi, 1994). Social uncertainty is defined by Yamagishi and Yamagishi (1994) as a situation in which "the actor does not have the capability of correctly detecting the partner's intentions" (p.131). Social uncertainty poses a problem to human beings since we want to avoid being cheated, yet we still need to maintain interactions with other people in order to obtain the vital psychological and material resources interaction gives us. In close and stable relationships there is very little uncertainty, reducing the need for 'general trust'. However, in situations where close and stable relationships don't exist, but there is an incentive to interact, general trust becomes an option. Interacting with an outsider involves social uncertainty and the risk of being exploited. General trust in the form of a positive

cognitive bias enables a positive evaluation of potential interactions. The positive cognitive bias required by general trust is facilitated in part by the reputation, knowledge, the time period of co-operation and perceived honesty of potential partners. These factors determine the opportunity cost of a general trust interaction.

Yamagishi and Yamagishi (1994) contend that general trust becomes an option when the opportunity cost of forgoing interactions with outsiders is higher than the risk of exploitation (as opportunity costs increase, the relative value of risk decreases). Therefore, trust is associated with a higher likelihood of exploitation, but greater benefit from outside opportunities, while distrust is associated with a lower likelihood of exploitation, but a higher likelihood that outside opportunities will be missed. Consequently, decisions to trust or distrust are based on the assessment of risks and opportunity costs of the two options.

Decisions to trust, however, are not purely cognitive as Yamagishi and Yamagishi's (1994) may suggest. Emotions are thought to be strongly associated with trust. Kasperson, Golding and Tuler (1992) argue that emotion plays a central role in trust and distrust behaviour. They propose that the decision to trust consists of an emotional reaction for those participating in a relationship. Stephan and Stephan (1999) contend that negative emotion including anxiety is associated with lack of trust. They suggest that people experience anxiety when they are under threat in intergroup interactions. Levels of anxiety are determined by the situational circumstance (potential threats), previous relations between groups, personal experience and intergroup cognitions. Anxiety acts to reduce contact and communication between groups which would otherwise act to reduce stereotypes.

Distrust is also thought to be associated with an increasing unwillingness to take risks which impedes cooperation and provokes feelings of fear and anxiety (Tschannen-Moran & Hoy, 2000). It is theorised that distrust is not necessarily irrational. A certain amount of distrust between groups is considered to be functional, since it protects against exploitation (Yamagishi & Yamagishi, 1994). Decisions to distrust may be based on knowledge, experience and real differences and values (Tschannen-Moran & Hoy 2000). Nevertheless, when distrust bypasses a functional level, the cost of distrust is high (Tyler & Kramer, 1996). Energies become focused on self-protection and continual provision for the possibility of opportunistic behaviour on the part of others (Tschannen-Moran & Hoy 2000). In these circumstances people become increasingly reluctant to take risks so that distrust becomes self-perpetuating. Negative belief expectancies about the other group become self-fulfilling as fear and anxiety obstruct the communication which could overcome it (Lewicki, McAllister, & Bies, 1998). Subsequently, distrust of others is likely to evoke a competitive (as opposed to cooperative) orientation (Lewicki & Wiethoff, 2000). Wall (1975) found empirical evidence that distrust elicits competitive behaviour. He predicted that if a representative of a group was treated distrustfully (compared to trustfully) they would act more competitively. His predictions were tested using a matrix bargaining game to compare the effect of distrust compared with trust of the group representative. The results supported the predictions leading to the conclusion that distrust (compared to trust) of the group representative is associated with more competitive behaviour from the representative.

Subsequently trust and distrust are both fundamental parts of social interaction (Tschannen-Moran & Hoy, 2000; Yamagishi & Yamagishi, 1994).

There is a careful cost-benefit balance between trust and distrust within social relationships. Both trust and distrust can be appropriate in different situations. Excess of either would be to the detriment of oneself or one's group. When trusting is chosen in excess, groups leave themselves open to continual exploitation. On the other hand, if excessive distrust is demonstrated, necessary cooperation will be lost (Lewicki & Edward, 2003; Tschannen-Moran & Hoy, 2000; Yamagish & Kikuchi, 1999).

When conflict exists between distinct communities, as is the case in Northern Ireland, distrust has often surpassed the functional level (Shirlow, 2003). In Northern Ireland, a very real fear of violence within the segregated areas has led to reluctance to take the risks involved in trusting the other community. Shirlow (2003) states that "fear and mistrust are linked to understandings of risk, doubt and behavioural responses that are influenced directly by the assessment of threat." (p.77). In these terms perceptions of trusting or distrusting behaviour toward the other community in Northern Ireland are based on the appraisal of the current levels of threat, a factor which is explored in Chapter 3.

Trust in Northern Ireland

Hewstone et al. (2005) carried out six focus groups (approximately 6 persons, mixed gender) in Northern Ireland on the topic of conceptions of trust, trusting individuals vs. groups, trusting politicians, gaining and losing trust. Participants included Catholics and Protestants, lay persons, students from the University of Ulster, relatives of people killed by the conflict and human rights activists who provide support for families affected by the troubles. Trust was conceptualised by respondents as an expectation that others will conform to a particular behaviour pattern. Distrust, on the other hand, was perceived as acts of

betrayal, unreliability or failing to carry out promises. Conditions required for developing and maintaining trust in Northern Ireland included the absence of conflict, violence, and paramilitary threat. Moderators of trust were identified as anxiety related to the fear of exploitation, and willingness to surrender self-protection in entering a relationship of trust. There was general agreement that there is a clear distinction between trusting individuals from the other community and trusting the other community as a whole. Inter-community trust was thought by both communities to be more difficult to achieve and to involve equality, dominance, conflict, and threat. Politicians from the other community were named as individuals seen as trustworthy.

In conclusion trust in Northern Ireland can be considered at the group level from the social identity perspective. Outgroup trust is seen an essential part of positive intergroup relations and therefore a necessary part of a conflict reconciliation process. Extension of trust to the outgroup as a whole under conditions of threat, compared to reduced threat, will be explored in Chapter 3. In Chapter 5, I investigate a model of social-psychological predictors and mediators of outgroup trust. Discussion in this chapter will now turn to forgiveness.

Forgiveness

Forgiveness is increasingly considered as an essential psychological aspect of conflict reconciliation (Azar, Mullet, & Vinsonneau, 1999; Doosje, Branscombe, Spears, & Manstead, 1998; Halpern & Weinstein, 2004; Nadler & Saguy, 2004), and it has belatedly been researched in Northern Ireland (Hewstone et al., 2006; Huyse, 2005; McGlynn et al., 2004; McLernon, Cairns, & Hewstone, 2002; Moeschberger, Dixon, Niens, & Cairns, 2005). Forgiveness has been

applied to conflict reconciliation practices in 'Truth and Reconciliation' in South Africa (Gibson & Gouws, 1999), Lebanon (Azar et al., 1999), Rwanda (Faris, 2005), and Chile (Amstutz, 2005). Former Archbishop Desmond Tutu (1999) states that "without forgiveness, resentment builds in us, a resentment which turns to hostility and anger. Hatred eats away at our well-being" (Tutu, 1999, p.xiii).

Contemporary conflict reconciliation practice indicates that cycles of revenge are one of the major factors that contribute to the enduring nature of a conflict (Nadler & Saguy, 2004). Transgressions made against an individual's group during a conflict motivate revenge and aggression against the opposing group, which motivates further revenge. Azar et al. (1999); Nadler and Saguy, (2004) propose that the aggression-revenge cycle can be broken by employing forgiveness as part of the conflict reconciliation process. Following a transgression, the perpetrator is in 'debt' to the victim. This debt inspires feelings of revenge in the victim (Nadler & Saguy, 2004). An alternative to revenge, however, is forgiveness. If the victim chooses to forgive, they choose whether or not to cancel the perpetrators' debt. This choice gives the victim the benefit of empowerment, which relieves their sense of helplessness as a victim. By having his/ her debt cancelled the perpetrator benefits by being under less threat of being expelled by the "moral community" (Nadler & Saguy, 2004).

In Northern Ireland victims of the Troubles have expressed a need for forgiveness since the early 1970s (McGlynn et al., 2004). The Director of Northern Ireland's Community Relations Council has stated that "what makes forgiveness so burning in Northern Ireland is not that many victims are left with their injury, but that so many of the injuries are understood as the grief not only of individuals but of whole communities" (CAIN archive, 2005). McLernon et al.

(2004) argue that it is essential that the concept of forgiveness is explored, in order to prevent the re-occurrence of cycles of revenge and violence which have plagued Northern Ireland for several hundred years. Further investigation into the benefit and social-psychological predictors of intergroup forgiveness could therefore yield knowledge of value to the conflict reconciliation process in Northern Ireland.

Definition of forgiveness

The definition of forgiveness has created much disagreement among theoreticians and researchers (Worthington, 2005). Tutu (1999) states that "forgiveness is taking seriously the awfulness of what has happened when you are treated unfairly. It is opening the door for the other person to have a chance to begin with. . . forgiveness is not pretending that things are other than they are" (p.xiii). Enright and colleagues (Enright, and The Human Development Study Group, 1991) view forgiveness as an active process which replaces negative thoughts, feelings and behaviour towards the perpetrator, with positive ones such as caring, and even love. Subkoviac, Enright and Ching-Ru (1992) conceptualize forgiveness as the overcoming of resentment toward the offender, not by denying oneself the right to such feelings, but by endeavouring to view the offender with benevolence, compassion and even love, while recognizing that she or he has abandoned the right to them. McCullough, Worthington, and Rachel (1997) offer a motivation-based conceptualisation. They define forgiveness as a set of "prosocial motivational changes that occurs after a person has incurred a transgression" (p.194). McCullough et al., (1997) suggest that when an individual chooses to forgive, they experience relationship-constructive motivations (e.g., empathy and altruism) as opposed to destructive motivations (e.g., revenge and

avoidance). Scobie and Scobie (1998) propose that forgiveness is a 'prosocial facilitator' that assists the restoration of relationships, reduces negative affect towards the transgressor, enables the forgiven to make compensations and empowers the victim by allowing him/her to give up the role of victimhood. Karremans, Van Lange, and Holland, (2005) similarly define forgiveness as "an intrapersonal prosocial motivational change toward an offender" (p. 1315).

Despite the varied conceptualisations of forgiveness, there are common themes which are apparent. Researchers agree that forgiveness involves an active process which involves a positive change in the relationship between the perpetrator and victim. Theories also generally agree that forgiveness offers positive benefits to the victim and that it is relationship-reparatory. Positive consequences of forgiveness include: (1) release from guilt, revenge and resentment; (2) decreased feelings of anger, anxiety and depression (McCullough et al., 1997); and (3) empowerment and self-respect for the victim (Hewstone et al., 2004).

Forgiveness and related concepts

It is thought necessary to distinguish forgiveness from related concepts such as reconciliation, justice, pardon, legal mercy, leniency, condoning, excusing or justification (Azar et al., 1999; Enright & Group, 1991). Forgiveness is given to the perpetrator by the offended person who gives up their right to resentment and revenge. Forgiveness is also not condoning or excusing because it does not imply forgetting (Enright, Freedman, & Rique, 1998; Montiel, 2002).

As a concept, forgiveness is thought to be distinct from reconciliation. Though both concepts are relationship reparatory, forgiveness is not conditional on compensation from the transgressor (McCullough et al., 1997). There is,

however, debate concerning the relationship between the two concepts. Enright and Group (1991) suggest that it is possible to forgive without reconciliation, since the process for forgiveness does not implicate a restored relationship/ reconciliation. In this conceptualisation of forgiveness, the emphasis is placed on the victim who chooses to free him/ herself from the control of the transgressor in the process. This, however, places the responsibility of forgiveness on the victim. An alternative view is that forgiveness is incomplete if it does not lead towards reconciliation (Power, 1994). McGlynn et al. (2004) propose that the relationship between forgiveness and reconciliation can be conceptualised as forgiveness constituting a necessary step towards reconciliation. This conceptualisation spreads the responsibility for forgiveness between the victim and transgressor. A further question concerning these two concepts is whether intergroup forgiveness brings about reconciliation. Hewstone et al, (in press) maintain that it is debatable whether intergroup forgiveness brings about complete reconciliation. At minimum, intergroup forgiveness can be regarded as a "pro-social facilitator that provides an opportunity for improved intergroup relations" (Hewstone et al., in press, p. 15).

Forgiveness and mental health

There is growing evidence that interpersonal forgiveness is positively associated with better mental health (Allan, Allan, Kaminer, & Stein, 2006; Kaplan, 1992; McCullough, Worthington, & Rachel, 1997; Scobie & Scobie, 1998; Witvliet, Ludwig, & Vander Laan, 2001; Witvliet, Phipps, Feldman, & Beckman, 2004). Forgiving is linked to a reduction in anxiety, depression and anger (McCullough et al., 1997). By contrast, difficulty in forgiving is associated with poorer mental health (Witvliet et al., 2004).

Within the therapeutic literature, it is thought that forgiveness involves giving up resentment and the desire for revenge which is associated with the transgression (Scobie & Scobie, 1998). This subsequently reduces related emotions such as anger, fear and anxiety, which are associated with psychological ill health. Forgiveness therapy procedures have been used successfully in the treatment of post-traumatic stress disorder (Johnson, Feldman, Lubin & Southwick, 1995; Witvliet et al., 2005), anxiety and depression in female incest victims (Freedman & Enright, 1996) and anger and grief of victims (Coyle & Enright, 1997).

Forgiveness intervention studies have shown that specific grievances or hurts can be significantly reduced, and positive thoughts and feelings toward an offender can be increased, through forgiveness training (Freedman & Enright, 1996). Harris et al., (2006) carried out a forgiveness intervention study in which they evaluated the effects of a six-week forgiveness training program on psychosocial health related outcomes and attitude towards the transgressor. Their results demonstrated that a forgiveness-training program (as compared to the no-treatment control), yielded significant effects on psychosocial health (e.g., perceived stress and trait anger). The forgiveness training also significantly increased positive thoughts and feelings towards the transgressor.

Forgiveness and empathy

It is theorised that the changed perspective of the forgiver is achieved through replacing negative feelings toward the transgressor with positive ones such as empathy (McCullough et al., 1997; Scobie & Scobie, 1998). McCullough et al. (1997) contend that forgiveness is an empathy-facilitated set of motivational

changes that lead to greater probability of pro-social actions toward the offender, in spite of the offender's hurtful actions.

Focus groups in Northern Ireland in 1999 and 2000 (Hewstone et al., 2004) illustrated that respondents thought that the decision to forgive was based, in part, on empathy. Furthermore, respondents felt that the injured party must try to develop a degree of empathy for the offender, and be able to understand (i.e., perspective-take) some of the reasons behind the offence. Similarly, interviews carried out with cross-community workers in Northern Ireland, by Roe, Pegg, Hodges, and Trimm (1999) revealed that empathy is thought to play an active role in preceding forgiveness. This relationship will be explored in Chapter 5 of this thesis.

Intergroup forgiveness

The majority of research on forgiveness has focused on interpersonal relationships. Forgiveness, however, is increasingly being considered in the context of intergroup relations, intergroup conflict and reconciliation (Hewstone et al., 2004; McGlynn et al., 2004; McLernon et al., 2002; Wohl & Branscombe, 2005). As discussed above, in the context of ethno-political conflict in Northern Ireland, it is appropriate to consider forgiveness at the group level (Hewstone et al., 2004; McGlynn et al., 2004). Social identity theory (Tajfel, 1978) offers an appropriate theoretical framework with which to discuss forgiveness at the group level. An individual's self identity is composed of both personal and social identity. This means that part of an individual's identity is formed by his or her knowledge of the social groups to which they belong and the significance attached to that membership (Tajfel, 1978). According to social identity theory, intergroup settings allow a shift from personal to social identity. Forgiveness can therefore be

experienced at a group level in an intergroup context, when social identity or group membership is salient. On an intergroup level, Wohl and Branscombe (2005) propose that forgiveness involves a reduction in negative feelings toward the perpetrator category rather than the individual. Similarly, Montiel (2002) argues that collective-level forgiveness allows revenge and bitterness to give way to acceptance of differences.

Hewstone et al. (in press) maintain that in the context of ethno-political conflict, forgiveness is best thought of as an intergroup process, rather than an interpersonal one. Intergroup forgiveness is a social construct, rather than a personal one, and is best predicted by facets of an individual's group membership, rather than variables such as age, sex and religious affiliation (Cairns et al., 2002). Hewstone et al. (2004) suggest that intergroup forgiveness differs qualitatively from interpersonal forgiveness. Conditions which facilitate interpersonal forgiveness may not operate or might operate differently at the intergroup level. For example, it is thought that interpersonal forgiveness may be more likely if the consequences of the transgression vanish with time. In the context of ethno-political conflict, when intergroup forgiveness is relevant, many lives have been lost, and individuals and families have been afflicted by violence and intimidation, it is unlikely that the consequences will vanish.

Forgiveness in Northern Ireland

Research in Northern Ireland (Hewstone et al., 2004), has successfully uncovered some of the correlates and psychological process involved in intergroup forgiveness. Surveys revealed that outgroup contact, collective guilt, empathy, perspective-taking and ingroup identification were strong predictors of forgiveness. It was found that greater outgroup contact, higher collective guilt,

greater perspective-taking, higher empathy and lower ingroup identification predicted higher intergroup forgiveness.

The results from Hewstone et al.'s (2004) surveys also showed that respondents' greater subjective experience of the Troubles and greater objective violence in their area of residence moderated their level forgiveness. Individuals from Northern Ireland with high experience of victimhood reported significantly lower guilt and forgiveness than those who experienced little victimisation. Furthermore, respondents living in areas that had experienced high levels of sectarian violence (objective neighbourhood violence index) reported less intergroup contact (cross-group friends), and lower levels of forgiveness, than those living in low-violence areas. Thus, those most affected by the conflict are less likely to acknowledge wrongs of their own group, and less willing to forgive the other group.

Hewstone et al., (2004) also carried out an experimental study in Northern Ireland, using scenario methodology which depicted an act of paramilitary violence, its consequences, intention, and motivation. Respondents were asked to make judgments following the scenarios which included their level of forgiveness. Analysis was carried out in terms of whether respondents were making judgments about their ingroup or outgroup (Catholic versus Protestant). The results revealed that judgements were significantly biased in favour of the ingroup. In addition, those participants with high ingroup identification showed stronger ingroup bias than those with low ingroup identification. These results are in line with predictions from social identity theory. This study therefore illustrates that in the context of ethno-political conflict in Northern Ireland, it is essential to consider forgiveness as a social construct in terms of social identity.

In conclusion, research indicates that in the context of conflict reconciliation in Northern Ireland, forgiveness is best conceptualised at the intergroup level from the social identity perspective. Theoreticians and researchers suggest that forgiveness can ease the burden for victims of the conflict, as well as negating cycles of revenge and aggression that continue in Northern Ireland. In Chapter 4, I will investigate the role that intergroup forgiveness can play in individual's well-being, following experience of the conflict in Northern Ireland. Chapter 5 will explore the social-psychological variables which predict and mediate intergroup forgiveness in Northern Ireland. See Table 2.1 for overview of the studies carried out in this thesis.

Conclusion

This chapter has given an overview of social-psychological theories of intergroup conflict and their application to the conflict in Northern Ireland. These theories outline the centrality of social identity when interactions are based at an intergroup level, as opposed to an interpersonal level. The application of these theories to the conflict in Northern Ireland suggests that the social identity perspective is an appropriate theoretical framework for investigation of group-level trust and forgiveness in Northern Ireland. Trust and forgiveness were defined and then conceptualised within this framework, outlining the theoretical background for the current research.

Table 2.1
Overview of studies in the thesis

Study 1	**Aim:** To investigate perceived risk to the ingroup and emotions toward the outgroup following the experimental manipulation of extended trust (vs. distrust) to the outgroup (as a strategy to improve community relations) and level of threat to the ingroup. In addition, respondent's strength of religious identification, was investigated as a moderator. **Sample details**: Two hundred twelve students from two universities in Northern Ireland participated in a 'study into relations between the Catholic and Protestant religious communities in Northern Ireland'. One hundred participants identified themselves as Protestant and 112 identified themselves as Catholic. **Measures:** The experiment was a 2 (threat vs. reduced threat) X 2 (trust vs. distrust) X 2 (low vs. high group identification) between-participants design. Using a scenario design conditions of trust vs. distrust and increased threat vs. reduced threat were manipulated. Dependent variables included manipulation checks, anxious emotion, anger emotion, positive emotion and perceived risk. **Approx. date of study**: February 2005.
Study 2	**Aim**: To extend the findings from study 1, by investigating different types of specific intergroup outcomes that participants would expect following the extension of trust or distrust to the outgroup under conditions of increased or reduced threat.

Sample details: One hundred ninety-seven students from two universities in Northern Ireland participated. Seventy-four participants identified themselves as Protestant and 123 identified themselves as Catholic.

Measures: The experiment was a 2 (threat vs. reduced threat) X 2 (trust vs. distrust) X 2 (low vs. high group identification) between-participants design. Using a scenario design conditions of trust vs. distrust and increased threat vs. reduced threat were manipulated. Dependent variables included negative intergroup relations, negative symbolic and realistic outcomes.

Approx. date of study: April 2005.

Study 3

Aim: To investigate the mediating role of group-level forgiveness and guilt in the relationship between victimhood (the extent to which the conflict affected the individuals' life), exposure to violence (the level of violence in their area of residence) and group identity on the one hand, and mild psychiatric morbidity on the other.

Sample details: Secondary analysis of a survey collected by the Research and Evaluation Services on public attitudes to issues associated with community relations and the Troubles in Northern Ireland. The sample was randomly-selected 1,000 Northern Irish adults. The age of respondents ranged from 18-89 years. One hundred and eight respondents were excluded from the sample because they did not specify themselves as belonging to either the Catholic or Protestant community. A further two hundred and

fifteen respondents were excluded because they reported that they had not lived all of their life in Northern Ireland, resulting in a final sample size of $N = 677$, comprising 315 Catholics (133 males, 182 females) and 362 Protestants (145 males, 217 females).

Measures: Victimhood, exposure to violence, strength of ingroup identification, collective guilt, intergroup forgiveness and mild psychiatric morbidity as measured by the GHQ-12.

Approx. date of study: October 2001.

Study 4

Aim: To investigate cross-group friendship and group identification as predictors of intergroup forgiveness. In addition I examined the extent these relationships are mediated by collective guilt.

Sample details: One hundred and fifty Northern Irish students (mean age of 21 years) participated in this study on a voluntary basis. The sample comprised of 65 Catholics (45 females, 17 males, 3 unknown) and 85 Protestants (63 females, 18 males, 4 unknown).

Measures: Cross-group friendship, strength of ingroup identification, intergroup forgiveness and collective guilt.

Approx. date of study: November 2005.

Study 5

Aim: To cross-validate and extend study 4 by investigating outgroup trust as a further criterion variable and perspective-taking as a further mediator in the model.

Sample details: One hundred and ninety four Northern Irish students (mean age 21.64 years, SD = 6.47) participated in our study on a voluntary basis. The sample comprised of Catholics 98 (63

females, 30 males, 5 unknown) and 96 Protestants (58 females, 36 males, 2 unknown).

Measures: Cross-group friendship, strength of ingroup identification, intergroup forgiveness, outgroup trust, collective guilt and perspective-taking.

Approx. date of study: February 2006.

Study 6

Aim: To cross-validate and extend study 5 by investigating empathic affect as a further mediator in the model.

Sample size: Two hundred and seventeen Northern Irish students (mean age 21.04 years, SD = 4.63) participated in our study on a voluntary basis. The sample comprised of Catholics 114 (71 females, 31 males, 12 unknown) and 103 Protestants (70 females, 26 males, 7 unknown).

Measures: Cross-group friendship, strength of ingroup identification, intergroup forgiveness, outgroup trust, collective guilt, perspective-taking and empathic affect

Approx. date of study: September 2006.

Ethics

Care was taken to ensure ethical behaviour in the present studies. Each study followed the ethical guidelines given for BPS research. Informed consent was obtained, before respondents took part in the studies. Respondents were well informed about the nature and purpose of each investigation, were offered a full debriefing following each study and any questions were answered fully. Full confidentiality was given to protect the privacy of the individuals who took part in the surveys. An identification number was assigned to each participant to ensure their anonymity. In this way, no names were retained in the data.

Analyses

Structural equation model (SEM) analyses were conducted on the data sets for Studies 3, 4, 5 and 6 in Chapters 4 and 5. SEM estimates a series of separate, but interdependent, multiple regression equations simultaneously in the prediction of multiple dependent variables. The resulting (structural) model expresses the relationships among independent and dependent variables, even when a dependent variable becomes an independent variable in other relationships. The proposed relationships are then translated into a series of structural equations (similar to regression equations) for each dependent variable.

SEM analyses are an extension of multiple regression and are superior to regression analyses in several ways. SEM allows for multiple and interrelated dependence relationships to be estimated *at the same time.* Regression, on the other hand, only allows for testing of a single relation between dependent and independent variables (Hair, Anderson, Tatam & Black, 1998). Moreover, indices of fit (besides R^2) can be calculated in SEM that cannot be calculated in regression. Therefore, analyses were conducted with structural equation modeling.

Chapter Three

A Comparison of Extensions of Trust and Distrust to the Outgroup in Northern Ireland

"Where danger and terror undermine trust, nothing is more urgent than restoring conditions for trust" (O'Neill, 2002, p. 27).

Introduction

It was discussed in Chapter 1, that despite significant progress made by the peace process in Northern Ireland, including cessation of most paramilitary violence, there is empirical evidence to suggest that divisions between Catholic and Protestant communities are becoming deeper (Brady, 2004; Hughes, 2003). As discussed in Chapter 2, distrust has been cited as one of the major factors in this growing segregation between communities in Northern Ireland. Shirlow (2003) contends that "fear and mistrust are still framed by a desire to create communal separation" (p.89). It is often observed that when conflict exists between communities, distrust can exacerbate and prolong conflict by creating self-fulfilling cycles of defensive action (Lewicki & Tomlinson, 2003; Tschannen-Moran & Hoy, 2000; Yamagishi & Kikuchi, 1999). Distrust motivates defensive action, which in turn fuels unease and fear, leading to further distrust and defensive action (Brewer & Gaertner, 2001).

Again, as discussed in Chapter 2, it is now recognised in Northern Ireland that there is a need to reduce distrust and build trust in order to improve relations between the divided communities (Foley & Robinson, 2004; Huyse, 2005; Mitchell, 1999). Unfortunately, developing trust and reducing distrust between

disparate communities is a difficult process (Brady, 2004). At present, there is scant conceptual analysis of, or empirical research into, reactions toward group-level trust and distrust in real-life contexts. Greater understanding of reactions to the extension of group-level trust and distrust in the context of Northern Ireland, may, however, increase our understanding of implementing trust and distrust at the group-level and support efforts to build trust and reduce distrust between the divided communities. The research presented in this chapter therefore aimed to investigate how extensions of trust and distrust toward the outgroup as a whole, function in relation to level of threat to one's community and level of ingroup identification, in the context of Northern Ireland.

In this chapter, I first discuss the concepts of group-level trust and distrust; their role in intergroup relations, specifically in Northern Ireland; and the importance of group identification as a predictor of group-level effects. I then present two experiments which examine how extensions of trust and distrust function in relation to level of threat to one's community and group identification.

Definition of the concepts of trust and distrust

Despite the variety of trust and distrust definitions within social-psychological literature, common key elements are apparent (Tschannen-Moran & Hoy, 2000). The examination of trust definitions in Chapter 2, concluded that general aspects of trust, which emerge among most definitions, include vulnerability to uncertainty and positive belief or expectancy about another's intentions or behaviours (Frost et al., 1978; Rousseau et al., 1998; Tschannen-Moran & Hoy, 2000; Yamagishi & Yamagishi, 1994). Themes which emerge from definitions of distrust, on the other hand, include negative belief or expectancy about others' intentions or behaviours, fear (anxiety) and protection

from uncertainty (Kasperson et al., 1992; Lewicki & Wiethoff, 2000; Tschannen-Moran & Hoy, 2000).

