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Why groups don't forgive: refining the contributions of ingroup identity, ingroup attachment, justice concerns, and conflict type to intergroup forgiveness

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Abstract

Researchers have begun to investigate the role of forgiveness in disrupting intergroup conflict and promoting peace. This thesis has refined our understanding of the ingroup identity and forgiveness relationship by determining which ingroup identity dimension (i.e., Leach et al., 2008) is most consequential for group members' forgiveness. First, we demonstrated that previous research conflated both identity dimensions into one empirical estimate (Study 1, $k = 39$). In the Brexit conflict, cross-sectional (Study 2a, $N = 911$) and longitudinal studies (Study 2b, $N = 519$) provided strong evidence that self-investment (vs. self-definition) identity dimension suppressed forgiveness. Next, we integrated our refined understanding of ingroup identity with collective suffering (Study 3, $N = 860$). The self-investment dimension was a facilitating mechanism, and the self-definition dimension was an inhibiting mechanism, of the competitive victimhood and forgiveness relationship. Conflict type (direct vs. structural) moderated the relationships between competitive victimhood and both identity dimensions and the former and forgiveness, being stronger in direct conflicts. Next, we integrated our refined understanding of ingroup identity with the role of justice concerns (restorative, retributive, distributive, and procedural) and negative forms of ingroup attachment (ingroup glorification and collective narcissism). In a three-wave longitudinal study in post-Apartheid South Africa (Study 4, $N = 491$), whereas retributive and distributive justice suppressed forgiveness, restorative and procedural justice increased forgiveness. Further, the self-investment dimension increased forgiveness and collective narcissism suppressed forgiveness. Finally, we tested the causal effect of structural violence on women's forgiveness (Study 5, $N = 309$). There was no causal effect of structural violence on forgiveness; the self-investment dimension attenuated the effect of structural violence on forgiveness. Our refined findings demonstrate that both the self-investment and self-definition dimensions

of group members' identity can have positive and negative relationships with forgiveness—highlighting the conflict-dependent nature of the ingroup identity and forgiveness relationship.

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Author's Contribution Statement

Chapters three, Chapter four, and Chapter five of this thesis are currently being prepared for journal submissions.

Chapter three was conceptualised and planned by Iwan Dinnick (ID; author of this thesis), with the support of Dr Masi Noor (MN). The studies were conducted by ID, who also carried out data analysis, and wrote the draft manuscript. Dr Philipp K. Masur provided feedback on the data analysis, reviewed, and edited the manuscript. Dr Jasper Van Assche also reviewed and edited the draft manuscript. Data collection was aided by three Research Assistants: Julia Bader, Michael Batterley, and Amy Kandola.

Chapter four was conceptualised and planned by ID, with the support of MN. Data collection in each conflict context was organised by ID, who also carried out the analysis, and wrote the draft manuscript. Data collection in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict was carried out by Dr Samer Halabi and in the Kosovar-Serbian conflict by Dr Islam Borinca, and both provided feedback on the draft manuscript.

Chapter five was conceptualised and planned by ID, with the support of MN. The study was conducted by ID who carried out data analysis and wrote the draft manuscript.

Chapter six was conceptualised and planned by ID, with the support of MN. The study was conducted by ID who carried out all data analysis. Finally, an attempted conceptual replication of longitudinal Study 2b was also conducted with Keele University psychology students. However, the study was not sufficiently powered to yield an informative assessment of the replication of Study 2b's findings. This study is mentioned only in the interest of full transparency and a draft write up of the study can be found at:

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Author's Contribution to Open Research

In accordance with Open Research Practices (ORP): all the materials, data, and analyses code from all research presented in this thesis are available through the Open Science Framework (OSF):

https://osf.io/we7yp/?view_only=23170e2b8b1d42e89b9fb07754ec5a9c.

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Chapter 1: Identity-Based Conflict: The Role of Intergroup

Forgiveness

Chapter Overview

The present chapter sets the stage for the central theoretical and empirical themes dealt with in this thesis. This chapter will locate the potential role that forgiveness can play in transforming fractured intergroup relations (McLernon et al., 2004). In doing so, we address two separate lines of research. One based upon social identity theory (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979), recent developments highlighting the multidimensional nature of ingroup identity (Leach et al., 2008), and the interplay of different types of ingroup attachment (de Zavala et al., 2009; Roccas et al., 2006). And one based upon collective victimhood theories, how the ingroup respond to their suffering, and the potential context-dependent nature of collective victimhood (Noor et al., 2012; Staub, 2006; Vollhardt, 2015). We begin to merge these two separate lines of inquiry to address a gap in the literature that is addressed in this thesis. Specifically, our poor understanding of the negative association between group members' own ingroup identity and forgiveness, based upon a homogenous conceptualisation of ingroup identity. Addressing this gap, we deepen our understanding of the ingroup identity and forgiveness relationship by acknowledging the multidimensional nature of group members' ingroup identity (Leach et al., 2008). Thus, we directly address what precisely it is about ingroup identity that suppresses forgiveness. Further, we add nuance to the ingroup identity and forgiveness relationship by addressing how this relationship might differ as a function of the conflict in which it is situated. To facilitate this analysis, we utilise research and examples taken from the most contentious and

protracted conflicts occurring around the world today such as, for example, between Palestinians and Israelis, Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland, and the breakup of Yugoslavia (UN, 2022). It should be stated from the outset, this chapter is meant to set the stage for the theoretical and empirical themes dealt with in this thesis. We dig deeper into these themes in Chapter 2 by carrying out a thorough literature review, before moving onto our empirical chapters.

An Introduction to Intergroup Conflicts

Intergroup conflicts cause deep grievances, human suffering, and loss of life (Li et al., 2023; Taylor et al., 2019). Interestingly, people can often feel a deep sense of anger and resentment towards people they do not know personally or have had no prior contact with. This resentment is felt so strongly that it can motivate people to carry out extreme acts of cruelty and violence. On June 7th 2005 three British men detonated three bombs on the London Underground that killed 56 (including the bombers) and injured 784 people (BBC News, 2006). What motivated the perpetrators to carry out this attack was that they saw their unknown victims as representative of a particular group with whom the perpetrators had a fundamental disagreement. The perpetrators themselves felt they had been hurt and victimised in some way. In trying to correct this hurt, they decided to inflict suffering of their own (McCauley et al., 2022). This destructive process motivates never-ending cycles of conflict that are difficult to disrupt and seem impervious to peaceful resolution (Bar-Tal et al., 2012; Staub, 2006). Many adversarial groups today are either engulfed by violent conflict as they feel they are being unfairly treated and victimised simply because of their group membership (Schori-Eyal et al., 2017), or are trying to deal with the legacy left behind by conflict (Moodley & Adam, 2000). Social psychological theorising has spent considerable energy understanding how group members respond to the suffering they experience at

the hands of their adversarial outgroups (see Noor et al., 2017; Vollhardt, 2020 for reviews). A consistent amount of empirical research demonstrates that when group members feel victimised and the ingroup collectively suffer, it motivates group members to act in-kind (Dugas et al., 2018; Hebel-Sela et al., 2022; Vollhardt et al., 2021a). Thus, present day victims become future victimisers and intergroup conflicts endure.

In addition to studying the factors that promulgate intergroup conflict (i.e., Hewstone & Greenland, 2000), scholars have also begun to study the factors that might disrupt conflict and promote peaceful reconciliation between conflicting groups (Kelman, 1999). Reconciliation means finding a way to transform intergroup enmity into cultivating peaceful and sustainable relationships between conflicting groups (Bartal, 2000; Nadler, 2012). Transforming conflict is inherently challenging because there are deep grievances that stem from the suffering that the ingroup has experienced (Noor et al., 2015). Forgiveness might have the transforming quality to disrupt group members desire for revenge and to bring about lasting peace between conflicting groups (McLernon et al., 2002). Forgiveness entails overcoming one's rightful claim to resentment and revenge and to replace such negative feelings with more positive and benevolent ones (Hewstone et al., 2006; Wohl & Branscombe, 2005). Just as forgiveness can positively transform damaged interpersonal relationships, forgiveness can transform damaged intergroup relationships (McCullough et al., 1997).

Although forgiveness offers a potential way to promote peace and to ameliorate conflict, there are many countervailing forces that make forgiveness challenging for group members (see Van Tongeren et al., 2014 for meta-analytic findings). Perhaps chief among these is the attachment group members have towards their ingroups (Hewstone et al., 2006). On the one hand, group members' ingroup attachment can

motivate them to act in ways that lead to, maintain, and exacerbate conflict between adversarial groups (Bilali et al., 2012; Silverman, 2019; Staub, 2006). On the other hand, group members' ingroup attachment can suppress their desire to forgive those who perpetrate said acts against their group (see Van Tongeren et al., 2014). To make genuine steps towards disrupting intergroup conflict, we must deepen our understanding of why group members' own attachment to their ingroup suppresses their motivation to forgive.

Our Ingroup Identity, Our Multidimensional Identity, and Our Different Forms of Ingroup Attachment

Social identity theory (SIT; Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) states that we have a tendency to carve up the world into discrete social categories such as gender, ethnicity, and sexual orientation—to name but a few (Turner et al., 1987). Once we identify with one of these social categories our sense of self is defined in terms of our ingroup identity (Hogg & Turner, 1987). Thus, the way we think, feel, and act is a function of our ingroup identity. When our actions are a function of our ingroup identity, we are engaged in intergroup behaviour (Brown, 2000).

Group members' own ingroup identity is indispensable to social psychology since a broad and deep body of empirical research demonstrates how much intergroup behaviour it explains. To illustrate, ingroup identity provides group members with a sense of meaning and a means to navigate the social world (Abrams & Hogg, 2004; van Tilburg & Igou, 2011). Ingroup identity provides group members with a sense of solidarity with fellow ingroup members and a way to connect the past with the present (Drury et al., 2016; Jetten & Wohl, 2012; Vignoles et al., 2021). Finally, ingroup identity provides group members with a means to bolster their self-esteem and to

protect themselves against threat (Branscombe et al., 1999; Jetten et al., 2015; Leach et al., 2010; Martinot et al., 2002).

Empirically, group members' ingroup identity has traditionally been treated as a homogenous construct and measured via strength of identification (Postmes et al., 2013). However, the first psychometrically rigorous and widely adopted measure of ingroup identity, developed by Brown and colleagues' (1986), specified that ingroup identity contains three components. That is, a *knowledge* component (i.e., how group members define themselves in terms of their ingroup identity), a *value* component (i.e., how much self-esteem group members derive from their ingroup identity), and an *emotional* component (i.e., how group members feel about their ingroup identity) (Gaertner et al., 1999; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). In other words, from the outset ingroup identity has been conceptualised as consisting of multiple components, but it has traditionally been treated as a homogenous construct (see De Guissmé & Licata, 2017; González et al., 2010; White & Abu-Rayya, 2012; Zagefka, 2021 for recent examples).

The development of multicomponent and multidimensional models of ingroup identity has advanced so far since ingroup identity was introduced (i.e., Tajfel, 1978), that we now have an assortment of multidimensional models of ingroup identity (Ashmore et al., 2004; Cameron, 2004; Doosje et al., 1995; Ellemers et al., 1999; Hinkle et al., 2011; Leach et al., 2008; Sellers et al., 1998b). Thus, we have compelling grounds to believe that ingroup identity is not homogenous but is in fact multidimensional. All multidimensional models of ingroup identity share a theoretical belief that group members' ingroup identity is too complex to be captured in a homogenous way (Ashmore et al., 2004). Further, homogenous measures of ingroup identity are not likely to capture how group members' ingroup identity differ as a

function of, for example, the social context they are situated in. The most empirically rigorous multidimensional model produced is the Hierarchical Model of Ingroup Identity (HMII) developed by Leach and colleagues' (2008). HMII states that ingroup identity consists of two higher-order dimensions. A self-investment higher-order dimension that subsumes the lower-order component of centrality, solidarity, and satisfaction. And a self-definition dimension that subsumes the lower-order components of individual self-stereotyping and ingroup homogeneity. Importantly, HMII was able to integrate previous multicomponent models that preceded it into one unifying framework therefore capturing all the various facets of group members' ingroup identity (de Souza et al., 2019; Leach et al., 2010; Roth & Mazziotta, 2015).

Further, recent advances demonstrate that ingroup identity is not only multidimensional but we also form attachments to our groups in two qualitatively different ways (Golec de Zavala & Lantos, 2020). Positive ingroup attachment involves a realistic and critical appreciation for the ingroup (Cichocka & Cislak, 2020). Group members' that have positive ingroup attachment also tend to be more secure in their individual self, have high self-esteem, and have their individual need for attachment satisfied (Marchlewska et al., 2018). HMII, for example, is a form of positive ingroup attachment whereby group members' value their ingroup identity—but they are also prepared to criticize and challenge the ingroup (Leach et al., 2008). Negative ingroup attachment involves an unrealistic and uncritical adoration for the greatness of the ingroup (Cichocka, 2016). Group members' with a negative ingroup attachment tend to be insecure in their individual self, lower in individual self-esteem, and lack a sense of control (Cichocka et al., 2018; Golec de Zavala, 2010). Two distinct forms of negative attachment are ingroup glorification (Roccas et al., 2006) and collective narcissism (de Zavala et al., 2009). Ingroup glorification is founded upon a belief that the ingroup is

superior to other groups combined with a profound respect and deference for the symbols and traditions of the ingroup. Collective narcissism is founded upon a belief in the unparalleled greatness of the ingroup, a greatness that is not recognised by others and needs constant validation.

Thus, there are multiple dimensions that capture group members' positive attachment to their ingroup via HMII (Leach et al., 2008). Further still, group members can also be negatively attached to the ingroup, and negatively attached in different ways (ingroup glorification & collective narcissism). Appreciating this has refined theory because it has allowed researchers to control for the various forms of ingroup attachment to distil their unique associations that the different forms of ingroup attachment have with such outcomes as conspiracy beliefs and outgroup derogation (Golec de Zavala et al., 2022; Golec de Zavala et al., 2020).

Our ingroup attachments are complex. We might well expect this to be the case since the groups to which we belong play such a prominent role in our lives and motivate us to think, act, and feel in a diverse set of ways (Cantwell & Martiny, 2010). Indeed, this then exposes us to a certain type of treatment by outgroups that can update and change the way we feel about our ingroup identity and thus how we define ourselves. To contextualise this, it is safe to assume that during Apartheid South Africa, how Black and White South Africans felt about their respective identities diverged. During Apartheid, White South Africans held all the power, privilege, and status, whereas Black South Africans were persecuted, ostracised, and made to suffer (Louw-Potgieter, 1988). Yet social psychology has often treated such identities as if they were equivalent by measuring ingroup identity in a homogenous manner (Gibson, 2006). It is likely that given Black and White South Africans were exposed to different treatments because of their group membership, they feel about those identities in different ways.

Further still, given their divergent histories, this should impact how contemporary Black and White South Africans feel about their respective ingroup identities within contemporary South Africa (Liu & Hilton, 2005). Put another way, measuring ingroup identity in a homogenous manner via strength of identification does not reveal differences that could emerge as a function of the group that members are identifying with. Research studying the association between ingroup identity and outgroup conflict has also consistently treated ingroup identity in a homogenous manner.

Clashing Ingroup Identities and Intergroup Conflict

On June 16th 2016 Jo Cox, a British Member of Parliament (MP), was murdered by Thomas Mair in broad daylight whilst on her way to meet local constituents (BBC News, 2016). A key motive for the killing was the fact that Jo Cox was an outspoken member of the group ‘Remainers’ wanting the United Kingdom (UK) to remain part of the European Union (EU), whereas Thomas Mair belonged to the group ‘Leavers’, wanting the UK to exit from the EU. This case demonstrates how intergroup conflicts stem from a fundamental clash of the competing values and worldviews of the groups involved (Bar-Tal & Hameiri, 2020).