Although social psychologists have mainly focused on trust in interpersonal relations, trust and distrust can be considered as an intergroup phenomenon (Hewstone et al., in press; Tam et al., in press), based on the social identity perspective outlined in Chapter 2. At the group level, trust has been found to be distinct from individual's general level of interpersonal trust (Tam et al., in press). In this investigation, outgroup trust was found to be associated with behavioural tendencies toward outgroup members, whereas general trust was not. At the group-level, for the purposes of the present research, outgroup trust can be conceptualised as a positive expectation regarding the outgroup's behaviour/ intentions toward the ingroup, that implicitly affords the risk of defection and social uncertainty. Outgroup distrust can be conceptualised as the negative expectation regarding the outgroup's behaviour/ intentions toward the ingroup, that protects against the risk of defection and social uncertainty.

Trust, distrust and intergroup conflict

In Chapter 2, it was argued that trust in intergroup relations was associated with positive benefits, such as enhanced cooperation, improved communication and problem solving (Hayashi et al., 1999; Lewicki & Tomlinson, 2003). Furthermore, trust is a necessary part of harmonious intergroup relations and trust building is therefore a necessary part of conflict reconciliation (Lewicki & Tomlinson, 2003; Lewicki & Wiethoff, 2000). During the conflict reconciliation process, trust is necessary for the communication and cooperation needed to achieve mutually satisfactory resolution for both parties. Sufficient levels of trust,

therefore, need to exist before acts of socio-emotional reconciliation can ensue (Nadler & Saguy, 2004).

Trust between parties often does not exist, however, because it leaves the trusting party open to the risk of exploitation or defection on behalf of the trusted party (Baier, 1985; Cook et al., 2005; Hardin, 2002). Moreover, trust is difficult to develop, requiring many positive encounters before another party is deemed trustworthy. Rothbart and Park (1986) demonstrated that numerous trustworthy behaviours were needed before a person is considered trustworthy, whereas only one untrustworthy act is necessary for a person to be considered untrustworthy.

A further problem associated specifically with intergroup conflict is that it serves to destroy trust, creating distrust in its place (Lewicki & Weithoff, 2000). As discussed in detail in Chapter 2, distrust is thought to be associated with an increasing unwillingness to take risks, it can impede cooperation and provokes feelings of fear, anxiety and actions that buffer oneself from the harmful conduct of the other party (Lewicki & Wiethoff 2000; Tschannen-Moran & Hoy 2000). Compared to trust, distrust of others is likely to evoke a competitive (as opposed to cooperative) orientation (Lewicki & Wiethoff, 2000; Wall, 1975).

When conflict exists between distinct communities, as is the case in Northern Ireland, distrust has often surpassed the functional level (Shirlow, 2003). At this level, distrust becomes detrimental to intergroup relations, leading to or exacerbating conflict and inspiring retribution (Lewicki & Tomlinson 2003; Tschannen-Moran & Hoy 2000). During and following intergroup conflict, distrust between groups becomes a pervasive phenomenon which acts as a barrier to conflict resolution (Lewicki & Tomlinson, 2003). Distrust between groups acts to impede cooperation by eliciting fear, anxiety and negative belief about the

others party's intentions. In turn this fear, anxiety and negative belief creates negative misperceptions and misinterpretations of the other party's behaviour and intentions. Negative beliefs or expectations about the other group's behaviour/ intentions become self-fulfilling as fear and anxiety obstruct the communication which could overcome it (Lewicki, McAllister, & Bies, 1998). As the level of distrust deepens, the more parties focus on defending themselves against the other or attempting to win the conflict, which develops further distrust and erodes the likelihood of actions that might rebuild trust (Lewicki & Wiethoff, 2000). Energies from each group, therefore, become focused on self-protection and defensive action rather than cooperation (Tschannen-Moran & Hoy, 2000).

Despite the recognition that distrust remains a major barrier to conflict resolution (Nadler, 2004) and that conflict erodes trust (Lewicki & Wietoff, 2000), research has generally failed to examine reactions to the extension of trust and distrust to the outgroup in the context of real-world conflict. The majority of research into trust and distrust at the group level has instead been conducted in the context of minimal groups and Prisoner's Dilemma Games (PDG). For example, the methodology used in Insko et al.'s (1990; 2001) research into the 'schema-based distrust hypothesis', (which is discussed in Chapter 2), relies entirely on participants' responses on a PDG matrix (Insko et al., 2001). Similarly, Moy and Ng (1996), use an experimental matrix game methodology to demonstrate that ingroup members behave and think that outgroup members can't be trusted. They predict that people will expect the outgroup to be more discriminatory than the ingroup and therefore untrustworthy. They found that participants did indeed expect that outgroup members would discriminate against their group (the ingroup) and that they attributed past discrimination most strongly to outgroup

members. Moy and Ng (1996) conclude that their study demonstrates significant ingroup favouritism and that ingroup members behave and think as if outgroups can't be trusted. Application of this research to group-level trust and distrust in the context of the conflict in Northern Ireland, however, is problematic for a number of reasons. Firstly, it is limited to prisoner's dilemma games, which are necessarily competitive. Cooperative matrices, on the hand, have been found to produce cooperative behaviour (Axelrod, 1984). Secondly, these investigations have been carried out using minimal groups in simple laboratory-bound contexts which lack ecological validity. In the context of real-world post-conflict reconciliation, like that of Northern Ireland, it is likely that factors such as level of group identification and level of threat to one's community, will be relevant to reactions to the extension of trust and distrust to the outgroup. Studies 1 and 2, therefore explore these factors within the context of post-conflict reconciliation in Northern Ireland.

In both communities in Northern Ireland, a very real fear of violence has led to reluctance to take the risks involved in trusting the other community. Shirlow (2003) suggests that fear and mistrust of 'the other community' is in part dependent on the assessment of threat. Thus, reactions to the extension of trust vs. distrust toward the outgroup in the context of Northern Ireland will be potentially based on the appraisal of the current levels of threat and experienced in terms of perceived risk to the ingroup. In the research presented in this chapter, therefore, level of threat was investigated as a predictor of reactions to the extension of trust and distrust. Perceived risk was measured as a reaction, predicted to vary dependent on extension of trust vs. distrust, level of threat and level of group identification.

Trust and distrust evaluations

In order to investigate extensions of trust and distrust, it is important to discuss how people evaluate these choices. Yamagishi and Yamagishi's (1994) theory attempts to explain the cognitive mechanisms underlying evaluations of trust and distrust behaviour (see Chapter 2 for a more detailed discussion). They theorise that trust is a device which allows people to deal with the social uncertainty of others' intentions. Trust activates a 'positive cognitive bias' which facilitates a positive evaluation of potential interactions. It becomes an option when the opportunity cost of forgoing interactions with those outside close and stable relationships is higher than the risk of exploitation (as opportunity costs increase, the relative value of risk decreases). Cognitively, trust is associated with a higher likelihood of exploitation, but greater benefit from outside opportunities, while distrust is associated with a lower likelihood of exploitation, but a higher likelihood that outside opportunities will be missed.

It is unlikely, however, that the evaluation of extensions of trust and distrust are purely cognitive, as Yamagishi and Yamagishi's (1994) theory might suggest. Kasperson et al. (1992) argue that emotion plays a central role in trust and distrust in relationships. They propose that the decision to trust consists of an emotional reaction for those participating in a relationship. More specifically, Stephan and Stephan (1999) contend that negative emotion and anxiety are associated with distrust. They suggest that in intergroup interactions levels of anxiety are determined by the situational circumstance (potential threats), previous relations between groups, personal experience and intergroup cognitions. In Study 1, therefore, I investigated participants' emotional responses following an act of trust

vs. distrust, predicting that distrust would be associated with greater negative emotion and anxiety.

Group identification

As discussed in detail in Chapter 2, an important aspect of group-level phenomena is the strength of identification with one's ingroup. Strength of group identification has been identified as a predictor of many intergroup effects (Jetten & Spears, 2003; Jetten, Spears, & Postmes, 2004; Stephan & Stephan, 1999). Those with high ingroup identification tend to demonstrate stronger group-based effects than those whose identification is low. For example, Stephan and Stephan (1999) contend that generally only those who strongly identify with their ingroup are likely to experience feelings of threat with respect to outgroups. Other processes affected by identification include ingroup favouritism (Hodson, Dovidio, & Esses, 2003), intergroup attributional biases (Doosje & Branscombe, 2003), and ingroup stereotyping (Hutchison & Abrams, 2003).

Specifically in Northern Ireland, the majority of people identify with either the Catholic or Protestant community (Gallagher, 1989; Hewstone et al., 2004). Gallagher (1989) has demonstrated, in experimental research using Catholic and Protestant participants, that strength of religious ingroup identification is related to outgroup discrimination and to ingroup favouritism (see also Cairns, Kenworthy, Campbell, & Hewstone, 2006). Subsequently, in the present research, group identification was considered as a moderator of reactions to the extensions of trust and distrust toward the outgroup.

Present Research

The two studies presented in this chapter are concerned with how extensions of trust or distrust to the outgroup as a whole function in relation to level of threat to one's community and level of ingroup identification. More specifically, these studies explore perceptions of risk, emotions, and negative outcomes experienced once a community leader has made the decision to extend trust or distrust to the whole outgroup, under conditions of experimentally-created high threat (compared to a low threat condition) and dependent on participants level of group identification.

Study 1

In study 1, I investigated the level of perceived risk and group-level emotion, following the extension of trust/ distrust by a community leader, under high and low threat and dependent on level of group identification.

Predictions

I predicted, firstly, that overall the extension of distrust would provoke greater negative emotion in participants (Stephan & Stephan, 1999), when compared to extension of trust, in the context of Northern Ireland. Given the cyclical nature of distrust in intergroup conflict (Lewicki & Tomlinson, 2003; Tschannen-Moran & Hoy, 2000; Yamagishi & Kikuchi, 1999) and that distrust is influenced by previous experiences of intergroup relations (Brewer & Gaertner, 2001), it is likely that the extension of distrust will attune participants to group-level threat and potential violence, for example, re-igniting or exacerbating conflict.

Secondly, based on previous research which suggests that high identifiers tend to demonstrate greater group-based effects (Jetten & Spears, 2003; Jetten, Spears, & Postmes, 2004; Stephan & Stephan, 1999), I predicted that higher identification would be associated with a greater reaction to the group-based manipulations on all dependent measures.

Method

Participants

Two hundred twelve students from two universities in Northern Ireland participated in a 'study into relations between the Catholic and Protestant religious communities in Northern Ireland'. One hundred participants identified themselves as Protestant (32 males, 68 females) and 112 identified themselves as Catholic (59 males, 53 females).

Procedure

Participants were initially asked to fill out a pre-questionnaire containing basic demographic questions (sex, age, religion) and an ingroup identification index. The ingroup identification index was adapted from Luhtanen and Crocker (1992), and Cassidy and Trew (1998), and included the items: "Being a member of my community[3] is an important reflection of who I am"; "Being a member of my community is very rewarding"; "Being a member of my community is central to my sense of who I am"; "I am a good member of my community"; "I am a proud member of my community." Ratings were made on seven-point scales ranging from 0 (*not at all*) to 6 (*extremely*). A single index of ingroup identification was calculated by averaging all five items (Cronbach's $\alpha = .89$).

[3] In Northern Ireland, the phrases "my community" and "the other community" refer directly, yet neutrally, to one's religious ingroup and outgroup, respectively.

Following the pre-questionnaire, participants were given a scenario to read, dependent on which of the four conditions they had been randomly allocated to. The conditions were (1) trust and high threat, (2) distrust and high threat, (3) trust and low threat, (4) distrust and low threat. The first part of the scenario manipulated high or low threat and the second part of the scenario depicted the extension of trust or distrust by a community leader.

High threat was manipulated by asking participants to imagine themselves living in a small enclave of ingroup members, surrounded by the outgroup. The scenario was depicted visually in a series of three maps, which illustrate an ingroup enclave diminishing in size over time, in response to an increasing outgroup population, with the following accompanying description: "over the past few years members of your community have been *moving out* of the area in increasing numbers because there has been an increase in sectarian incidents and paramilitary activity in this area. These incidents have led to a shrinking of your community in size, in comparison to the other community" (see Appendix 1). As a control, a low threat condition was depicted using three maps to show an ingroup population growing in size relative to the outgroup population, over time, with the accompanying description: "over the past few years members of your community have been *moving into* the area in increasing numbers because there has been a decrease in sectarian incidents and paramilitary activity in this area. These incidents have led to a growth of your community in comparison to the other community" (see Appendix 2).

The threat manipulation was based on actual residential areas found in Northern Ireland, where residential enclaves of one community are surrounded by an area occupied by the other community (O'Kane, 2001). It has been observed

that in Northern Ireland, these enclaves have been the scene of violent attacks between the two communities which have resulted in rapid population movement in these areas (e.g., Short Strand, East Belfast; see Mortiarty, 2002; Shirlow, 2003).

The trust and distrust manipulations required participants to imagine that a community leader, representing their ingroup, extends trust or distrust toward the other community (see Appendix 3 and 4). In the trust condition, the scenario described a community leader demonstrating trust towards the outgroup by arguing that an outgroup festival should be permitted to take place on the border of the ingroup's area of residence. In this condition the community leader voiced his opinion that "allowing the festival to take place would be a chance to demonstrate trust in the other community". In the distrust condition, on the other hand, the community leader argued against allowing the festival to take place, claiming that "allowing the festival to take place would be placing too much trust in the other community".

The trust and distrust manipulations were based on the definitions of group-level trust and distrust conceptualised in the discussion above and aimed to represent an operationalisation of outgroup trust and distrust (i.e., demonstration of trust or distrust toward the outgroup as a whole). In the present investigation, it was thought that it was not possible to create a control for the trust/ distrust manipulation because lack of trust or distrust could reflect distrust and trust, respectively.

The respective scenarios were kept identical apart from the variation in the independent variables. Both sets of manipulations were pre-tested to check that they did indeed induce group-level high/ low threat and trust/ distrust respectively.

Participants were asked to imagine themselves in the situation presented to them in the scenario they were given. After reading the scenario, participants were then asked to complete a post-questionnaire containing the manipulation checks and dependent variables. The questionnaire measured participants' reaction to the scenario they had just read, including their level of angry, anxious, and positive emotions, as well as perceived risk to the ingroup. For all of the measures, ratings were made on a seven-point response scale, ranging from 0 (*not at all*) to 6 (*extremely*).

Manipulation checks. To ensure that the scenario successfully manipulated increased or reduced threat and trust or distrust, two manipulation checks headed the post-questionnaire. Participants were asked, "In the scenario, do you feel your community was under increased threat from the other community?" and "In the scenario, how strongly do you think your community leader showed trust?"

Emotional responses. Emotional response was measured using a twelve-item scale of intergroup emotions, adapted from Mackie, Devos, and Smith, (2000), which contained four angry emotions (contempt, angry, irritated, disgust), four anxious emotions (nervous, anxious, worried, afraid), and four positive emotions (happy, cheerful, pride, admiration). Participants were asked to rate each of the items while considering the situation depicted in the scenario.

Perceived risk to the ingroup. Participants' perceived risk to the ingroup, as a result of the situation depicted in the scenario, was assessed with six items: "The other community may take advantage of the situation to harm us"; "My community will be more at risk of being harmed"; "My community will be under less threat" (R); "The communities will experience greater conflict"; "People in my community will feel less safe"; "People in my community will feel more

secure." (R). Items marked (R) were reverse coded. A single measure of perceived risk to the ingroup was created by averaging all six items (Cronbach's $\alpha = .75$).

Results

Combination of Catholic and Protestant samples

To investigate the difference between Catholic and Protestant samples, I carried out a multiple regressions using crossproducts to look for main effects and interaction effects for each dependent variable. I found no significant main effects or interaction effects for religion (Catholic vs. Protestant) on each of the dependent variables. Therefore all results were collapsed across this factor. Similar findings have been reported previously in research carried out in Northern Ireland (Paolini et al., 2004; Tausch et al., 2007).

Manipulation checks

To check the success of the threat and trust/ distrust manipulations I carried out a 2 (high threat vs. low threat) x 2 (trust vs. distrust) between-participants ANOVA on each of the manipulation checks.

The first manipulation check ascertained the extent to which participants felt their community was under threat from the other community. Participants rated significantly greater threat in the high threat condition ($M = 3.12$, $SD = 1.46$) compared to the low threat condition ($M = 2.53$, $SD = 1.46$), $F(1, 208) = 7.45$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .04$, which confirmed that the threat manipulation was successful. Participants did not rate significantly greater threat in the distrust condition ($M = 2.90$, $SD = 1.62$) compared to the trust condition ($M = 2.75$, $SD = 1.49$), $F(1, 208) = .40$, $p = .53$, $\eta^2 = .002$, and there was no interaction between threat and trust/

distrust, $F(1, 208) = .004$, $p = .95$, $\eta^2 = .00$, demonstrating that the threat manipulation was independent from the trust/ distrust manipulation.

The second manipulation check assessed how strongly the participants thought that their community leader showed trust. Confirming that the trust/ distrust manipulation was successful, participants judged that the community leader showed significantly higher levels of trust, in the trust condition ($M = 4.41$, $SD = 1.26$) compared to the distrust condition ($M = 1.86$, $SD = 1.78$), $F(1, 210) = 144.70$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .41$, which confirmed the trust manipulation was successful. Participants did not rate significantly greater trust in the high threat condition ($M = 3.17$, $SD = 1.96$) compared to the low threat condition ($M = 3.19$, $SD = 2.03$), $F(1, 210) = .04$, $p = .85$, $\eta^2 = .001$, and there was no interaction between trust/ distrust and threat, $F(1, 210) = .03$, $p = .87$, $\eta^2 = .001$, demonstrating that the trust/ distrust manipulation was independent from the threat manipulation.

Test of hypothesis

To investigate how extensions of trust and distrust function in relation to level of threat to one's community and ingroup identification, a full three-way regression model was carried out for each of the dependent variables in the analyses presented below. The regression model included trust vs. distrust, the two levels of threat, ingroup identification, all two-way interactions, and the three-way interaction. The threat (-1 for low threat and +1 for high threat) and trust (-1 for trust and +1 for distrust) variables were effect-coded, and identification was centred to the mean.

Emotions

A principal-components analysis with oblique rotation (factors were expected to be correlated) of the twelve items yielded three main factors

(eigenvalue > 1). These three factors explained 65% of the variance. Factor 1 explained 34% of the variance and included four items tapping anxious emotion ("nervous", "anxious", "worried", "afraid"). Factor 2 explained 19% of the variance and included four positive emotion items ("happy", "cheerful", "pride", "admiration"). Factor 3 explained 12% of the variance and comprised angry emotions ("contempt", "angry", "disgust", "irritated"). I therefore computed three scores by averaging items that corresponded to each dimension: *anxious emotion* (Cronbach's $\alpha = .86$), *positive emotion* (Cronbach's $\alpha = .77$) and *angry emotion* (Cronbach's $\alpha = .80$). Each dimension of emotion was analysed as a separate dependent variable.

Anxious emotion. In the first step, $R^2 = .05$, $F(3, 207) = 3.40$, $p < .05$, the main effect of identification had a significant regression weight. As predicted, higher group identification was associated with greater anxious emotion, $\beta = .20$, $t(207) = 3.00$, $p < .01$. In the second step of the regression analyses, the full set of two-way interactions were entered, without any change in explained variance, $R^2 = .05$, $F\Delta\ (3, 204) = 3.40$, $p = .84$, *ns*. In the third step of the regression analyses, the three-way interaction was entered, which significantly increased the amount of explained variance, $R^2 = .10$, $F\Delta\ (1, 203) = 10.31$, $p < .01$.

To extract the meaning of this interaction, the simple slopes were estimated (Aiken & West, 1991) for the regression of anxious emotion on level of identification in all four combinations of trust or distrust and low/ high threat. The simple intercept and simple slope analyses are based on a tool provided by Preacher, Curran, and Bauer (2003). As can be seen from Table 3.1, the simple slope analyses revealed that identification was only significantly positively associated with anxious emotion, in the distrust and low threat condition, $\beta = .50$,

$t(207) = 2.19, p = <.05$. When the extension of distrust is made, under low threat, higher group level identification is associated with greater anxious emotion.

Table 3.1
Simple Intercepts and Simple Slopes for the Regression of Anxious Emotion on Identification in each Trust/ Distrust, and Low/ High Threat Condition (*Study 1*)

		Simple intercepts of anxious emotion on identification		Simple slopes for the regression of anxious emotion on identification	
		Trust/ Distrust			
		Trust	Distrust	Trust	Distrust
Threat	Low	2.43***	2.95***	-.33	.50*
	High	2.62***	3.18***	.24	-.23

Note: *$p<.05$, **$p<.01$, ***$p<.001$

Angry emotion. In the first step, $R^2 = .12$, $F(3, 207) = 9.00$, $p < .001$, the main effects of the extension of trust/ distrust and identification, both had significant regression weights. The extension of distrust, $\beta = .37$, $t(207) = 3.94$, $p <.001$, and higher group identification, $\beta = .21$, $t(207) = 3.20$, $p <.01$, were associated with greater angry emotion. In the second step of the regression analyses, the full set of two-way interactions were entered, without any change in explained variance, $R^2 = .12$, $F\Delta\ (3, 204) = .43$, $p = .74$, *ns*. In the third step of the regression analyses, the three-way interaction was entered, without any change in explained variance, $R^2 = .12$, $F\Delta\ (1, 203) = .02$, $p = .88$, *ns*.

Positive emotion. In the first step, $R^2 = .17$, $F(3, 203) = 15.25$, $p < .001$, the main effects of both trust/ distrust and identification had significant regression weights. The extension of distrust was negatively associated with positive

emotion, $\beta = -.32$, $t(203) = -5.09$, $p < .001$, while higher group identification, $\beta = .28$, $t(203) = 4.37$, $p < .001$, was positively associated with greater positive emotion. In the second step of the regression analyses, the full set of two-way interactions were entered, without any significant change in explained variance, $R^2 = .22$, $F\Delta\ (3, 200) = 2.97$, $p = .10$, *ns*. In the third step of the regression analyses, the three-way interaction was entered, without any change in explained variance, $R^2 = .22$, $F\Delta\ (1, 199) = .47$, $p = .50$, *ns*.

Perceived risk to the ingroup

In the first step, $R^2 = .05$, $F\ (3, 207) = 3.82$, $p < .01$, the main effect of identification had a significant regression weight, and the main effect of the level of threat manipulation had a marginally significant regression weight. Higher group identification, $\beta = .12$, $t(207) = 2.57$, $p < .01$, and high threat, $\beta = .14$, $t(207) = 1.89$, $p = .06$, were associated with greater perceived risk to the ingroup. In the second step of the regression analyses, the full set of two-way interactions were entered, without any change in explained variance, $R^2 = .06$, $F\Delta\ (3, 204) = .25$, $p = .86$, *ns*. In the third step of the regression analyses, the three-way interaction was entered, without any change in explained variance, $R^2 = .06$, $F\Delta\ (1, 203) = 1.63$, $p = .20$, *ns*.

Discussion

In sum, the results from Study 1 showed effects of all three variables. Although the manipulations of both trust and threat were successful, trust had a greater impact on ratings. As predicted, extension of distrust by a community leader was associated with more angry emotion and less positive emotion, than the extension of trust. It may be that, with a long history of the Troubles and

currently more positive intergroup relations, distrust of the outgroup is seen as more threatening to intergroup relations between the two communities. This will be explored further in Study 2 in this chapter.

The threat manipulation had a main effect on perceived risk to the ingroup, as would be expected. The threat manipulation also had an effect on anxious emotion in interaction with both distrust and identification. In this interaction, under reduced threat when distrust is extended by a community leader, higher group identification is associated with greater anxious emotion. This result indicates that for high identifiers, the extension of distrust by a community leader, in a reduced threat situation, primes higher group-level anxiety. It is possible, that when a community leader is advocating distrust in situations of low threat (i.e., no reason for distrust), then high identifiers are anxious that this move indicates a marked worsening of intergroup relations.

Overall, the results of Study 1 highlight the importance of the level of identification as a predictor of participants' emotional reaction and perception of risk following the manipulation of outgroup trust/ distrust and low/ high threat. Higher identification was associated with a greater reaction to the group-based scenarios on all dependent measures, whether positive emotion, angry emotion, anxiety, or perceived ingroup risk. This suggests that the events described in the experimental scenarios were more salient to these participants in terms of their social identity.

Study 2

The second study was designed to extend Study 1 by investigating different types of specific intergroup outcomes that participants would expect following the

extension of trust or distrust to the outgroup under conditions of threat compared to low threat. In Study 2, I explored the interaction of threat, trust, and ingroup identification on different types of negative intergroup outcomes.

In their integrated threat theory, Stephan and Stephan (1996, 1999) contend that outgroups can pose 'realistic' and 'symbolic' threats. Realistic threats are actual threats to the existence of one's group, including physical threats, threat to group resources, and threats to economic and political power (Jussim, Ashmore, & Wilder, 2001; Stephan & Stephan, 1996; Verkuyten & Nekuee, 1999). Symbolic threats, on the other hand, consist of threats to the worldview of one's group, such as perceived differences in beliefs, morals, values, and attitudes. In integrated threat theory, the perception of threat depends on previous and current conflict between groups, relative group status, strength of identification with one's group, knowledge of the outgroup and the nature of contact between the groups. I adapted the symbolic and realistic threat scale for use in measuring participants' expected outcomes along these dimensions. Thus, rather than measuring symbolic and realistic threats based on past experience, here I measure them as expected intergroup outcomes as a function of the manipulations.

Study 2 also identified and measured other intergroup anxieties and fears specific to the conflict in Northern Ireland. Pressure, in the form of intimidation from one's own community, to conform to ingroup norms has been identified as a worry experienced by both communities in Northern Ireland. Shirlow (2003) observed that, in Northern Ireland, criticism of one's own community is seen as an act of disloyalty which is actively discouraged with both violent and non-violent intimidation. Another current fear in Northern Ireland is political polarization, characterized and exemplified by increasingly polarized voting

patterns (see Carmichael & Cox, 1999; Hughes & Carmichael, 1998), with religion continuing to be the key determining factor.

Cross-community contact is another important issue in Northern Ireland. Contact between the two communities in Northern Ireland is a well-established means to improve community relations (Hewstone et al., 2005). Hughes and Carmichael (1998) reported that people in Northern Ireland are increasingly supportive of mixed religious neighbourhoods which necessitate an increased level of inter-community contact. The possibility of decreased cross-community contact will therefore be seen as another challenge to good community relations.

Using these types of threats, new dependent variables were added for Study 2 in order to explore the specific types of negative intergroup outcomes resulting from the extension of trust or distrust to the other community, under high or low threat, and level of group identification.

Predictions

Based on the findings for Study 1, I predicted that for high ingroup identifiers, the extension of distrust (compared to trust) would elicit higher ratings of negative intergroup relations and outcomes. Secondly, I predicted that higher identification would be associated with greater negative intergroup relations and outcomes following the group-based scenarios.

Method

Participants

One hundred ninety-seven students from two universities in Northern Ireland participated in 'a study investigating relations between the Catholic and Protestant religious communities in Northern Ireland'. Seventy-four participants

identified themselves as Protestant (39 males, 35 females) and 123 identified themselves as Catholic (57 males, 66 females).

Procedure

The pre-questionnaire, scenarios, and main questionnaires were nearly identical to those used in Study 1. However, the main questionnaire was changed to focus on the types of intergroup outcomes that participants expected in response to the events depicted in the scenario. The measures included in the post-questionnaire assessed negative intergroup relations and negative symbolic and realistic outcomes (all ratings were made on seven-point scales, ranging from 0, *not at all*, to 6, *extremely*).

Negative intergroup relations. This scale measured three different aspects of threat to intergroup relations, employing two items for each aspect: (1) ingroup intimidation, "Members of my community will feel intimidated by the other members in our community" and "Members of my community will feel pressurised to take action by other members of our community"; (2) political polarization, "There will be an increase in extremist politics" and "political view points will become more polarised"; (3) decreased contact between the two communities, "There will be fewer shared activities between the two groups" and "Contact between the two communities will decrease." Participants were asked to rate the extent to which they thought these items would be a consequence of the events depicted in the scenario.