In Northern Ireland, for example, the Catholic and Protestant communities disagree on Northern Ireland’s relationship with the UK (Senehi, 2015). This has led to years of distrust, animosity, and violence between both communities (Taylor et al., 2019). Israelis and Palestinians initial disagreement was over competing claims to a homeland, which has resulted in decades of violence and suffering (Shlaim, 2020). And finally, many ethnic groups in the Balkans are trying to deal with their competing claims to lands, rights, and historical trauma following the breakup of Yugoslavia, such as between Kosovans and Serbs (Lucarelli, 2000). In these intergroup conflicts, antagonism stems from the competing aims, goals, and aspirations of the groups

involved (Bar-Tal, 2011). This sparks conflict that can become entrenched when group members on both sides of the divide feel victimised and engage in reciprocal cycles of conflict. Intergroup hostility can soon become the norm and when it does, the prospect of a peaceful resolution diminishes (Cohrs et al., 2018).

Empirical findings have demonstrated a persistent empirical relationship between strength of ingroup identity and outgroup hostility. To illustrate, the more group members identify with their ingroup the more prejudicial attitudes they endorse towards their adversarial outgroups, such as immigrants (Lyons et al., 2010), political opponents (Hanson et al., 2021), and foreign nationals (Mummendey et al., 2001; see also Bauer & Hannover, 2020; Eskelinen et al., 2022; Howard et al., 2021). The more Americans (Barnes et al., 2014; Pyszczynski et al., 2006) and Russians (Gulevich & Sarieva, 2015) identified with their respective national identities the more they endorsed military action against their adversaries. A recent study by Gulevich and Osin (2023) found that the more Russians identified with their national identity the greater their support for the war in Ukraine and for the use of nuclear weapons in that war. Longitudinal evidence further corroborates the link between ingroup identity and outgroup hostility. For example, Kessler and Mummendey (2001), in the context of German reunification, conducted a three-wave longitudinal study over three years from 1995 to 1997. They found that, across that period, the stronger identification with East and West German identities, respectively, predicted stronger desire for conflict with the outgroup (see also Hasan-Aslih et al., 2020).

Intergroup conflicts can be insidious because they're not all characterised by open hostilities and violence, but still cause suffering and deep divisions (Mari et al., 2020). These conflicts are sparked not by the explicit decision of group members to align themselves with a particular identity, nor by the obvious competing aims of the

ingroup identities involved. Instead, group members can face discrimination, victimisation, and are prevented from realising their true potential purely because of their group membership (Clark et al., 1999; Galtung, 1969; Goffman, 1963). This arises because certain ingroup identities are devalued relative to other identities because they are perceived to occupy a lower rank in the social hierarchy (Van Breen et al., 2023). To illustrate, a consistent amount of empirical research demonstrates that certain ethnic and gender identities are discriminated against, and face levels of oppression not experienced by other more privileged identities, simply because of their group membership (Schmitt et al., 2003; Wu, 2016; Yeo et al., 2022; Yip et al., 2020). Therefore, group members mere membership in a group can expose group members to a certain level of victimisation when that identity is devalued and perceived to be inferior (Leach et al., 2010).

In sum, when groups have competing goals, aims, status, and worldviews the identities of those groups clash. The consequence of this is that groups can become engulfed by violent and protracted intergroup conflict (Bar-Tal, 2000). Such conflicts can become resistant to change because group members on both sides quickly become accustomed to the status quo (Orbe & Camara, 2010). This makes intergroup conflicts difficult to disrupt. Further, the longer conflicts go on the more suffering that conflict causes and the more likely it becomes to persist (Štambuk et al., 2020). As conflict persists, the suffering it causes is allowed to spread and could remain unabated unless efforts are made to disrupt the cycle of conflict and prevent the spread of suffering.

Arguments for Forgiveness (and Arguments against Revenge)

Systematic research on forgiveness began by acknowledging the persistent and seeming immutability of intergroup conflicts, compounded by major world events such as the fall of the Berlin Wall, the end of the Apartheid regime in South Africa, and the

signing of the Good Friday Agreement in Northern Ireland. While it is important to study the causes of conflict, it is equally important to study the factors that can disrupt these conflicts once they have got going (McLernon et al., 2002). Our conceptual understanding of forgiveness continues to evolve as we deepen our understanding of forgiveness (for closer detail see Chapter 2). However, forgiveness *must* involve a motivational transformation of victims' negative feelings of revenge towards the perpetrator and to replace these negative feelings with more positive and benevolent ones (McCullough et al., 1997; McLernon et al., 2004). Forgiveness *must* involve a transformation because, conceptually, this sets forgiveness apart from closely related concepts such as forgetting, condoning, pardoning, or excusing (McCullough, 2001). These latter concepts can occur independent of their being a transformation within victims, but forgiveness cannot. The utility of forgiveness can be decomposed into *positive* arguments in favour of forgiveness and the *negative* arguments against revenge.

The positive argument for forgiveness is that it is uniquely placed to deal with past and ongoing grievances by enabling group members to deal with the past by acknowledging what has happened and shift their focus towards a positive future (Hanke et al., 2013; Mullet et al., 2010). That way, group members are offered a way to deal with their suffering not by excusing or pardoning what has occurred, but by moving past it. Thus, forgiveness can disrupt intergroup conflict and stop present day victims from becoming future victimisers and bring about peaceful coexistence between once conflicting groups.

The utility of forgiveness is also apparent if we think about the negative aspects of revenge. Research demonstrates that victims often view their suffering as extremely severe, and punishment handed out on behalf of their suffering as too lenient (Kearns &

Fincham, 2005; Zechmeister & Romero, 2002). This promotes dissatisfaction among victims because of the perceived lenient punishment handed out on their behalf, and a deep sense of injustice in perpetrators because of their perceived excessive punishment. This process could well be accentuated when we consider suffering that occurs at a societal level. Given the magnitude of suffering, could there ever be a punishment that victims are satisfied with? Given the sheer scale of suffering, it is unlikely that any judiciary could ever feasibly handle the suffering and to punish at such a scale. In fact, this was a key motive behind the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) that took place in South Africa at the end of Apartheid. The TRC brought Black and White South Africans together in a form of restorative justice—i.e., being able to share dialogue and testimony with each other—in order to repair their relationships at a societal level (Llewellyn & Howse, 1999). Further, victims often overestimate how satisfied they will feel after acting on their desire for revenge (Gollwitzer et al., 2011; Orth, 2004). In fact, acting on their desire for revenge can make victims feel like perpetrators and induce the negative costs associated with this status, such as dehumanising the self (O’Leary-Kelly et al., 1996; Uniacke, 2000 see also Thai et al., 2023). Emerging experimental evidence has demonstrated that revenge (vs. forgiveness) is a less effective strategy to repair relations following a victimisation because it makes us feel less positive about ourselves (Schumann & Walton, 2022). Thus, these many negative costs of revenge—especially when we think of the magnitude of suffering that has occurred between adversarial groups—demonstrates the potential utility that forgiveness could have to bring about peace between conflicting groups.

Despite the benefits of forgiveness, forgiveness can be deeply challenging. One reason is that individuals who are deeply invested in their group are prepared to carry out unforgivable acts on behalf of their ingroup identity. To illustrate, Eugene de Kock

felt so deeply attached to his identity as a White South African that he was prepared to torture and assassinate Black South Africans during the Apartheid regime (Foster & Nicholas, 2000). And Félicien Kabuga identity as a Hutu was so important to him that he was prepared to arm the Hutu population in preparation for their genocide against the Tutsis in Rwanda (Mwangi & Mphepo, 2012). Group members who are victimised in this way might find the arguments in favour of forgiveness abstract and remote. Although revenge has many negative consequences, psychologically speaking these consequences might not outweigh the urge to inflict harm on those that have hurt us. Indeed, the appeal of revenge is that it is seen as a way to get even and correct the wrong that has occurred (Strelan et al., 2014). In doing so it offers a route for victims to regain their diminished sense of control and agency. Yet, even after being victimised in an extremely cruel way, we do hear stories of forgiveness. Eva Kor was, along with her twin sister, a prisoner of Auschwitz concentration camp during World War II. There she was experimented on by, amongst others, Dr Joseph Mengele who at one point told her she had two weeks to live. She survived and 50 years after the liberation of Auschwitz stood in the gas chambers and publicly forgave the Nazi doctors who had experimented on her (to read more stories like these see: <https://www.theforgivenessproject.com/stories/>). However, this story is noticeable by its irregularity and the general surprise we feel to read that someone has decided to forgive in such circumstances.

What Suppresses Group Members' Forgiveness?

Beyond this anecdotal account, early empirical research on forgiveness in real-world conflict settings identified the factors that suppress and increase group members' motivation to forgive (see Van Tongeren et al., 2014 for meta-analytic findings). Armed with the conceptual definition of forgiveness, i.e., it requires a deep-rooted

transformation in how the ingroup think and feel, researchers first sought to identify some of its most prominent affective and cognitive antecedents. This was reasoned to be an equation type problem, if researchers can identify those negative terms that take away from forgiveness and the positive terms that add to forgiveness, a solution can be found and forgiveness promoted (McLernon et al., 2004).

On the negative side of this equation, the more anger the proponents (Right) and opponents (Left) of the Pinochet regime in Chile felt of each other the less prepared they were to forgive each other (Manzi & González, 2007 see also Hewstone et al., 2004). Similarly, the more anger and fear Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland felt towards each other, the less likely they were to forgive each other (Tam et al., 2008). Also, the more unjust the ingroup feel the actions of the outgroup were and the more the ingroup feared being exploited again in the future, the less likely they were to forgive (Aquino et al., 2006).

On the positive side of this equation, the more trust there was between adversarial groups in Chile and Northern Ireland the more prepared they were to forgive each other (Hewstone et al., 2006; Noor et al., 2008; McLernon et al., 2002). Also, the more empathy (i.e., the ability to understand the feelings of the outgroup) there was between Catholics and Protestants the more prepared they were to forgive each other (Moeschberger et al., 2005). A facilitator of empathy, and a positive predictor of forgiveness in its own right, is the ability that ingroup members have to take on the perspective of the outgroup. When ingroup members see the world through the eyes of their adversarial outgroups, it promotes forgiveness amongst the ingroup (Welton et al., 2008). Finally, early work on forgiveness identified that, if the outgroup is willing to make amends, the ingroup might view this more favourably and be willing to forgive. To illustrate, apologies offered to Black South Africans (victims) by White South

Africans (perpetrators) for Apartheid promoted forgiveness amongst Black South Africans (Byrne, 2004). However, more recent findings have cast doubt on this finding and has demonstrated that the relationship between apology and forgiveness is in fact a lot more complex (see Hornsey et al., 2015; Hornsey & Wohl, 2013 for reviews).

This early research was of course informative and set the groundwork for subsequent research (Wenzel, 2020). Importantly, it began to identify some of the most prominent affective and cognitive antecedents of forgiveness, studied in the context of real-world ongoing conflicts (Hewstone et al., 2006a; Tam et al., 2007). This research, high in ecological validity, set the trend by beginning to identify ways to promote forgiveness in tandem with our analysis of the origins of intergroup conflict (Hewstone & Greenland, 2000).

Furthermore, based on SIT, we know that what gives rise to how the ingroup think, feel, and act is their own ingroup identity (Tajfel, 1979). Indeed, intergroup conflicts themselves stem from the competing goals, aims, and aspirations of the respective ingroup identities that members on both sides of the conflict align themselves with (Bar-Tal, 2007; Kelman, 1999). Further, we know that a consistent amount of empirical research demonstrates that the more group members identify with their ingroup identity the more willing they are to act in ways that exacerbate and prolong intergroup conflict (Gulevich & Osin, 2023; Jasini et al., 2017; see also Goeke-Morey et al., 2015). Based on this reasoning, research on forgiveness incorporated group members' own ingroup identity into their analysis (Noor et al., 2008; Wohl & Branscombe, 2005). Specifically, strength of ingroup identity was predicted to be a negative term in the equation that suppresses group members' motivation to forgive. To falsify this prediction, researchers have tested and found that strength of ingroup identity suppresses group members' motivation to forgive (Cakal & Petrović, 2017;

Taylor et al., 2022; Uluğ et al., 2023). Indeed, since ingroup identity has been introduced into forgiveness research, strength of ingroup identity has emerged as one of the strongest negative predictors of forgiveness (Van Tongeren et al., 2014).

Ingroup Identity and Forgiveness: Some Initial Considerations

Grounded within the social identity tradition, one of the most robust empirical findings in forgiveness research is that the more group members identify with their ingroup, the less likely they are to forgive their adversarial outgroup (Myers et al., 2009; Hewstone et al., 2006). This finding has been replicated across many different intergroup conflicts such as, for example, conflicting groups in Northern Ireland, Chile, and USA (Brown et al., 2010; Noor et al., 2008; Voci et al., 2015). This work on forgiveness stems from the broader literature on intergroup conflict. Research demonstrates that strength of ingroup identification motivates group members to act in ways that promote and prolong conflict (Pyszczynski et al., 2006). Given this consistent empirical finding, it might be of little surprise that said group members are also less likely to forgive. Acting with hostility towards adversarial outgroups and being prepared to forgive said outgroups is not compatible. Further, consistent with the broader literature on intergroup conflict, the relationship between ingroup identity and forgiveness has been conceptualised via strength of ingroup identity. Thus, this research assumes that group members' ingroup identity is homogenous and has not acknowledged the multidimensional nature of group members' ingroup identity (Leach et al., 2008). Acknowledging the multidimensional nature of group members' identity will advance our theoretical and empirical understanding of the ingroup identity and forgiveness relationship.

First, we have compelling reasons to believe that ingroup identity is not homogeneous, but it is in fact multidimensional (Ashmore et al., 2004; Leach et al.,

2008; Sellers et al., 1999). Of course, claiming that ingroup identity is multidimensional is not the same as specifying precisely how many dimensions there are, a topic we will elaborate on in Chapter 2. Second, treating ingroup identity as if it were homogenous (via strength of identification), when it is in fact not, provides us with an imprecise empirical estimate of the ingroup identity and forgiveness relationship. Third, measuring strength of ingroup identity provides us very little explanation about what specifically it is about ingroup identity that suppresses forgiveness. Fourth, we do not know how the multidimensional nature of ingroup identity predicts forgiveness when we partial out the shared variance between both positive and negative forms of ingroup attachment, therefore distilling their unique associations. Fifth, strength of ingroup identification tacitly treats conflicts as equivalent, concealing potential between-conflict differences that the ingroup identity and forgiveness relationship might have.

Strength of ingroup identification tacitly treats conflicts as equivalent because the only dimension that conflicts *can* differ on is identification strength, without any reference to their more refined multidimensional structure (Hinkle et al., 2011). We think it plausible that identities can and do differ in more ways than identification strength. Thus, when ingroup identity is measured via strength of identification it obscures potential between-conflict sources of variability in the ingroup identity and forgiveness relationship. To illustrate, we would not necessarily equate a Palestinian's decision not to forgive an Israeli with a Black American's decision not to forgive a White Supremacist. They are situated in different conflicts, that involve different types of suffering, with different ingroup identities. Thus, we might want to say what it is about their respective identities that makes them reluctant (or perhaps not) to forgive (Vollhardt, 2015). Yet, the present way we conceptualise the ingroup identity and forgiveness relationship would not allow us to tease apart any potential between-

conflict differences. Such a conceptualisation of the ingroup identity and forgiveness relationship diminishes our understanding of forgiveness.

Collective Suffering and Our Understanding of Us

Intergroup conflicts are complex, and this is going to be manifest in how a group's identity predicts their decision to forgive. When we are hurt because of our group membership, suffering occurs at the collective level (see Noor et al., 2017; Vollhardt, 2020 for reviews). Furthermore, the ingroup suffers across multiple dimensions (Noor et al., 2012). The ingroup can *physically* (i.e., physical injuries and death), *materially* (i.e., destruction of property), and *culturally* (i.e., having the ingroup's worldview and values challenged or destroyed) suffer. These dimensions, individually or collectively, result in the ingroup's sense of collective victimhood (Vollhardt, 2020). The type and magnitude of ingroup suffering differs across intergroup conflicts, making the ingroup's sense of victimhood unique and conflict-dependent (Bar-Tal et al., 2009). Such a sensitive and potent experience as the ingroup's victimhood are powerful stories that are formative for the ingroup's understanding of themselves, the conflict, and their own ingroup identity (Bar-Tal, 2013; Dinnick & Noor, 2019).