Negative symbolic and realistic outcomes. I created a scale based on Stephan and Stephan's (1996, 1999) distinction between realistic and symbolic threats. Items for realistic threat included: "My community will be more vulnerable to intimidation from the other community"; "There will be greater risk

of sectarian attacks"; "There will be an increase in paramilitary activity"; "My community will be driven out of the area." Items for symbolic threat included: "The values of my community will not be respected"; "My community's way of life would be in jeopardy"; "The other community won't understand the way people in my community view the world"; "Traditions of my group would be challenged by the other community."

Results

Combination of Catholic and Protestant samples

As with Study 1, I carried out a multiple regressions using crossproducts to look for main effects and interaction effects for each dependent variable. I found no significant main effects or interaction effects for religion (Catholic vs. Protestant) on each of the dependent variables. Therefore all results were collapsed across this factor.

Manipulation check

To check the success of the trust/ distrust manipulations I carried out a 2 (high threat vs. low threat) x 2 (trust vs. distrust) between-participants analysis of variance (ANOVA) on each the trust manipulation check. Again the manipulation check assessed how strongly the participants thought that their community leader showed trust. Confirming that each trust manipulation check was successful, participants judged that the community leader showed significantly higher levels of trust, in the trust condition ($M = 4.13$, $SD = 1.52$) compared to the distrust condition ($M = 1.70$, $SD = 1.51$), $F(1, 190) = 120.97$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .39$, which confirmed the trust manipulation was successful. Participants did not rate significantly greater trust in the high threat condition ($M = 2.82$, $SD = 1.93$)

compared to the low threat condition ($M = 2.80$, $SD = 1.95$), $F(1, 190) = .06$, $p = .80$, $\eta^2 = .001$, and there was no interaction between trust/ distrust and threat, $F(1, 190) = .11$, $p = .74$, $\eta^2 = .001$, demonstrating that the trust/ distrust manipulation was independent from the threat manipulation[4].

Test of hypothesis

As in Study 1, to investigate how extensions of trust and distrust function in relation to level of threat to one's community and ingroup identification, a full three-way regression model was carried out for each of the dependent variables in the analyses presented below. The regression model included trust vs. distrust, the two levels of threat, ingroup identification, all two-way interactions, and the three-way interaction. The threat (-1 for reduced threat and +1 for increased threat) and trust (-1 for trust and +1 for distrust) manipulations were effect-coded, and identification was centred to the mean.

Expected intergroup relations and outcomes

A principal components analysis with oblique rotation, including the six items used to measure negative intergroup relations and the eight items used to measure negative symbolic and realistic outcomes, yielded two factors (eigenvalues > 1), explaining 62% of the variance. These factors corresponded to (a) the six negative intergroup relations items which explained 48% of the variance (Cronbach's $\alpha = .88$), and (b) the eight negative symbolic and realistic outcomes which explained 12% of the variance (Cronbach's $\alpha = .90$), and were respectively combined into indexes of *negative intergroup relations* and *negative symbolic and realistic outcomes*.

[4] Due to a clerical error, manipulation checks for the threat conditions were omitted from this replication of the questionnaires. However, because the pre-questionnaire and manipulations were identical to those used in Study 1, it can be assumed that both variables were successfully manipulated.

Negative intergroup relations. Following the findings of Study 1, I predicted that the extension of distrust toward the other community would elicit greater expectations of negative intergroup relations, compared to the extension of trust. I also predicted that higher identification would be associated with greater negative intergroup relations as an outcome of the manipulations. In the first step of the regression analyses, $R^2 = .17$, $F(3, 189) = 12.73$, $p < .001$, the main effects of trust/ distrust and identification had significant regression weights. As predicted, distrust, $\beta = .49$, $t(189) = 5.48$, $p = .001$, and higher group identification, $\beta = .17$, $t(189) = 2.98$, $p < .01$, were associated with greater negative intergroup relations. In the second step of the regression analyses, the full set of two-way interactions were entered, without any change in explained variance, $R^2 = .19$, $F\Delta\ (3, 186) = 1.97$, $p = .12$, *ns*. In the third step of the regression analyses, the three-way interaction was entered, without any change in explained variance, $R^2 = .20$, $F\Delta\ (1, 185) = .96$, $p = .33$, *ns*.

Negative symbolic and realistic outcomes. There were two main effects for the combined index of symbolic and realistic threat which were in concordance with predictions. In the first step of the regression analyses, $R^2 = .12$, $F(3, 189) = 8.88$, $p < .001$, the main effects of trust/ distrust and identification had significant regression weights. As predicted, higher group identification, $\beta = .18$, $t(189) = 3.42$, $p < .001$, and distrust, $\beta = .33$, $t(189) = 3.87$, $p = .001$, were associated with greater negative intergroup relations. In the second step of the regression analyses, the full set of two-way interactions were entered, without any change in explained variance, $R^2 = .14$, $F\Delta\ (3, 186) = 1.52$, $p = .21$, *ns*. In the third step of the regression analyses, the three-way interaction was entered, without any change in explained variance, $R^2 = .15$, $F\Delta\ (1, 185) = .12$, $p = .73$, *ns*.

Discussion

In sum, Study 2 again showed effects of the manipulation of trust vs. distrust towards the outgroup. The extension of distrust was perceived as a greater impediment to peaceful intergroup relations and was associated with more negative symbolic and realistic outcomes. The results of Study 2 also reinforced findings from Study 1, namely, that strength of ingroup identification is a predictor of intergroup outcomes following the manipulation of trust/ distrust and low/ high threat. Together, these findings extend Study 1 by demonstrating that, in Northern Ireland, the extension of distrust is seen as a greater threat to future intergroup relations than is the extension of trust.

General Discussion

The two studies presented in this chapter examined perceptions of risk, group-level emotions and negative intergroup relations and outcomes experienced once an ingroup representative (in this case, a community leader) has made the decision to extend trust or distrust to the outgroup. This is the first experimental research to examine how participants evaluate the extension of trust or distrust towards an outgroup in the context of a real conflict, in this case the Northern Irish 'Troubles'. Given the paucity of empirical research on group-level trust and distrust in real-life contexts, these studies offer valuable initial insights. I discuss these findings in terms of the distinction between trust and distrust, and ingroup identification.

Trust and distrust

The results of these two studies demonstrate that the perceived cost of distrusting the outgroup is higher than the perceived risks associated with the extension of trust in the context of Northern Ireland. Extension of distrust to the other community was associated with greater angry emotion, less positive emotion, negative intergroup relations, and negative symbolic and realistic outcomes. The findings suggest that it is too simplistic to see group-level trust and distrust as only a matter of a universal tendency to distrust outgroups, as suggested by laboratory-based empirical work with ad hoc groups (e.g., Insko et al., 1990, 2001; Moy & Ng, 1996). Instead, it is more likely that in real-life intergroup contexts, the evaluation of the extension of trust and distrust toward an outgroup may vary depending on a wide number of different contextual factors which make trust or distrust decisions more costly. In the context of Northern Ireland, outgroup distrust is more costly than outgroup trust because it risks a return to sectarian violence and poses a threat to improved community relations.

The results from this investigation can be explained, in part, via Yamagishi and Yamagishi's (1994) theory which contends that general trust is an option when the opportunity cost of forgoing interactions with outsiders is higher than the risk of exploitation. In the current studies, the cost of distrusting the outgroup is potentially higher than the risks of exploitation (associated with trust). Demonstration of distrust is costly because it risks instigating violence and threatens peaceful intergroup relations. Extending Yamagishi and Yamagishi's (1994) cognitive-based analysis of evaluations of trust and distrust, Study 1 demonstrated that group-level emotions are also involved. Consistent with Stephan and Stephan's (1996, 1999) theory, the results show that negative

emotion is linked with distrust, and levels of anxiety are determined, in part, by the potential threats in a particular situation. The extension of distrust toward the outgroup (compared to extension of trust) was found to provoke higher angry emotion from the ingroup and less positive emotion. The level of anxiety experienced by participants was determined by a more complex interplay between all three variables examined, level of threat, trust vs. distrust, and group identification. These findings suggest that emotions are indeed involved in evaluations of a community leader's decision to extend trust or distrust toward the outgroup, rather than a purely cognitive assessment, at least in the context of the Northern Ireland conflict.

The results from both studies demonstrate that the trust/ distrust manipulation primed a far greater reaction from participants than the threat manipulation. It is possible that the extension of trust or distrust by a community leader is something which is more salient for those participants in the studies, than the situation depicted in the threat manipulation, despite the fact that the latter manipulation was, if anything, stronger in terms of face validity, because it was presented by means of high impact, visible maps.

Strength of ingroup identification

Overall the results from both studies demonstrate that strength of ingroup identification (Catholic or Protestant) is a predictor of group level emotions, perceived risk, negative intergroup relations and outcomes, following the manipulation of trust/ distrust and low/ high threat. Those who identified with their group more strongly, experienced greater anxious emotion, greater angry emotion, less positive emotion, greater perceived risk to the ingroup, and greater expected negative intergroup relations and outcomes. These findings are

consistent with previous research that has found that high identifiers tend to demonstrate stronger group-based effects than low identifiers (Doosje & Branscombe, 2003; Hodson et al., 2003; Hutchison & Abrams, 2003; Jetten & Spears, 2003; Jetten et al., 2004; Stephan & Stephan, 1999) and extend this phenomenon to perceptions of ingroup risk and experienced emotion following group-based manipulations of trust/ distrust and threat in Northern Ireland.

Strength of group identification was found to predict anxious emotion in interaction with trust vs. distrust and level of threat. Following the extension of distrust, under reduced threat higher group identification was associated with greater anxious emotion. Higher group identifiers, therefore, experienced the demonstration of distrust as a greater impediment to peaceful intergroup relations, than did lower group identifiers, particularly when current conditions were relatively peaceful. In the context of Northern Ireland, those who identify strongly with their religious community may be particularly anxious that distrusting the other community will reignite intergroup violence and create further hostilities between the two communities, which is most salient when there is relative peace. For high identifiers, when a community leader is advocating distrust in situations of low threat (i.e., no reason for distrust), it is possible that this move is interpreted as a marked worsening of intergroup relations. Results from Study 2 confirmed that those with higher group identification did, indeed, expect more negative intergroup relations and more negative symbolic and realistic threat-based outcomes.

Conclusions and implications for trust-building in Northern Ireland

With respect to community relations in Northern Ireland the results suggest that those who identify strongly with their ingroup religious community,

compared to those who identify less strongly, may require different reassurances during trust-building projects. It is also important that community relations projects do not try to ignore or eradicate strongly-felt community identities, which play a central part in the lives of many Northern Irish citizens. In recent reconciliation initiatives it has been pointed out that individuals in Northern Ireland have a real fear of losing their identity. Kelly and Hamber (2005) argue that people in Northern Ireland would not cooperate in any reconciliation initiatives which aim to make them lose part of their own identity. The present research supports this view and indicates that strength of religious ingroup identification should be considered as an important moderating factor in trust-based reconciliatory initiatives in Northern Ireland.

The results also provide support for the view that there should be more trust-building community relations projects in Northern Ireland (Foley & Robinson, 2004; Huyse, 2005). The reported studies show that, overall, the demonstration of trust between the two communities (generally understood as a necessary step towards reconciliation) is perceived as less threatening to community relations than distrust.

Chapter Four

Impact of Conflict on Mental Health: The Mediating Role of Intergroup Forgiveness and Collective Guilt

"*Reconciliation essentially aims to improve or restore relationships, to heal what is hurt, to bind the wounds of the past*" (Garcia, p.36).

Introduction

The aim of the research presented in this chapter was to explore the role that forgiveness and guilt play in the relationship between the impact of conflict in Northern Ireland and well-being. In keeping with the social identity orientation, this research utilized people's identification with either the Catholic or Protestant community in terms of strength of ingroup identification and group-level measures of intergroup forgiveness and collective guilt. Therefore, I tested a model which investigated the mediating role of intergroup forgiveness and guilt in the relationship between victimhood (the extent to which the conflict affected the individual's life), exposure to violence (the level of violence in their area of residence) and group identity on the one hand, and mild psychiatric morbidity on the other. The results from this study revealed two findings. Firstly, intergroup forgiveness mediated the relationship between victimhood and both group identification and mild psychiatric morbidity. Secondly, collective guilt mediated the relationship between exposure to violence and both group identification and intergroup forgiveness. Overall this research shows that within the current sample, forgiveness and guilt can act as mediators in the relationship between impact of

ethno-political conflict and mental health, at the group-level, and thus demonstrates their centrality to the reconciliation process.

Mental health in Northern Ireland

One of the many negative consequences of intergroup conflict is its detrimental impact on the mental health and well-being of its victims (Halpern & Weinstein, 2004). Northern Ireland, for example, has suffered enduring violent ethno-political conflict, which is reflected in higher rates of mental health problems in comparison to its neighboring countries (Cairns & Wilson, 1984; Kelleher, 2003; McConnell, Bebbington, McClelland, Gillespie & Houghton, 2002; O'Reilly & Stevenson, 2003). The level of mild psychiatric morbidity, measured by the GHQ-12 (Goldberg, 1978), is higher in Northern Ireland than in England, Scotland and the Republic of Ireland (O'Reilly & Stevenson, 2003). O'Reilly and Stevenson (2003) argue that the prolonged conflict in Northern Ireland has had an adverse effect on the mental health of citizens. Their research findings illustrate that the likelihood of mental ill health is greater according to the extent to which the conflict affected an individual's life (victimhood) and the level of violence in their area of residence (exposure to violence) (when controlling for demographic and socioeconomic factors).

It is argued however, that cessation of violence may not be enough to quell mental health issues in Northern Ireland. Instead, an active reconciliation process may also be necessary (Huyse, 2005; O'Reilly & Stevenson, 2003). Huyse (2005) defines conflict reconciliation as a process which aims to consolidate peace and break the cycle of violence. As discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, this process includes emphasis on the importance of psychological factors, such as

forgiveness and guilt, which can act to help end conflict (Doosje et al., 1998; Hewstone et al., 2006; Nadler & Saguy, 2004).

As discussed in detail in Chapter 2, forgiveness is considered as an essential psychological aspect of reconciliation (Azar et al., 1999; Doosje et al., 1998; Halpern & Weinstein, 2004; Nadler & Saguy, 2004), and it has belatedly been researched in Northern Ireland (Hewstone et al., 2006; Huyse, 2005; McGlynn et al., 2004; McLernon et al., 2002; Moeschberger et al., 2005). Forgiveness is particularly relevant in relation to mental health issues arising from conflict, since there is growing evidence that interpersonal forgiveness is positively associated with better mental health (Allan et al., 1992; McCullough et al., 1997; Scobie & Scobie, 1998; Witvliet et al., 2001; Witvliet et al., 2004). Forgiving is linked to a reduction in anxiety, depression and anger (McCullough et al., 1997). Within the therapeutic literature, it is thought that forgiveness involves giving up resentment and the desire for revenge which is associated with the transgression (Scobie & Scobie, 1998). This subsequently reduces related emotions such as anger, fear and anxiety, which are associated with psychological ill health (see Chapter 2 for more detail).

In the context of the reconciliation process in Northern Ireland, guilt is identified as a concept related to, but separate from, forgiveness (Hewstone et al., 2004; Huyse, 2005; see also Manzi & González, 2007, for related work in Chile). Guilt is also recognized as an important aspect of the reconciliation process in that it can motivate relationship reparation (Wohl, Branscombe, & Klar, 2006). Like forgiveness, interpersonal guilt is related to mental health in conflict. In contrast to forgiveness, however, higher levels of guilt are associated with poorer mental health (Witvliet et al., 2004). War veterans often express guilt that can be linked

to posttraumatic stress disorder and it has been positively associated with psychopathology in trauma survivors (Kubany, Abueg, Kilauano, Manke, & Kaplan, 1997).

In sum, forgiveness and guilt are key psychological components of reconciliation which have been found to impact mental health on an interpersonal level. In terms of intergroup reconciliation, however, both forgiveness and guilt need to be considered at the group-level from the social identity framework outlined in Chapter 2. Thus far, no research has investigated the role of forgiveness and guilt in mental health at the group level following prolonged ethno-political conflict. The research presented in this chapter therefore aimed to explore the role of group-level forgiveness and guilt in the relationship between experience of the conflict in Northern Ireland and group identity on the one hand, and mild psychiatric morbidity on the other.

Intergroup forgiveness

As discussed in detail in Chapter 2, theorists tend to agree that forgiveness can be conceptualized as a process which involves a change in attitude or emotion toward the offender (Enright & Group, 1991; Hewstone et al., 2004; McCullough, Pargament, & Thoresen, 2000). The process of forgiveness is thought to (1) reduce the desire for revenge and retaliation, and (2) allow release of negative emotions such as anger and fear.

Forgiveness is increasingly being considered at the group-level within the context of intergroup relations, intergroup conflict and reconciliation research (Hewstone et al., 2004; McGlynn et al., 2004; McLernon et al., 2002; Wohl & Branscombe, 2005). Hewstone et al. (2004) argue that within the context of ethno-political conflict, it is appropriate to consider forgiveness at the group-level.

According to social identity theory (Tajfel, 1978), intergroup settings involve a shift from personal to social identity. On an intergroup level, therefore, forgiveness differs qualitatively from interpersonal forgiveness. Intergroup forgiveness involves a reduction in negative feelings toward the perpetrator category rather than the individual (Wohl & Branscombe, 2005). Intergroup forgiveness can also be regarded as a "pro-social facilitator that provides an opportunity for improved intergroup relations" (Hewstone et al., in press, p. 15). Scobie and Scobie (1998) propose that forgiveness is a pro-social facilitator that can restore damaged relationships and provides an opportunity for the victim to give up the role of victimhood.

Collective guilt

Guilt exists at a group-level as *collective guilt*. In accord with the social identity framework discussed in Chapter 2, it can be experienced when individuals categorize themselves at the intergroup level (see Branscombe, 2004, for review). On an interpersonal level, guilt is experienced when the self is perceived as having deviated from a personal moral value. On an intergroup level, however, guilt is experienced when the ingroup is seen as deviating from the accepted moral norms. According to Doosje et al. (1998) humanitarian values or moral norms concerning social justice, equality, democratic principles and concern for others' well being, are dominant in western countries. Collective guilt can therefore be experienced for events that the individual self was not personally involved in when one's ingroup deviates from these humanitarian values. The amount of collective guilt experienced is dependent on the extent to which the ingroup is perceived as having deviated from the accepted humanitarian values.

Although guilt is an aversive emotion, and therefore people will act to avoid or reduce it, it often motivates people to express a desire to make amends for harm caused to the other or to alleviate unfair treatment (Frijda, Kuipers, & Terschure, 1989; Miron, Branscombe, & Schmitt, 2006; Wohl et al., 2006). Research has established that once people become aware of their wrongdoing, positive compensations and other forms of pro-social behavior are common (Manzi & González, 2007). Miron et al. (2006) propose that guilt is elicited by the perception of harm endured by others and subsequently predicts helping harmed others. The perception of harm of others, particularly those perceived as innocent victims, threatens an individual's humanitarian values or moral norms. Perceived illegitimate affliction is distressing and subsequently motivates individuals to restore justice by helping the victim or by derogating the victim in order to legitimise outcomes (if helping is difficult).

In relation to collective guilt, empirical research has shown that collective guilt predicts support for affirmative action and reparations towards the harmed group (Doosje et al., 1998; Iyer, Leach, & Pedersen, 2004; Wohl et al., 2006). Specifically in Northern Ireland, Hewstone et al. (2004) found that collective guilt predicted intergroup forgiveness, i.e. higher collective guilt was associated with greater intergroup forgiveness. Collective guilt can therefore motivate people to express support for relationship-restoring pro-social facilitators, such as intergroup forgiveness. From this theoretical basis, I propose that collective guilt can motivate people to express support for relationship restoring pro-social facilitators, such as intergroup forgiveness. In the present research I thus predicted that higher collective guilt would be associated with greater intergroup forgiveness.

Group identification

According to social identity theory (Tajfel, 1978), the extent to which individuals identify with their ingroup will affect how they react to group-based phenomena (see Chapter 2 for more detail). Doosje et al. (1998) suggest that high identifiers are more likely to react defensively when faced with group-image-threatening emotions like guilt. In order to protect their positive group identity, high identifiers may deny or justify moral transgression on behalf of their group. Experiencing guilt or offering support for forgiveness, following transgressions on both sides of the conflict in Northern Ireland, would require an acceptance of moral transgressions on behalf of one's group. High identifiers are therefore more predisposed to save face by avoiding the experience of collective guilt, and less likely to demonstrate support for intergroup forgiveness. In contrast, low identifiers are less inclined to be defensive about accepting that their group has transgressed. They will thus be more likely to experience collective guilt and support intergroup forgiveness. Previous research in Northern Ireland has shown that high identification with one's religious community is indeed a negative predictor of intergroup forgiveness and collective guilt (Hewstone et al., 2004). In the research presented in this chapter, I therefore predicted that higher group identification would be associated with less intergroup forgiveness and less collective guilt.

Victimhood and exposure to violence in Northern Ireland

Hayes and McAllister (2002) argue that exposure to violence is an important factor contributing to the intractability of conflict. They reported that a large portion of the population in Northern Ireland have been exposed to political violence either directly or indirectly. Direct experience of violence includes being

a victim of a violent event, suffering injury and intimidation. About one in seven of the population in Northern Ireland has reported being a victim of violence and one in five reported being intimidated during the Troubles (Hayes & McAllister, 2002). Indirect experience of violence includes those members of the population in Northern Ireland who have had a family member, or known someone, who has been killed or injured. Approximately one in five had a family member killed or injured; and more than half personally knew someone who had been injured or killed. The level of violence to which an individual is likely to have been exposed is dependent on their area for residence. For example, those living in the large urban centers of Belfast and Derry/ Londonderry have been found to be more likely to have been exposed to violence.

Previous research in Northern Ireland has demonstrated that both respondents' greater subjective experience of the Troubles and the objective level of violence in their area of residence predicted their level of forgiveness and guilt (Cairns, Hewstone, Niens & Tam, 2005; Hewstone, et al., 2006; Hewstone et al., 2004). This research revealed that respondents with a high experience of victimhood during the Troubles reported significantly lower collective guilt and intergroup forgiveness (Cairns et al., 2005; Hewstone et al., 2004). Those most affected by the conflict are therefore less likely to acknowledge wrongs of their own group (i.e., experience collective guilt), and less willing to forgive the other community (Hewstone et al., 2004, 2006).

Corresponding results have been found in the context of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Roccas, Klar and Liviatan (2005) found that Jewish Israeli students experienced less collective guilt for harm done by Israelis to Palestinians during periods of violent conflict between the two groups, compared to periods of

relative calm. Similarly, Wohl and Branscombe (2004) found that lower collective guilt was felt by Jewish Israeli respondents who were reminded of the historical threat to their ingroup (e.g., the Holocaust), than by those who were not reminded of their groups past victimization.

In this study, I thus predicted that higher self-reported experience of the Troubles (victimhood) and greater exposure to sectarian violence via area of residence (exposure to violence), would be associated with lower intergroup forgiveness and lower levels of collective guilt.

Study 3

The aim of Study 3 was to investigate the mediating role of group-level forgiveness and guilt in the relationship between victimhood, exposure to violence and group identity, on the one hand, and mild psychiatric morbidity on the other. Group identification was the extent to which respondents identified with either the Catholic or Protestant community in Northern Ireland.

Predictions

Firstly, I predicted that intergroup forgiveness and collective guilt would mediate the relationship between victimhood, exposure to violence and group identification, on the one hand, and mild psychiatric morbidity, as measured by the GHQ-12, on the other hand. Secondly, I predicted that victimhood, exposure to violence and group identification would be negatively associated with intergroup forgiveness and collective guilt. Thirdly, I predicted that collective guilt would be positively associated with intergroup forgiveness and mild psychiatric morbidity; and that intergroup forgiveness would be negatively associated with mild psychiatric morbidity. Finally, I expected that these

predictions would hold for both Catholic and Protestant respondents in the context of Northern Ireland.

Method

Respondents

Respondents were 1,000 randomly-selected Northern Irish adults. The age of respondents ranged from 18-89 years. One hundred and eight respondents were excluded from the sample because they did not report belonging to either the Catholic or Protestant community. A further two hundred and fifteen respondents were excluded because they reported that they had not lived all of their life in Northern Ireland, resulting in a final sample size of $N = 677$, comprising 315 Catholics with a mean age of 55.96 ($SD = 15.54$; 133 males, 182 females) and 362 Protestants with a mean age of 57.28 ($SD = 15.54$; 145 males, 217 females).

Sample design and procedure

For this study I carried out a secondary analysis of a nationally representative population survey conducted in October 2001 by a professional survey organization in Northern Ireland, Research and Evaluation Services (RES)[5]. The RES were commissioned by the University of Ulster to undertake a survey on public attitudes toward issues associated with community relations and the Troubles in Northern Ireland.

A probability based stratified random sample was obtained from 26 district council areas (10 in Belfast and 2 in each of the other Local Government Districts), using probability proportionate to size (PPS). From each of the electoral wards, individuals were selected via a simple random sample. The survey aimed to generate an achieved sample of 1000.

[5] Thanks to Ed Cairns, University of Ulster, for making this data available for use in this thesis.

The survey was designed to yield a representative sample of men and women aged 18 and over living in Northern Ireland. The 2000 Register of Electors was used as the sampling frame. The register is inclusive of all individuals nominated on Electoral Registration forms returned in September 1999. The register is compiled on a Local Government District basis of which there are 26 in Northern Ireland. As registration as an elector is now compulsory, there is every reason to believe that the listing is accurate, especially as the register is updated annually.

An individually signed letter was sent to each individual in the sample before the interviewers called. The letter explained why the survey was being carried out and that it would address public attitudes to issues associated with community relations and the Troubles in Northern Ireland. The response rate was 63%, which meant that a total of 1585 addresses were tried by interviewers to obtain 1000 interviews.

The interviews were all carried out between the 7th April 2001 and 31st March 2001. They were carried out in respondents' own homes by trained social survey interviewers. All interviewers attended a briefing session focusing on the content and structure of the questionnaire used. At the interviews, interviewers carried a copy of the original invitation letter to the interviewee and an RES identification card. On average the interviews took 50 minutes to complete.

Measures

Predictor variables. *Victimhood* was assessed using three measures including self-perceived victimhood, direct victim experience of the Troubles, and indirect victim experience of the Troubles (Hayes & McAllister, 2002). Self-perceived victimhood was measured with the item: "Overall do you consider

yourself to have been a victim of the troubles?" which was scored on a five-point scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*very much*). Direct victimhood was measured with three items: "Have you ever had to move house because of intimidation?"; "Has your home ever been damaged by a bomb?"; "Have you ever been injured due to a sectarian incident?" Respondents replied either '*no*' (1) or '*yes*' (2) to these questions, and responses were summed to create a direct victimhood score ranging from three (has not suffered directly) to six (suffered high levels of direct victimhood). Indirect victimhood was measured with three items: "Has a member of your family or a close friend in your community ever had to move house because of intimidation?"; "Has a member of your family's or a close friend's home ever been damaged by a bomb?"; "Has a member of your family or a close friend in your community ever been injured due to a sectarian incident?" Respondents replied either '*no*' (1) or '*yes*' (2) to these questions, and responses were summed to create an indirect victimhood score between 3 (has not suffered directly) to 6 (suffered high levels of indirect victimhood), (Cronbach's $\alpha = .65$). Higher scores denoted greater victimhood.

Ingroup identification was assessed using the five-item Group Identification Scale (from Brown et al., 1986). Respondents were asked: "Would you say you are a person who: . . .": "Considers the Catholic/ Protestant community important?"; "Identifies with the Catholic/Protestant community?"; "Feels strong ties with the Catholic/Protestant community?"; "Is glad to belong to the Catholic/ Protestant community?"; "Sees him/her self as belonging to the Catholic/ Protestant community?" Ratings were made on a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*no, never*) to 5 (*yes, very often*), (Cronbach's $\alpha = .96$). Higher scores denoted higher religious group identification (Catholic or Protestant).

Exposure to violence was an objective rating made according to the respondents' area of residence. The district councils in which respondents lived were categorized in terms of the fatalities per thousand as a result of the political violence. Three categories were used to classify the areas as having historically been exposed to low, medium and high levels of political violence. Using this classification, 53% of the sample were recorded as living in district councils with high levels of political violence, 23% lived in district councils with medium levels of political violence, and 24% lived in areas with low levels of political violence.