The ingroup's sense of victimhood intensifies conflict between adversarial groups (Jeong et al., 2022; Schori-Eyal et al., 2017; Štambuk et al., 2020). They orient the ingroup to compare the suffering they have experienced with the suffering the outgroup has experienced. In the most extreme case, conflicting groups can even compete over who is the greater victim (Noor et al., 2012). Such competitive victim beliefs increase group members' desire for revenge and hostility with the outgroup and reduce group members' willingness to forgive and reconcile with the outgroup (Halabi et al., 2020; Jasini et al., 2017). Exclusively focusing on the suffering of the ingroup is

deleterious for the conflict in which the suffering has been endured (Vollhardt & Bilali, 2015). Further, such a potent experience as suffering affects the ingroup's understanding of their group and therefore their ingroup identity (David & Bar-Tal, 2009). Thus, precisely how this is manifest should differ across conflicts because collective suffering is conflict dependent. This opens the possibility that the relationship between ingroup identity and forgiveness is a lot more nuanced than our current understanding appreciates.

Research has demonstrated the close interplay between the suffering of the ingroup and ingroup identity. To illustrate, Noor and colleagues' (2008) found that the more Catholics and Protestants within the Northern Ireland conflict competed over who has suffered more in the conflict, the more this bolstered their identification with their respective ingroup identity. Increased identification, in turn, suppressed group members' forgiveness. Extending these cross-sectional findings, Wohl and Branscombe (2005) conducted an experimental study among contemporary Germans and North Americans Jews. They found that when the suffering of the Holocaust was framed in concrete terms that targeted a specific ingroup identity (Jews), contemporary North Americans Jews expected contemporary Germans to experience more guilt. It also suppressed group members' forgiveness towards contemporary Germans. However, when the suffering caused by the Holocaust was framed in more inclusive ways (i.e., suffering inflicted on humanity), contemporary North Americans Jews did not attribute as much collective guilt to Germans and were prepared to forgive them.

The reviewed research demonstrates the close relationship that victim beliefs have with group members' own ingroup identity. When the ingroup suffering is framed in narrow and exclusive ways, group members' identity is at the level of their respective ingroup identity, and this can negatively affect their relationship with the outgroup

(Vollhardt, 2015). However, when suffering is framed in more inclusive ways, that allows for both the acknowledgement of ingroup and outgroup suffering, this can promote forgiveness amongst rival groups (see Shnabel et al., 2013). However, the suffering of the ingroup might affect the identities of rival groups in ways that are unrelated to the respective inclusivity of the identities. Specifically, the suffering of the ingroup could differentially predict the dimensions of group members' own ingroup identity. These differences could then manifest in how ingroup identity predicts forgiveness. Further still, the suffering of the ingroup might orient group members towards their ingroup identities in qualitatively different ways that promote positive (HMII) or negative (ingroup glorification and collective narcissism) attachment.

Emerging findings highlight the context-dependency of ingroup suffering. Specifically, the ingroup's experience of collective victimhood could refer to a variety of different ways in which the ingroup experience collective suffering that could impact how the ingroup understand themselves (Feinstein & Bonikowski, 2021). In a recent study, Vollhardt and colleagues' (2022) presented group members of recent (Bhutan and Burundi community) and historical (Armenian and Jewish community) ingroup victimisation with a range of measures designed to assess their ingroup's experience of victimisation. They found that group members' construe and understand the suffering of the ingroup in different ways across conflict context. Rather than exclusively comparing the suffering of the ingroup with the suffering of the outgroup, group members can simultaneously acknowledge the suffering of the ingroup and outgroup. Further, in some conflicts (Armenian and Jewish) group members were able to acknowledge the power of the outgroup and even make downward comparisons with outgroups that have been victimised by the ingroup. Importantly, all of this informed the way in which the ingroup construe their collective understanding of the conflict

which should have consequence for the identity that frames the conflict in the first place (Brewer, 2001).

Indeed, emerging findings demonstrate that group members might even differ in such a meaningful way as the degree of centrality they place on ingroup victimisation (Leach, 2022). For group members who place a high degree of centrality on their ingroup victimisation, collective victimisation should be central to their ingroup identity and should suppress their desire to forgive. For group members who place a low degree of centrality on their ingroup victimisation, collective victimisation should be less central to their ingroup identity and might make forgiveness appear redundant or unnecessary for such group members.

The Theoretical and Empirical Contributions of this Thesis

In sum, the central theoretical contribution of this thesis is to refine our current understanding of the ingroup identity and forgiveness relationship. Strength of ingroup identification has proved to be one of the most consistent negative predictors of forgiveness, but we have little to say about what precisely it is about ingroup identity that suppresses forgiveness. We refine our understanding in three central ways: (i) we utilise our most up-to-date understanding of ingroup identity to address what dimensions of ingroup identity are responsible for suppressing forgiveness (Leach et al., 2008); (ii) we integrate this analysis of positive ingroup attachment (HMII) with negative ingroup attachment (ingroup glorification and collective narcissism) to distil their unique relationships; (iii) we consider more closely the role that different types of conflict might have on the ingroup identity and forgiveness relationship. Closely related to the theoretical contributions of this thesis is identifying the empirical shortcomings of the previous approach to ingroup identity and forgiveness, which we discuss in closer detail in Chapter 2. We collected empirical detail to refine our understanding of

the ingroup identity and forgiveness relationship across a range of study designs (cross-sectional, longitudinal, and experimental) and different intergroup conflicts.

Specifically, in protracted and violent conflicts (Israel-Palestine & Kosovan-Serbian), conflicts characterised by structural violence (UK Women & Black Americans), conflicts underrepresented in forgiveness research (Black South Africans), and conflicts that erupted and were at their most volatile as the research for this thesis was being carried out (Brexit relations in the UK). In the next chapter we dissect the ingroup identity and forgiveness relationship in closer detail by reviewing the research on ingroup identity, forgiveness, and their interrelationship.

Chapter 2: Group Members' Ingroup Identity and their Decision to Forgive

Chapter Overview

The present chapter reviews the research of the central themes dealt with in this thesis. First, we present the most up to date conceptual analysis of forgiveness. Second, we review the extant research on the negative relationship between ingroup identity and forgiveness. Third, we demonstrate the theoretical and empirical shortcomings of this approach as we track the development of multidimensional models of ingroup identity, and present evidence in favour of HMII being our most refined model. Fourth, we refine our understanding of the ingroup identity and forgiveness relationship by theorising how the different lower-order components and higher-order dimensions of HMII might relate to forgiveness. Fifth, we introduce both positive (HMII) and negative (ingroup glorification and collective narcissism) forms of ingroup attachment into our analysis. Sixth, we add further nuance to our analysis by theorising about how conflict type might affect the ingroup identity and forgiveness relationship. Seventh, we introduce the different forms of justice (retributive, restorative, distributive, and procedural) to our analysis by discussing how different intergroup conflicts might lead the ingroup to demand different forms of justice. Finally, we close this chapter by providing a summary of the empirical contribution of each chapter of the thesis and a terse summary of the intergroup conflicts where the research has been situated.

The Benefits of Forgiveness

The main argument for forgiveness is that it offers group members' a way to deal with conflict by acknowledging what has happened rather than exacting revenge

(Hewstone et al., 2014). Therefore, group members on both sides of the conflict can move past hostility and animosity and reorient themselves towards the potential for a harmonious future. The argument in favour of forgiveness is buttressed by the negative dimensions of revenge. Revenge does not undo the scale of the suffering that has been incurred (Gerber & Jackson, 2013); does not bring satisfaction to victims (Gollwitzer et al., 2011; Orth, 2004); and it is not beneficial in its own terms, i.e., it does not help victims regain their diminished sense of agency and control (Gollwitzer & Okimoto, 2021; Raj & Wiltermuth, 2016; Schumann & Walton, 2022).

When group members forgive, they transform their rightful claims to resentment and revenge and replace these sentiments with more positive and benevolent ones (Hewstone et al., 2006; Wohl & Branscombe, 2005). Thus, forgiveness can disrupt conflict, stop the spread of suffering, and can prevent present day victims from becoming future victimisers. Next, we build upon the definition of forgiveness we have already introduced by providing an up-to-date conceptual analysis of forgiveness.

Our Current Conceptual Understanding of Forgiveness

Our conceptual analysis of forgiveness continues to evolve as we accumulate more empirical data and our measures that assess forgiveness become more refined (Davis et al., 2015; Wenzel, 2020 see also Enright et al., 2020). Forgiveness is generally conceptualised as a motivational transformation of victims' negative feelings of revenge and resentment towards the perpetrator and to replace them with positive feelings of goodwill and benevolence (Hewstone et al., 2006; McCullough et al., 1997; Noor, 2016; Wohl & Branscombe, 2005). This transformation occurs across victims affect (i.e., how victims *feel* about the perpetrator), cognition (i.e., what victims *think* about the perpetrator), and behaviour (i.e., how victims *act* towards the perpetrator) (McLernon et al., 2004; Subkoviak et al., 1995). Importantly, this means that

forgiveness is a conscious and volitional decision that is made by victims and not a precept blindly followed nor something that can occur independent of a transformation occurring within victims (Enright et al., 1995). This means that forgiveness is not the same as forgetting, minimising, condoning, pardoning, or excusing because all of these can occur without victims having undergone a transformation (McCullough, 2001).

Thus far the forgiveness literature has proposed several routes that victims can go down for their transformation to occur, and forgiveness reached. Some scholars have argued that such a transformation depends on whether the risk of future exploitation is low and relationship value with the perpetrator is high (Burnette et al., 2012). Under this framework, the decision to forgive is determined by the victim weighing up the costs of being exploited in the future with the benefits that could be gained by repairing a damaged (but valuable) relationship (Billingsley et al., 2023 see also Ohtsubo, 2019). When the former is greater (smaller) than the latter forgiveness will be low (high) (McCauley et al., 2022). Other scholars have argued that the motivation to forgive is in fact a unidimensional change across a single attitudinal continuum from hostility to friendliness (Forster et al., 2020). Under this framework, the decision to forgive is not about trading off value against risk, but forgiveness entails a shift from the hostility end of the continuum towards the friendly end of the continuum. And when victims have made the shift towards the friendly end of the continuum, then they have forgiven the perpetrator.

Given that forgiveness requires an encompassing transformation within victims—i.e., across victims affect, cognition, and behaviour—scholars have recently argued that the motivation to forgive is contingent on a number of factors (Dinnick & Noor, 2019). Specifically, (i) the extent to which victims can regulate their negative emotions and sentiments towards the perpetrator group, (ii) the behaviour of the

perpetrator group, including whether they make amends, show contrition, or build trust, and (iii) factors of the intergroup conflict that gave rise to the conflict and still govern the dynamics between victim and perpetrators groups (e.g., power and status).

Further, forgiveness between conflicting groups is distinct from forgiveness between individuals. In the former group members must decide how they feel about the perpetrator group and how this is affected by intra and intergroup dynamics, while these considerations are not present when an individual is deciding whether to forgive another individual (McCauley et al., 2022). This means that forgiveness between conflicting groups requires a bigger conversation. The presence of fellow ingroup members, united by their shared ingroup identity, might be an inhibiting or cultivating influence on group members' forgiveness. To illustrate, a Protestant living in Northern Ireland might be unwilling to forgive a Catholic because they might not want to do an injustice to fellow Protestants that died throughout The Troubles. Similarly, a Black South African might be unwilling to forgive a White South African for the legacy of Apartheid because many Black South Africans still face injustices because of the legacy of Apartheid (Pillay, 2022). Thus, the intragroup dynamics would be inhibiting that Protestant's and Black South African's forgiveness. Alternatively, consider again the case of Eva Kor a Jew who was imprisoned in Auschwitz but nonetheless decided to forgive the Nazis who imprisoned and tortured her (see: <https://www.theforgivenessproject.com/stories-library/eva-kor/>). The example of Eva Kor might be a cultivating influence for fellow Jews to forgive historical or contemporary crimes committed against their group (see also Čehajić-Clancy & Bilewicz, 2021; Čehajić-Clancy et al., 2023). In other words, forgiveness between conflicting groups is not just the sum of how the ingroup feel about the outgroup. Forgiveness between conflicting groups also involves the meta-perceptions about how

the ingroup feel other ingroup members feel about their decision to forgive (Dinnick & Noor, 2019). These meta-perceptions are likely draw on the fundamental concerns, values, and aspirations of the ingroup that by their very nature require group members to reflect on the nature of their ingroup. These might include, for example, the ingroup's role in the conflict, how the ingroup see themselves and the image they wish to project to others, what the ingroup desire for the future, what relationship they desire with the outgroup, and what potentially forgiving the outgroup means for the memory of previous generations of the ingroup (Sahdra & Ross, 2007). Finally, an important reflection for ingroup members could be how forgiving the outgroup affects the status quo. Intergroup conflicts are often intergenerational, therefore ingroup members grow up within an intergroup context whereby the relationship between ingroup and outgroup has only been hostile (Međedović & Petrović, 2021). Thus, forgiving the outgroup could radically change the dynamics between ingroup and outgroup and the status quo that the ingroup are used to (Govier, 2002).

In sum, forgiveness requires deep-rooted transformation within victims and for this reason it is complex. It requires that victims undergo a transformation in how they feel, think, and act towards their perpetrators. As we know from SIT, what gives rise to how the ingroup think, feel, and act towards their adversaries is their ingroup identity (Turner, 1982). Indeed, research demonstrates that strength of ingroup identity not only motivates group members to act with hostility towards their adversaries (Gulevich & Osin, 2023), but it also suppresses their desire to forgive said adversaries (Voci et al., 2015). Yet, our analysis of the negative relationship between ingroup identity and forgiveness has not advanced beyond strength of identification (Cairns et al., 2009). This is surprising because we now have strong reasons to believe that ingroup identity is in fact multidimensional (Leach et al., 2008). Next, we review our current

understanding of the negative ingroup identity and forgiveness relationship before demonstrating the theoretical and empirical shortcomings of the extant approach.

Our Current Understanding of Ingroup Identity and Forgiveness Relationship

Strength of ingroup identification can increase group members' prejudice (Hamidou-Schmidt & Mayer, 2021), their desire for revenge (Barnes et al., 2014), and makes ingroup members less likely to acknowledge ingroup transgressions (Bilali et al., 2012). When individuals identify with a social group that ingroup identity becomes part of their self-concept, shaping their thoughts, feelings, and behaviours (Ellemers et al., 2002; Hornsey, 2008). It is this impact of ingroup identity on the individual's self-concept that makes it a strong predictor of intergroup attitudes and behaviour (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Past research demonstrates that members who strongly identify with their ingroups are more prone to act in ways that lead to, maintain, and exacerbate intergroup tensions and suppresses the prosocial motivation to act with generosity towards their adversarial outgroup (e.g., Stenstrom et al., 2008; Uenal et al., 2021; Van Tongeren et al., 2014; Wenzel & Okimoto, 2015). Research has also demonstrated that strength of ingroup identification is deleterious of group members' motivation to forgive.

Initial experimental work highlighted the important role that social categorisation plays in forgiveness such that outgroup forgiveness attitudes were shown to depend on the level of social category inclusiveness. Specifically, when historical harm (e.g., Holocaust against the Jews or the forced removal of Aboriginal Australian from their families, i.e., the Stolen Generation) was framed as pervasive across humanity (the most inclusive social category), group members were more willing to forgive their offending outgroups than when such harm was framed as an intergroup

event in which one social group behaved aggressively towards another (intergroup categorisation) (Greenaway et al., 2011; Wohl & Branscombe, 2005).

Consistent with the broader literature on intergroup behaviour, overall, the forgiveness literature has focused on strength of ingroup identification as a key negative predictor of forgiveness attitudes. For example, researchers found that in Northern Ireland the more Protestants identified with their group the less forgiving they were towards Catholics (Hewstone et al., 2006; Leonard et al., 2015; Myers et al., 2009; Noor et al., 2008; Taylor et al., 2021; Voci et al., 2015). Beyond Northern Ireland, Noor et al. (2008) showed that the more Chilean participants identified with the Left (commonly associated with opposition to the Pinochet regime) or Right (commonly associated with support for the Pinochet regime) the less forgiving these adversarial groups were of each other. Similarly, the more Serbs (Cakal & Petrović, 2017), Turkish and Kurdish group members (Baysu & Coşkan, 2018), US citizens (Brown et al., 2008), Armenians (Uluğ et al., 2020), and French-speaking and Dutch-speaking Belgians (Jasini et al., 2017) identified with their ingroups the less forgiving they were of Bosniaks, towards the Turk or Kurd outgroup, perpetrators of the 9/11 terrorists attack, Turks, and towards French-speaking and Dutch-speaking Belgian outgroups, respectively. A recent (and the only) meta-analysis conducted on forgiveness between conflicting groups consolidated the above findings by establishing strength of ingroup identification as one of the strongest negative predictors ($r = -0.32$; $k = 20$) of outgroup forgiveness attitudes (Van Tongeren et al., 2014).

As is apparent from the above review, the link between ingroup identity and forgiveness is consistent with the broader literature on intergroup relations. That is, the link between ingroup identity and forgiveness has been attributed to the relative strength of group members' overall ingroup identification. However, based on recent

theorising and research we know that ingroup identity is not homogeneous but it comprises of multiple dimensions and components (see Ashmore et al., 2004; Leach et al., 2008). Treating ingroup identity as homogenous—instead of multidimensional—has theoretical and empirical shortcomings that does not advance our understanding of the ingroup identity and forgiveness relationship. Theoretically, utilising a multidimensional approach to identity will help us address why ingroup identity suppresses forgiveness. Empirically, utilising a multidimensional approach to ingroup identity will produce a more reliable estimate of the true association between ingroup identity and forgiveness. Thus, utilising a multidimensional approach to ingroup identity has clear benefits that will advance our understanding of the ingroup identity and forgiveness relationship. We address both the theoretical and empirical arguments in favour of a multidimensional approach to ingroup identity in the next section as we track the development of multidimensional models of ingroup identity within social psychology.

Multidimensional Models of Ingroup Identity (within the Social Identity Approach)

The social identity approach is concerned with that part of our sense of self that is derived from our membership of distinct social categories (Tajfel, 1982; Turner et al., 1997). Once we identify with these groups, our sense of self is defined by those ingroup identities (Hornsey, 2008). Since the social identity approach was developed, ingroup identity has become indispensable to social psychology because through it we can explain a broad and deep amount of intergroup behaviour (Ashforth et al., 2008; Karataş et al., 2023; Terry & Hogg, 1996).

Indeed, because ingroup identity is used to explain such a diverse amount of intergroup behaviour, researchers have proposed that ingroup identity is in fact

multidimensional and not homogenous (Ashmore et al., 2004; Sellers et al., 1999). This is based upon the following reasoning. If ingroup identity were homogenous, and could be captured via a unitary scale, this homogenous conceptualisation of ingroup identity would be used to account for a disparate amount of intergroup behaviour. To illustrate, strength of ingroup identification is used to explain such diverse intergroup behaviour as conspiracy endorsement (Çelebi et al., 2014), collective guilt (Branscombe, 2004), prosocial outgroup attitudes (Golec de Zavala et al., 2020), increased and decreased collective well-being (Leach et al., 2010; Leonardelli & Tormala, 2003), outgroup hostility (White et al., 2006), collective victimhood (Pantazi et al., 2022), and forgiveness (Hewstone et al., 2006). Under a homogenous conceptualisation of ingroup identity our theoretical understanding of ingroup identity becomes diluted since such a conceptualisation is necessarily going to be broad in order to account for all the different types of behaviour it is used to explain (see Brubaker & Cooper, 2000; Gleason, 1983). In other words, we are unable to give a precise reason why ingroup identity predicts all this different intergroup behaviour. Thus, as strength of ingroup identity is used to explain more and more what it can precisely explain becomes less and less. This stifles our theoretical understanding of the relationship ingroup identity has with intergroup behaviour, the very reason why ingroup identity is indispensable to social psychology (see Hogg & Ridgeway, 2003).

This is further confounded when we measure ingroup identity with unitary scales that conflate (to varying degrees) group members' different dimensions and components of ingroup identity into one empirical estimate. A multidimensional approach to ingroup identity, on the other hand, provides a theoretically refined analysis of intergroup behaviour since we can focus on how the different dimensions of ingroup identity relate to different intergroup behaviour. Thus, we can be more precise about

what it is about ingroup identity that relates to different intergroup behaviour. Further still, measuring ingroup identity using multidimensional scales provides a reliable empirical estimate of ingroup identity because it does not conflate the different dimensions into one score.

The complex and multidimensional nature of ingroup identity was first acknowledged by the scholars who initially developed what would later become the social identity approach (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Specifically, Tajfel (1978) originally described an ingroup identity as “that part of an individual’s self-concept which derives his knowledge of his membership of a social group together with the values and emotional significance attached to that membership” (p. 63). This definition led to the development of the first multidimensional scale measuring ingroup identity that has been widely adopted by researchers (i.e., Brown et al., 1986). This multidimensional scale of ingroup identity states that ingroup identity consists of a knowledge dimension (i.e., *his knowledge of his membership*), a value dimension (i.e., *together with the values*), and an emotional dimension (i.e., *and emotional significance*). Even though since its inception ingroup identity has not been conceptualised as homogeneous, it has more consistently been measured as if it were homogenous (Struch & Schwartz, 1989; Terry & Hogg, 1996; Xia et al., 2023).

Conceptualising ingroup identity as homogenous, even though we have compelling grounds to believe it is not, means we are not maximising the theoretical insights we can glean from ingroup identity (Leach et al. 2008). Specifically, if we concentrate our analysis at the level of the dimensions of ingroup identity we can more precisely describe why ingroup identity predicts different intergroup behaviour. This is because our theoretical understanding of ingroup identity, at the level of ingroup identity dimensions, is more precise than our understanding of ingroup identity as

overall strength of ingroup identification. This means we can refine theory when we shift our analysis away from strength of ingroup identification and towards the dimensions of ingroup identity.

Our imprecise understanding of ingroup identity is further confounded when we measure ingroup identity using unitary measures. To illustrate this point, it may be that groups members' ingroup identity dimensions have opposite relationships with the same intergroup outcome, such as forgiveness. Further still, these relationships might be attenuated or accentuated by the specific intergroup conflict context they are being studied in. However, measuring ingroup identity via a unitary scale would obscure or miss altogether this rich theoretical insight because unitary scales combine group members' identity dimensions into one unpredictable score. This necessarily deviates the measured score of ingroup identity away from group members' true score, at the level of ingroup identity dimensions (McDonald, 1999). Thus, leaving us with an unreliable estimate of ingroup identity that dampens our theoretical understanding of consequential intergroup outcomes, such as forgiveness.

From Many Multidimensional Models of Ingroup Identity to One

Claiming that ingroup identity is multidimensional is not the same as specifying precisely how many dimensions of ingroup identity there are. Indeed, this has led to the development of numerous multidimensional models of ingroup identity put forward by researchers (i.e., Ashmore et al., 2004; Brown et al., 1986; Cameron, 2004; Doosje et al., 1995; Deux, 1996; Ellemers et al., 1999; Hinkle et al., 1989; Jackson, 2002; Jackson & Smith, 1999; Leach et al., 2008; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992; Phinney, 1990; Sellers et al., 1998). All these models share the central thesis that group members' identity is too complex to be captured by a homogenous conceptualisation of ingroup identity, measured by overall strength of identification. However, they differ in the number and

precise content of dimensions that make up ingroup identity. Further, all the multidimensional models of ingroup identity but one (see Sellers et al., 1998) have proposed general multidimensional models of ingroup identity that are unspecific to a particular ingroup identity and therefore meant to be a model for all ingroup identities.

Although the multidimensional models of ingroup identity have been developed in independent research agendas, there are some common themes that emerge from the numerous models that have been proposed. For example, most models propose a form of an *evaluative* or *affective* dimension that captures how group members feel about their ingroup, usually in the form of satisfaction (Brown et al., 1986; Doosje et al., 1995; Ellemers et al., 1999). Further, most models propose a *centrality, importance, or interconnection of self* dimension that captures how central the ingroup is to defining group members' sense of self (Cameron, 2004; Sellers et al., 1997). Most models include a *solidarity, connectedness, or attachment* dimension that captures how close group members feel towards their fellow ingroup members and the ingroup (Ellemers et al., 1999; Jackson, 2002; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). And finally, most models include a dimension that captures the *cognitive alignment or inclusion of the self with the ingroup* that captures group members cognitively seeing themselves as an ingroup member (Ellemers et al., 1999; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992).

With the proliferation and development of multidimensional models of ingroup identity, with subtle differences in how many dimensions are specified and the exact content of those dimensions, the models lack an integrative framework. This can be problematic as researchers adopt different models of ingroup identity in their own research agendas and then the precise meaning of ingroup identity changes in line with the specific model that researchers have adopted. Thus, when researchers are talking, describing, and theorising about ingroup identity (and its relation to intergroup

behaviour) they might in fact be talking about a specific model of ingroup identity they have chosen to adopt, rather than a more general form of ingroup identity that all researchers understand to be *the* multidimensional model of ingroup identity.

The Hierarchical Model of Ingroup Identity (HMII)

Recognising this lack of theoretical integration, Leach and colleagues (2008) proposed a multidimensional model of ingroup identity that integrated the models that preceded it (i.e., Ashmore et al., 2004; Brown et al., 1986; Cameron, 2004; Doosje et al., 1995; Deux, 1996; Ellemers et al., 1999; Hinkle et al., 1989; Jackson & Smith, 1999; Leach et al., 2008; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992; Phinney, 1990; Sellers et al., 1998) into a single unifying framework by aligning their conceptualisation of ingroup identity with classical theory on identity (i.e., Pope & Johnson, 1983; Tönnies, 1927). Their Hierarchical Model of Ingroup Identification (HMII) suggests five distinguishable lower-order components of ingroup identity which are organised in a hierarchical two-dimensional model. The higher-order dimension *self-investment* consists of the following three lower-order components: The *centrality* component describes the extent to which one's identity with an ingroup is a central aspect of defining one's overall self-concept, whereby group members define themselves in terms of their ingroup identity (Ashmore et al., 2004; Settles, 2004; Oakes et al., 1999). The *solidarity* component refers to members' attachment to the ingroup in the form of achieving the goals of the ingroup and a commitment to one's fellow ingroup members (Ellemers et al., 1999; Jackson, 2002). The *satisfaction* component reflects the positive feelings that individuals derive from their ingroup identity and their membership with it (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

The higher-order dimension *self-definition* consists of the following two lower-order components: The *individual self-stereotyping* component is the extent to which an

individual believes they are similar to the prototypical ingroup member (Hornsey & Jetten, 2004; Spears et al., 1997). The *ingroup homogeneity* component captures the perception that the whole ingroup is formed of a homogenous unit that is cohesive and coherent (Masson & Fritsche, 2014).

The HMII was able to integrate previous multicomponent approaches by specifying that the lower-order components load onto the higher-order dimensions of self-investment and self-definition (Leach et al., 2008). Classical work on ingroup identity has made the case that there are two distinct ways that group members align themselves with the ingroup. One way group members align with their ingroup identity is by the explicit purposeful investment with the ingroup, i.e., how much group members care about and value their ingroup identity and are prepared to work for their ingroup (i.e., *self-investment*) (see Broom & Selznick, 1973). The other way group members align with their ingroup identity is by recognising the similarities they share with fellow ingroup members i.e., how alike ingroup members perceive themselves to be to each other (i.e., *self-definition*). Durkheim conceptualised this distinction as organic and mechanical solidarity, respectively (Thijssen, 2012; see also Tönnies & Tönnies, 2012). HMII builds on this classical conceptualisation by integrating them into one model and specifying more precisely what each separate dimension consists of via their lower-order components, that in turn load onto the higher-order dimensions.

The self-investment dimension is more affective-based, and it therefore consists of group members' feelings and emotions about the ingroup (Russell, 2003). For example, how important the ingroup identity is to members sense of self, how close members feel with fellow ingroup members, and how much satisfaction and pleasure they derive from that identity (Leach et al., 2008). The self-definition dimension is more cognitive-based and consists of how groups members think and represent the

ingroup. For example, whether they perceive themselves as like other members and whether the whole group is similar (Leach et al., 2008). The two higher-order dimensions are positively correlated, forming two related but distinct dimensions of group members' ingroup identity (see Leach et al., 2008 Study 1 & 2).

Leach and colleagues (2008) provided empirical support for the model across seven initial studies. They demonstrated and confirmed the factorial validity (Study 1 - Study 3) across distinct ingroup identities (Dutch & Students), as well as assessing the concurrent validity with other ingroup identity measures (Study 3 & Study 4), and the predictive and discriminant validity (Study 5 – Study 7). It has since gone on to amass an impressive amount of empirical support in cross-sectional designs (Masson & Fritsche, 2014), been validated in languages other than English (i.e., Italian, La Barbera & Capone, 2016; Russian, Lovakov et al., 2015; German, Roth & Mazziotta, 2015), and has displayed factorial invariance across longitudinal designs (Jans et al., 2015a). Further, Roth et al. (2019) experimentally manipulated group members' levels of self-investment and self-definition with their ingroup identities, respectively. The HMII showed equally good fit across identities that differed in their mean levels of self-investment and self-definition. In other words, HMII is a model adept at explaining identification with the ingroup across all constellations of ingroup members' levels of each identity dimension (self-investment & self-definition).

Thus, HMII theoretically integrated previous multicomponent models of ingroup identity with classical theorising into one unified framework (Ashmore et al., 2004; Broom & Selznick, 1973; Brown et al., 1986). Since its inception it has gained robust empirical support as a model of ingroup identity across numerous ingroup identities and study designs (Jans et al., 2015; Lovakov et al., 2015).

How Adopting the HMII has Refined Theory

Similar to the aims of the present research, past work has utilised HMII to distinguish between the different components of ingroup identity to test their predictive power in relation to intergroup outcomes such as collective action, adhering to ingroup norms, public health support, prototypical ingroup fit, and collective well-being (Bagci et al., 2023; Blackwood & Louis, 2012; Bombay et al., 2014; Crane & Platow, 2010; Goh et al., 2022; Van Bavel et al., 2022). Moving beyond strength of ingroup identification can refine theory because we can get a more accurate understanding of why certain aspects of ingroup identity relate to specify intergroup outcomes. Adopting this approach has led to important clarification in the literature.

To illustrate, when using strength of ingroup identification, past research has reported a positive (e.g., Doosje et al., 2006), negative (e.g., Doosje et al., 1998), or no relationship between ingroup identity and collective guilt (e.g., Barth & Stürmer, 2016). In contrast, Masson and Barth (2020), who used the more refined HMII, across three intergroup contexts (i.e., disabled students, pro-environmental behaviour, and same-sex marriage), found that the relationship between ingroup identity and collective guilt was ultimately driven by the self-investment dimension only, and in fact even this relationship was more complex (i.e., inverted U-shaped; Masson & Barth, 2020, p. 381).

Further, belonging to a devalued group is a significant threat and stressor to those who hold that ingroup identity (Clark et al., 1999). However, research has demonstrated that the negative association between devaluation and reduced well-being is inconsistent (Ashburn-Nardo, 2010; Major & O'Brien, 2005). Across three ingroup identities (i.e., Jews, psychology students, and Black Britons) Leach et al. (2010) utilised HMII to provide more theoretical insight into this empirical inconsistency by

concentrating on the lower-order components of ingroup identity via HMII. Across all ingroup identities, they showed that devaluation of group members ingroup identity increased the satisfaction component of group members' identity. They concluded that ingroup members can buffer against the negative effect of devaluation to the extent that they derive satisfaction from their ingroup identity.