Mediator variables. The measure of *intergroup forgiveness* was a four-item short form of a scale based on the responses of Northern Irish adults in a series of focus group interviews (McLernon et al., 2002) and items developed in earlier research (Hewstone et al, 2006; Roe, Pegg, Hodges, & Trimm, 1999). This scale included the items: "It is important that my community never forgets the wrongs done to us by the other community"; "It is important that my community never forgives the wrongs done to us by the other community"; "Northern Ireland will never move from the past to the future, until the two communities learn to forget about the past" (R); "Northern Ireland will never move from the past to the future, until the two communities learn to draw a line under the past" (R). Items marked (R) were reverse coded and all four items were scored on a four-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 (*agree strongly*) to 4 (*disagree strongly*), (Cronbach's α = .73). Higher scores denoted higher levels of intergroup forgiveness.

Intergroup guilt. Six items (adapted from Branscombe et al., 2004) tapped *collective guilt* (Cronbach's α = .79), measured on seven-point Likert-type scales ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*): "I feel guilty about the negative things my community has done to the other community in the past"; "I

feel regret for my community's harmful past actions toward the other community"; "I believe that I should repair the damage caused to the other community"; "I do not feel guilty about the things done to the other community by my community in the past" (R); "I do not feel regret about the things my community did to the other community in the past" (R); "I believe that my community should repair the damage done to the other community in the past". Higher scores denoted greater collective guilt (Cronbach's $\alpha = .83$).

Criterion variable. The 12-item version of the General Health Questionnaire (GHQ-12) (Goldberg, 1978) was used to assess *mild psychiatric morbidity*. The GHQ-12 is designed to detect the presence of mild non-psychotic psychiatric morbidity in community settings. It is aimed at measuring breaks in normal functioning, rather than life-long traits. The scale included the items: [have you] "been able to concentrate on whatever you're doing?"; "lost much sleep over worry?"; "felt that you are playing a useful part in things?"; "felt capable of making decisions about things?"; "felt constantly under strain?"; "felt you couldn't overcome your difficulties?"; "been able to enjoy you normal day-to-day activities?"; "been able to face up to your problems?"; "been feeling unhappy and depressed?"; "been losing confidence in yourself?"; "been thinking of yourself as a worthless person?"; "been feeling reasonably happy, all things considered?". Responses were made on a four-point Likert scale (0 = *not at all*, 1 = *less than usual*, 2 = *no more than usual*, 3 = *much more than usual*). Responses across all twelve items were collated so that total scores ranged from 0 to 36 (see Cairns, Mallett, Lewis, & Wilson, 2003). Higher scores reflect poorer mental health, i.e., higher levels of mild psychiatric morbidity (Goldberg, 1978).

Results

Preliminary analyses

Table 4.1 displays correlations, means and standard deviations for the index of each variable in the study, i.e., an average score from the total of all items used to measure each variable. As can be seen from Table 4.1, on average respondents reported relatively high levels of group identification ($M = 3.89$, $SD = 1.04$), exposure to violence ($M = 2.31$, $SD = .82$) intergroup forgiveness ($M = 3.24$, $SD = .70$) and intergroup guilt ($M = 4.44$, $SD = 1.14$). Victimhood was close to the midpoint ($M = 2.82$, $SD = .74$) (the value of 2.84). The mean level of mild psychiatric morbidity in the sample, as measured by GHQ-12, was low-to-medium, 10.32 ($SD = 5.44$).

As shown in Table 4.1, victimhood ($r = -.10$, $p < .01$) and group identification ($r = -.21$, $p < .001$) were both negatively correlated with intergroup forgiveness, consistent with Hewstone et al.'s (2004) findings. As predicted, intergroup forgiveness was, in turn, negatively correlated with GHQ-12 ($r = -.11$, $p < .01$), implying its potential function as a mediator. Further, as predicted, group identification ($r = -.16$, $p < .001$) and exposure to violence ($r = -.13$, $p < .01$), were both negatively correlated with collective guilt. Collective guilt, in turn, was positively correlated with intergroup forgiveness ($r = .30$, $p < .001$), suggesting its potential role as a mediator. Victimhood was also positively correlated with mild psychiatric morbidity ($r = .18$, $p < .001$), group identification ($r = .12$, $p < .01$) and, as would be expected, exposure to violence ($r = .15$, $p < .001$). Victimhood was, however, not correlated with collective guilt ($r = -.06$, $p = .12$) and exposure to violence was not correlated with intergroup forgiveness ($r = -.04$, $p = .48$).

Table 4.1
Correlations, Means, and Standard Deviations for Composite Variables (*Study 3*)

	M	*SD*	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Victimhood	2.82	.74	1					
2. Group identification	3.89	1.04	.12**	1				
3. Exposure to violence	2.31	.82	.15***	.08*	1			
4. Intergroup forgiveness	3.24	.70	-.10**	-.21***	-.04	1		
5. Collective guilt	4.44	1.14	-.06	-.16***	-.13**	.30***	1	
6. GHQ-12	10.32	5.44	.18***	.05	.03	-.11**	-.03	1

Note. Range for victimhood, 1-5.67; range for group identification, 1-5; range for exposure to violence, 1-3; range for intergroup forgiveness, 1-4; range for intergroup guilt, 1-7; range for GHQ, 0-36.
* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; $N = 677$

Structural equation model

The proposed path model shown in Figure 4.1 was evaluated using structural equation modelling with AMOS 6.0 (Arbuckle, 2005). A satisfactory model fit is indicated by a non-significant χ^2 (although significant values are acceptable when the sample size is large, which is the case in the current sample), a χ^2/df ratio ≤ 3, a CFI $\geq .95$, and a RMSEA $\leq .08$ (see Hu & Bentler, 1999). In the proposed model victimhood, group identification and exposure to violence were entered as predictor variables; intergroup forgiveness and intergroup guilt were entered as mediator variables; and mild psychiatric morbidity (GHQ-12 score) was entered as a criterion or outcome variable. Estimates were derived using the maximum likelihood procedure. To smooth measurement error and to obtain an acceptable ratio of cases to parameters, I applied a partial disaggregation approach for some of the variables (Little, Cunningham, Shahar, & Widaman, 2002; West, Finch, & Curran, 1995). Subsequently, 'parcels' were created by combining subsets of items (see Table 4.2) which were averaged to form three indicators for group identification, victimhood, and collective guilt, and one indicator for intergroup forgiveness (see West et al., 1995, for details).

From Table 4.2, it can be seen that the intra-construct correlations were substantially higher than the inter-construct correlations, showing that the constructs were different from one another. The overall fit of the measurement model including all model variables was good, χ^2 (52, N = 677) = 81.71, $p = .005$; χ^2 /df = 1.57; CFI = .99; RMSEA = .029. All factor loadings of indicators were satisfactory (all $\geq .47$).

Table 4.2 Correlations, Means, and Standard Deviations for Indicators (*Study 3*)

	M	*SD*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Victimhood (1)	1.81	1.32	1											
2. Victimhood (2)	3.19	.49	.47***	1										
3. Victimhood (3)	3.48	.85	.50***	.44***	1									
4. Identification (1)	3.87	1.11	.10*	.02	.04	1								
5. Identification (2)	3.91	1.04	.13**	.06	.07	.89***	1							
6. Identification (3)	3.93	1.09	.15***	.08	.09*	.87***	.89***	1						
7. Exposure to violence	2.31	.82	.15***	.07	.08*	.09*	.08*	.10*	1					
8. Intergroup forgiveness (1)	3.24	.70	-.13**	-.04	-.03	-.22***	-.20***	-.18***	-.04	1				
9. Intergroup guilt (1)	4.30	1.57	-.10*	-.08	-.02	-.18***	-.19***	-.17***	-.11**	.31***	1			
10. Intergroup guilt (2)	4.64	1.36	01	.00	.07	-.14**	-.09*	-.09*	-.13**	.25***	.49***	1		
11. Intergroup guilt (3)	4.37	1.37	-.04	-.03	.05	-.12**	-.07	-.08	-.11**	.24***	.51***	.73***	1	
12. GHQ-12	10.32	5.44	.19***	.10*	.13**	.05	.05	.04	.03	-.11**	-.05	-.01	-.00	1

Note. In the partial disaggregation approach, the following items were collapsed to form single indices: *Intergroup identification* (1) "is glad to belong to the Catholic/ Protestant community?"; "feels strong ties with the Catholic/ Protestant community?" (2) "considers the Catholic/ Protestant community important?"; "sees him/her self as belonging to the Catholic/ Protestant community?" (3) "identifies with Catholic/ Protestant community?". *Victimhood* (1) "overall do you consider yourself to have been a victim of the trouble?" (2) "have you ever had to move house because of intimidation?"; "has you home ever been damaged by a bomb?"; "have you ever been injured due to a sectarian incident?" (3) "has a member of your family or a close friend in your community ever had to move house because of intimidation?"; "has a member of you family's or a close friends home ever been damaged by a bomb?"; "has a member of your family or a close friend in your community ever been injured due to a sectarian incident?". *Collective guilt* (1) "I believe that I should repair the damage caused to the other community"; "I believe that my community should repair the damage done to the other community in the past" (2) "I feel regret for my community's harmful past actions toward the other community"; "I do not feel regret about things my community did to the other community in the past" (3) "I feel guilt about the negative things my community has done to the other community in the past"; "I do not feel guilty about the things done to the other community by my community in the past". *Intergroup forgiveness* (1) "It is important that my community never forgives the wrongs done to us by the other community."; "My community should, as a group, seek forgiveness from the other community for past paramilitary activities."; "Northern Ireland will never move from the past to the future, until the two communities learn to forget about the past."; "It is important that my community never forgets the wrongs done to us by the other community."; "Only when the two communities of Northern Ireland learn to forgive each other can we be free of political violence."; "My community has remained strong precisely because it has never forgiven past wrongs committed by the other community."; "Northern Ireland will never move from the past to the future, until the two communities learn to draw a line under the past."

Structural model. The proposed model fits the data well, χ^2 (46, N = 677) = 83.74, p = .001; χ^2 /df = 1.82; CFI = .99; RMSEA = .035. Figure 4.1 shows both victimhood (β = -.32, p < .001) and group identification (β = -.22, p < .01) were negatively associated with intergroup forgiveness. Group identification (β = -.14, p < .01) was also negatively associated with collective guilt, as was exposure to violence during the Troubles (β = -.12, p < .01). Collective guilt was positively associated with both intergroup forgiveness (β = .65, p < .001) and mild psychiatric morbidity (β = .30, p < .01). In turn, intergroup forgiveness was negatively associated with mild psychiatric morbidity (β = -.44, p < .01). Thus, as expected, higher intergroup forgiveness was associated with lower mild psychiatric morbidity, while higher collective guilt was associated with higher mild psychiatric morbidity. The paths between violence and intergroup forgiveness (β = .04, p = .52), and victimhood and collective guilt (β = .03, p =.51) were not statistically significant. Significant positive correlations were revealed between victimhood and group identification (ϕ = .09, p < .05), victimhood and exposure to violence (ϕ = .16, p < .01), and group identification and exposure to violence (ϕ = .13, p < .01). The model accounted for 65% of the variance in the measure of intergroup forgiveness, only 4% of the variance in the measure collective guilt, and 10% of the variance in mild psychiatric morbidity.

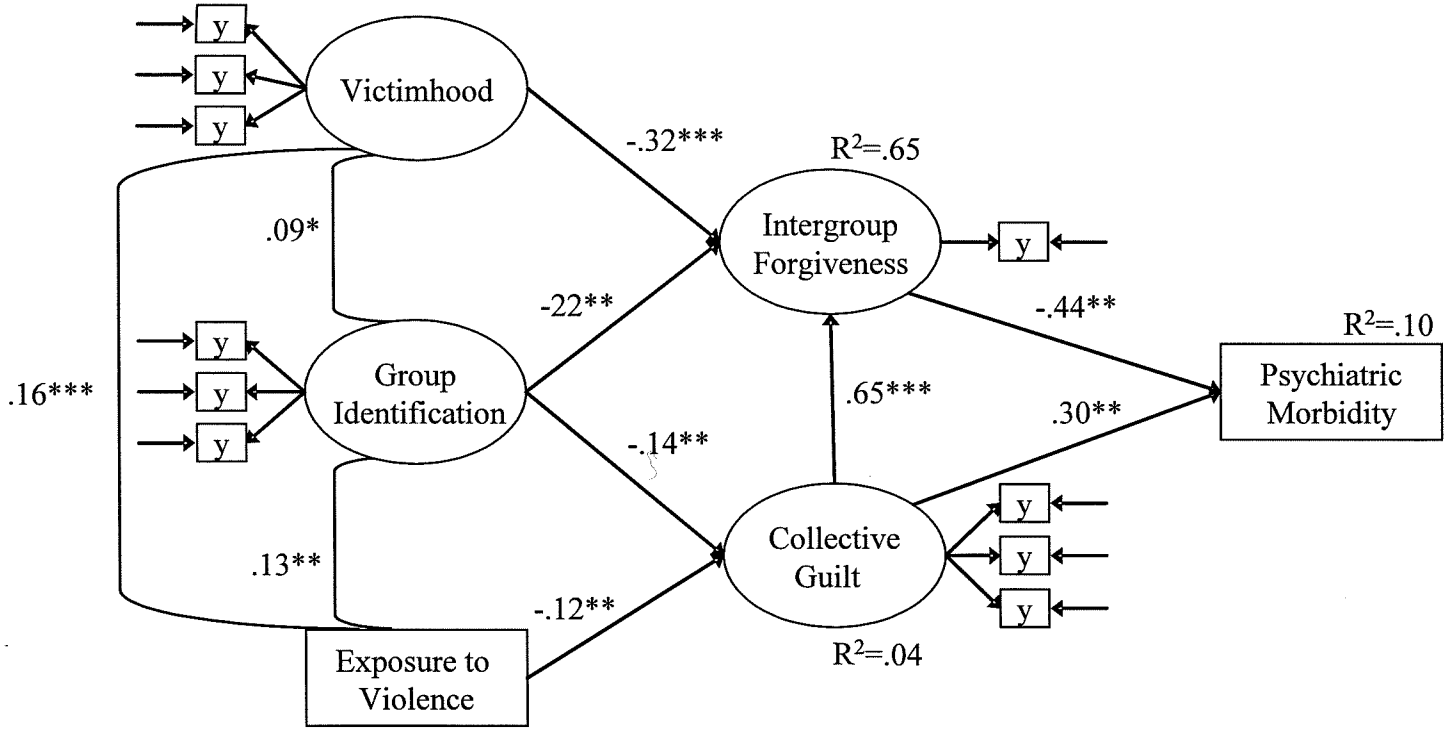


Figure 4.1. Path model showing results of structural equation analysis: effects of victimhood, group identification and exposure to violence on psychiatric morbidity, showing mediation via intergroup forgiveness and collective guilt *(Study 3)*.

Note. Standardized path coefficients are shown. Only significant paths and correlations are reported. Curved paths denote correlations between variables.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; $N = 677$.

Sobel tests. I computed a series of Sobel tests (Baron & Kenny, 1986) to test mediation effects, results of which are shown in Table 4.3. Intergroup forgiveness was a significant mediator in the relationship between respondents' group identification and mild psychiatric morbidity, ($z = 2.35, p < .05$). Intergroup forgiveness was also a marginally significant mediator in the relationship between victimhood and mild psychiatric morbidity, ($z = 1.72, p = .08$). Respondents' reported level of collective guilt significantly mediated the relationship between strength of ingroup identification and intergroup forgiveness, ($z = -3.53, p < .001$). Collective guilt was also found to significantly mediate the relationship between respondents' exposure to violence and their level of intergroup forgiveness, ($z = -2.93, p < .01$). Collective guilt was, however, not found to mediate the relationship between group identification and mild psychiatric morbidity, ($z = 0.27, p = 0.79$), or the relationship between violence and mild psychiatric morbidity, ($z = 0.55, p = 0.58$).

Table 4.3
Sobel Tests for Mediated Relationships (*Study 3*)

Predictor	Mediator	Criterion	*z*-test	*p*-value
Victimhood	Intergroup forgiveness	Psychiatric morbidity	.1.72	0.08
Group Identification	Intergroup forgiveness	Psychiatric morbidity	2.35	0.02*
Group Identification	Collective guilt	Psychiatric morbidity	.027	0.79
Exposure to violence	Collective guilt	Psychiatric morbidity	0.55	0.58
Group Identification	Collective guilt	Intergroup forgiveness	-3.53	0.001***
Exposure to violence	Collective guilt	Intergroup forgiveness	-2.93	0.004**

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; $N = 677$

Multigroup comparisons. To assess whether the model was equivalent for Catholics and Protestants despite finding no systematic differences, I performed a hierarchical set of multigroup comparisons gradually constraining measurement weights (Model 1), and structural weights (Model 2). Comparisons of the unconstrained model, χ^2 (92, N = 677) = 128.82, p = .007; χ^2 /df = 1.40; CFI = .99; RMSEA = .024, with hierarchical multigroup models revealed no significant drop in overall fit (Model 1 in comparison to the unconstrained model: $\Delta\chi^2$ = 8.07, df = 8, p = .43; Model 2 in comparison to Model 1: $\Delta\chi^2$ = 8.90, df = 5, p = .11). These comparisons indicate that there were no substantial differences in terms of model parameters between groups. Similar findings have been reported previously in research carried out in Northern Ireland (Paolini et al., 2004; Tausch et al., 2007).

Alternative models. Care must be taken when making causal inferences from cross-sectional data. The theoretical argument for the proposed model is strong and the model fitted the data well .However, there are always alternative models (MacCullem & Austin, 2000). I considered five alternative models in which I changed the order of the predictors, mediators and criterion variables (see Table 4.4). In the first alternative model, I considered mild psychiatric morbidity a mediator and intergroup forgiveness the criterion variable. Second, I again tested mild psychiatric morbidity as a mediator, but collective guilt as a criterion variable. Third, I considered group identification as a mediator, intergroup forgiveness as a criterion, and mild psychiatric morbidity as a predictor variable. Fourth, I assessed group identification as a mediator and intergroup forgiveness as a predictor variable. Finally, I tested group identification as a mediator and collective guilt as a predictor. As shown in Table 4.4, the proposed model was a

better fit than any of the five alternatives examined. I conclude therefore that, in this sample, my proposed model offered the best model fit.

Table 4.4
Alternative Models

	Predictor variable(s)	Mediating variable(s)	Criterion variable(s)	Model fit
Alternative model 1	Victimhood; Group identification; Exposure to violence	Psychiatric morbidity; Collective guilt	Intergroup forgiveness	Worse fit: χ^2 (57, N = 677) = 105.66, p = .000; χ^2/df = 1.85; CFI = .99; RMSEA = .036
Alternative model 2	Victimhood; Group identification; Exposure to violence	Intergroup forgiveness; Psychiatric morbidity	Collective guilt	Worse fit: χ^2 (55, N = 677) = 92.34, p = .001; χ^2/df = 1.68; CFI = .99; RMSEA = .032
Alternative model 3	Victimhood; Psychiatric morbidity; Exposure to violence	Group identification; Collective guilt	Intergroup forgiveness	Worse fit: χ^2 (55, N = 677) = 92.91, p = .001; χ^2/df = 1.69; CFI = .99; RMSEA = .032
Alternative model 4	Victimhood; Intergroup forgiveness; Exposure to violence	Group identification; Collective guilt	Psychiatric morbidity	Worse fit: χ^2 (55, N = 677) = 99.49, p = .000; χ^2/df = 1.81; CFI = .99; RMSEA = .035
Alternative model 5	Victimhood; Collective guilt; Exposure to violence	Intergroup forgiveness; Group identification	Psychiatric morbidity	Worse fit: χ^2 (55, N = 677) = 107.06, p = .000; χ^2/df = 1.95; CFI = .99; RMSEA = .037

Discussion

This study focused on the impact of group-level forgiveness and guilt on the mental health of citizens who lived through the Troubles in Northern Ireland. Although researchers have demonstrated the link between forgiveness and guilt, on the one hand, and mental health, on the other, at an individual level, this has not previously been investigated on a group-level. This study is, to my knowledge, the first to offer empirical support that group-level forgiveness and guilt can mediate the relationships between exposure to violence, victimhood and group identification on the one hand, and mild psychiatric morbidity on the other. Results from this investigation provide empirical evidence that intergroup forgiveness mediated the relationship between victimhood and mild psychiatric morbidity, and the relationship between group identification and mild psychiatric morbidity. In addition, this research revealed that collective guilt mediated the relationship between exposure to violence and intergroup forgiveness, and the relationship between group identification and intergroup forgiveness. Overall this study shows that, within the present sample collected in Northern Ireland, forgiveness and guilt can act as mediators in the relationship between impact of ethno-political conflict and mental health, at the group-level, and thus, demonstrates their centrality to the reconciliation process.

Mental health, impact of the Troubles, forgiveness and guilt

Previous research in Northern Ireland has shown that greater exposure to violence and victimhood during the Troubles puts an individual at a higher risk of mental ill health (O'Reilly & Stevenson, 2003). My results demonstrate that this relationship can be mediated by the extent to which an individual has a forgiving attitude towards the outgroup regarding the Troubles and the amount that an

individual feels guilt on behalf of his or her group. The likelihood of mental ill health is reduced in individuals with higher levels of forgiveness following intergroup conflict. Conversely it is increased in individuals who experience higher levels of guilt on behalf of their group following intergroup conflict. These findings are in keeping with research which has found that forgiveness is associated with better mental health (Allan et al., 2006; Kaplan, 1992; McCullough et al., 1997; Scobie & Scobie, 1998; Witvliet et al., 2001; Witvliet et al., 2004), whereas guilt is associated with poorer mental health (Kubany et al., 1997; Witvliet et al., 2004). I conclude therefore that group-level forgiveness and guilt are important concepts to consider in attenuating the detrimental effect of ethno-political conflict on mental health.

Most interestingly, the present research demonstrates that forgiveness and guilt can mediate the impact of conflict on mental health, at the group-level. Forgiveness and guilt are increasingly being considered as group-level phenomena, particularly in relation to intergroup reconciliation (Branscombe, 2004; Hewstone et al., 2004; McGlynn et al., 2004; McLernon et al., 2002; Wohl & Branscombe, 2005). Based on social identity theory (Tajfel, 1978), as discussed in Chapter 2, forgiveness and guilt can be considered as group-level phenomena in intergroup settings which facilitate a shift from personal to social identity. My results show that, in part, individual level mental health is dependent on group-level forgiveness and guilt following ethno-political conflict. Thus a group-level reconciliation process, involving consideration of forgiveness and guilt, may be necessary to resolve the individual-level effects of conflict, which include mental health issues. These results therefore provide some support for O'Reilly and Stevenson's (2003) recommendation that an active reconciliation process is a

necessary part of the solution to the mental health problems being experienced by a sizeable number of people following the Troubles in Northern Ireland.

Collective guilt, intergroup forgiveness and group identification

On an interpersonal and group-level, guilt has been found to motivate relationship repair (Doosje et al., 1998; Frijda et al., 1989; Iyer et al., 2004; Miron et al., 2006; Wohl et al., 2006). I therefore predicted that higher levels of collective guilt would be associated with greater support for intergroup forgiveness (with intergroup forgiveness regarded as a relationship reparatory pro-social facilitator). The current investigation provides evidence that collective guilt motivates support for intergroup forgiveness. The results showed that higher collective guilt was associated with higher intergroup forgiveness. In addition, collective guilt was found to mediate the relationship between exposure to violence and intergroup forgiveness, and the relationship between group identification and intergroup forgiveness. From these results it can be argued that although collective guilt is an otherwise adverse emotion, it can provoke support for intergroup forgiveness, which is beneficial both in terms of positive intergroup relations but also for individuals' mental well-being. In relation to mental health, collective guilt therefore holds an interesting position. It is beneficial in terms of promoting forgiveness, but detrimental in terms of its association with mental ill health. This is an important finding which should be taken into consideration when designing reconciliation initiatives. Although collective guilt could play a role in motivating support for intergroup forgiveness, our results suggest that it is not ethical to try to manipulate collective guilt for intergroup reconciliation purposes, because it can have an adverse effect on individuals' mental well-being.

Group identification

Again, in accord with social identity theory (Tajfel, 1978), it was argued that the extent to which an individual identifies with his or her group will affect their reaction to group-level forgiveness and guilt. I predicted that those with a greater level of group identification would be less likely to experience collective guilt and show intergroup forgiveness. In support of this prediction, the results illustrate that higher identification with one's religious group (Catholic or Protestant) was associated with less collective guilt and lower levels of intergroup forgiveness. These results are in keeping with Doosje et al.'s (1998) proposal that those with higher group identification will act to protect a positive group identity and will therefore deny or justify moral transgressions of behalf of their group. Experiencing guilt or offering forgiveness, following transgressions on both sides of the conflict in Northern Ireland, would require an acceptance of moral transgressions on behalf of their group. High group identifiers have a greater motivation to protect a positive group identity since they are more attached to their group identity and are therefore more predisposed to avoiding the experience of collective guilt and offering less intergroup forgiveness. This has important implications in the context of Northern Ireland where, for many people, their religious community identity (Catholic or Protestant) is still an essential part of their lives (Kelly & Hamber, 2005). Reconciliation initiatives aimed at promoting intergroup forgiveness should perhaps avoid placing emphasis on group-image-threatening acceptance of past transgression. Instead they could focus on forgiveness as way of moving forward to the positive acceptance of both community identities.

Impact of the Troubles, intergroup forgiveness and collective guilt

Recent research in Northern Ireland has found that people who were more affected by the Troubles were less willing to forgive and less likely to experience collective guilt (Cairns et al., 2005; Hewstone et al., 2006; Hewstone et al., 2004). I therefore predicted that greater exposure to sectarian violence, measured in terms of violence in area of residence and greater perceived victimhood, would be associated with lower intergroup forgiveness and lower levels of collective guilt. The results showed that exposure to violence was associated with less collective guilt and that victimhood was associated with less support for intergroup forgiveness. The results did not reveal, however, an association between exposure to violence and intergroup forgiveness, or an association between victimhood and collective guilt.

Roccas et al. (2005) and Wohl and Branscombe (2004) found that less collective guilt was experienced when there was a greater threat of violence. In the present investigation, exposure to violence was measured by an objective rating of violence in a respondent's area of residence. The level of violence in a respondent's area of residence is indicative of the threat of violence. Thus, in keeping with previous research, our results demonstrate that greater exposure to violence, reflecting greater threat of violence, was associated with less collective guilt. In our investigation, exposure to violence was related to intergroup forgiveness only indirectly, as mediated by collective guilt. This suggests that the threat of violence is more relevant to the experience of collective guilt than to the level of intergroup forgiveness. Victimhood, on the other hand, was directly associated with intergroup forgiveness, but was not associated with collective guilt. Victimhood, as measured by self-perceived victimhood, and direct and

indirect experience of the Troubles, corresponds to transgression severity against oneself and close others. Transgression severity is an important factor in interpersonal forgiveness (McCullough, Fincham, & Tsang, 2003). Our results suggest that transgression severity is a significant component in intergroup forgiveness. Greater transgression severity is likely to correspond to people offering less support for intergroup forgiveness initiatives. In terms of the promotion of intergroup forgiveness following conflict, therefore, further investigation should be carried out into how to meet the needs of those with a high degree of victimhood.

Limitations of Study 3

Before concluding with potential implications of these findings, I will first discuss some potential limitations of the present study. Firstly, the model accounts for only 10% of the variation in the criterion variable: mild psychiatric morbidity. This, however, is not surprising. Numerous variables have been found to impact GHQ-12 scores. Socio-demographic variables such as being unemployed, divorced, of lower social class, having no-one to talk to, having a physical illness, being a student, being female, a single parent or living alone, have all been found to predict greater mental health problems (Cox, Blaxter, & Buckle, 1987; Harrison, Barrow, Gask, & Creed, 1999; McConnell, et al., 2002; O'Reilly & Stevenson, 2003). It is likely that all these variables have an impact on mild psychiatric morbidity, and are sources of unaccounted variation in our model. Future research is necessary to measure these other predictor variables as well as those in the model in order to investigate whether they help to account for the unexplained variance in the model, and to confirm that the relationship between experience of the Troubles and mild psychiatric morbidity still holds when

controlling for these variables. Additionally, the model only accounts for 4% of the variation in collective guilt. It was not, however, the aim of this investigation to predict collective guilt (see Wohl, et al., 2006, for review of variables associated with collective guilt).