Building on and extending these findings, Giamo et al. (2012) applied HMII to the rejection-identification model (Branscombe et al., 1999). The rejection-identification model states that group members can offset being devalued through increased identification with their devalued identity, thus preserving their collective well-being. Giamo and colleagues (2012) found that perceived discrimination increased multiracial participants individual self-stereotyping, ingroup homogeneity, and solidarity lower-order components of their ingroup identity. But only individual self-stereotyping mediated the positive association between discrimination and collective well-being. They concluded that multiracial group members can buffer against the negative effects of discrimination to the extent that their ingroup identity provides them somewhere where they "fit". Thus, HMII can refine theory (i.e., Leach et al., 2010) and reveal important nuances across distinct ingroup identities (i.e., Giamo et al., 2012).

Finally, Reiman and Killoran (2023) recently found evidence for both the black sheep effect and ingroup sensitivity effect. The black sheep effect posits that dissenting ingroup members provoke more negative reactions than equivalently dissenting outgroup members; while the ingroup sensitivity effect posits that ingroup members are more receptive to dissent from ingroup members relative to outgroup members. Trying to reconcile these diverging perspectives on the relative push and pull of ingroup members (Dovidio, 2013; Hornsey & Esposito, 2009), Reiman and Killoran (2023) suggested that ingroup identity concerns might be driving these effects. They found that

both the black sheep effect and ingroup sensitivity effect were accentuated for ingroup members who were particularly invested in the ingroup (i.e., high self-investment). For those group members who are not so invested in their ingroup identity, they have little concern for the positions the ingroup members take and are not prepared to disparage them (black sheep effect) nor adhere to them (ingroup sensitivity effect).

In a similar vein, we wish to utilise HMII to refine our understanding of the relationship between ingroup identity and outgroup forgiveness. We still do not know which dimension (or even lower-order component) of ingroup identity are responsible for driving the established negative relationship between ingroup identity and forgiveness (Noor et al., 2008; Uluğ et al., 2020; Voci et al., 2015). Moving beyond strength of ingroup identification will enhance theoretical clarity because strength of ingroup identification is an inherently vaguer concept, compared to the more precise understanding of ingroup identity provided by HMII.

Enhancing Theoretical Clarity: A Meta-Theoretical Note

Scholars have recently drawn attention to what they believe is a ‘theory crisis’ occurring within psychology today (Muthukrishna & Henrich, 2019; Oberauer & Lewandowsky, 2019). It has been argued that psychology is lacking a general theory based on first principles from which researchers can derive further theories and predictions, based on these more general principles. Instead, what is more characteristic of the theories in psychology, is that we have an amass of theories that are not integrated into a small number of more general frameworks. This can be problematic for two reasons. First, if theories are not more integrated the attempts to falsify predictions that are derived from one theory do not inform, clarify, or update any other theory and this is an inexpedient way to develop theories. Second, this will hinder our potential to build more general theories of human behaviour that explain more—that in

and of itself is a more compelling basis for a theory—which are based on first principles of human behaviour, i.e., those facts about human behaviour which cannot be deduced any further (and therefore everything else follows) (Atari & Henrich, 2023).

Further, this process of disintegration is exacerbated because many psychological theories are geared towards testing and confirming effects that derive from the theory, but this does little to advance the theory. Confirming effects (or explananda see Cummins, 2000) does not provide an explanation that is going to help us advance the theory the effects are derived from because the effects are very often the thing that need explaining (van Rooij & Baggio, 2021). In other words, empirically falsifying effects from many theories are not explanations of the theories in and of themselves. To contextualise this, as has been reviewed, we know from a consistent amount of evidence that strength of ingroup identity suppresses group members' forgiveness (Van Tongeren et al., 2014). Confirming this relationship as researchers have done, a relationship derived from theory (i.e., Tajfel & Turner, 1978), does little to explain *why* strength of ingroup identity has this negative relationship with forgiveness. Rather it *is* the effect that it has and therefore it is the effect that requires explanation if we are going to advance our theoretical understanding. We can collect more data and verify this effect again, but it won't add more of an explanation and enhance our understanding of theory. For this reason, many theories stay with us in an unrefined manner, that do not advance our understanding but nonetheless remain with us as theories (Meehl, 1967). Imprecise theories have been put forward as another reason (along with methodological and empirical ones) for the replication crisis—i.e., the failure to replicate many psychological effects that many took for granted, especially in social psychology (Ioannidis, 2005; Simmons et al., 2016; Watts et al., 2018).

Lack of theoretical progress has been attributed to the vagueness of psychological theories (Eronen & Bringmann, 2021). The vaguer theories are, the more difficult it is to falsify them. When we get effects that are consistent with our theory, we can explain why that is. When we get effects that are inconsistent with our theory, we can contrive of reasonable explanations of why that might be. Enhancing our theories by making them more formal and precise will aid our ability to falsify them and provide better explanations for why we do (or do not) observe the effects we do. This will help us build a more integrative set of theories whereby the evidence for one will help us to understand other theories; as the web of integrative psychological theories gets more and more dense, we will be able to build more general psychological theories.

To this end, in the following sections we theorise about how each lower-order component and higher-order dimension of HMII might differentially predict forgiveness. It should be noted that this work builds on, and does not undermine, previous work that has studied the association between ingroup identity and forgiveness (Hewstone et al., 2006; Noor et al., 2008). Specifically, it does not question the veracity of the reported effects. Indeed, that work has been seminal and laid the groundwork for the present programme of research. Our wish for this programme of research is to build on that work by refining our understanding.

The Role of Self-Investment in Predicting Forgiveness

Group members' who have a high degree of self-investment in their ingroup identity think their ingroup identity is central to their sense of self, feel a close bond with ingroup members and ingroup goals, and are satisfied with their ingroup identity (Leach et al., 2008). This means that they are high on the lower-order components of the self-investment dimension. They have a high degree of *centrality*, *solidarity*, and *satisfaction* in their ingroup identity.

Centrality—the importance of ingroup identity to defining group members’ sense of self and its chronic salience—may negatively predict forgiveness (Turner et al., 1987). Intergroup threat theory states that group members experience threat when they know outgroups can cause them harm (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). To protect the self and alleviate the threat, group members must deal with the threat in some way (see Riek et al., 2006 for meta-analytic findings). In intergroup conflicts—especially those that appear intractable and are stubborn to change (Bar-Tal, 2000)—group members experience a pervasive amount of threat (Noor et al., 2017). Research demonstrates that the more central an ingroup identity is, the more aware group members are of the threats to that ingroup identity (Bombay et al., 2013; Cameron, 2001; Rios et al., 2018). This makes a lot of intuitive sense since when an ingroup identity is central, it defines our sense of self, and we interpret the world via that ingroup identity. Thus, high centrality should motivate a stronger desire to deal with and defend against these threats. Specifically, this should suppress forgiveness towards the adversarial outgroup who are the source of such threats.

High centrality is more than chronic salience of an ingroup identity, it is also means we imbue an ingroup identity with a lot of importance and we feel close to our ingroup identity (Ashmore et al., 2004). A consistent finding in the interpersonal forgiveness literature is that forgiveness is high when our relationship closeness to the perpetrator is high (Finkel et al., 2002; Strelan et al., 2017 see Karremans et al., 2011 for cross-cultural findings) and we value that relationship (Burnette et al., 2012). At the intergroup level, when centrality is high, we feel close to our ingroup identity, and we feel more distant from those outgroups who would wish us harm (Ricketta, 2005). In other words, in the context of intergroup conflict, what ingroup members do not desire is a close relationship with their adversaries, nor do they value that relationship. Thus,

the more central group members' identity is to defining group members' sense of self, the less willing they will be to forgive those who hurt their valued relationship with the ingroup. Put another way, at an intergroup level what group members feel close to is their ingroup identity which determines their levels of forgiveness; at an interpersonal level what group members feel close to is their relationship with the perpetrator which determines their forgiveness.

Further, we know that not all intergroup conflicts are characterised by open and violent conflict between adversarial groups (i.e., Galtung, 1969; Mari et al., 2020). Some groups face pervasive levels of discrimination and are devalued because of their ingroup identities (Branscombe et al., 1999). Research demonstrates that the more discrimination group members report, the less forgiveness they report towards those that discriminate (Balkin et al., 2021; Tanner et al., 2022). Group members high in centrality are attuned to and feel the effects of discrimination more than other group members, and this results in lower collective self-esteem and well-being (Bombay et al., 2010, 2014; Pinel, 2004; Szymanski & Lewis, 2016). Therefore, high centrality should make group members aware of the discrimination they face and suppress forgiveness towards the perpetrators of discrimination. Indeed, group members' decision (or not) to forgive might be consequential for their collective well-being. Research on interpersonal forgiveness has revealed that forgiveness is positively associated with improved well-being (Worthington Jr et al., 2007; see Akhtar & Barlow, 2018 for meta-analytic findings). Forgiveness could mediate the relationship between discrimination and suppressed collective well-being for group's who face pervasive levels of discrimination.

Solidarity—the extent to which group members feel a bond with their fellow ingroup members and are committed to the ingroup—may negatively predict

forgiveness (Ashmore et al., 2004). Groups are governed by a set of ingroup norms and beliefs that guide group members behaviour and their relations to outgroups (Reynolds et al., 2015). Group members act in accordance with the ingroup norms to provide coherence and consistency with their self-concept and a means to bolster self-esteem (Jetten & Hornsey, 2014). For example, adolescents were more likely to engage in cyberbullying when they found out that there was a norm amongst the ingroup for cyberbullying (Piccoli et al., 2020). Group members also act in accordance with ingroup norms because not doing so has risks. For example, failing to adhere to the ingroup norms could risk a negative reaction from fellow ingroup members and even fear that one could be ostracised from the ingroup (Rudert et al., 2020, 2023). Ostracism would mean losing a valued identity that group members are deeply invested in. This is especially consequential in intergroup conflicts where one's ingroup identity provides group members with meaning (Bar-Tal, 2000).

In the context of ingroup conflict, ingroup norms are to protect the ingroup against the outgroup and to achieve the goals of the ingroup (Brewer, 2001). Of course, the goals of the ingroup are often diametrically opposed to the adversarial outgroup, since intergroup conflicts are by their nature disputes over land, rights, history, and values (Harel et al., 2020). Group members' high in solidarity are more likely to adhere to ingroup norms and to strive to achieve the goals of the ingroup. In towing the party line, group members' high in solidarity should be less likely to forgive the outgroup since doing so could thwart the chances of the ingroup achieving their goals.

However, research suggests that "ingroup love" (i.e., positive bias in favour of the ingroup) need not come at the cost of "outgroup hate" (i.e., derogating outgroups) (Brewer, 1999). In other words, helping the ingroup does not mean that group members must also suppress their forgiveness towards the outgroup. For example, when faced

with a choice between helping the ingroup with or without harming the outgroup, most group members chose to help the ingroup without harming the outgroup (Halevy et al., 2012; Weisel & Böhm, 2015). And group members who benefit the ingroup without harming the outgroup are often viewed with ingroup prestige (Halevy et al., 2012). Such research suggests that group members can show solidarity towards their ingroup—and for the sake of their own prestige it could be beneficial to do so—without having to disparage the outgroup. Thus, group members might not have to suppress their forgiveness towards outgroups to attest their solidarity. Rather, they may be more concerned with concentrating their efforts on directly helping fellow ingroup members. It should be noted that the research showing the benefits of ingroup love over outgroup hate has been conducted in laboratory settings with ingroup identities devoid of a conflict history (Halevy et al., 2012; Weisel & Böhm, 2015). Such research—high in internal validity—might not translate to the field and conflict contexts with identities steeped in a history of violent animosity, i.e., potentially making the findings low in external validity.

Satisfaction—the extent to which group members derive positive feelings from their ingroup identity—might negatively predict forgiveness (Sellers et al., 1998). Group members derive satisfaction from their ingroup identity when it is valued (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). And value is determined in a relative manner, based on the ingroup's standing relative to other groups. In violent intergroup conflict, it is often the commitment of both groups to demean, disparage, and dehumanise the outgroup (Kteily et al., 2016). In this context, to maintain satisfaction with the ingroup identity, group members should want to actively distance themselves from this representation (Branscombe, 1998). This could be sought with suppressed forgiveness, signalling to

the outgroup—and to third party observers—that they don't accept the representation of the ingroup that the adversarial outgroup is trying to portray of them.

Further still, the active fight against this representation of the ingroup in the form of further aggression towards the adversarial outgroup might even be a source of satisfaction for the ingroup. It is often an explicit tactic of group leaders to draw on stories of ingroup defiance and heroism as a reason that the ingroup should be proud of themselves (Goldberg, 2017). To illustrate, after the Israeli Defence Force (IDF) killed renowned Palestinian journalist Shireen Abu Akleh, Palestinian leaders praised her as a national icon for his continued resistance to Israeli occupation (Natour, 2022). Being hailed as a hero and icon for defence of the ingroup allows other ingroup members to feel pride and bask in reflective glory (i.e., Cialdini et al., 1976). It also signals what other group members must do to attain the same sort of adulation and ingroup status. This can be a particularly potent strategy for group leaders to adopt since satisfaction with the ingroup predicts longer term commitment to the ingroup (Ashmore et al., 2004). And long-term commitment to the ingroup identity is needed in the context of conflict where group members can become fatigued and strained. Thus, group leaders are more likely to keep the ingroup mobilised.

Further, we know that group members' who face discrimination and are devalued suppress their forgiveness to those who transgress in that way against their ingroup (Tanner et al., 2022). The rejection-identification model states that members of groups who are discriminated against have their collective well-being reduced as a function of their devaluation (Branscombe et al., 1999; see also Doyle et al., 2021). But group members can buffer against this devaluation through increased identification with their devalued identity. Indeed, research has demonstrated that strength of ingroup identification mediates the positive relationship between perceived discrimination and

collective well-being (Powell et al., 2017; Tanner et al., 2022). Further refining this association, emerging findings have demonstrated that ingroup satisfaction has been found to mediate the positive relationship between perceived discrimination and collective well-being (Bagci et al., 2023; Bombay et al., 2010; see also Leach et al., 2010). Feasibly ingroup satisfaction could mediate the relationship between discrimination and increased forgiveness, for forgiveness has been shown to increase well-being (Bono et al., 2008). In other words, the more satisfied with their ingroup identity, the more likely group members are to forgive those who discriminate against their group. This reasoning would imply that forgiveness is also consequential for collective well-being amongst devalued groups, and therefore the rejection-identification model (Branscombe et al., 1999).

There are strong reasons to believe that the combined effect of each lower-order component, captured via the higher-order self-investment dimension, might be greater than the sum of its parts. For one research has demonstrated that the lower-order components positively correlate, and these interrelationships hold across distinct ingroup identities (average $r = 0.62$, Leach et al., 2008; Jans et al., 2015). In other words, when an ingroup identity is fundamental to defining ingroup members sense of self (i.e., centrality), group members are also likely to report feeling particularly connected to the group (i.e., solidarity), and feel very positive about the identity (i.e., satisfaction). Further, recent research has demonstrated that the relationship between self-investment and intergroup outcomes such as identity development and collective guilt is stronger than its lower-order components (Jans et al., 2015a; Masson & Barth, 2020; Shepherd et al., 2013). In the case of forgiveness, this reasoning implies that the self-investment dimension will have an empirical relationship that is not reducible to

one specific lower-order component. Rather, the relationship between self-investment (vs. lower-order components) and forgiveness would be stronger and more robust.

In sum, for the first time, we have begun to present a theoretical account of the ingroup identity and forgiveness relationship beyond strength of identification. To do so we have focused on how the lower-order components of group members' self-investment identity dimension to theorise about why they might differentially relate to forgiveness. Further, we have also considered the combined influence of all the lower-order components via the self-investment dimension on forgiveness. Next, we turn our attention to the second dimension of group members' identity, self-definition.