Secondly, in the present research I did not include a measure of interpersonal forgiveness and guilt to check that our results were purely reflective of group-level forgiveness and guilt. However, there is a growing body of evidence that group-level forgiveness and guilt stand as distinct phenomena (Branscombe, 2004; Hewstone et al., 2004; McGlynn et al., 2004; McLernon et al., 2002; Wohl & Branscombe, 2005). Based on this previous research, it is likely that these results do reflect group-level forgiveness and guilt, as distinct from interpersonal forgiveness and guilt.

Thirdly, the present study was cross-sectional, and thus did not allow me to draw conclusions concerning causation. However, I based the directionality of the paths in the model on evidence which suggests that a higher rate of mental health problems are being experienced in Northern Ireland (as compared to neighboring countries), which can be in part be attributed to the Troubles (O'Reilly & Stevenson, 2003). It is, however, unclear which aspects of the Troubles are associated with mental health problems in Northern Ireland. To support the proposed model I have, however, tested five alternative causal models, and found that all yielded a worse fit with the data than the proposed model. Thus, in the absence of longitudinal data, the conclusions below can still be drawn with reasonable confidence.

Fourthly, I used secondary data (see Kiecolt & Nathan, 1985, for disadvantages and advantages). The main disadvantage of this is that my research

objectives were not those of the original compilers of the survey, and therefore the measures of some of the constructs is suboptimal. For example, intergroup forgiveness only has four items. Furthermore, important constructs previously found to be associated with intergroup forgiveness and collective guilt, such as cross-group friendship (Hewstone et al., 2005), were not included. I therefore investigated cross-group friendship and its relationship with intergroup forgiveness and collective guilt in the following chapter. The main advantage of the use of secondary data is that I made use of an existing data set with a large sample size from a representative sample, which I would not otherwise have had the resources to collect as original data.

Implications and conclusions

Despite acknowledged limitations of the present investigation, this research does demonstrate some important findings for community relations work in Northern Ireland, a country in which, notwithstanding the progress made by the peace process, lasting effects of the Troubles remain, as discussed in Chapter 1. These sequelae appear to include exaggerated levels of mental health problems. The current investigation highlights the importance of two psychological concepts which are central to the reconciliation process, i.e., group-level forgiveness and guilt. Study 3 demonstrates that forgiveness and guilt can act as mediators in the relationship between the impact of ethno-political conflict and mental health, at the group-level. These results suggest that as part of an active reconciliation process, practitioners and policy makers should address adverse mental health experienced as a result of the Troubles in Northern Ireland. Based on this research it can be recommended that reconciliation initiatives in Northern Ireland, and elsewhere, should aim to promote intergroup forgiveness without placing excess

emphasis on *past* transgressions, which may threaten individuals' group identities. Instead, initiatives should focus on forgiveness as way of moving *forward,* encompassing the positive acceptance of both community identities.

Chapter 5

Predictors and Mediators of Intergroup Forgiveness and Outgroup Trust in Northern Ireland

"It is about building right relationships and creating fair interactions and acknowledging the legitimacy of the 'others' in our midst. Part of the difficulty is the pain people feel" (McWilliams, p. 56).

Introduction

In this chapter three studies are reported which were designed to investigate the predictors and mediators of both intergroup forgiveness and outgroup trust, in the context of post-conflict reconciliation in Northern Ireland. More specifically, these studies examined the mediators of the relationship between cross-community contact (in the form of cross-group friendship) and ingroup identification on the one hand, and intergroup forgiveness and outgroup trust on the other. The first study (Study 4) showed that having more cross-group friends was associated with greater collective guilt which in turn, leads to more intergroup forgiveness. The second study (Study 5) replicated these results and extended the model by demonstrating that more cross-group friends and lower group identification were associated with greater outgroup trust, as well as greater intergroup forgiveness, and this occurred via perspective-taking with the outgroup. The third study (Study 6) extended the model further by showing that empathic affect mediated the relationship between cross-group friendship and outgroup trust.

Overall these studies demonstrate that cross-group friendship, religious group identification, collective guilt, perspective-taking and empathic affect all play an important role in developing intergroup forgiveness and outgroup trust. The research demonstrates the importance of these psychological phenomena in the post-conflict reconciliation process; the implications for intergroup reconciliation initiatives in Northern Ireland are therefore discussed within this chapter.

Conflict reconciliation in Northern Ireland

As discussed in Chapter 1, contemporary theory and research on conflict resolution highlights the need to tackle psychological dimensions of intergroup conflict (Doosje et al., 1998; Halpern & Weinstein, 2004; Hewstone et al., 2006; Hewstone et al., 2004; Huyse, 2005; Nadler, 2002). The reconciliation perspective on conflict resolution proposes that the end of a conflict is achieved via the removal of the emotional barriers which exist between parties (Nadler, 2002; Nadler & Saguy, 2004). In accord with this perspective, Nadler (2002) argues that psychological mechanisms (emotional and cognitive) are thought to act as major barriers to the resolution of a conflict (e.g., desire for revenge, guilt, distrust). For example, conflict-related transgressions that both parties have inflicted on each other can result in both the motivation to take revenge against as well as the maintenance of distrust towards the perpetrator group. Revenge and distrust are likely to activate reciprocal acts of violence and distrust which prolong conflict. This cycle can be stopped when parties start to replace the desire for revenge and feelings of distrust with intergroup forgiveness and the development of trust (Huyse, 2005; Nadler, 2002; Nadler & Saguy, 2004). The process of

reconciliation aims to tackle these emotional barriers by facilitating forgiveness for conflict-related transgressions and building mutual trust between communities.

In Northern Ireland, despite formal conflict resolution in 1998 when the Belfast Agreement was signed, there is still much reconciliation work to be done to remove the emotional barriers in order to build peaceful inter-community relations (Hewstone et al., in press; Jarman, 2004; MacGinty et al., 2007) (see Chapter 1, for a more detailed discussion). Ninety two percent of housing in Northern Ireland is still segregated along religious lines meaning that many single identity communities still exist "on the basis of barely tolerated coexistence" (Craig, 2005, p.19). Both segregation and strong identity with one of the two religious communities (Catholic vs. Protestant) have been implicated in the maintenance of the troubled community relations in Northern Ireland (Cairns, 1982; Hewstone et al., 2005; Trew & Benson, 1996). Furthermore, it is thought that these conditions breed cycles of revenge and distrust between the two communities, which have sustained cross-community tensions and prejudice (Foley & Robinson, 2004; Hayes & McAllister, 2002; Mitchell, 1999; O'Neill, 2002). To combat these problems, there is now growing consensus that reconciliation initiatives in Northern Ireland should aim to develop cross-community contact and understand the impact of religious group identification in order to build intergroup forgiveness and outgroup trust (Foley & Robinson, 2004; Hewstone et al., in press; Hewstone et al., 2006; Hewstone et al., 2004; Mitchell, 1999; Shirlow, 2003). However, the psychological mechanisms which mediate the relationships between cross-community contact and group identification, on the one hand, and intergroup forgiveness and outgroup trust, on the other, are little understood (Huyse, 2005). In the present investigation, I therefore set out to

examine these mediators, focusing on cross-community contact (in the form of cross-group friendship).

Cross-group friendship

As outlined in detail in Chapters 1 and 2, the high level of segregation in Northern Ireland is thought to play an important role in maintaining inter-community tensions between the two communities (Cairns, 1982; Hewstone et al., 2005; Trew & Benson, 1996). Encouraging cross-community contact is thus promoted as an important step in building peaceful community relations in Northern Ireland (Hewstone et al., 2005). The 'contact hypothesis' predicts that bringing individuals together from opposing groups under positive conditions can reduce prejudice and improve intergroup relations (Allport, 1954). These conditions include equal status between groups, common goals, no competition and authority sanction for contact. According to Pettigrew (1997), cross-group friendship is a particularly powerful form of contact since it potentially meets all of the optimal contact conditions. This form of contact necessitates long-term contact with outgroup members and involves affective and cognitive processes. There is now considerable empirical evidence that outgroup contact based on personal friendships (cross-group friendships) is particularly important in reducing prejudice and improving intergroup relations (Aron et al., 2004; Hewstone et al., 2006; Pettigrew, 1997; Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe, & Ropp, 1997).

Research carried out in Northern Ireland (Hewstone et al, 2005), has shown that cross-group friendship is the type of intergroup contact that is most associated with positive relations between Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland. Cross-group friendship has specifically been linked to pro-social orientations such

as intergroup forgiveness and collective guilt for conflict-related transgressions (Hewstone et al., 2004; Hewstone et al., in press). This research found that more cross-group friendships were associated with greater support for intergroup forgiveness and more collective guilt. In the present research, I aimed to explore this relationship by testing collective guilt as a mediator of the relationship between cross-group friendship and intergroup forgiveness.

Group identification

When considering group-level phenomena, the extent to which people categorize or identify with their ingroup becomes relevant (Ellemers, Spears & Doosje, 2002). Following theoretical argument from social identity theory (Tajfel, 1978), the extent to which individuals identify with their ingroup will affect how they react to group-based phenomena (Doosje et al., 1998). In Northern Ireland, group identification with one's religious community (Catholic or Protestant) has been found to be an important factor in maintaining enduring negative attitudes and is related to ingroup favouritism and outgroup discrimination (Cairns, 1982; Gallagher, 1989; Hewstone et al., 2006; Trew & Benson, 1996) (see Chapter 2 for more detail). It would thus be expected that individuals with high group identification would be more likely to withhold pro-social affects, such as intergroup forgiveness and trust, from the outgroup. Indeed, previous research in Northern Ireland has shown that high identification with one's religious community is negatively associated with intergroup forgiveness and collective guilt (Hewstone et al., 2004). In the present research, I therefore predicted that higher levels of identification with one's religious community in Northern Ireland would be associated with lower levels of support for intergroup forgiveness.

Intergroup forgiveness

As conceptualised in Chapter 2, the process of forgiveness is thought to (1) reduce the desire for revenge and retaliation, and (2) allow release of negative emotions such as anger and fear. Forgiveness as a group-level phenomenon was discussed in Chapters 2 and 4. In relation to conflict reconciliation, it was argued that forgiveness is best thought of as a group, as opposed to an interpersonal, phenomenon. At this level, forgiveness acts as a pro-social facilitator because it can enhance the feeling of community between people (Azar et al., 1999), restore damaged relationships (Scobie & Scobie, 1998) and diminish negative feelings which fuel the cycles of violence (Hewstone et al., 2004).

Intergroup forgiveness is considered to be an essential psychological component of conflict reconciliation generally (Azar et al., 1999; Doosje et al., 1998; Halpern & Weinstein, 2004; Nadler & Saguy, 2004), and in Northern Ireland specifically (Hewstone et al., 2006; Huyse, 2005; McGlynn et al., 2004; McLernon et al., 2002; Moeschberger et al., 2005). Research carried out in Northern Ireland (Hewstone et al., 2004) has determined that cross-group friendship and ingroup identification are good predictors of intergroup forgiveness. Previous research has, however, not yet examined mediators in this relationship. In the first study (Study 4) in this chapter, I therefore aimed to build on these findings by investigating collective guilt as a potential mediator of the relationship between cross-group friendship and ingroup identification on the one hand, and intergroup forgiveness on the other.

Collective guilt

As discussed in detail in Chapter 4, guilt exists at a group-level as *collective guilt* when individuals categorize themselves at the intergroup level (Branscombe,

2004). On an intergroup level, guilt is experienced when the ingroup is seen as deviating from the accepted moral norms (see Chapter 4 for details).

It was argued in Chapter 4, that guilt can motivate people to make amends for harm caused to others (Frijda et al., 1989; Miron et al., 2006; Wohl et al., 2006). Since intergroup forgiveness is a reparatory, pro-social orientation, I predicted in Chapter 4 that collective guilt would motivate people to express support for intergroup forgiveness. The results from this chapter showed that higher collective guilt was indeed associated with higher intergroup forgiveness. Moreover, collective guilt was found to mediate the relationship between group identification and intergroup forgiveness. In the research presented in this chapter, I therefore predicted that collective guilt would again mediate the relationship between group identification and intergroup forgiveness. Furthermore, I predicted that collective guilt would also mediate the relationship between cross-group friendship and intergroup forgiveness.

Present Research

The present investigation set out to examine mediators in the relationship between cross-group friendship and ingroup identification on the one hand, and intergroup forgiveness and outgroup trust on the other. The research used the two religious communities as the respective ingroup and outgroup for group-level measures. Previous research in Northern Ireland has demonstrated that cross-group friendship, level of identification with one's religious community, collective guilt, perspective-taking and empathy are all associated with the concepts of intergroup forgiveness and outgroup trust (Hewstone et al., 2004). Extending this research, I present three studies that examine the relationship

between these variables and their impact on intergroup forgiveness and outgroup trust. The first study (Study 4) investigated collective guilt as a mediator in the relationship between cross-group friendship and group identification on the one hand, and intergroup forgiveness on the other. The second study (Study 5) extended this model with perspective-taking as an additional mediator and outgroup trust as a further outcome variable. The third study (Study 6) further extended the model by adding empathy as a mediator.

Study 4

In this initial study I investigated whether cross-group friendship and group identification were predictors of intergroup forgiveness. Furthermore, I tested the extent to which these relationships were mediated by collective guilt. I carried out the research in the context of the Northern Ireland conflict and ingroup identification was the extent to which respondents identified with either the Catholic or Protestant community.

Predictions

I predicted that more cross-group friends and lower identification with one's religious community would lead to greater intergroup forgiveness. I also predicted that collective guilt would fully or partially mediate the relationship between cross-group friendship and group identification, on the one hand, and intergroup forgiveness, on the other. More cross-group friends and lower group identification would lead to higher collective guilt, which in turn would lead to greater intergroup forgiveness.

Method

Respondents

One hundred and fifty Northern Irish students (mean age 21.14 years, SD = 4.35) participated in the study on a voluntary basis. The sample comprised 65 Catholics (45 females, 17 males, 3 unknown) and 85 Protestants (63 females, 18 males, 4 unknown).

Procedure

Respondents were invited to take part in a study looking at attitudes towards relations between the Catholic and Protestant communities in Northern Ireland. If willing to participate, the investigator handed them a questionnaire, and assured them that their responses would be completely confidential and that they were under no obligation to participate. Respondents completed the questionnaire in private; however, the investigator remained nearby to provide assistance if required.

Measures

Predictor variables. Three items assessed direct *cross-group friendship* (Cronbach's $\alpha = .80$). Items included: "About how many of your friends are from the other community?" (1 = *none*, 6 = *all*); "How often do you visit friends who are from the other community in their home?" (1 = *never*, 5 = *very often*); "How often do you invite friends who are from the other community to your home?" (1 = *never*, 5 = *very often*). Thus higher scores represent more friendships with outgroup members.

Ingroup identification was measured by five items (adapted from Brown, Condor, Mathews, Wade, & Williams, 1986) (Cronbach's $\alpha = .92$). Items included: "Being a member of my community is an important reflection of who I

am"; "Being a member of my community is very rewarding"; "Being a member of my community is central to my sense of who I am"; "I am a good member of my community"; "I am a proud member of my community". Ratings were made on a seven-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*extremely*). Higher scores denote greater religious ingroup identification (Catholic or Protestant).

Mediator variable. Six items (adapted from Branscombe, Slugoski, & Kappen, 2004) tapped *collective guilt* (Cronbach's $\alpha = .80$), measured on seven-point Likert-type scales ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*): "I feel guilty about the negative things my community has done to the other community in the past"; "I feel regret for my community's harmful past actions toward the other community"; "I believe that I should repair the damage caused to the other community"; "I do not feel guilty about the things done to the other community by my community in the past" (R); "I do not feel regret about the things my community did to the other community in the past" (R); "I believe that my community should repair the damage done to the other community in the past". Higher scores denote a higher rating of collective guilt. Items marked (R) were reverse coded.

Criterion variable. *Intergroup forgiveness* was measured using seven items (adapted from Hewstone et al., 2004; McLernon et al., 2002). Respondents were given the instructions: "You may have read in the newspapers, or heard/seen discussions on the radio and TV about reconciliation and forgiveness in Northern Ireland. Now, please tell us how you feel about these issues." Respondents were then asked to rate the following items on seven-point Likert-type scales ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*): "It is important that my community never forgets the wrongs done to us by the other community" (R);

"Only when the two communities of Northern Ireland learn to forgive each other can we be free of political violence"; "It is important that my community never forgives the wrongs done to us by the other community" (R); "My community has remained strong precisely because it has never forgiven past wrongs committed by the other community" (R); "My community should, as a group, seek forgiveness from the other community for past paramilitary activities"; "Northern Ireland will never move from the past to the future, until the two communities learn to forget about the past"; "Northern Ireland will never move from the past to the future, until the two communities learn to draw a line under the past", (Cronbach's $\alpha = .74$). Higher scores denote more intergroup forgiveness. Items marked (R) were reverse coded.

Socio-demographic variables. Finally respondents were asked to indicate their age and gender. Religious affiliation was coded using a standard measure in Northern Ireland. Respondents were asked to choose from the following denominations: Christian (no denomination); Church of Ireland/Anglican; Baptist; Methodist; Presbyterian; Free Presbyterian; Brethren; Other Protestant (please specify); Roman Catholic; Other non-Christian (Please specify). Respondents were coded as being Protestant if they ticked any of the first eight options, Catholic if they ticked the ninth option, and excluded if they ticked the tenth option.

Results

Preliminary analyses

Table 5.1 shows the mean and standard deviation for each variable and correlations between each pair of variables. Cross-group friendship was associated with lower identification with one's community, higher collective guilt and greater intergroup forgiveness. Group identification was significantly associated with less intergroup forgiveness. Collective guilt was associated with greater intergroup forgiveness, suggesting its potential role as a mediator.

Table 5.1
Correlations, Means, and Standard Deviations for the Composite Variables *(Study 4)*

	1	2	3	4
1. Cross-group friendship	1			
2. Group identification	-.31***	1		
3. Collective guilt	.28**	-.15	1	
4. Intergroup forgiveness	.31***	-.31***	.62***	1
Mean	3.10	3.65	4.16	4.75
SD	.92	1.63	1.01	1.05

Note. This table displays correlations, means and standard deviations for the index of each variable in the study, i.e. an average score from the total of all items used to measure each variable.
Range for cross-group friendship, 1-5.67; range for group identification, collective guilt and intergroup forgiveness, 1-7.
* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; $N = 150$

Structural model

The proposed path model was evaluated with latent variables using structural equation modelling with AMOS 6.0 (Arbuckle, 2005). Cross-group

friendship and ingroup identification were entered as predictor variables; collective guilt was entered as a mediator variable; intergroup forgiveness was entered as a criterion or outcome variable (see Figure 5.1). Estimates were derived using the maximum likelihood procedure. To obtain model identification and an acceptable ratio of cases to parameters, I applied a partial disaggregation approach (Little et al., 2002; West et al., 1995). Subsequently, item 'parcels' were created by combining subsets of items for each variable, which were averaged to form three indicators (West et al., 1995) for each of the latent constructs: strength of group identity, collective guilt, intergroup forgiveness, and two indicators for cross-group friendship. All factor loadings of indicators were satisfactory (all > .53).

The goodness-of-fit of the model was assessed by using the chi-square test (χ^2), chi-square/degree of freedom ratio (χ^2 /df), the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) and the comparative fit index (CFI). A satisfactory fit is generally indicated by a non-significant χ^2 (although significant values are acceptable when the sample size is large), a χ^2/df ratio ≤ 3, a CFI $\geq .95$, and a RMSEA $\leq .08$ (Hu & Bentler, 1999). Based on these criteria, the model fit the data well: χ^2 (40, $N = 150$) = 47.01, p = .21; χ^2 /df = .95; CFI = 99; RMSEA = .03.

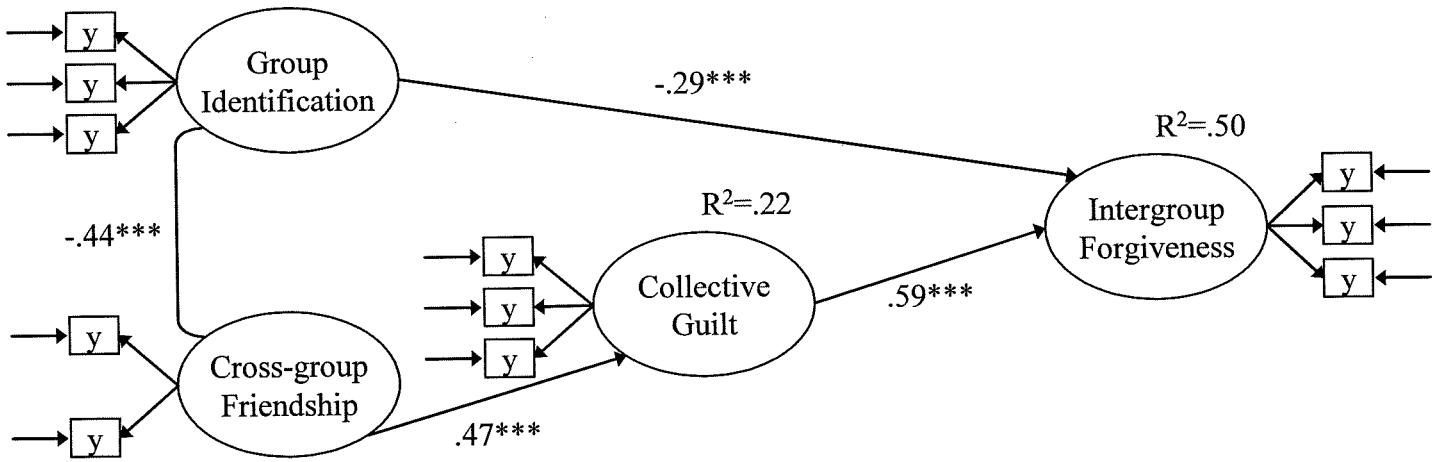


Figure 5.1. Path model showing results of structural equation analysis: effects of cross-group friendship and group identification on intergroup forgiveness, showing mediation via collective guilt *(Study 4)*.

Note. Standardized path coefficients are shown. Only significant paths and correlations are reported in the Figure. Curved paths denote correlations between variables.

*$p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; $N = 150$.

From Fig. 5.1 it can be seen that, as predicted, cross-group friendship was associated with greater collective guilt ($\beta = .47, p < .001$) which, in turn, was associated with higher levels of intergroup forgiveness ($\beta = .59, p < .001$). Furthermore, as expected, group identification had a negative effect on intergroup forgiveness ($\beta = -.29, p < .001$). The path between group identification and collective guilt was not, however, significant ($\beta = .01, p = .96$). A significant negative association was also found between cross-group friendship and group identification ($\phi = -.44, p < .001$). The model accounted for 22% of the variance in the measure of collective guilt and 50% of the variance in intergroup forgiveness.

To assess whether collective guilt mediated the relationship between cross-group friendship and intergroup forgiveness, I computed a Sobel test (Baron & Kenny, 1986). This test revealed that collective guilt was a significant mediator in the relationship between cross-group friendship and intergroup forgiveness, $z = 3.27, p < .001$.

Multigroup comparisons

To assess whether the model was equivalent for Catholics and Protestants despite finding no systematic differences, I performed a hierarchical set of multigroup comparisons gradually constraining measurement weights (Model 1), and structural weights (Model 2). Comparisons of the unconstrained model, χ^2 (78, N = 150) = 93.05, $p = .12$; χ^2 /df = 1.93; CFI = .98; RMSEA = .04, with hierarchical multigroup models revealed no significant drop in overall fit (Model 1 in comparison to the unconstrained model: $\Delta\chi^2 = 7.46$, df = 7, $p = .38$; Model 2 in comparison to Model 1: $\Delta\chi^2 = 4.86$, df = 4, $p = .30$). In keeping with comparisons made in Chapter 4, these comparisons indicate that there were no

substantial differences in terms of model parameters between Catholics and Protestants.

Alternative models

Care must be taken when making causal inferences from cross-sectional data. The theoretical argument for the predicted model is strong and the model fitted the data well; however, there are always alternative models (MacCullem & Austin, 2000). I considered several alternative models in which I changed the order of the predictors, mediators and criterion variables (see Table 5.2). None of the alternative models fit the data as well as the predicted model. It is therefore possible to conclude that in this sample, the predicted model offered the best model fit.

Table 5.2
Alternative Models *(Study 4)*

	Predictor variable(s)	Mediating variable(s)	Criterion variable(s)	Model fit
Alternative model 1	Group identification; Collective Guilt	Cross-group friendship	Intergroup forgiveness	Worse fit: χ^2 (40, N = 150) = 67.66, p = .004; χ^2/df = 1.69; CFI = .97; RMSEA = .07
Alternative model 2	Cross-group frienship; Collective Guilt	Group identification	Intergroup forgiveness	Worse fit: χ^2 (40, N = 150) = 90.82, p = .000; χ^2/df = 2.27; CFI = .94; RMSEA = .09
Alternative model 3	Cross-group frienship; Group identification	Intergroup forgiveness	Collective Guilt	Worse fit: χ^2 (40, N = 150) = 57.82, p = .034; χ^2/df = 1.45; CFI = .98; RMSEA = .06

Discussion

Study 4 demonstrated, among a student sample in Northern Ireland, that cross-group friendship was associated with greater support for intergroup forgiveness, a relationship that was mediated by collective guilt. Having more cross-group friends was associated with higher collective guilt, which in turn was associated with greater support for intergroup forgiveness. As predicted, the results showed a negative correlation between cross-group friendship and group identification (i.e., having more cross-group friends was associated with lower ingroup identification). Moreover, in line with previous findings (Hewstone et al., 2004), the results showed that higher ingroup identification was associated with lower intergroup forgiveness. This relationship was not, however, mediated by collective guilt, as we predicted. Study 5 aimed to replicate the findings from Study 4 and extend the investigation with the inclusion of additional variables.

Study 5

In this study I extended the investigation in two ways. First, I included a measure of outgroup trust, since trust is a necessary part of reconciliation initiatives in Northern Ireland (Foley & Robinson, 2004; Hewstone et al., 2005; Hewstone et al., 2006; Mitchell, 1999; Shirlow, 2003). Second, I considered perspective-taking as an additional mediator of the relationship between cross-group friendship and group identification, on the one hand, and intergroup forgiveness and outgroup trust on the other.

Outgroup trust

As discussed in detail in Chapter 2, trust can be conceptualised as a positive expectation about the intentions/behaviour of another person or group that

implicitly affords the risk of defection and social uncertainty (Frost et al., 1978; Rousseau et al., 1998; Tschannen-Moran & Hoy, 2000; Yamagishi & Yamagishi, 1994). Trust is an essential part of functional intergroup relations. It has a number of positive consequences which include enhanced cooperation, information sharing, improved communication and problem solving (Hayashi et al., 1999; Lewicki & Tomlinson, 2003). Within the field of intergroup relations it is recognized as a necessary part of conflict reconciliation strategies which aim to improve community relations (Blackstock, 2001; Dovidio et al., 2002; Lewicki & Tomlinson, 2003; Lewicki & Wiethoff, 2000; Nadler & Saguy, 2004).

At the group-level, trust reveals an ingroup bias effect. People harbour a tendency to trust ingroup members more than outgroups (Brewer, 1999; Moy & Ng, 1996; Insko et al., 1990).This suggests that, at the group-level, an individual's strength of group identification will be related to their level of trust. The greater an individual's group identification, the more likely they are to withhold trust from the outgroup.

Cross-group contact is also an important determinant of outgroup trust in Northern Ireland. Hewstone et al. (in press) contend that the high level of segregation in Northern Ireland fosters distrust, ignorance and suspicion between the two communities. Previous research has demonstrated that contact with the outgroup does indeed predict greater outgroup trust in Northern Ireland (Hewstone et al., 2005).