The Role of Self-Definition in Predicting Forgiveness

Group members' who have a high degree of self-definition in their ingroup identity believe that they are like the prototypical ingroup member and believe that the ingroup is a homogenous social unit because all group members share the group prototype (Leach et al., 2008). This means that they are high on the lower-order components of the self-definition dimension. They have a high degree of *individual self-stereotyping* and *ingroup homogeneity* in their ingroup identity.

Individual self-stereotyping—the extent to which group members perceive themselves as similar to the prototypical ingroup member—could negatively predict forgiveness (Oakes et al., 1994). The prototypical ingroup member is the set of perceptions, attitudes, and behaviour that group members believe define the typical ingroup member (Hogg et al., 2017). When group members perceive themselves as the prototypical ingroup member, they share in the successes and failures of the ingroup (Leach et al., 2008). In the context of intergroup conflict, the successes and failure of the ingroup are tied to the ability of the ingroup to achieve its goals. Thus, group

members high in individual self-stereotyping should feel angry and frustrated when the outgroup thwarts the goals of the ingroup, resulting in suppressed forgiveness.

When group members self-stereotype they also distance themselves, and differentiate from, the adversarial outgroup, i.e., they see themselves as an ingroup member who is in conflict with a particular adversarial outgroup (Bianchi et al., 2009). This should entrench divisions—making forgiveness less likely—but it should predict the long-term continuation of the conflict, making it less likely to find a peaceful resolution. The common ingroup identity model (CIIM) proposes that intergroup relations can be improved by creating a superordinate identity (an inclusive *we*) that subsumes both subordinate conflicting identities (*us* and *them*) (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005). The logic behind the model is that recategorising adversarial groups into an inclusive superordinate category creates a new ingroup and to attain a positive ingroup identity group members are motivated to positively favour their fellow ingroup members (Voci, 2006). CIIM has been successful at reducing affective polarisation between Republican and Democrats, ethnocentrism, and tensions between Turks and Kurds (Bagci & Çelebi, 2018; Kersten & Greitemeyer, 2023; Levendusky, 2018). Refining CIIM, Wenzel et al. (2008) formulated the ingroup projection model to detail when recategorisation into a superordinate category is more likely to be successful at creating a new ingroup. Recategorisation is going to be successful when members of the new ingroup are seen as prototypical members of the group (Wenzel et al., 2008). But ingroup members often project the prototypicality of the subordinate ingroup onto the superordinate ingroup identity (i.e., Kessler et al., 2010). To illustrate, reducing tensions between Catholics and Protestants means creating a superordinate identity that is inclusive of both ingroup identities (i.e., Northern Irish). However, the superordinate identity (Northern Irish) is only going to be successful if the prototypical member of

that category is not seen as equivalent to the subordinate identities (Catholics and Protestants) (Noor et al., 2010 see also Schumacher, 2023). Group members' high in individual self-stereotyping see themselves as like the prototype of the subordinate ingroup. This reduces the likelihood that any attempt to create a superordinate and inclusive category is going to be successful. In other words, ingroup identity perceptions are going to be resistant to change and keep the focus for group members on the *we* and not on the *us*—making forgiveness and peaceful conflict resolution less likely.

This theorising—on the proposed negative link between individual self-stereotyping and forgiveness—has so far presupposed that the ingroup prototype is antithetical to forgiveness. Although there is ample evidence that group members act in accordance with the ingroup prototype (Latrofa et al., 2012), this does not determine what the ingroup prototype is. Indeed, there are reasons to suppose that group members could want to view the ingroup prototype as someone who is forgiving (or even less vengeful), and this might be beneficial for the ingroup. For one, research suggests that group morality is the primary dimension on which both ingroup and outgroups are judged (i.e., Leach et al., 2007). For example, Brambilla et al. (2013) experimentally manipulated the perceived morality of the ingroup and found that other ingroup members only wanted to know and cooperate with ingroup members who were high in morality (see also Brambilla & Leach, 2014; Leach et al., 2007). This effect was mediated by ingroup image threat. In other words, ingroup members were concerned that their ingroup would be perceived in a negative light if they were not seen as moral. Further, in conflict settings, learning about the immorality of the ingroup often provokes defensive reactions (Čehajić-Clancy et al., 2011; Halevy et al., 2015a). Further still, negative emotional reactions such as collective guilt are accentuated for

ingroup members when they believe that the rest of the ingroup are not experiencing them (Goldenberg et al., 2015). This suggests that ingroup members are willing to shoulder more emotional costs when they believe the ingroup are not displaying the requisite moral response. Emerging intergroup interventions argue that learning about moral exemplars in the outgroup can be more beneficial to positive intergroup reconciliation than existing intergroup interventions (CIIM) (Čehajić-Clancy & Bilewicz, 2021). Taken together, this research suggests that group members' put a high premium on the perceived morality of the ingroup. Therefore, believing that the ingroup prototype is a forgiving (or even less vengeful) group member could well be a source of pride and satisfaction for the ingroup. Indeed, a recent study by Benard et al. (2023) (see also Pagliaro et al., 2011) found that, compared to revenge, Americans viewed fellow ingroup members who were prepared to forgive as more status-worthy. Thus, to the extent that ingroup members believe the group prototype is forgiving, and they see themselves in line with this prototype, should increase their desire to forgive the outgroup.

Ingroup homogeneity—the degree to which the whole ingroup are perceived to be similar—could negatively predict forgiveness (Lickel et al., 2000). Research has shown that group members are willing to enact revenge when they see their fellow ingroup members being victimised (Strenstrom et al., 2008). This effect could be accentuated when ingroup homogeneity is high because the scope of who group members perceive to be part of the ingroup is wider (Lorenzi-Cioldi, 1998). This would make the hurt of fellow ingroup members more salient, and it should feel more acute for ingroup members. Overall, this could make the experience of the ingroup's collective victimhood more potent. That is, it will make the overall magnitude of ingroup suffering appear greater and more unjust (Vollhardt & Nair, 2018). The more

ingroup members are aware of this suffering, the less likely they are to forgive the outgroup for this suffering. Further still, research demonstrates that when ingroup homogeneity is high, group members are more likely to display a positive bias in favour of the ingroup (Doğan et al., 2022). Thus, suppressing forgiveness for the hurt that fellow ingroup members have experienced could be a way to display one's bias towards fellow ingroup members.

Further, higher perceptions of ingroup homogeneity might provide ingroup members more of a license to behave immorally towards the outgroup. The more similar ingroup members perceive the whole group to be, the more likely they are to believe responsibility is going to be diffused amongst the ingroup (Forsyth et al., 2002). Specifically, there are similar other (ingroup) agents who could be morally responsible for any morally compromising behaviour (Bleher & Braun, 2022). In other words, behaving immorally towards the outgroup (i.e., inciting or causing violence) is less consequential for each individual group member since any repercussions will be shared amongst the whole ingroup. This decouples group members individual actions from their consequences. This might be further bolstered by the fact that when ingroup homogeneity is high group members believe the ingroup is more adept at coping with threats and defending itself (Abelson et al., 1998; Bilali, 2015). Thus, group members are going to be less concerned about acting aggressively irrespective of the power of the outgroup because the ingroup can defend itself.

Like the self-investment dimension, the relationship between the self-definition dimension and forgiveness might be greater than the sum of its parts. The more group members perceive themselves as similar to the ingroup prototype, the more ready they could be to perceive the whole ingroup as similar to this prototype. Indeed, if the ingroup prototype is seen as someone that the ingroup should be proud of, group

members should be more ready to attribute these characteristics to the whole group. That way, they can feel positive about their identity and positively differentiate themselves from the outgroup (Jetten et al., 1996). Furthermore, perceiving the whole group to be homogenous could exert normative pressure on ingroup members to act in line with the prototype (Morris & Liu, 2015). Evidence supporting this reasoning comes from studies that have demonstrated a moderate positive correlation between the *individual self-stereotyping* and *ingroup homogeneity* components (average $r = .43$, Leach et al., 2008; Roth et al., 2019).

Comparing the Self-Investment and Self-Definition Dimensions

Although the self-investment and self-definition dimensions positively covary (0.61—0.77, Leach et al., 2008), they are distinct constructs and might have different strength relationships with forgiveness.¹ The self-investment dimension is more affective-based and contains ingroup members' feelings and emotions about their ingroup identity. These include, group members pride, commitment, pleasure, satisfaction, and how much they value their ingroup identity. The self-definition dimension is more cognitive-based and contains group members' knowledge and perceptions of the ingroup. These include, group members perceiving themselves as part of a distinct social group, what ingroup members are like, and how similar the ingroup is. Research to date has demonstrated that, compared to self-definition, the self-investment dimension is a stronger predictor of intergroup outcomes such as collective guilt, ingroup norms, and collective action (Blackwood & Louis, 2012; Gulevich & Osin, 2023; Masson & Barth, 2020; Masson & Fritsche, 2014; Teixeira et al., 2023). This pattern of findings has been attributed to the fact that the emotional content of the

¹ Only the covariance between the higher-order dimensions (self-investment & self-definition) is reported in the original Leach and colleagues' (2008) manuscript. Covariance means that the values depend on the scale on which they were measured (1 *strongly disagree*, 7 *strongly agree*).

self-investment dimension is more action-orientated, inciting group members to act (Masson & Barth, 2020). Consistent with this reasoning we think it possible that self-investment might have a stronger negative relationship with forgiveness.

There is also evidence from the interpersonal forgiveness literature that is consistent with this reasoning. At the interpersonal level, scholars have made a distinction between emotional and cognitive based routes to forgiveness (i.e., Worthington Jr, 2007). On the one hand, *emotional* forgiveness means that victims replace their negative feelings of revenge and resentment with more benevolent ones. On the other hand, *decisional* forgiveness means victims make the conscious choice to act in a less vengeful way or avoid the perpetrator (Worthington & Scherer, 2004; see also Macaskill et al., 2002; Mróz et al., 2020). This distinction parallels the more affective based self-investment dimension (*emotional* forgiveness) and cognitive based self-definition dimension (*decisional* forgiveness). Emotional and decisional forgiveness need not operate in tandem. People can make the decision to forgive without going through emotional forgiveness, i.e., still feel vengeance. The two-factor emotional and decisional forgiveness scale (Worthington Jr et al., 2007), developed to measure both forms of forgiveness, has gained robust empirical support across different interpersonal and cultural contexts (Cavalcanti et al., 2019; Kaleta & Mróz, 2021; Kurniati et al., 2017; Wang et al., 2022).

A compelling body of research suggests that emotional forgiveness is the more central route to achieving forgiveness. Experimental research relates emotional forgiveness to behaviour that is indicative of someone who has gone through the motivational transformation required of forgiveness. Lichtenfeld et al. (2015) had participants imagine an offence happening to them, before assigning participants to engage in an emotional or decisional forgiveness task. Participants in the emotional

forgiveness (vs. decisional forgiveness) condition remembered significantly less about the offence. In other words, because transgression related information was not so accessible, it is a stronger indicator that participants in the emotional forgiveness condition had in fact forgiven the perpetrator. Using the same experimental design, Lichtenfeld et al. (2019) showed that participants in the emotional forgiveness condition (vs. decisional forgiveness), held the perpetrator significantly less responsible. In other words, because attributions of responsibility are closely aligned with victims still holding a grudge and resentment towards the perpetrator, attributing less responsibility means victims no longer hold the perpetrator responsible (McCullough, 2001). This research demonstrates the more prominent role emotional forgiveness (vs. decisional forgiveness) plays in the decision to forgive.

Translating this research to the intergroup context of forgiveness, we would expect the self-investment dimension of group members' identity to play a more prominent role in group members' decision to forgive. Given that it is more affective, and emotion based in content, when it is high, group members should feel particularly hurt and aggrieved by the actions of the adversarial outgroup and forgiveness should be low. Of course, when self-investment in one's ingroup identity is low, the actions of the outgroup should appear less consequential for group members, and for those group members there should be little or nothing to forgive. A corollary of this reasoning is that if group members are going to overcome their negative feelings of resentment, and therefore to forgive the outgroup, it is primarily in the self-investment dimension of their identity that it is going to be found.

Positive and Negative Forms of Ingroup Attachment

An intersecting line of theoretical and empirical work has demonstrated that group members can be attached to their ingroup in two qualitatively different ways, via

positive and negative attachment (Emmons, 1987; Loewenstein, 1977). Positive ingroup attachment is attachment to the ingroup based on a secure, realistic, and critical adoration for the ingroup (Cichocka & Cislak, 2020; Golec de Zavala & Lantos, 2020). Therefore, group members feel positive about their ingroup identity but are not prepared to blindly follow the ingroup and are prepared to challenge the ingroup. Group members who are positively attached to their ingroup also tend to have a secure sense of self and the satisfaction of group members' own individual needs (Cichocka et al., 2018; Marchlewska et al., 2018). HMII is a positive form of ingroup attachment as group members feel positive about their ingroup identity but are prepared to challenge the ingroup (Leach et al., 2008). Negative ingroup attachment is attachment to the ingroup based on an unrealistic and uncritical adoration for the ingroup (Cichocka, 2016). Therefore, group members feel positive about the ingroup but because they have unrealistic beliefs in the greatness of the ingroup are more prone to follow and defend the ingroup (Federico et al., 2023). Group members who are negatively attached to their ingroup tend to be more insecure in their sense of self and have their individual needs thwarted (Fromm, 1973; Jasko et al., 2019). The two most prominent, but conceptually distinguishable, negative forms of ingroup attachment are ingroup glorification (Roccas et al., 2006) and collective narcissism (de Zavala et al., 2009).

Ingroup glorification is founded upon a belief in the exceptional greatness of the ingroup and a deep respect for the symbols, traditions, and customs of the ingroup (Roccas et al., 2006). Group members high in ingroup glorification are more likely to dehumanise outgroups (Leidner et al., 2010), to be prejudicial towards outgroups (Kende et al., 2018), to endorse outgroup hostility (Golec de Zavala et al., 2016), and to deny any wrongdoing by the ingroup (Bilali, 2013). Further, a recent study by Uluğ et al. (2021a) found that stronger Armenian identification predicted greater feelings of

resentment towards Turks. In turn, greater feelings of resentment predicted less forgiveness towards Turk. Thus, negative ingroup attachment based on ingroup glorification leads group members to prolong and exacerbate conflict and suppresses group members desire to forgive.

Collective narcissism is founded on a belief in the exceptional greatness of the ingroup that is not sufficiently recognised by others (de Zavala et al., 2009). Group members high in collective narcissism are more likely to endorse violent conflict with their adversarial outgroups (Dyduch-Hazar & Mrozinski, 2021; Golec de Zavala et al., 2016), are less likely to feel collective guilt at the immoral actions of the ingroup (Dyduch-Hazar et al., 2019), and to even demand closure for the past immoral actions of the ingroup (Kazarovytska & Imhoff, 2022). One study has also examined the association between collective narcissism and forgiveness and found that Americans' high in collective narcissism were less likely to forgive those (outgroups generally) who transgress against America (de Zavala et al., 2009). Thus, negative ingroup attachment based on collective narcissism leads group members to prolong and exacerbate conflict and suppresses group members desire to forgive.

Ingroup glorification and collective narcissism are both negative forms of ingroup attachment, but they are conceptually distinct (Golec de Zavala, 2011). Whereas collective narcissists have a need for their perceived greatness to be recognised by others, this is not present for ingroup glorifiers (Golec de Zavala et al., 2009). Further, ingroup glorifiers have a deference and respect for the ingroup, but collective narcissist care more about what they can get out of the ingroup (Roccas et al., 2006). This conceptual distinction leaves open the possibility that both negative forms of ingroup attachment (ingroup glorification & collective narcissism) could explain unique variance in forgiveness.

When ingroup glorification and collective narcissism have been added to the same model to predict outgroup hostility, collective narcissism has proved a stronger predictor (Golec de Zavala et al., 2009; Golec de Zavala, 2019). Although these studies are rare—and we are only aware of two—this suggests that collective narcissism could emerge as a stronger negative predictor of forgiveness (vs. ingroup glorification). When collective narcissists have their grandiose image of the ingroup damaged or threatened by the adversarial outgroup they are more likely to react with hostility and aggression to defend their damaged self-image (Baumeister et al., 1996). Accompanying this, they are also more likely to hold a grudge and are less willing to forgive those that damage the image of the ingroup in such a way (Exline et al., 2004a). This locates collective narcissists decreased willingness to forgive (vs. ingroup glorification) as primarily a means to assuage their damaged (inflated) view of the ingroup (Baumesiter et al., 2020).

This is important because it means that collective narcissists decreased willingness to forgive is not driven by concern for the ingroup's concerns or fellow ingroup members. Indeed, research demonstrates that group members' high in collective narcissism are more likely to be disloyal to the ingroup if they could personally gain (Marchlewska et al., 2020 see also Gronfeldt et al., 2023). Further, Cichocka et al. (2022) found that amongst coworkers and politically partisan groups, group members' high in collective narcissism were more likely to objectify fellow ingroup members and were only interested in what they could personally gain from the ingroup. However, ingroup glorifiers do show concern for the ingroup. Leidner and Castano (2012) found that when high ingroup glorifiers were presented with an ingroup threatening offence (the harm the ingroup has committed) they shifted their moral emphasis towards loyalty for the ingroup. As such, rather than abandon the ingroup,

high ingroup glorifiers were more likely to show loyalty towards the ingroup in the face of ingroup harm. Thus, ingroup glorifiers decreased desire to forgive could be a function of both their threatened superior image they have of the ingroup—this they share with collective narcissists—and because they have concern for their ingroup and its members. This leaves open the possibility that both negative forms of ingroup attachment (ingroup glorification & collective narcissism) could explain unique variance in forgiveness.

Positive and Negative Attachment: Distilling their Unique Associations

Positive (HMII) and negative (ingroup glorification & collective narcissism) forms of ingroup attachment share positive feelings towards the ingroup. However, for negative forms of ingroup attachment, the positive feelings are based on an unrealistic belief in the greatness of the ingroup (Cichocka, 2016). Based on this, researchers have begun to incorporate both forms of ingroup attachment into the analysis of intergroup behaviour to distil the unique association each form of attachment has with intergroup behaviour (Cichocka & Cislak, 2020; Górska et al., 2023; Marchlewska, Górska, Malinowska, et al., 2022). To illustrate, Golec de Zavala et al. (2020) found that when the overlap between positive ingroup attachment and collective narcissism was partialled out—i.e., leaving what is unique to each form of attachment—positive attachment had a negative relationship and collective narcissism a positive relationship with outgroup derogation. Importantly the unique relationship that each form of attachment has with outgroup derogation is obscured when their shared variance is not accounted for. A similar pattern of findings has been revealed for outgroup conflict (Guerra et al., 2022; Golec de Zavala et al., 2013), endorsing disparaging conspiracy theories of the outgroup (Marchlewska et al., 2023), social identity threat (Bagci et al., 2023), support for reactionary movements (Alt-Right Nationalists) (Marinthe et al.,

2022), and support for refugees and intergroup solidarity (Górska et al., 2022, 2023). Thus far, the accumulative evidence demonstrates that when the shared variance between positive and negative attachment is accounted for, on the one hand, positive attachment is associated with outgroup benevolence; and on the other hand, negative attachment is associated with outgroup hostility (Golec de Zavala, 2011; Marchlewska et al., 2022). However, to date this form of analysis—integrating both negative and positive forms of ingroup attachment—has not been carried on forgiveness.

In sum, we can refine our analysis of forgiveness—beyond adopting a multidimensional approach to ingroup identity—in a further two ways by incorporating negative ingroup attachment (ingroup glorification & collective narcissism) into our analysis: (i) we can examine the unique relationship that both forms of negative attachment have with forgiveness, (ii) we can examine the unique relationship between both forms of positive and negative attachment have with forgiveness. Thus, this type of analysis can help us address meta-theoretical questions such as whether group members' decision to forgive is driven more by concern for the ingroup (positive attachment) or by hate for the outgroup (negative attachment)? (i.e., Brewer, 1999).

Can Differences across Intergroup Conflicts Affect the Ingroup Identity and Forgiveness Relationship?

Thus far we have dug deeper into group members own identity, and the type of attachment they have with their ingroup, to gain new theoretical insight into the ingroup identity and forgiveness relationship. However, we know that all intergroup conflicts are unique and comparing any one conflict with another is problematic (Szabó, 2020; Vollhardt et al., 2021). They all have a unique history, temporal scope, are situated in a unique socio-political context, have different power and status dynamics, and the groups are striving for a unique set of goals (or to reclaim something that has been lost)

(Böhm et al., 2020). Further, we know that the dimensions across which the ingroup suffers differs from conflict to conflict (Noor et al., 2017). In some conflicts the ingroup may face more of a threat to being physically injured or killed (*physical* suffering); in other conflicts the biggest threat could be to the material conditions of the ingroup (*material* suffering); in other conflicts the biggest threat could be to the values and worldview of the ingroup (*cultural* suffering). The different ways the ingroup suffers will affect the overall magnitude of their suffering and the type suffering the ingroup experiences. Indeed, we know that these differences can affect the ways the ingroup experience their collective victimhood, making collective victimhood itself conflict-dependent (Leach, 2022; Vollhardt et al., 2022).

Collective victimhood varies based on the conflict it stems from, influencing how it impacts group members' identity. For example, we know that the experience of collective victimhood predicts group members' strength of ingroup identity (Bilven et al., 2022; Jasini et al., 2017; Noor et al., 2008; see also Selvanathan et al., 2023).

Building on our multidimensional approach to ingroup identity, the ingroup's collective victimhood could predict group members' ingroup identity in different ways across different conflicts. Thus, the relationship between ingroup identity and forgiveness could be even more nuanced since the way that group members' own ingroup identity predicts forgiveness should differ in line with the conflict in which the relationship between ingroup identity and forgiveness is situated.

To illustrate, Galtung (1969) offered the first systematic analysis into conflict by demonstrating that there are two primary forms of violence. Direct violence occurs when groups are attempting to physically injure and kill each other. Structural violence occurs when certain groups in society receive inequitable treatment, are discriminated against, and are therefore living in a social context whereby they are oppressed and

unable to realise their true potential (Galtung, 1990). Both forms of violence cause group members' deep grievances, that feed a sense of collective victimhood, and suppresses group members desire to forgive the outgroup (Mari et al., 2020; Rimé et al., 2015; Sheehan et al., 2019). But theoretically, the impact of said suffering on group members' ingroup identity could differ and so could their levels of forgiveness towards those that inflict this suffering on the ingroup.

In the context of direct violence, group members face being killed and the very survival of the ingroup is threatened. As such conflict rages, their ingroup identity should be salient because they are being targeted and victimised precisely because of their ingroup identity (Paolini et al., 2010). We know the experience of victimisation is a potent one that affects our understanding of the self (Bar-Tal et al., 2009). This should increase the centrality of group members' ingroup identity, the more the ingroup are victimised because of their ingroup identity, the more central it should become to defining group members sense of self (Leach et al., 2022). Further, as the ingroup and its members face getting killed and destroyed—in the context of direct violence—group members should be more motivated to achieve their goals as a group to defend themselves and to defend their fellow ingroup members, bolstering the solidarity component of their ingroup identity (Jackson, 2002). Further, as the ingroup is targeted with violence in an indiscriminate way by members of the adversarial outgroup this should increase the similarity amongst the ingroup. In other words, *we* the ingroup all share in this suffering, increasing the ingroup homogeneity of group members' ingroup identity (Leach et al., 2008).

In the context of structural violence, the effect on the ingroup is insidious because the discrimination and oppression that the ingroup face is normalised and becomes the rule rather than the exception (Schwebel, 1997). This is further

confounded by the fact that—unlike the context of direct violence—in the context of structural violence the ingroup is forced to live with, and to certain extent get along with, those that perpetrate against the ingroup (Galtung, 1969). If the ingroup are unwilling to cooperate with said outgroup members, they might well be held back from furthering their own prosperity and happiness (Glasford & Calcagno, 2012). Indeed, one way this might be achieved is through the satisfaction component of their ingroup identity. The more ingroup members are satisfied with their ingroup identity the more able they are to buffer the negative effects of discrimination they experience as a function of their ingroup identity (Leach et al., 2010). Further, when the ingroup are subject to structural violence they are deprived of power and are considered lower status than the outgroup who perpetrate against the ingroup (Farmer, 2004). This could feed into the ingroup's representation of themselves as powerless and to a certain extent subservient to the outgroup, the group with higher status. This could feed into the ingroup's representation of themselves as being forgiving towards those that discriminate against the ingroup even when the discrimination they face is blatant and unjust (Cadinu et al., 2013). In other words, the outgroup having the more power expect to be forgiven for their actions (Noor & Quek, 2022). This would manifest in the individual self-stereotyping component of their ingroup identity—the prototype of the ingroup members align themselves with when they see themselves as an ingroup member.

Further, in the face of the discrimination they experience, ingroup members might prefer to distance themselves from the discrimination by minimising or subverting its pervasiveness (Knowles et al., 2014). Ingroup members might be able to tolerate the inequity they experience better by refusing to acknowledge its pervasiveness (Napier et al., 2020; Todd et al., 2012 see also Knowles & Lowery,

2012). In this circumstance forgiveness might seem incongruent to ingroup members: there is nothing to forgive if ingroup members are reluctant to acknowledge the suffering of the ingroup. This would reduce the salience of their ingroup identity in particular the centrality component of their ingroup identity since ingroup members are reluctant to acknowledge their victimisation (Bar-Tal et al., 2009); it should also make ingroup members more immune to the plight of fellow ingroup members and suppress the solidarity component of their ingroup identity. Thus, this being the case, if ingroup members minimise the suffering they experience because of their ingroup identity it should predict the longer-term stability of these inequitable relations—which of course would further disadvantage the already disadvantaged ingroup.

In sum, theorising in this way adds further nuance to our understanding of the ingroup identity and forgiveness relationship. First, we theorise about how the different lower-order components and dimensions of ingroup identity, whether in tandem or in independent ways, predict group members' forgiveness. Second, we can add further nuance to this relationship by theorising about how differences across intergroup conflicts might affect group members' ingroup identity in different ways, and therefore group members' forgiveness. It should be noted that theorising about the conflict-dependent nature of the ingroup identity and forgiveness relationship is inherently vaguer when ingroup identity is conceptualised via strength of ingroup identity. When ingroup identity is conceptualised via strength alone the only way that ingroup identity can differ across conflict context is via the relative strength. Thus, providing little to no insight into precisely how intergroup conflicts affects ingroup identity in different ways.

The Ingroups Justice Concerns and Intergroup Conflict Context

Another way that the conflict context might affect group members' decision to forgive is the way in which ingroup members believe they have or have not received the justice they deserve (Li & Leidner, 2019). Indeed, this could differ in line with the way justice has been violated in a particular conflict context and the steps that have been taken (or not) to redress the injustice (Karremans & Van Lange, 2005). The discrepancy between the justice the ingroup believe they deserve and what they have received is known as the injustice gap (Exline et al., 2003). The injustice gap aligns forgiveness with the restoration of subjective feelings of justice within victims (Davis et al., 2016). When group members perceive justice has been restored, they are more likely to forgive; when group members perceive an injustice gap, they are less likely to forgive. Thus, the injustice gap should differ in different conflicts as a function of the ways that injustice has been violated and the explicit attempts have been made to restore a sense of justice. Of course, the way that justice is violated is the way that the ingroup are made to suffer, differing from conflict to conflict (Vollhardt et al., 2022). Thus, we can map the different forms of justice (retributive, restorative, procedural, and distributive) onto different intergroup conflicts to further theorise about how the conflict context might make group members' more (or less) likely to forgive their adversarial outgroup.

Retributive justice is focused on the unilateral punishment of transgressors, and it involves seeing the transgressors suffer in some way (Wenzel & Okimoto, 2016a). This form of justice most closely resembles our conception of revenge in that victims want to see—and might even derive satisfaction from (see Gollwitzer et al., 2011; Hechler et al., 2023)—their transgressors suffering as they have suffered (Wenzel et al., 2008). To the extent that ingroup members desire to restore justice by seeing the outgroup suffer should suppress forgiveness and promulgate conflict. Indeed, research

demonstrates that when ingroup members desire for retributive justice increases, their desire for conflict and revenge with the outgroup also increases (Hirschberger et al., 2015; Sjöström et al., 2018). For example, Serbians who were reminded about violence committed against their ingroup were more likely to call for retributive justice and future violence against Bosniaks (Li et al., 2018). Retributive justice is problematic for forgiveness because it resembles many of the shortcomings we have already discussed about revenge. When revenge is used as the means to restore justice, it can turn victims into victimisers, it does little to correct the harm that has been caused, and means conflict persists, which increases the overall amount of suffering (Noor et al., 2012). We might expect the ingroup's desire for retributive justice to rise in line with the ingroup's overall sense of collective victimhood. As the perceived magnitude of the ingroup's suffering increases ingroup members desire to correct the wrong by inflicting suffering of their own should also increase (Vollhardt & Bilali, 2015). Research has recently demonstrated that following the interethnic conflict in Kenya, following the 2007 election of Mwai Kibaki, Kenyans who were victims of the conflict or reported seeing direct violence reported a greater desire for retributive justice (Aloyo et al., 2023 see also Penić et al., 2021).

Group members desire for retributive justice is theorised to be a means of deterrence for the ingroup, i.e., it reduces the likelihood that outgroup members will inflict further suffering on the ingroup (Osgood, 2017). This desire should be strongest in conflicts where the actions of the outgroup carry the greatest risk to the safety and survival of the ingroup (Bar-Tal, 2007). In other words, ingroup members desire for retributive justice should increase proportional to the risk that the actions of the outgroup threaten ingroup members safety and survival.

Restorative justice is focused on healing the hurt that has been caused by means of an inclusive programme that bring victims and perpetrators together (Van der Merwe & Chapman, 2008). This is done in a format whereby victims and perpetrators can share dialogue and hear each other's perspective, all of which is geared towards promoting reconciliation. Perhaps the most prominent example of restorative justice is the TRC in South Africa following the end of Apartheid Regime, and the election of the first post-Apartheid Government (Gibson, 2005). Given the scale of suffering that South Africa had gone through, punishment based on retributive principles of justice would have been difficult to implement, i.e., would cause too much hurt to too many people. Rather, because restorative justice is based on healing at a collective level it could bring White and Black South Africans together. There are currently similar initiatives of restorative justice being carried out in Colombia following the end of the civil war in the country (Garzón-Rojas et al., 2022). Restorative justice seems a route to justice that is compatible with forgiveness. Mirroring the appeal of forgiveness, restorative justice is focused on addressing the needs of both victims and perpetrator groups (Mutanda & Hendricks, 2022). In doing so it disrupts, rather than promotes conflict, and focuses group members' attention on the potential for a harmonious future. However, it should be noted that the explicit aim of restorative justice initiatives is often framed as reconciliation rather than forgiveness. It is feared that making forgiveness the aim would put pressure on both victim and perpetrator groups that could undermine the efficacy of restorative justice (Wilson, 2001).