Perspective-taking

There is increasing evidence that empathy plays a key role in improving intergroup relations. Empathy has been found to facilitate pro-social behaviour, not only on an interpersonal level but also at an intergroup level (Batson, 1991;

Batson et al., 2003; Batson & Shaw, 1991; Stephan & Finlay, 1999; Sturmer, Snyder, & Omoto, 2005). Researchers have found empirical evidence that, in terms of intergroup relations, empathy can induce more positive attitudes toward stigmatised groups (Batson et al., 1997; Vescio, Gretchen, & Paolucci, 2003), reduce prejudice toward racial outgroups (Stephan & Finlay, 1999), motivate helping (Sturmer et al., 2005), reduce ingroup bias (Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000), and reduce stereotypic biases (Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000). Moreover, in terms of intergroup reconciliation, Gobodo-Madikizela (2003) argues that empathy for the suffering experienced by victims is a necessary condition for reconciliation. Within conflict reconciliation, therefore, empathy for the outgroup could facilitate support for pro-social orientations, such as outgroup trust and forgiveness.

Empathy is thought by researchers to include both an affective and a cognitive element (Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000; Stephan & Finlay, 1999). The affective element of empathy is the empathic affect experienced for the other person or group. The cognitive element of empathy, on the other hand, refers to actively taking the perspective of the other person or group i.e., 'putting oneself in another's shoes'.

On an intergroup level, the cognitive element of empathy i.e., perspective-taking, may be more effective for outgroup helping (Batson et al., 1997; Sturmer et al., 2005) and reducing prejudice (Stephan & Finlay, 1999). According to Stephan and Finlay (1999), perspective-taking may reduce prejudice in two ways. Firstly, it allows people to view themselves as less different from and more connected to members of the outgroup. Secondly, it improves understanding of the outgroup and thus makes them seem less threatening and alien. Moreover,

Davis (1983) suggests that perspective-taking allows an individual to anticipate other people's behaviour and reactions, which encourages smoother and more rewarding relations. Aron et al. (2004) and Galinsky, Ku and Wang (2005) argue that perspective-taking reduces prejudice, encourages helping behaviour and promotes social coordination via cognitive processes which promote social coordination and cultivate social bonds. Aron et al. (2004) maintain that the cognitive processes associated with perspective-taking involve the overlap of cognitive representation of self and other. This means that the representation of the other becomes more like the self, and the representation of the self becomes more like the other. Through self-other merging, social coordination is promoted and social bonds are strengthened, leading to greater pro-social behaviour.

In sum, the current literature suggests that perspective-taking may be effective for facilitating pro-social behaviour towards outgroups (Batson et al., 1997; Galinsky et al., 2005; Stephan & Finlay, 1999; Sturmer et al., 2005). Perspective-taking can facilitate positive behaviour toward the outgroup by facilitating greater connectedness, understanding (Stephan & Finlay, 1999), anticipation of others' reactions (Davis, 1983), and merging the cognitive representation of the self with the outgroup (Aron et al., 2004). It is therefore likely that perspective-taking will facilitate pro-social behaviour, such as intergroup forgiveness and outgroup trust. In the present research, I therefore predicted that outgroup perspective-taking would be associated with greater intergroup forgiveness and outgroup trust.

A second prediction was that group identification would be negatively associated with outgroup perspective-taking. At the group-level, it is likely that both cross-group friendship and group identification will be associated with

outgroup perspective-taking, which in turn will lead to greater intergroup forgiveness and outgroup trust. Research in Northern Ireland (Hewstone et al., 2006), has shown that cross-group friendship predicts outgroup perspective-taking. Moreover, Hewstone et al., (2006) argue that one way in which cross-group contact may be effective is in its ability to promote empathy. The positive effects of contact may therefore be mediated by perspective-taking. As discussed previously, those with high group identification are likely to withhold pro-social affects (Cairns, 1982; Gallagher, 1989; Hewstone et al., 2006; Trew & Benson, 1996), which is likely to include outgroup perspective-taking.

Predictions

I predicted that collective guilt would again mediate the relationship between group cross-group friendship and intergroup forgiveness, replicating the results from Study 4. With the introduction of outgroup trust as a further criterion variable, I expected that more cross-group friends and lower identification with one's religious community would lead to higher levels of outgroup trust. Furthermore, this relationship would be mediated by the level of outgroup perspective-taking. I also predicted that more cross-group friendship and lower group identification would lead to greater outgroup perspective-taking, which in turn would facilitate support for pro-social orientations, such as intergroup forgiveness and outgroup trust.

Method

Respondents

One hundred and ninety four Northern Irish students (mean age 21.64 years, SD = 6.47) participated in the study on a voluntary basis. The sample comprised 98 Catholics (63 females, 30 males, 5 unknown) and 96 Protestants (58 females, 36 males, 2 unknown).

Procedure

The procedure was identical to Study 4. Unless otherwise noted, the measures used were the same as in Study 4.

Predictor variables. Three items assessed *cross-group friendship* (Cronbach's $\alpha = .80$). Higher scores represent more friendships with outgroup members.

Ingroup identification was measured by five items (Cronbach's $\alpha = .90$). Ratings were made on a seven-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*extremely*). Higher scores denote greater religious ingroup identification (Catholic or Protestant).

Mediator variables. Six items tapped *collective guilt* (Cronbach's $\alpha = .80$), measured on seven-point Likert-type scales ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). Higher scores denote higher collective guilt.

Perspective-taking. Six items assessed respondents' outgroup *perspective-taking* in Northern Ireland, adapted from Davis (1994) (see also Batson et al., 1997; Hewstone et al., 2004) measured on a seven-point scale from (1) *strongly disagree* to (7) *strongly agree*. Items included: "I find it difficult to see things from the point of view of the other community" (R); "I try to think about the conflict in Northern Ireland from the perspective of a member of the other

community"; "If I am sure I am right about something happening in Northern Ireland, I don't waste much time listening to the arguments of members of the other community"; (R); "When I am upset about the situation in Northern Ireland, I usually try to put myself in a member of the other community's shoes"; "I believe I have a good understanding of how a member of the other community views the world"; "On most issues, I do not seem to be able to grasp the perspective of members of the other community" (R), (Cronbach's $\alpha = .68$). Higher scores denote greater outgroup perspective-taking. Items marked (R) were reverse coded.

Criterion variables. *Intergroup forgiveness* was measured using seven items identical to Study 1, rated on a seven-point Likert-type scales ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) (Cronbach's $\alpha = .74$). Higher scores denote higher intergroup forgiveness.

Outgroup trust. Three items were used to measure outgroup trust (adapted from Brehm & Rahn, 1997), measured on seven-point scales: "Do you think most people from the other community would try to take advantage of you if they got the chance, or would they try to be fair?" (1 = *take advantage*, 7 = *try to be fair*); "Would you say that most of the time people from the other community try to be helpful, or that they are mostly just looking out for themselves? (1 = *out for themselves*, 7 = *try to be helpful*); "Generally speaking, would you say that most people from the other community can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful?" (1 = *can't be too careful*, 7 = *can be trusted*) (Cronbach's $\alpha = .82$). Higher scores denote greater outgroup trust.

Socio-demographic variables. Respondents were asked to indicate their age, gender and religious denomination.

Results

Preliminary analyses

Table 5.3 shows the mean and standard deviation for each variable, and correlations between each pair of variables. Cross-group friendship was negatively associated with group identification, but positively associated with collective guilt, perspective-taking, intergroup forgiveness and outgroup trust. Group identification was negatively associated with perspective-taking and intergroup forgiveness. Both collective guilt and perspective-taking were positively correlated with intergroup forgiveness and outgroup trust, highlighting their putative role as mediators of the effects of intergroup identification and cross-group friendship.

Structural model

The proposed path model was evaluated with latent variables using structural equation modelling with AMOS 6.0 (Arbuckle, 2005). Cross-group friendship and group identification were entered as predictor variables, collective guilt and perspective-taking were entered as a mediator variables, and intergroup forgiveness and outgroup trust were entered as criterion or outcome variables. As in Study 4, I used the disaggregation approach to create two indicators for cross-group friendship and three indicators for strength of group identity, collective guilt, perspective-taking, intergroup forgiveness and outgroup trust. All factor loadings of indicators were satisfactory (all > .57).

Table 5.3
Correlations, Means, and Standard Deviations for the Summated Perceptual Variables *(Study 5)*

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Cross-group friendship	1					
2. Group identification	-.16*	1				
3. Collective guilt	.18*	-.09	1			
4. Perspective-taking	.33***	-.25***	.22**	1		
5. Intergroup forgiveness	.14*	-.23**	.38***	.34***	1	
6. Outgroup trust	.18*	.02	.17*	.15*	.12	1
Mean	*2.90*	*3.75*	*4.44*	*4.39*	*5.18*	*4.97*
SD	*.94*	*1.58*	*1.25*	*.96*	*1.09*	*1.19*

Note. This table displays correlations, means and standard deviations for the index of each variable in the study, i.e. an average score from the total of all items used to measure each variable.
Range for cross-group friendship, 1-5.67; range for group identification, collective guilt, perspective-taking, intergroup forgiveness and outgroup trust 1-7.
* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; $N = 194$

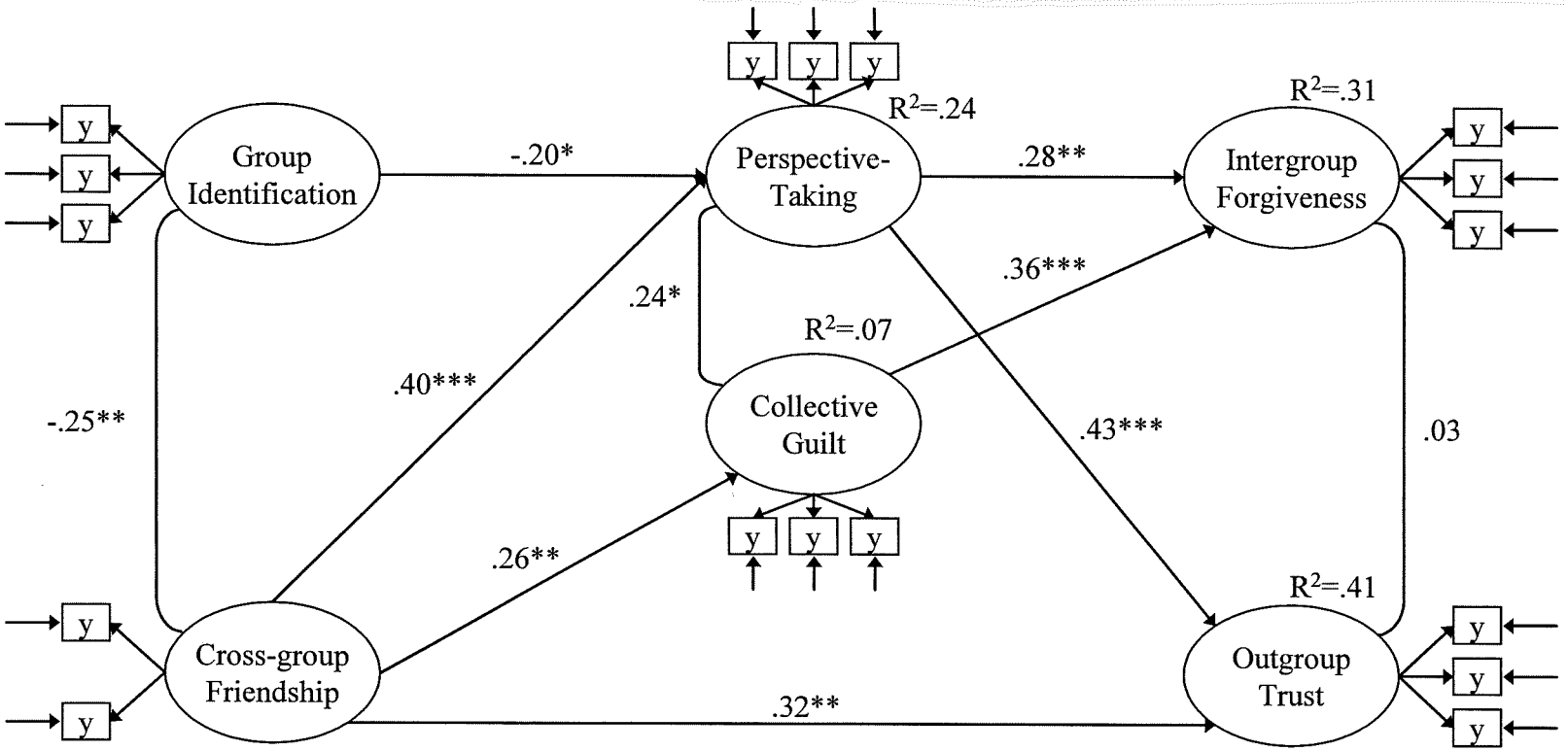


Figure 5.2. Path model showing results of structural equation analysis: effects of cross-group friendship and group identification on intergroup forgiveness and outgroup trust, showing mediation via collective guilt and perspective-taking *(Study 5)*.

Note. Standardized path coefficients are shown. Only significant paths and correlations are reported in the Figure. Curved paths denote correlations between variables.

*$p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; $N = 194$.

Based on the standard goodness of fit criteria (see Study 4), the model fit the data well: χ^2 (108, N = 194) = 138.67, p = .025; χ^2 /df = 1.28; CFI = 98; RMSEA = .04. From Fig. 5.2 it can be seen that cross-group friendship was associated with greater collective guilt (β = .26, p < .01) which, in turn, was associated with higher levels of intergroup forgiveness (β = .36, p < .001). Cross-group friendship also directly predicted greater outgroup trust (β = .32, p < .01). Cross-group friendship was also associated with higher levels of perspective-taking (β = .40, p < .001), while group identification was negatively associated with it (β = -.20, p < .05). In turn, perspective-taking was associated with higher levels of both intergroup forgiveness (β = .28, p < .01) and outgroup trust (β = .43, p < .001). With the inclusion of perspective-taking as a mediator, group identification no longer directly predicted intergroup forgiveness (β = -.12, p = .12). A significant negative correlation was also found between cross-group friendship and group identification (ϕ = -.25, p < .01). Collective guilt and perspective-taking were positively correlated in the model (ϕ = .24, p < .05). The model accounted for 7% of the variance in the measure of collective guilt, 24% in perspective-taking, 31% in intergroup forgiveness, and 41% of the variance in outgroup trust.

I next computed a series of Sobel tests (Baron & Kenny, 1986), to test mediation effects, results of which are shown in Table 5.4. Collective guilt was a significant mediator in the relationship between cross-group friendship and intergroup forgiveness (z = 2.24, p < .05). Moreover, as predicted, perspective-taking mediated the relationship between cross-group friendship and intergroup forgiveness (z = 3.23, p < .001), group identification and intergroup forgiveness (z = -2.76, p < .01), and group identification and outgroup trust (z = -1.89, p < .05). The relationship between cross-group friendship and outgroup trust was not,

however, fully mediated by perspective-taking ($z = 1.20, p = 0.23$). In the path model it can be seen that this relationship was only partially mediated by perspective-taking, as there was also a significant direct relationship between cross-group friendship and outgroup trust.

Table 5. 4
Sobel Tests for Mediated Relationships *(Study 5)*

Predictor	Mediator	Criterion	*z*-test	*p*-value
Cross-group friendship	Collective guilt	Intergroup forgiveness	2.24	.03*
Cross-group friendship	Perspective-taking	Intergroup forgiveness	3.23	.001***
Cross-group friendship	Perspective-taking	Outgroup trust	.1.21	0.23
Group identification	Perspective-taking	Intergroup forgiveness	-2.76	.006**
Group identification	Perspective-taking	Outgroup trust	-1.89	.05*

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; $N = 194$

Multigroup comparisons

To assess whether the model was equivalent for Catholics and Protestants despite finding no systematic differences, I performed a hierarchical set of multigroup comparisons gradually constraining measurement weights (Model 1), and structural weights (Model 2). Comparisons of the unconstrained model, χ^2 (216, N = 194) = 286.42, $p = .01$; χ^2 /df = 1.33; CFI = .95; RMSEA = .04, with hierarchical multigroup models revealed no significant drop in overall fit (Model 1 in comparison to the unconstrained model: $\Delta\chi^2 = 11.93$, df = 11, $p = .13$; Model 2 in comparison to Model 1: $\Delta\chi^2 = 9.50$, df = 8, $p = .30$). Again, these

comparisons indicate that there were no substantial differences in terms of model parameters between Catholics and Protestants.

Alternative models

I considered several alternative models in which I changed the order of the predictors, mediators and criterion variables (see Table 5.5). None of the alternative models fit the data as well as the predicted model. I therefore conclude that in this sample, the predicted model offered the best model fit.

Table 5.5
Alternative Models *(Study 5)*

	Predictor variable(s)	Mediating variable(s)	Criterion variable(s)	Model fit
Alternative model 1	Group identification; Collective Guilt	Perspective-taking; Cross-group friendship	Intergroup forgiveness; Outgroup trust	Worse fit: χ^2 (108, N = 194) =156.56, p = .001; χ^2/df = 1.45; CFI = .97; RMSEA = .05
Alternative model 2	Cross-group friendship; Collective Guilt	Perspective-taking; Group identification	Intergroup forgiveness; Outgroup trust	Worse fit: χ^2 (108, N = 194) =165.35, p = .001; χ^2/df = 1.53; CFI = .96; RMSEA = .05
Alternative model 3	Group identification; Perspective-taking	Collective guilt; Cross-group friendship	Intergroup forgiveness; Outgroup trust	Worse fit: χ^2 (108, N = 194) =164.18, p = .001; χ^2/df = 1.52; CFI = .96; RMSEA = .05
Alternative model 4	Cross-group friendship; Perspective-taking	Collective guilt; Group identification	Intergroup forgiveness; Outgroup trust	Worse fit: χ^2 (108, N = 194) =191.76, p = .001; χ^2/df = 1.78; CFI = .94; RMSEA = .06
Alternative model 5	Cross-group friendship; Group identification	Perspective-taking; Intergroup forgiveness	Outgroup trust; Collective guilt	Worse fit: χ^2 (108, N = 194) =148.32, p = .001; χ^2/df = 1.37; CFI = .97; RMSEA = .04
Alternative model 6	Cross-group Friendship; Group Identification	Perspective-taking; Outgroup trust	Intergroup forgiveness; Collective guilt	Worse fit: χ^2 (108, N = 194) = 140.40, p = .02; χ^2/df = 1.30; CFI = .98; RMSEA = .04
Alternative model 7	Cross-group Friendship; Group Identification	Collective guilt; Intergroup forgiveness	Outgroup trust; Perspective-taking	Worse fit: χ^2 (108, N = 194) =173.15, p = .001; χ^2/df = 1.60; CFI = .96; RMSEA = .06
Alternative model 8	Cross-group Friendship; Group Identification	Collective guilt; Outgroup trust	Intergroup forgiveness; Perspective-taking	Worse fit: χ^2 (108, N = 194) = 148.60 p = .01; χ^2/df = 1.38; CFI = .97; RMSEA = .04

Discussion

Study 5 again demonstrated that cross-group friendship was associated with greater intergroup forgiveness, through the mediation of collective guilt. The replication strengthens the original findings and confirms that feelings of collective guilt play an important role in intergroup forgiveness. In addition, Study 5 considered outgroup trust as a further criterion variable, and perspective-taking as a further mediator variable. As predicted, the results showed that perspective-taking mediated the relationship between cross-group friendship and group identification, on the one hand, and intergroup forgiveness on the other. Moreover, there was a direct path from cross-group friendship to greater outgroup trust, and an indirect path that was partially mediated via perspective-taking. The more cross-group friendships an individual engages in and the lower the degree of identification with his or her religious community, the more likely he or she is to consider the perspective of outgroup members. This, in turn, increases his or her level of intergroup forgiveness and outgroup trust. Having a greater number of cross-group friends also leads directly to greater outgroup trust.

Study 6

Studies 4 and 5 uncovered a number of new findings that point to the psychological processes via which cross-group friendship and ingroup identification impact levels of intergroup forgiveness and outgroup trust in the context of Northern Ireland. In Study 6, I extended the previous model by considering empathic affect (the emotional element of empathy) as a third mediator in the model.

Empathic affect

As previously discussed, research indicates that empathy has a host of beneficial effects on intergroup attitudes and behaviour (Batson et al., 1997; Galinsky et al., 2005; Stephan & Finlay, 1999; Sturmer et al., 2005). Empathy can improve intergroup relations and, as such, it is often an explicit component of conflict resolution workshops which are designed to foster mutual understanding between members of opposing groups (Stephan & Finlay, 1999).

Empathy includes an affective as well as a cognitive element. Although researchers have argued that perspective-taking may be the more important component in intergroup relations (Batson et al., 1997; Galinsky et al., 2005; Stephan & Finlay, 1999; Sturmer et al., 2005), the affective element may also be important in forming social bonds (Stephan & Finlay, 1999). Empathic affect consists of compassion-related emotions that arise from a feeling of concern for another (Batson et al., 1997) and a feeling of 'oneness' with the other person (Cialdini, Brown, Lewis, Luce, & Neuberg, 1997).

Batson and Shaw (1991) propose that empathy is brought about by perceptions of attachment (kinship, friendship, similarity, familiarity). Attachment can increase likelihood of empathic feelings, which include sympathy, compassion, and tenderness (Batson et al., 1997). Since cross-group friendship involves attachment, it is likely to elicit the affective element of empathy. In turn, empathic affect will signal feelings of oneness with the outgroup, which will increase levels of trust for the outgroup (an affect which is usually reserved for the ingroup; see Brewer, 1999).

Predictions

I predicted that collective guilt would again mediate the relationship between group identification and intergroup forgiveness. Based on the results from Study 5, I expected that perspective-taking would mediate the relationship between cross-group friendship and group identification on the one hand, and intergroup forgiveness and outgroup trust on the other. New to this study, I predicted that empathic affect would also mediate the relationship between cross-group friendship and outgroup trust.

Method

Respondents

Two hundred and seventeen Northern Irish students (mean age 21.04 years, SD = 4.63) participated in the study on a voluntary basis. The sample comprised 114 Catholics (71 females, 31 males, 12 unknown) and 103 Protestants (70 females, 26 males, 7 unknown).

Procedure

The procedure was identical to that of Studies 4 and 5. Unless otherwise noted, the measures were identical to Studies 4 and 5.

Predictor variables. Three items assessed direct *cross-group friendship* (Cronbach's $\alpha = .88$). Higher scores represent more friendships with outgroup members.

Ingroup identification was measured by five items (Cronbach's $\alpha = .92$). Ratings were made on a seven-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*extremely*). Higher scores denote greater religious ingroup identification (Catholic or Protestant).

Mediator variables. Six items tapped *collective guilt* (Cronbach's $\alpha = .81$), measured on seven-point Likert-type scales ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). Higher scores denote a higher rating of collective guilt.

Perspective-taking. Six items measured respondent's outgroup perspective-taking, assessed on a seven-point scale from 1 (*strongly disagree)* to 7 (*strongly agree)*, (Cronbach's $\alpha = .70$). Higher scores denote greater outgroup perspective-taking.

Empathic affect. Batson et al.'s (1997) measure of (emotional) empathy was adapted for cross-community relations in Northern Ireland. Respondents were asked, "When encountering or interacting with members of the other community, how often have you felt…". Respondents were then asked to rate the following six items on seven-point Likert-type scales ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*extremely*): "compassionate"; "sympathetic"; "soft-hearted"; "tender"; "warm" and "moved" (Cronbach's $\alpha = .96$).

A principal-components analysis on the affective and cognitive measures of empathy, retaining eigenvalues greater than 1, revealed two factors that accounted for 74% of the variance. Factor loadings, after varimax rotation, showed that perspective-taking items loaded strongly onto the first factor (>.72), while empathic affect loaded strongly onto the second factor (>.86). This confirmed the independence of the two measures.

Criterion variables. Intergroup forgiveness was measured using seven items rated on seven-point Likert-type scales ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) (Cronbach's $\alpha = .75$). Higher scores denote more intergroup forgiveness.

Outgroup trust. Three items assessed outgroup trust, measured on seven-point scales (Cronbach's $\alpha = .88$). Higher scores denote greater outgroup trust.

Socio-demographic variables. Respondents were asked to indicate their age, gender and religious denomination.

Results

Preliminary analyses

Table 5.6 shows the mean and standard deviation for each variable and correlations between each pair of variables. Cross-group friendship was negatively associated with group identification, but positively associated with collective guilt, perspective-taking, empathic affect, intergroup forgiveness and outgroup trust. Group identification was negatively associated with collective guilt, perspective-taking, empathic affect, intergroup forgiveness and outgroup trust. Collective guilt was positively correlated with perspective-taking, empathic affect, intergroup forgiveness and outgroup trust. Perspective-taking was positively correlated with empathic affect, intergroup forgiveness and outgroup trust. Intergroup forgiveness was significantly associated with higher outgroup trust.

Structural model

The proposed path model was evaluated with latent variables using structural equation modelling with AMOS 6.0 (Arbuckle, 2005). Cross-group friendship and group identification were entered as predictor variables; collective guilt, perspective-taking and empathic affect were entered as mediator variables; and intergroup forgiveness and outgroup trust were entered as a criterion or outcome variables. I used the disaggregation approach to create two indicators for cross-group friendship and three indicators for group identification, collective

guilt, perspective-taking, empathic affect, intergroup forgiveness and outgroup trust. All factor loadings of indicators were satisfactory (all > .52).

The model fit the data well: χ^2 (154, N = 217) = 198.05, p = .01; χ^2 /df = 1.29; CFI = 98; RMSEA = .04. From Fig.5.3 it can be seen that cross-group friendship was associated with greater collective guilt (β = .22, p < .01) which, in turn, was associated with higher levels of intergroup forgiveness (β = .42, p < .001). Moreover, cross-group friendship directly predicted greater outgroup trust (β = .21, p < .05). Cross-group friendship was also associated with higher levels of perspective-taking (β = .27, p < .01), whereas group identification was negatively associated with perspective-taking (β = -.31, p < .001). In turn, perspective-taking was associated with higher levels of both intergroup forgiveness (β = .41, p < .001) and outgroup trust (β = .28, p < .01). New to Study 6, the results showed that cross-group friendship was positively associated with empathic affect (β = .56, p < .001), which, in turn, was positively associated with outgroup trust (β = .34, p < .001). The paths between group identification and empathic affect (β = .08, p = .21), and empathic affect and intergroup forgiveness (β = .11, p = .17), were not statistically significant. As expected, a negative correlation was also found between cross-group friendship and group identification (ϕ = -.33, p < .001). There was a positive correlation between collective guilt and perspective-taking (ϕ = .24, p < .05), collective guilt and empathic affect (ϕ = .44, p < .001), perspective-taking and empathic affect (ϕ = .26, p < .01), and intergroup forgiveness and outgroup trust (ϕ = .37, p < .001). The model accounted for 5% of the variance in the measure of collective guilt, 22% in perspective-taking, 29% in empathic affect, 53% of the variance in intergroup forgiveness and 42% of the variance in outgroup trust.

Table 5.6
Correlations, Means, and Standard Deviations for the Summated Perceptual Variables *(Study 6)*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Cross-group friendship	1						
2. Group identification	-.25***	1					
3. Collective guilt	.19**	-.18**	1				
4. Perspective-taking	.20**	-.33***	.24***	1			
5. Empathic affect	.47***	-.12	.45***	.30***	1		
6. Intergroup forgiveness	.34***	-.23**	.49***	.39***	.38***	1	
7. Outgroup trust	.44***	-.17*	.31***	.33***	.51***	.50***	1
Mean	2.97	3.56	4.41	4.67	4.35	4.95	5.24
SD	1.05	1.68	1.27	1.29	1.45	1.00	1.44

Note. This table displays correlations, means and standard deviations for the index of each variable in the study, i.e. an average score from the total of all items used to measure each variable.
Range for cross-group friendship, 1-5.67; range for group identification, collective guilt, perspective-taking, empathic affect, intergroup forgiveness and outgroup trust, 1-7.
* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; $N = 217$

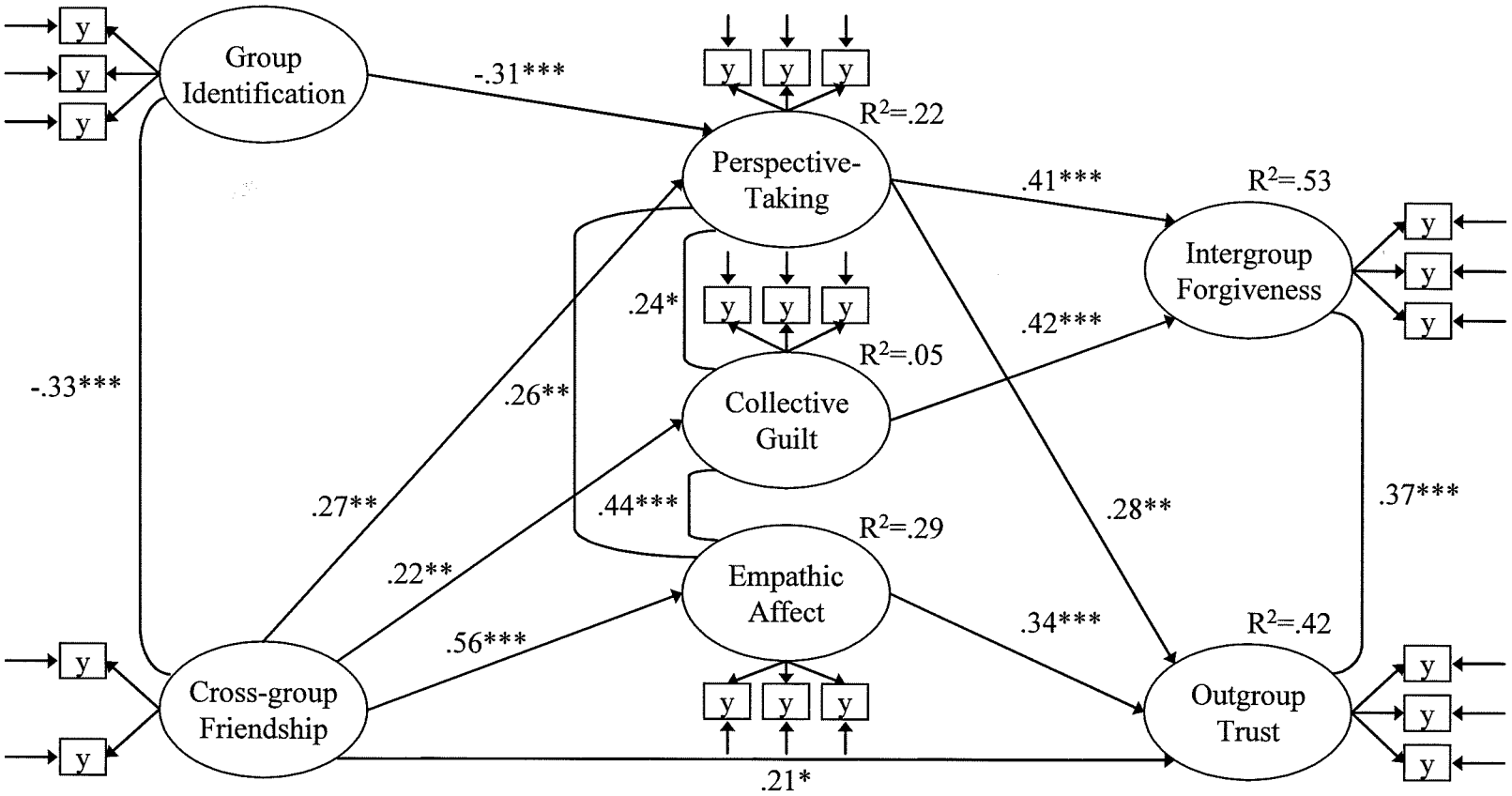


Figure 5.3. Path model showing results of structural equation analysis: effects of cross-group friendship and group identification on intergroup forgiveness and outgroup trust, showing mediation via collective guilt, perspective-taking and empathic affect *(Study 6).*

Note. Standardized path coefficients are shown. Only significant paths and correlations are reported in the Figure. Curved paths denote correlations between variables.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; $N = 217$.

I computed a series of Sobel tests (Baron & Kenny, 1986) to test mediation effects, results of which are shown in Table 5.7. Sobel tests revealed that collective guilt was a significant mediator in the relationship between cross-group friendship and intergroup forgiveness, ($z = 2.65$, $p < .01$). Perspective-taking mediated the relationship between cross-group friendship and intergroup forgiveness, ($z = 2.59$, $p < .01$), group identification and intergroup forgiveness, ($z = -3.66$, $p < .001$), and group identification and outgroup trust, ($z = -3.34$, $p < .001$). The relationship between cross-group friendship and outgroup trust was also mediated by perspective-taking, ($z = 2.43$, $p < .01$). Furthermore, I found that empathic emotion mediated the relationship between cross-group friendship and outgroup trust, ($z = 4.78$, $p < .001$).

Table 5.7
Sobel Tests for Mediated Relationships *(Study 6)*

Predictor	Mediator	Criterion	*z*-test	*p*-value
Cross-group friendship	Collective guilt	Intergroup forgiveness	2.65	.008**
Cross-group friendship	Perspective-taking	Intergroup forgiveness	2.59	.009**
Cross-group friendship	Perspective-taking	Outgroup trust	2.43	.02**
Group identification	Perspective-taking	Intergroup forgiveness	-.3.66	.001***
Group identification	Perspective-taking	Outgroup trust	-.3.34	.001***
Cross-group frienship	Empathic affect	Outgroup trust	4.78	.001***

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; $N = 194$

Multigroup comparisons

To assess whether the model was equivalent for Catholics and Protestants despite finding no systematic differences, I performed a hierarchical set of multigroup comparisons gradually constraining measurement weights (Model 1), and structural weights (Model 2). Comparisons of the unconstrained model, χ^2 (308, N = 217) = 396.18, p = .001; χ^2 /df = 1.29; CFI = .97; RMSEA = .04, with hierarchical multigroup models revealed no significant drop in overall fit (Model 1 in comparison to the unconstrained model: $\Delta\chi^2$ = 20.92, df = 13, p = .07; Model 2 in comparison to Model 1: $\Delta\chi^2$ = 15.48, df = 11, p = .08). Again, these comparisons indicate that there were no substantial differences in terms of model parameters between Catholics and Protestants.

Alternative models

I considered several alternative models in which I changed the order of the predictors, mediators and criterion variables (see Table 5.8). None of the alternative models fit the data as well as the predicted model. It can therefore be concluded that, in this sample, the predicted model offered the best model fit.

Table 5.8
Alternative Models *(Study 6)*

	Predictor variable(s)	Mediating variable(s)	Criterion variable(s)	Model fit
Alternative model 1	Cross-group friendship; Group identification	Perspective-taking; Emotional empathy; Outgroup forgiveness	Outgroup trust; Collective guilt	Worse fit: χ^2 (154, N = 217) = 201.95, p = .006; χ^2/df = 1.31; CFI = .98; RMSEA = .04
Alternative model 2	Cross-group Friendship; Group Identification	Perspective-taking; Emotional Empathy; Outgroup trust	Outgroup forgiveness; Collective guilt	Worse fit: χ^2 (154, N = 217) = 219.19, p < .001; χ^2/df = 1.42; CFI = .98; RMSEA = .04
Alternative model 3	Cross-group Friendship; Group Identification	Perspective-taking; Collective guilt; Outgroup forgiveness	Outgroup trust; Emotional empathy	Worse fit: χ^2 (154, N = 217) = 234.11, p < .001; χ^2/df = 1.52; CFI = .97; RMSEA = .05
Alternative model 4	Cross-group Friendship; Group Identification	Perspective-taking; Collective guilt; Outgroup trust	Outgroup forgiveness; Emotional empathy	Worse fit: χ^2 (154, N = 217) = 209.23, p = .002; χ^2/df = 1.36; CFI = .98; RMSEA = .04
Alternative model 5	Cross-group Friendship; Group Identification	Emotional empthy; Collective guilt; Outgroup forgiveness	Outgroup trust; Perspective-taking	Worse fit: χ^2 (154, N = 217) = 203.09, p = .005; χ^2/df = 1.32; CFI = .98; RMSEA = .04
Alternative model 6	Cross-group Friendship; Group Identification	Emotional empthy; Collective guilt; Outgroup trust	Outgroup forgiveness; Perspective-taking	Worse fit: χ^2 (154, N = 217) = 211.20, p = .002; χ^2/df = 1.37; CFI = .98; RMSEA = .04

Discussion

Study 6 showed that collective guilt mediated the relationship between cross-group friendship and intergroup forgiveness. The results also indicated that perspective-taking mediated the relationship between cross-group friendship and group identification, on the one hand, and intergroup forgiveness on the other. Again, there was a direct relationship between cross-group friendship and outgroup trust.

In addition to these findings, the results showed that empathic affect was also a significant mediator of the relationship between cross-group friendship and outgroup trust. The results demonstrate that more cross-group friendship was associated with greater empathic affect which, in turn, promoted greater outgroup trust.

General Discussion

Across three studies, I investigated the mediators of the relationship between cross-group friendship and ingroup identification on the one hand, and intergroup forgiveness and outgroup trust on the other. Previous research in Northern Ireland (Hewstone et al., 2004) has demonstrated that cross-group friendship, level of identification with one's religious community, collective guilt, perspective-taking and empathy are all associated with the concepts of intergroup forgiveness and trust. Extending this research, I carried out three studies that examined the relationship between these variables and their impact on levels of intergroup forgiveness and outgroup trust. The current three studies demonstrate for the first time that more cross-group friendship and lower ingroup identification lead to greater intergroup forgiveness and outgroup trust, and these relationships

were mediated by levels of collective guilt, perspective-taking and empathic affect, in the context of divisions between Catholic and Protestant communities in Northern Ireland. Study 4 showed that having more cross-group friends was associated with greater collective guilt which, in turn, was associated with higher rates of intergroup forgiveness. Moreover, lower ingroup identification was associated with greater intergroup forgiveness. Study 5 replicated these results and extended the model by demonstrating that more cross-group friends and lower group identification were associated with greater outgroup trust, as well as greater intergroup forgiveness, and this occurred via outgroup perspective-taking. Study 6 replicated the findings from the first two studies and extended the model further by showing that empathic affect also mediated the relationship between cross-group friendship and outgroup trust. Overall these studies demonstrate that cross-group friendship, religious group identification, collective guilt, perspective-taking and empathic affect all play an important role in developing intergroup forgiveness and outgroup trust in Northern Ireland. In this discussion I will highlight the importance of these variables in the post-conflict reconciliation process, and then discuss some limitations of the present research, before proposing the implications and conclusions of this research.

Cross-group friendship

Considerable evidence has accrued concerning the focal role that cross-group friendship plays in improving intergroup relations (Aron et al., 2004; Hewstone et al., 2006; Pettigrew, 1997; Wright et al., 1997). Extending this research, the reported studies demonstrate that cross-group friendship is associated, specifically, with greater intergroup forgiveness and outgroup trust. Moreover, the results shed light on the mediators through which these effects

occur. Cross-group friendship elicits collective guilt, outgroup perspective-taking and empathic affect, which in turn promote greater intergroup forgiveness and outgroup trust. Interestingly, however, the path from cross-group friendship to intergroup forgiveness occurs via different mediators than the path between cross-group friendship and outgroup trust. Cross-group friendship leads to greater intergroup forgiveness via the experience of collective guilt and outgroup perspective-taking. The path between cross-group friendship and outgroup trust is mediated by empathy, both the cognitive component (perspective-taking) and the affective element (empathic affect). The results show, however, that perspective-taking mediates both outcomes, and is therefore the most effective variable in facilitating both intergroup forgiveness and outgroup trust in Northern Ireland. Moreover, the present research further attest to the role of cross-group friends in improving intergroup relations (Aron et al., 2004; Hewstone et al., 2006; Pettigrew, 1997; Wright et al., 1997), demonstrating its role in the process of conflict reconciliation and adding support to arguments that cross-community contact promotes tolerance in northern Ireland (Hewstone et al., 2005; Hewstone et al., in press). In terms of conflict reconciliation initiatives in Northern Ireland, the results highlight the importance of creating possibilities for building friendships across the two communities.

Group identification

Strong identification with one's religious community (Catholic or Protestant) in Northern Ireland has been implicated in maintaining troubled community relations in Northern Ireland (Cairns, 1982; Hewstone et al., 2005; Trew & Benson, 1996). Previous research in Northern Ireland has demonstrated that higher ingroup identification is related to outgroup discrimination (Gallagher,

1989). Consistent with these findings the results revealed that higher ingroup identification was associated with less intergroup forgiveness and outgroup trust. Moreover, for the first time, the present research showed that in Northern Ireland the effect of group identification on intergroup forgiveness and outgroup trust was mediated by outgroup perspective-taking. In other words, higher religious group identification lessens the amount of outgroup perspective-taking, which results in lower intergroup forgiveness and less outgroup trust. Emphasis on encouraging cross-community perspective-taking may therefore be particularly important for those with strong religious group identification in Northern Ireland.

Interestingly, in contrast to findings in Chapter 4, group identification was not associated with collective guilt. This discrepancy may be the differences in samples used, for example mean age of samples or difference between a representative sample compared to university student sample. Future research would be needed to further explore this discrepancy.

Collective guilt

Collective guilt has been shown to motivate reparations in the form of pro-social behaviour and other positive compensations (Doosje et al., 1998; Frijda et al., 1989; Iyer et al., 2004; Miron et al., 2006; Wohl et al., 2006). Since intergroup forgiveness is a pro-social orientation, it was predicted that greater collective guilt would be associated with higher intergroup forgiveness, as found in Study 3 in the previous chapter. Results across all three studies in this chapter provide evidence to this effect. Moreover, building on this previous research, the studies presented in this chapter demonstrated that collective guilt mediated the relationship between cross-group friends and intergroup forgiveness. The present research showed that cross-group friendship was associated with greater collective guilt,

which was, in turn, associated with higher intergroup forgiveness. These results suggest that one way in which cross-group friendship can promote greater intergroup forgiveness in Northern Ireland, is via accepting collective guilt for conflict-related transgressions. Furthermore, the findings in this chapter replicate the results from the previous chapter (Study 3), by again demonstrating that collective guilt can induce support for intergroup forgiveness following intergroup conflict. In terms of conflict reconciliation initiatives, this research offers new understanding of the psychological processes via which intergroup forgiveness is achieved.

Perspective-taking and empathic affect

Previous research has shown that empathy facilitates pro-social orientations including more positive attitudes toward stigmatised groups (Batson et al., 1997; Vescio et al., 2003), reduced prejudice toward racial outgroups (Stephan & Finlay, 1999), helping (Sturmer et al., 2005), reduced ingroup bias (Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000), and reduced stereotypic biases (Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000). These results build on this research by demonstrating that empathy can facilitate intergroup forgiveness and outgroup trust following intergroup conflict. Moreover, these findings are consistent with the view that there is both a cognitive (perspective-taking) and an affective (empathic affect) element to empathy (Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000; Stephan & Finlay, 1999). Interestingly, the present research shows that these elements have differential effects on intergroup forgiveness and outgroup trust. Perspective-taking was associated with higher levels of both intergroup forgiveness and outgroup trust, whereas empathic affect was only associated with outgroup trust. These results suggest that in terms of reconciliation initiatives, perspective-taking may be more effective for facilitating

intergroup forgiveness, whereas both perspective-taking and empathic affect are effective for building outgroup trust.

Limitations

Before concluding with potential implications of these findings, I will first note some limitations of the present research. First, the model accounts for only a small amount of variance in collective guilt in Studies 5 and 6. It was not, however, the aim of this investigation, to predict collective guilt (see Wohl, et al., 2006, for review of variables associated with collective guilt). Future research is necessary to investigate other variables which predict collective guilt and if these variables are relevant in the model.

Second, the present research did not include a measure of interpersonal forgiveness, trust and guilt to verify that the results were purely reflective of group-level forgiveness, trust and guilt. However, there is a growing body of evidence that group-level forgiveness, trust and guilt stand as distinct phenomena (Branscombe, 2004; Hewstone et al., 2004; Insko, et al., 1990; McGlynn et al., 2004; McLernon et al., 2002; Moy & Ng, 1996; Tam et al., in prep; Wohl & Branscombe, 2005). Based on this previous research, it is likely that these results do reflect group-level forgiveness, trust and guilt, as distinct from interpersonal forgiveness, trust and guilt.

Thirdly, the present research was cross-sectional, and thus conclusions concerning causation cannot be drawn from it. I have, however, based the directionality of the paths in the models on previous empirical research and strong theoretical argument. In addition, I tested alternative causal models for each proposed model, and found that all yielded a worse fit with the data than the

proposed models. Thus, in the absence of longitudinal data, I believe that the conclusions drawn can hold with reasonable confidence.

Finally, respondents for all three studies were university students. It is argued that higher education is generally associated with less hostile outgroup attitudes (Hewstone et al., 2005). Empirical research conducted in Northern Ireland, however, compared contact effects between university students and members of the general population, finding that the structural relationship between variables were similar in both populations (Paolini et al., 2004). Nevertheless, further research is still needed to test predictors and mediators of intergroup forgiveness and outgroup trust in the wider population.

Implications and conclusions

Limitations aside, the present research has some important implications for conflict reconciliation initiatives in Northern Ireland. Despite formal conflict resolution in Northern Ireland, there is still the necessity for post-conflict reconciliation (MacGinty et al., 2007). Reconciliation work now upholds the importance of psychological factors which act to maintain troubled community relations as well as ones which can be used to overcome these barriers. In Northern Ireland, a high level of segregation, strong identity with one of the two religious communities, the need to avenge violence against one's community, and pervasive distrust between communities have all been cited as barriers in the road to peace (Cairns, 1982; Foley & Robinson, 2004; Hayes & McAllister, 2002; Hewstone et al., 2005; Mitchell, 1999; O'Neill, 2002; Trew & Benson, 1996). The current investigation demonstrates the importance of two mechanisms which can be used to tackle these barriers. Firstly, reconciliation initiatives should aim to facilitate opportunities for members of the opposing groups to build friendships.

Cross-community friendship has been shown to induce outgroup perspective-taking and empathic affect, which in turn encourages intergroup forgiveness and outgroup trust. Secondly, initiatives should encourage cross-community empathy, particularly its cognitive component: perspective-taking. The three studies reported in this chapter suggest that outgroup perspective-taking can facilitate both intergroup forgiveness and outgroup trust. Further research is required to investigate the interventions which can be used to encourage both cross-community friendship and empathy, for example conflict reconciliation workshops and education programs (Stephan & Finlay, 1999).

Chapter 6

Summary and Conclusions

"*Conflict resolution must transform conflicts in an enduring manner, rather than settling disputes or suppressing differences*" (Fisher, 1994, p.59).

This thesis investigated the concepts of outgroup trust and intergroup forgiveness in the context of the ethno-political conflict and its reconciliation in Northern Ireland. Despite formal conflict resolution in Northern Ireland in 1998 when the Belfast/ Good Friday Agreement was signed, the social, psychological and emotional aspects of the conflict still need to be addressed in order to achieve harmonious intergroup relations and prevent relapse into conflict in the future. It has been argued that in the context of Northern Ireland, it is necessary to tackle these aspects in a reconciliation process which addresses the psychological barriers to conflict resolution. In Northern Ireland, a high level of segregation, strong identification with one of the two religious communities (Catholic vs. Protestant), and a high level of exposure to sectarian violence has led to cycles of distrust and continuing acts of revenge between the two communities. In order to combat these problems, it has been proposed that reconciliation programs need to build trust between the two communities and encourage intergroup forgiveness, in order to move intergroup relations in Northern Ireland into a more peaceful co-existence. It is thought that better understanding of the concepts of trust and intergroup forgiveness, in the context of Northern Ireland, will give reconciliation initiatives a greater chance of success. This thesis therefore set out to advance

knowledge in this area by investigating trust and intergroup forgiveness in relation to conflict reconciliation in Northern Ireland.

This thesis used a social-psychological, social identity theoretical framework to conceptualise both conflict and the concepts of group level trust and intergroup forgiveness. Within this framework, both trust and forgiveness can be experienced at the group-level. Northern Ireland offers a clear intergroup setting, between the Catholic and Protestant communities, which facilitates a shift from personal to social identification. From this theoretical framework, six studies were carried out, in the context of the ethno-political conflict in Northern Ireland. The studies addressed extension of trust to the outgroup, the role of intergroup forgiveness in the relationship between the impact of conflict and mental health, and predictors and mediators of both outgroup trust and intergroup forgiveness. In this final chapter I will first emphasise the main findings of these studies and highlight their theoretical implications. Secondly, I will discuss some limitations of the present research and make suggestions for future research in the area. Finally, I will outline the practical implications of these findings for future applied research on reconciliation initiatives in Northern Ireland.

Key Findings and Implications of the Research

Group-level trust

It has been argued that cyclical distrust between the two communities in Northern Ireland is one of the factors which has maintained cross-community tensions and acted as a barrier to peaceful intergroup relations. Building trust and reducing distrust between the two communities has therefore been identified as a necessary part of reconciliation initiatives. In this thesis I subsequently set out to

investigate group-level trust along two different lines of research. Firstly, I aimed to study individuals' perceptions of risk, their emotions and their evaluation of the impact on intergroup relations that an extension of trust toward the outgroup has, as compared to the extension of distrust (Studies 1 and 2). Secondly, I aimed to investigate both predictors and mediators of outgroup trust in order to advance understanding of the social-psychological variables which influence levels of outgroup trust in the context of Northern Ireland (Studies 5 and 6). I will discuss findings from the two different lines of research, in turn.

The first line of research into group-level trust was pursued in studies 1 and 2 in this thesis. These studies measured respondents' perceived risk, emotion, negative intergroup relations and negative symbolic and realistic outcomes following the extension of trust to the outgroup by an ingroup representative (a community leader), compared to an extension of distrust. Firstly, the findings indicated that, in the context of Northern Ireland, it was the extension of distrust to the outgroup that was experienced as more costly in terms of intergroup relations. The results showed that when compared with the extension of trust to the outgroup, the extension of distrust was associated with greater angry emotion, less positive emotion, more negative intergroup relations, and greater negative symbolic and realistic outcomes. These findings bear important implications. The findings suggest that, in the current climate in Northern Ireland, an extension of distrust toward the outgroup is experienced both emotionally and cognitively as a greater threat to peaceful intergroup relations, than the extension of trust.

Secondly, the results showed that strength of ingroup identification predicted respondents' reaction to the manipulation of extension of trust/ distrust and threat. The results showed that those who strongly identified with their

ingroup experienced greater anxious emotion, more angry emotion, less positive emotion, greater perceived risk to the ingroup and greater expected negative intergroup relations and outcomes. These findings support previous research which has found that high identifiers tend to demonstrate stronger group-based effects than low identifiers (Doosje & Branscombe, 2003; Hodson et al., 2003; Hutchison & Abrams, 2003; Jetten & Spears, 2003; Jetten et al., 2004; Stephan & Stephan, 1999) and extend this phenomenon to the experience of group-based manipulations of trust-distrust and threat in Northern Ireland. Furthermore, the results showed that higher group identifiers experience the extension of distrust under reduced threat with more anxiety than lower group identifiers. This finding suggests that for higher group identifiers, the extension of distrust may prime higher perceived threat to intergroup relations, particularly in a reduced threat situation.

The second line of research into group-level trust investigated the predictors and mediators of outgroup trust. In studies 5 and 6 I investigated perspective-taking and empathic affect as mediators in the relationship between cross-group friendship and level of identification with one's religious community on the one hand and outgroup trust on the other. The results showed that more cross-group friendship and lower ingroup identification are associated with greater outgroup trust, and these relationships are mediated by levels of perspective-taking and empathic affect.

In terms of cross-group friends as a measure of contact with the outgroup, the findings indicate that having more cross-group friends was related to greater outgroup trust and that this was mediated by perspective-taking and empathic affect. These results suggest that cross-group friendship can play an important role

in developing outgroup trust and that this can occur via empathy, both the cognitive component (perspective-taking) and the affective element (empathic affect). The findings are consistent with previous research which has found that cross-group friendship is associated with outgroup trust (Hewstone et al., 2004), and extends this research by finding that this relationship is mediated by perspective-taking and empathic affect. These results also further attest to the role of cross-group friends in improving intergroup relations (Aron et al., 2004; Hewstone et al., 2006; Pettigrew, 1997; Wright et al., 1997), and add support to assertions that cross-community contact promotes outgroup tolerance and can perhaps help to combat divisions created by the high level of segregation in Northern Ireland (Hewstone et al., 2005; Hewstone et al., in press).

In relation to ingroup identification, the results showed that higher ingroup identification was associated with less outgroup trust and that this relationship was mediated by perspective-taking. These results provide support for arguments that strong identification with one's religious community (Catholic or Protestant) is related to the maintenance of troubled community relations in Northern Ireland (Cairns, 1982; Hewstone et al., 2005; Trew & Benson, 1996), in this instance, levels of outgroup trust. Furthermore, these findings suggest that group identification affects the level of outgroup perspective-taking which then affects levels of outgroup trust. Emphasis on encouraging outgroup perspective-taking may therefore play an important role in increasing levels of outgroup trust, particularly among those with high ingroup identification.

Intergroup forgiveness

Forgiveness is considered as an important psychological aspect of reconciliation initiatives in Northern Ireland (Hewstone et al., 2006; Huyse, 2005; McGlynn et al., 2004; McLernon et al., 2002; Moeschberger et al., 2005). It has been argued that forgiveness for conflict-related transgressions can help to prevent re-occurrence of cycles of revenge and violence, motivate relationship repair and, improve intergroup relations and on an interpersonal level it is associated with better mental health. Within the context of ethno-political conflict in Northern Ireland, it is appropriate to consider forgiveness at the group-level. In this thesis I investigated two aspects of intergroup forgiveness. Firstly, I aimed to investigate the mediating role that intergroup forgiveness could play in the relationship between the impact of conflict in Northern Ireland and mental health (Study 3). Secondly, I aimed to explore potential predictors and mediators of intergroup forgiveness (Studies 4, 5 and 6). I will discuss the key findings and their implications for each of these aspects in turn.

Prolonged conflict in Northern Ireland has had an adverse effect on the mental health of citizens (O'Reilly & Stevenson, 2003), reflected in higher rates of mental health problems in comparison to its neighboring countries (Cairns & Wilson, 1984; Kelleher, 2003; McConnell et al., 2002; O'Reilly & Stevenson, 2003). Research has demonstrated that forgiveness is associated with better mental health on an interpersonal level, but has not been investigated on an intergroup level (Allan et al., 2006; Kaplan, 1992; McCullough et al., 1997; Scobie & Scobie, 1998; Witvliet et al., 2001; Witvliet et al., 2004). Study 3 of this thesis therefore aimed to investigate the role of intergroup forgiveness in the relationship between impact of the conflict in Northern Ireland and mental health.

Specifically this study tested whether intergroup forgiveness and collective guilt would mediate the relationships between exposure to violence, victimhood and group identification on the one hand, and mild psychiatric morbidity on the other.

Firstly, the results revealed that intergroup forgiveness did mediate the relationship between victimhood and mild psychiatric morbidity, and the relationship between group identification and mild psychiatric morbidity. Furthermore, the findings showed that collective guilt mediated the relationship between exposure to violence and intergroup forgiveness, and the relationship between group identification and intergroup forgiveness. Overall, these findings suggest that forgiveness and guilt can act as mediators in the relationship between impact of ethno-political conflict and mental health, at the group-level.

Secondly, the findings demonstrate that victimhood was directly associated with intergroup forgiveness. Victimhood, as measured by self-perceived victimhood, and direct and indirect experience of the Troubles, corresponds to transgression severity against oneself and close others. Transgression severity is an important factor in interpersonal forgiveness (McCullough, Fincham, & Tsang, 2003). These findings suggest that transgression severity is a significant component in intergroup forgiveness. Greater transgression severity is likely to correspond to people offering less support for intergroup forgiveness initiatives.

Thirdly, in relation to mental health, these findings suggest that the likelihood of mental ill health is reduced in individuals with higher levels of intergroup forgiveness following victimhood during the Troubles in Northern Ireland. These findings therefore extend previous research which has found that interpersonal forgiveness is associated with better mental health (Allan et al., 2006; Kaplan, 1992; McCullough et al., 1997; Scobie & Scobie, 1998; Witvliet et

al., 2001; Witvliet et al., 2004). The results demonstrate that forgiveness can play a role in improving mental health at the group-level in an intergroup setting such as in the context of ethno-political conflict. This suggests that in the context of Northern Ireland, group-level forgiveness could have a particularly beneficial effect in attenuating the adverse impact the conflict has had. Moreover, a group-level reconciliation process, involving consideration of intergroup forgiveness, may be necessary to resolve the individual-level effects of conflict, which include mental health issues.

Fourthly, the results from Study 3 also showed that higher collective guilt was associated with higher intergroup forgiveness. Furthermore, collective guilt was shown to mediate the relationship between exposure to violence and intergroup forgiveness, and the relationship between group identification and intergroup forgiveness. These results suggest that collective guilt can provoke support for intergroup forgiveness which was found to be beneficial for individuals' mental well-being. The findings also show that collective guilt is associated with higher mental ill health. Collective guilt is therefore beneficial in terms of promoting forgiveness, but detrimental in terms of its association with mental ill health.

Finally, the results from Study 3 illustrate that higher group identification with one's religious group (Catholic or Protestant) was associated with less intergroup forgiveness and collective guilt. These results suggest that those with higher group identification will act to protect a positive group identity and will therefore deny or justify moral transgressions of behalf of their group in accord with Doosje et al.'s (1998) research. These results again demonstrate the importance of strength of ingroup identification and its role in the maintenance of

conflict in Northern Ireland (Cairns, 1982; Hewstone et al., 2005; Trew & Benson, 1996). Reconciliation initiatives therefore need to consider, adapt and demonstrate acceptance to the Catholic and Protestant identities.

The second vein of research into intergroup forgiveness in Northern Ireland, investigated the predictors and mediators of intergroup forgiveness. In Studies 4, 5 and 6, I investigated collective guilt and perspective-taking as mediators in the relationship between cross-group friendship and level of identification with one's religious community on the one hand and intergroup forgiveness on the other. The results showed that more cross-group friendship and lower ingroup identification are associated with greater intergroup forgiveness, and these relationships are mediated by levels of collective guilt and perspective-taking.

The results demonstrate that having more cross-group friends was related to greater intergroup forgiveness and that this was mediated by collective guilt and perspective-taking. More cross-group friends was associated with greater collective guilt and promoted greater outgroup perspective-taking, which were both associated with greater intergroup forgiveness. These findings extend previous research which found that cross-group friendship is associated with intergroup forgiveness (Hewstone et al., 2004), by demonstrating that that this relationship is mediated by collective guilt and perspective-taking. These results again attest to the role of cross-group friends in improving intergroup relations (Aron et al., 2004; Hewstone et al., 2006; Pettigrew, 1997; Wright et al., 1997).

In relation to ingroup identification, the results showed that higher ingroup identification was associated with less intergroup forgiveness and that this relationship was mediated by perspective-taking. In other words, higher ingroup identification promotes less outgroup perspective-taking which is associated with

less intergroup forgiveness. As with outgroup trust, these findings again suggest that outgroup perspective-taking could have an important role in increasing levels of intergroup forgiveness, particularly in those with high ingroup identification.

Potential Limitations of the Research

University student samples

One limitation of the research presented in this thesis is that most of the studies were tested on samples of university students in Northern Ireland (with the exception of Study 3 which used a sample that was representative of the general population in Northern Ireland). This potentially limits the generalizability of the findings to the general populations. University student samples were used for these studies because of limited financial resources. Furthermore, in Northern Ireland a lone researcher may put themselves in danger by asking individuals about such sensitive topics such as their religious identity and the Troubles in an unprotected environment.

It could be argued that university students may differ from the general population. University students tend to consist of a narrow age range and represent the upper levels of educational background. Furthermore, higher education is generally associated with less hostile attitudes to the respective outgroup (e.g., Hewstone et al., 2005) and in terms of contact with the outgroup, (which is relevant to the last three studies of this thesis), attending university increases opportunity for intimate contact with the outgroup (Cairns et al., 1993). Empirical research conducted in Northern Ireland, however, compared contact effects between university students and members of the general population,

finding that the structural relationship between variables were similar in both populations (Paolini et al., 2004).

Generalization of these results to other demographic groups in Northern Ireland should therefore be made only tentatively. With greater financial resources, further research is necessary to find out if the results reported in this thesis hold in a representative sample of the Northern Irish population. Moreover, further research should be carried in other conflict zones to test whether there are social-psychological universals across ethno-political conflicts around the world.

Self-reported data

A further limitation of the research presented in this thesis is its reliance on self-report measures which may be subject to self-presentation concerns, social desirability bias, or may simply be reactive. To combat self-report bias, the research presented in this thesis used multiple-item measures and conducted replication with independent samples in Studies 4, 5 and 6. Concerning these three studies involving cross-community contact, in Chapter 5, Pettigrew and Tropp (in press) found that studies measuring actual contact and studies assessing contact with self-report measures typically find very similar results. Future research on this topic could perhaps incorporate social desirability controls and differential measurement of predictor and criterion variables (e.g., using different response formats) or apparent separate measurement of the predictor and criterion variables (e.g., by using a filler task or cover story in between the measurement of the predictor and criterion so that participants believe the measurement of the predictor and criterion are not related), as suggested by Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Lee and Podsakoff (2003).

Cross-sectional data

A further limitation of the findings presented in this thesis is that studies 3, 4, 5, and 6 are based on the analysis of cross-sectional data. This means that conclusions with regard to causal inferences can not be drawn. Particularly with regard to structural equation modelling it is also important to note that equivalent models always exist (MacCallum, 1995). Furthermore, MacCallum and Austin (2000) advise that care should be taken in making causal inferences from cross-sectional data when using structural equation models (SEM), as conclusions drawn from SEM may be limited to the particular sample and variables used. As these authors point out, "There is no true model . . . all models are wrong to some degree . . . the best one can hope for is to identify a parsimonious, substantively meaningful model that fits observed data adequately well" (p. 218). To tackle this problem the studies in this thesis which relied on cross-sectional data and were analysed using SEM (Studies 3, 4, 5 and 6) employed the following rigour: (1) directionality of the models in each study was based on strong theoretical argument and previous research; (2) methodologically superior 'latent' variables were used as apposed to 'measured' variables; (3) multiple measures of fit were used to assess the models; (4) alternative structural equation models were tested to confirm the causal order depicted; and (5) in relation to studies 4, 5 and 6, multiple studies were used to replicate the findings with independent samples.

Behavioural tendencies

A final limitation of the present research is its focus on behavioural tendencies, which, do not necessarily translate into actual behaviour. Measurement of the desire or intention to trust, forgive, perspective-take,

empathise, is, however, still a significant advance in intergroup theory. Future research is necessary to investigate the relationship between these variables, especially trust, forgiveness and guilt and actual intergroup behaviour.

Further Research

This thesis has generated several avenues of further research which will further our understanding of trust and forgiveness in application to intergroup conflict and its resolution in Northern Ireland. The present research also highlights the importance of considering trust and forgiveness at the group-level in relation to reconciliation strategies in Northern Ireland. Overall, this work should also be extended to explore these concepts in the context of other intergroup conflicts in order investigate universals of these phenomena.

Trust

Building on research carried out in this thesis, future research into group-level trust could be pursued along a number of different avenues. Firstly, regarding the relationship between trust and distrust, it has been suggested that they do not involve a bipolar relationship (Lewicki & Wiethoff 2000). Lewicki and Weithoff (2000) suggest that trust involves a confident positive expectation regarding the trustee's conduct, which is demonstrated in willingness to become vulnerable to the trustee. Distrust, on the other hand, involves confident negative expectations which evoke fear and anxiety and is demonstrated in actions to buffer oneself from the harmful conduct of the other party. In keeping with this theory, it could be argued that within the context of intergroup conflict reconciliation, distrust may be more harmful and therefore most important to

attenuate, as opposed to the development of trust which is thought to be difficult to create and sustain (Hewstone et al., in press).

Secondly, an important aspect of the scenarios used in Studies 1 and 2 was their use of a community leader as representing the ingroup's decision to extend trust or distrust to the other community. This raises potential questions about the community leader's qualities. Do perceptions of the extension of trust and distrust toward the other community depend on whether the individual taking the decision to trust/distrust is him- or herself seen as trustworthy, reliable, and competent? Huo et al. (1996) argue that authorities are seen as most effective when they are perceived as trustworthy, fair, honest, unbiased and respectful. Similarly, Kasperson et al. (1992) suggest that for the development and maintenance of social trust, authorities need to demonstrate commitment, competence, caring, and predictability. Consequently, a useful extension of the present research would be to identify the qualities in a community leader that are most effective in gaining community support on decisions to take the crucial step of trusting the other group.

Thirdly, extending the findings from Studies 5 and 6, an experimental design could be used to improve confidence the results. An intervention study could be designed to manipulate empathy for the outgroup (Batson, 1991; Batson et al., 2003; Batson & Shaw, 1991). This could test whether the manipulation of empathy for the outgroup in the context of Northern Ireland increases outgroup trust, while controlling for cross-group friendship levels. This extension could also be carried out for intergroup forgiveness as a further dependent variable.

Fourthly, the present research could be extended by investigating actual trust behaviour rather than just behavioural tendencies. A scenario where

participants are asked to choose whether or not to perform an act of trust towards a typical outgroup member could be developed as a dependent variable.

Intergroup forgiveness

Again based on findings from the present research, I will make a number of suggestions for further research which could be carried out to develop our understanding of the concept of intergroup forgiveness. Firstly, transgression severity is an important factor in interpersonal forgiveness (McCullough et al., 2003). The results from Study 3 suggest that transgression severity is a significant component in intergroup forgiveness. In Study 3 it was found that degree of victimhood experienced as a result of the Troubles in Northern Ireland, was associated with less intergroup forgiveness. Greater transgression severity in the form of victimhood is therefore likely to correspond to people offering less support for intergroup forgiveness initiatives. In terms of the promotion of intergroup forgiveness following conflict, therefore, further investigation should be carried out into how to meet the needs of those with a high degree of victimhood.

Secondly, based on empirical work carried out on interpersonal forgiveness (e.g., Freedman & Enright, 1996; Harris et al, 2006), further research could investigate whether an intervention designed to develop intergroup forgiveness would reduce mental ill-health. Previous research into interpersonal forgiveness has found that forgiveness training reduces specific grievances and hurts and increases positive thoughts and feeling for the offender (Freedman & Enright, 1996). Further research into group-level forgiveness could test whether these results hold for intergroup forgiveness training in the context of post-conflict reconciliation in Northern Ireland.

Thirdly, future research could investigate additional predictors and mediators of intergroup forgiveness in order to identify ways to encourage forgiveness at the group-level in Northern Ireland. For example, again based on research carried out on interpersonal forgiveness, an apology or repentance from the wrongdoer has been found to make forgiveness easier (Azar et al., 1999). On a group-level, in Northern Ireland, this could consist of an apology made on behalf of either the Catholic or Protestant community, for harm caused during the Troubles, to the whole of the outgroup. It could be expected, based on findings from interpersonal forgiveness, that an apology from the other community would increase levels of intergroup forgiveness.

Implications for Reconciliation in Northern Ireland

Trust

The results from Studies 1 and 2 show that, overall, the demonstration of trust between the two communities (generally understood as a necessary step towards reconciliation) is perceived as less of a threat to peaceful intergroup relations, than the extension of distrust. Applied to reconciliation initiatives in Northern Ireland, therefore, community leaders should actively demonstrate their extension of trust, as opposed to distrust, toward the other community. Furthermore, these results suggest that trust-building community relations projects in Northern Ireland may be favourably received (Foley & Robinson, 2004; Huyse, 2005).

Intergroup forgiveness

The results from Study 3 show that forgiveness and guilt can act as mediators in the relationship between the impact of ethno-political conflict and

mental health at the group-level. It can be concluded therefore that group-level forgiveness and guilt are important concepts to consider in mediating the detrimental effect of ethno-political conflict on mental health. These results suggest that as part of an active reconciliation process, practitioners and policy makers should address adverse mental health experienced as a result of the Troubles in Northern Ireland. Thus a group-level reconciliation process, involving consideration of the role of forgiveness and guilt, may be necessary in relation to the individual-level effects of conflict, which include mental health issues. These results therefore provide some support for O'Reilly and Stevenson's (2003) recommendation that an active reconciliation process may have an impact on the mental health problems being experienced by a sizeable number of people following the Troubles in Northern Ireland.

Group identification

With respect to community relations in Northern Ireland my results suggest that those who identify strongly with their ingroup religious community, compared to those who identify less strongly, may require different reassurances which could be incorporated into reconciliation iniatives. Higher group identifiers have a greater motivation to protect a positive group identity since they may be more attached to their group identity. This has important implications in the context of Northern Ireland where for many people, their religious community identity (Catholic or Protestant) is still an essential part of their lives (Kelly & Hamber, 2005). It is also important that community relations projects do not try to ignore or eradicate strongly-felt community identities, which play a central part in the lives of many Northern Irish citizens. In recent reconciliation initiatives it has been pointed out that individuals in Northern Ireland have a real fear of losing

their identity. Kelly and Hamber (2005) argue that people in Northern Ireland would not cooperate in any reconciliation initiatives which aim to make them lose part of their own identity. The research presented in this thesis supports this view and indicates that initiatives should incorporate recognition, sensitivity and acceptance of group identities. As Fisher (1994) proposes "conflict resolution must create societal structures involving equality among identity groups, multiculturalism" (p.61).

Cross-community contact

The present research further attests to the role of cross-group friends in improving intergroup relations (Aron et al., 2004; Hewstone et al., 2006; Pettigrew, 1997; Wright et al., 1997), demonstrating its role in the process of conflict reconciliation and adding support to arguments that cross-community contact promotes tolerance in northern Ireland (Hewstone et al., 2005; Hewstone et al., in press). The results presented in Studies 3, 4 and 5 demonstrate that cross-community friendship can induce outgroup perspective-taking and empathic affect, which in turn encourage intergroup forgiveness and outgroup trust. In terms of conflict reconciliation initiatives in Northern Ireland, my results highlight the importance of creating possibilities for building friendships across the two communities. Reconciliation initiatives should therefore aim to facilitate opportunities for members of the opposing groups to build friendships in cross-community contact schemes.

Organisations in Northern Ireland are currently supporting cross-community contact iniatives (Kilmurray, 2005). For example, The Community Foundation for Northern Ireland has long held an ethos that values cross-community contact. Since the 1980's the foundation has funded many cross-community contact

schemes Insight from the iniatal schemes was used in discussions that led to the establishment of the Community Relations Council in the early 1990's. Both organisations have developed iniatives that tried to "mirror the sense that people were genuinely war-weary and were increasingly looking to the future rather than the past" (Kilmurray, 2005, p.43). Iniatives have included the 'Beyond Hate' conference and other community level projects including workshops and games for young members of both communities.

Cross-community empathy and persective-taking

The findings from the present research indicate that empathy, both the emotional (empathic affect) and cognitive (perspective-taking) components, can facilitate greater outgroup trust and intergroup forgiveness. It can be concluded therefore that the reconciliation process should encourage cross-community empathy, particularly in the form of outgroup perspective-taking, in order to develop outgroup trust and intergroup forgiveness. Batson et al. (1997) have successfully experimentally manipulated empathy for AIDS sufferers, by asking participants to imagine how the AIDS sufferer feels about what has happened to her/him and how it has affected her/his life. Moreover, Batson et al. (2003) have successfully manipulated persective-taking, by asking participants to imagine themselves in the place of the other. Further, research is necesserary to test whether similar techniques could be used at a group-level in the form of empathy and perspective-taking training. Members of each community could be asked to imagine how the Troubles have affected members of the other community, how it has affected their lives and imagine themselves in the others' position.

Conclusion

This thesis has demonstrated that the concepts of trust and forgiveness can be investigated at the group-level in the context of intergroup conflict and reconciliation. The research presented in this thesis has shown that, within the samples tested, individuals will be receptive to extensions of trust (as compared to distrust) toward the other community (Catholic or Protestant) and intergroup forgiveness can help to promote well-being following the negative impact of conflict on individuals mental health. Furthermore, the present research revealed that group identification and cross-group friendship are predictors of outgroup trust and intergroup forgiveness. Collective guilt, perspective-taking and empathic affect were found to mediate the effects of cross-group friendship on outgroup trust and intergroup forgiveness. Findings from this thesis also underlined the importance of group identity in Northern Ireland, and highlighted its centrality in group-level trust and forgiveness.

Based on the research presented in this thesis, it can be recommended that reconciliation initiatives in Northern Ireland should aim to promote intergroup forgiveness and outgroup trust without placing excess emphasis on past transgressions, which may threaten individual's group identities. Instead, initiatives should focus on forgiveness and trust as ways of moving forward, encompassing the positive acceptance of both community identities.

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APPENDICES

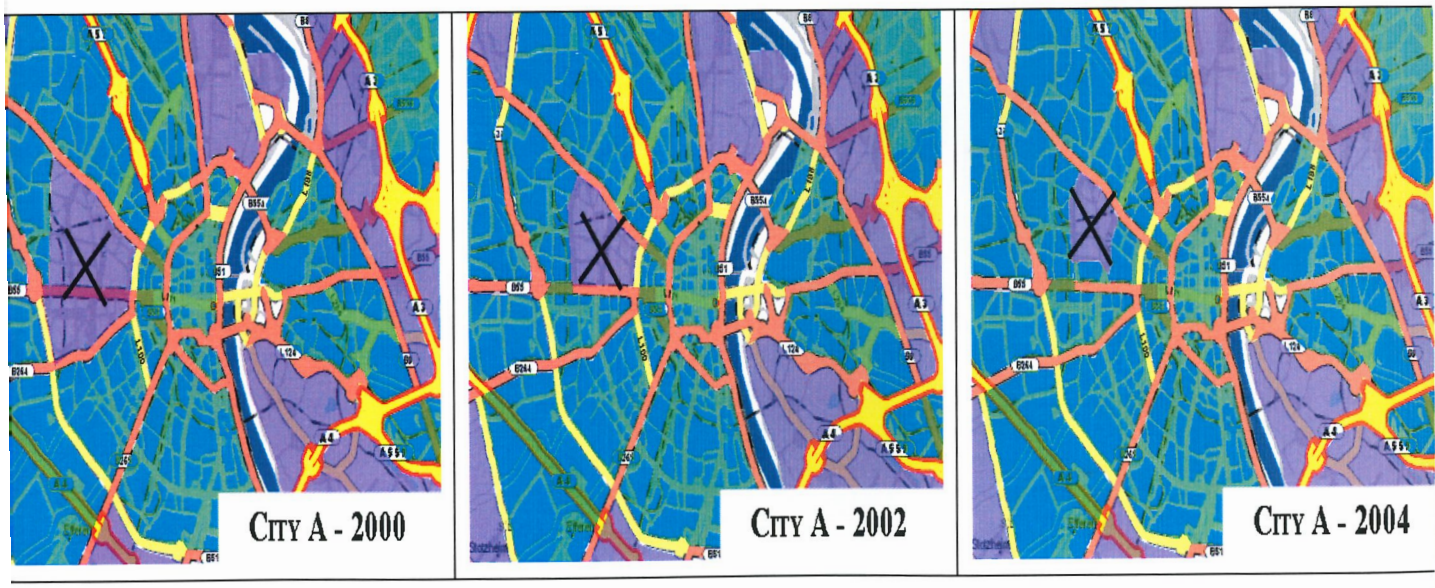
Appendix 1

Increased Threat Manipulation

Please read the scenario below and really try to imagine yourself in this situation, and then answer the questions which follow.

Please study the maps below. These maps depict the proportion of "your community" living in the local area over the past four years. Imagine you live in the small enclave marked with an X on the map (purple). The enclave in which you live is surrounded by housing areas where "the other community" is in a dominant majority (blue).

Over the past few years members of your community have been *moving out* of the area in increasing numbers because there has been an increase in sectarian incidents and paramilitary activity in this area. These incidents have led to a shrinking of your community size in comparison to the other community.



Your Community
The Other Community

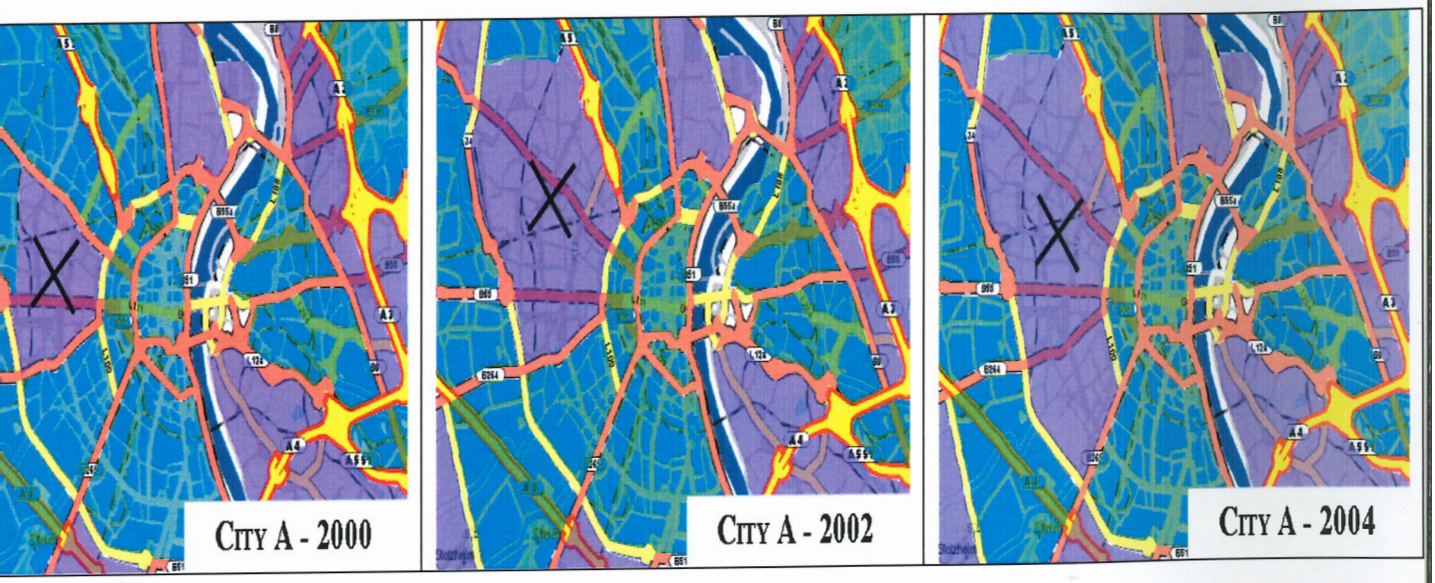
Appendix 2

Reduced Threat Condition

Please read the scenario below and really try to imagine yourself in this situation, and then answer the questions which follow.

Please study the maps below. These maps depict the proportion of "your community" living in the local area over the past four years. Imagine you live in the small enclave marked with an X on the map (purple). The enclave in which you live is surrounded by housing areas where "the other community" is in a dominant majority (blue).

Over the past few years members of your community have been *moving into* the area in increasing numbers because there has been a decrease in sectarian incidents and paramilitary activity in this area. These incidents have led to a growth of your community in comparison to the other community.



Your Community
The Other Community

Appendix 3

Trust Manipulation

A local community leader who lives on your street and represents the views of your community is in a meeting with a local councilor from the other community. The main issue of the meeting is a forthcoming community festival, which the other community traditionally holds on a sports field that adjoins your own community's area of residence. This event has previously led to violent conflict between the two communities.

Your local community leader states that allowing the festival to take place would be a chance to demonstrate trust in the other community. Your community leader argues that the path to good community relations is to encourage trust between the divided communities. He further contends that your community must take the risky first step in trusting that the other community will not use the festival as a means to harm your community.

Appendix 4

Distrust Manipulation

A local community leader who lives on your street and represents the views of your community is in a meeting with a local councilor from the other community. The main issue of the meeting is a forthcoming community festival, which the other community traditionally holds on a sports field that adjoins your own community's area of residence. This event has previously led to violent conflict between the two communities.

Your local community leader states that allowing the festival to take place would be a placing too much trust in the other community. Your community leader argues in favour of keeping clear boundaries between the divided communities. He further contends that your community must not take the risky first step in trusting that the other community will not use the festival as a means to harm your community.

Appendix 5

Means and Standard Deviations (SD) for Catholic and Protestant Respondents, and F-values for Tests of Group Differences (Study 1)

Variable	Scale	Religious Group Identification of Respondent				
		Catholic		Protestant		
		Mean	SD	Mean	SD	F(1,203)
Trust manipulation check	0 – 6	3.20	2.03	3.05	1.97	.28
Threat manipulation check	0 – 6	2.85	1.66	2.82	1.46	.02
Anxious emotion	0 – 6	2.64	1.51	2.99	1.40	2.95
Negative emotion	0 – 6	2.05	1.40	2.19	1.47	.46
Positive emotion	0 – 6	2.65	1.23	2.62	1.31	.05
Perceived risk to the ingroup	0 - 6	3.01	1.13	3.11	1.01	.50
Group identification	0 - 6	2.87	1.65	2.77	1.37	.26

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; $N = 203$

Appendix 6

Means and Standard Deviations (SD) for Catholic and Protestant Respondents, and F-values for Tests of Group Differences (Study 2)

Variable	Scale	Religious Group Identification of Respondent				
		Catholic		Protestant		
		Mean	SD	Mean	SD	F(1,187)
Trust manipulation check	0 – 6	3.29	1.86	3.08	1.74	.58
Negative intergroup relations	0 – 6	3.42	1.35	3.13	1.37	1.94
Negative symbolic and realistic outcomes	0 - 6	3.11	1.28	2.91	1.27	1.08
Group identification	0 - 6	2.98	1.65	2.51	1.56	3.71

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; $N = 187$

Appendix 7

Correlations for the Composite Variables for Catholic and Protestant Respondents (Study 3)

	Religious group of respondent											
	Catholic						Protestant					
	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Victimhood	1						1					
2. Group identification	.13*	1					.11*	1				
3. Exposure to violence	.12*	.08	1				.18**	.06	1			
4. Intergroup forgiveness	-.08	-.16**	-.01	1			-.14**	-.32***	-.14**	1		
5. Collective guilt	-.04	-.10	-.14*	.34***	1		-.09	-.24***	-.16**	.25***	1	
6. GHQ-12	.18**	.04	.02	-.11	-.07	1	.18**	.08	.05	-.08	.03	1

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; $N = 677$, Catholic = 315, Protestant = 362

Appendix 8

Correlations for the Composite Variables for Catholic and Protestant Respondents (Study 4)

	Religious group of respondent							
	Catholic				Protestant			
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
1. Cross-group friendship	1				1			
2. Group identification	-.40***	1			-.20	1		
3. Collective guilt	.32**	-.06	1		.23*	-.24	1	
4. Intergroup forgiveness	.38***	-.29**	.46***	1	.26*	-.35**	.75***	1

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; $N = 150$, Catholic = 65, Protestant = 85

Appendix 9

Correlations for the Composite Variables for Catholic and Protestant Respondents (Study 5)

	Religious group of respondent											
	Catholic						Protestant					
	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Cross-group friendship	1						1					
2. Group identification	-.08	1					-.22*	1				
3. Collective guilt	.12	.02	1				.24*	-.25*	1			
4. Perspective-taking	.34**	-.21*	.27**	1			.32**	-.33**	.18	1		
5. Intergroup forgiveness	.09	-.06	.32**	.31**	1		.19	-.40***	.43***	.38***	1	
6. Outgroup trust	.14	-.01	.18	.16	.13	1	.27	-.03	.15	.14	.12	1

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; $N = 194$, Catholic = 96, Protestant = 98

Appendix 10

Correlations for the Composite Variables for Catholic and Protestant Respondents (Study 6)

	Religious group of respondent													
	Catholic							Protestant						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Cross-group friendship	1							1						
2. Group identification	-.15	1						-.33**	1					
3. Collective guilt	.28**	-.13	1					.08*	-.24*	1				
4. Perspective-taking	.04	-.31*	.17	1				.35***	-.35***	.32**	1			
5. Empathic affect	.49***	-.10	.52***	.25**	1			.45***	-.18	.35***	.37***	1		
6. Intergroup forgiveness	.30**	-17	.50***	.26**	.40***	1		.37***	-.28**	.49***	.51***	.37***	1	
7. Outgroup trust	.46***	-.12	.38***	.24**	.51***	.53***	1	.41***	-.22*	.21*	.43***	.51***	.48***	1

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; $N = 217$, Catholic = 114, Protestant = 10