Research has demonstrated that restorative justice can impede the spread of conflict and promote peaceful resolution (Wenzel et al., 2010). For example, research has shown that amongst Palestinians and Israeli Jews the perceived sentence of the respective outgroup increased the ingroups desire for restorative justice which increased

support for negotiated conflict resolution (Leidner et al., 2013). Furthermore, for both Arabs and Jewish Israelis a desire for restorative justice increased their endorsement of (nonviolent) nonnormative collective action (Selvanathan & Leidner, 2020). Correlational (Okimoto et al., 2012) and experimental evidence (Wenzel & Okimoto, 2014 see also Wenzel & Okimoto, 2015) has further demonstrated that restorative justice increases group members' forgiveness. Finally, present day Italians desire for restorative justice positively predicted their forgiveness towards those responsible for the "Years of Lead" (i.e., a long period of domestic terrorism) (Regalia et al., 2015). Although restorative justice increases ingroup members desire to forgive the outgroup, the conflict context might determine when restorative justice is desired by the ingroup. If we look at where restorative justice initiative have so far been successful (South Africa, Colombia, and Kenya) the scale of suffering in all these contexts was at a country level, i.e., affecting all of those within the country. In other words, the scale of suffering that the groups involved in the conflict endured had reached an extremely high level, before restorative justice is seen as desirable by both groups. If the suffering had not reached such a high level, it could make restorative justice initiative appear incongruent, and attempting to bring conflicting groups together could backfire and cause more division.

Procedural justice is focused on the justice decision making process being fair and equitable, and ensuring all those involved in the process are being treated fairly (Tyler & Allan Lind, 2001). This form of justice is not only concerned with the outcome of the justice process, but that individuals feel they are being treated fairly, irrespective of the outcome (Tyler, 1991). Much of the work on procedural justice and forgiveness has so far focused on organisational and institutional contexts whereby the perception of procedural justice has been treated as a moderator variable (Bobocel &

Gosse, 2015). In other words, the extent to which people will forgive other employees who transgress against them depends on whether employees view their institution as being procedurally fair (Aquino et al., 2006; Boon & Brown, 2020; Patrizia, 2022). This work has been based on instrumental models of procedural justice (Thibaut & Walker, 1975). Group members are concerned with the fairness of their authority figures not purely based on the long-term material equitability of their decision. Rather the ingroup authority figures can confer on their members a voice when group members feel they are being treated fairly, and this can serve an important identity-relevant function of being valued by the ingroup (Lind & Tyler, 1988). When ingroup members feel they have a voice they view their ingroup as procedurally fair and this can have positive downstream consequences for conflict resolution (Bobocel & Gosse, 2015). Yet, this reasoning has yet to be translated to an intergroup conflict context and has primarily been studied in the context of forgiveness within the same organisation, and therefore with fellow ingroup members.

However, translating this to an intergroup conflict context we might expect forgiveness between groups to be more likely when members view their own group as procedurally fair. When they feel they have a voice in their own group and a say in the justice like infrastructure of their own group, they should be more prepared to ascribe to the justice that the ingroup believes in. And if the form of justice that the ingroup desires is some form of reconciliation with the outgroup, forgiveness should be more likely. This will of course set limits to procedural justice—as it applies to intergroup conflict—because it makes assumptions about the structure of the ingroup. The ingroup must have an authority figure (or figures) that members view as the authority figure (or figures). The ingroup must have some form of mechanism for deciding what form of justice it is that they believe in. And finally, once decided, the form of justice that the

ingroup have decided upon must be clearly accessible to ingroup members.

Interestingly this places procedural justice—and the potential it could have to promote forgiveness—introspectively towards the ingroup rather than the actual justice providing infrastructure that governs the relations between the ingroup and outgroup (i.e., the judiciary, the laws).

Distributive justice is focused on the fair and equitable distribution of goods and resources (Jasso et al., 2016). Research on distributive justice and forgiveness has demonstrated that when participants are primed to think about distributive justice for themselves, they expressed more forgiveness towards a past transgression they experienced (Lucas et al., 2022 see also Lucas et al., 2018). Similar to procedural justice, such findings have yet to be translated to an intergroup conflict context to see how concerns for distributive justice might impede or promote forgiveness between conflicting groups (Strelan, 2018). Yet, we think it likely that distributive justice concerns might relate to forgiveness between conflicting groups in two ways. The first is that a common characteristic of intergroup conflicts is that they are asymmetrical in terms of access to material and psychological resources between both groups (Kteily et al., 2013a). From this starting point distributive justice concerns, especially for the disadvantaged group, might be a strong impediment to their forgiveness towards the outgroup. In other words, we are not prepared to forgive you until our concerns for distributive justice have been met and we are in equitable position (Tropp et al., 2017). The second is that distributive justice concerns might be especially prominent if a formal peace agreement between conflicting groups is ever reached. Such examples would include the signing of the Good Friday Agreement in Northern Ireland and the TRC in South Africa. A critical concern for both groups should be whether the ingroup gets a fair access to the resources being distributed by the agreement and the post-

agreement situation. Indeed, the success or failure to reach an equitable distributive justice position could be why tensions linger between groups even after the formal signing of peace agreements (Druckman & Albin, 2011).

In sum, considering the specifics of the conflict context and how justice has been violated in different conflicts can shed further light on the context-dependent nature of the ingroup identity and forgiveness relationship. That means thinking more closely about what form of justice the ingroup might be calling for giving the suffering they have experienced. This then might lead group members to demand a particular form of justice that can promote or stifle group members' forgiveness. Put another way, group members should demand a particular form of justice as a function of the suffering they have experience because of the ingroup identity they identify with in a particular intergroup conflict. We close this chapter by giving an overview of the empirical chapters of the thesis and a terse summary of intergroup conflicts where the empirical.

Overview of Thesis

Empirical Chapters Overview

To refine our understanding of the relationship between ingroup identity and outgroup forgiveness attitudes we conducted six quantitative studies presented across five chapters (see Table 1 for overview). All chapters answer distinct research questions (Table 1) and refine our understanding by digging deeper into the relationship between ingroup identity and forgiveness.

Chapter 3 presents Study 1, Study 2a, and Study 2b, conducted within the conflict context of the Brexit intergroup relations in the United Kingdom (UK). Study 1 was a systematic review of the measures that have been used to provide a quantitative estimate of the ingroup identity and forgiveness relationship. We also conducted a

meta-analysis to quantify the average ingroup identity and forgiveness relationship, on all the studies that have been conducted since the previous meta-analysis (i.e., Van Tongeren et al., 2014). Study 2a was an exploratory cross-sectional study that had two primary aims. First, to test the factorial validity of both ingroup identity (Leach et al., 2008) and forgiveness (McLernon et al., 2004). Second, to test the relative predictive power of both the lower-order components (i.e., centrality, solidarity, satisfaction, individual self-stereotyping, and ingroup homogeneity) and higher-order dimensions (i.e., self-investment and self-definition) of HMII, on forgiveness. Study 2b was a preregistered (https://osf.io/98abe/?view_only=b423ea9ecebd4043b05f6105c74c785c) three-wave longitudinal study, replicating and extending Study 2a. Replicating Study 2a we tested the between-person effect of HMII on forgiveness and extending this analysis we tested the relationship between HMII and forgiveness at the within-person level.

Chapter 4 presents Study 3 where we replicated, refined, and extend the reconciliation orientation model (ROM) (Noor et al., 2008). We replicated the negative conceptual relationship between competitive victimhood (i.e., a belief that the ingroup has suffered more than the outgroup) and forgiveness. Refining ROM, we introduced both ingroup identity dimensions (self-investment and self-definition) as parallel mediators of the negative relationship between competitive victimhood and forgiveness. Extending ROM, we tested whether any of these relationships are moderated by conflict type (direct vs. structural). To do so, we collected data across four intergroup conflicts, two involving direct violence (Israel & Kosovo) and two involving structural violence (Black Americans & UK Women).

Chapter 5 presents Study 4, a three-wave longitudinal study conducted amongst Black South Africans in post-Apartheid South Africa. The aim of this study was to systematically investigate the role of the range of ingroup justice concerns (restorative,

retributive, distributive, and procedural) in predicting forgiveness. Further, to simultaneously test the relationship of both positive (HMII) and negative (ingroup glorification and collective narcissism) forms of ingroup attachment, on forgiveness. We examined these relationships at both the between- and within-person levels of analysis. Thus, we aimed to integrate our analysis of positive forms of ingroup attachment with negative forms to control for what they share (i.e., positive feelings about the ingroup) and to distil their unique relationships with forgiveness.

Chapter 6 presents Study 5, an experimental study designed to test the causal effect of the structural violence experienced by women on their decision to forgive. Further, we also tested the extent to which women's own ingroup identity dimensions (self-investment & self-definition) attenuate and accentuate the relationship between structural violence and forgiveness.

Intergroup Conflict Contexts

The research carried out for this thesis was conducted within six distinct intergroup conflicts. We do not draw any false equivalence between these conflicts: that by virtue of the fact they are intergroup conflicts, they are the same. Indeed, as our theoretical review of intergroup conflicts hopefully makes clear, conflict can differ across numerous dimensions and not least the way the ingroup suffers and their sense of collective victimhood (i.e., Noor et al., 2017; Vollhardt et al., 2023). Such difference could impact the way that the ingroup responds to its suffering which determines the quality of the relationship with the outgroup (Vollhardt et al., 2021). Variation across intergroup conflicts will yield contextual factors that accentuate or attenuate divisions between groups, i.e., making forgiveness more or less likely. For the present research we endeavoured to get a broad cross-section of different intergroup conflicts. Including direct (Israel & Kosovo) and structural (Black Americans) conflicts. And conflicts that

have been underrepresented in the forgiveness literature (Black South Africans & UK women), and a conflict that erupted following events that transpired as this programme of research was being developed (Brexit). To provide more context, we end this chapter with a very terse summary of each intergroup conflict.²

Brexit UK

The Brexit conflict was sparked by a decision to hold a referendum (June 23rd 2016) on the UK's membership of the EU. The conflict was divided into two groups, Remainers (i.e., those that wanted the UK to remain part of the EU) and Leavers (i.e., those that wanted the UK to leave the EU). Ultimately, this is what was at stake: Brexit signified for Remainers the loss of their European identity; for Leavers Brexit meant restoring British sovereignty and yet fearing their democratic victory would be overturned. The referendum campaign was incredibly divisive increasing racism, hate crimes, and violence (Burnett, 2017; Devine, 2021). Further, it led to the first killing of a sitting MP (Jo Cox) since Ian Gow was killed by the Provisional Irish Republican Army in 1990 (Jackson, 2019).

Israel/Palestine

The Israel-Palestine conflict is one of the most intractable conflicts in the world today (Bar-Tal, 2007). It started over 100 years ago when Zionist Jews increasingly emigrated to the land then known as Palestine, which they saw as the national homeland of the Jews (Penslar, 2007). Both Israelis and Palestinians claim the land as theirs because each claim to have occupied the land for longer. Following a UN declaration in

² We do not provide a comprehensive overview of the history and development of each conflict because our focus is to provide sufficient information to follow the arguments developed in the proceeding chapters. Specifically, an indication of how the conflict started, the ingroup identities involved, and the way the groups have suffered. Interested readers might find the following references helpful (although not exhaustive) if they would like to dig deeper: Brexit (Oliver, 2018); Israel/Palestine (Caplan, 2019); Kosovo (Bieber & Daskalovski, 2003); Black Americans (Baldwin, 1955); UK Women (Perez, 2019); Apartheid in South Africa (Mandela, 1995).

1947, the land was split between Israelis and Palestinians, causing a violent armed conflict between the groups (Bregman, 2016). In 1949 the borders of the present-day State of Israel were drawn, causing more contention and violence. The violence and conflict has been concentrated within the Palestinian lands of the Gaza Strip and West Bank which are Palestinian, but are under Israeli military occupation—continuing up to this day (Dudeen et al., 2001). Present day Israelis' and Palestinians have disputes over lands, rights, self-determination, statehood, and historical trauma that all cause cycles of violence and suffering (Haushofer et al., 2010).

Kosovo/Serbia

Kosovo was an autonomous region within the country of Yugoslavia, a country created after World War II (Sekulic, 1997). Relations between Kosovo (ethnic Albanians) and Serbs (ethnic Slavs) have been fractious and violent for many years, especially around the time of World War I and II (Vickers & Fraser, 1998). Kosovo independence claims were always loud within Yugoslavia, however they become louder following the death of Yugoslav leader Josip Broz Tito (Pirjevec, 2018). President of Serbia Slobodan Milošević wished to suppress calls for independence and abolished Kosovo's autonomy within Yugoslavia (Sell, 2003). Tensions escalated into the Kosovo war 1998/99 between Yugoslavia (ethnic Serbs) and Kosovo (ethnic Albanian). The war ended when the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) intervened with air strikes and Yugoslav forces withdrew from Kosovo. Since then, Kosovo unilaterally declared independence in 2008 but Serbia does not recognise Kosovo's independence. Tensions between the Kosovo and Serbia remain high within Kosovo, and with neighbouring Serbia.

Black Americans

Black Americans face pervasive levels of discrimination and oppression because of their group membership (Oliver, 2001). For example, compared to other ethnic groups, they experience discrimination in the workplace (Stone & Carlisle, 2019), health system (Bleich et al., 2019), and judiciary (Hinton et al., 2018). Sometimes the ill-treatment of Black Americans' gets worldwide attention, such as the killing of George Floyd whose neck was crushed by a White Police Officer. George Floyd was arrested over an alleged \$20 counterfeit bill (BBC News, 2020). Research shows that Black Americans' suffering has a detrimental impact on their collective well-being (Seaton & Yip, 2009 see also Manning et al., 2023) and is linked to poor mental and physical health (Brown, 2023; Staben et al., 2022). All this considered, it also has an insidious impact on the lives of Black Americans because they are living within a social system where they are unable to realise their true psychological and physical well-being.

UK Women

Women in the United Kingdom, compared to men, face pervasive levels of discrimination in the workplace (Triana et al., 2019 see also Bagilhole, 1993) and as they navigate daily life (Savigny, 2019 see also Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997). Furthermore, women are more likely to be the victim of unwanted sexual attention (Hird, 2000), sexual harassment and violence (Phipps & Smith, 2012), and to be victimised by a male partner (Devries et al., 2014). The discrimination and ill-treatment experienced by women have a negative effect on their collective well-being (Schmitt et al., 2003; see Schmitt et al., 2014 for meta-analytic findings). Just like Black Americans, this has an insidious effect on women's daily life, making it difficult and

cumbersome to navigate their daily life—compared to other groups who experience a privileged status compared to women, i.e., men (Mari et al., 2020).

Post-Apartheid South Africa

The Apartheid regime in South Africa (1948—1994) was the forced segregation of Black (the majority) and White (the minority) South Africans, by an all-White South African Government. It legislated that Black South Africans live in separate areas, use different facilities, and ensured minimal contact between both groups (Landis, 1957). It was even illegal to have interracial relationships. This meant that Black South Africans were forcibly removed from their homes and made to live in rural communities, they were unable to take up work, and were banned from using many public spaces (Skelcher, 2003). Apartheid segregation was physically enforced by state officials and White South African citizens, causing violent conflict between Black and White South African communities (Duncan, 2005). The Apartheid regime ended with the formation of a democratic government in 1994. To try and deal with the Apartheid legacy, South African President Nelson Mandela authorised the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). It was a form of restorative justice where victims and perpetrators were brought together so they could both share their stories and understand each other's perspective (Stanley, 2001). The focus was not on prosecution but on information gathering and collective understanding (Tutu, 1998). Tensions between Black and White South Africans are still strained as they come to terms with the legacy of Apartheid and the unequal distribution of prosperity it has caused in present day South Africa.

Table 1.*Overview of Empirical Chapters.*

Chapter	Study	Study Aims	Intergroup Conflict	Design	Sample	Open Data and Materials
3	1, 2a, & 2b	Carrying out a systematic review of scales used to measure ingroup identity forgiveness relationship and meta-analysis on this relationship (Study 1a). Testing the factorial validity of HMII and forgiveness and their structural relationships (Study 1b). Three-wave longitudinal, testing between- and within-person effects of HMII on forgiveness (Study 2).	Brexit (UK)	Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis (Study 1) Cross-sectional (Study 2a) Longitudinal (Study 2b)	<i>N</i> = 911 (Study 2a) <i>N</i> = 519 (Study 2b)	✓
4	3	Replicating, refining, and extending ROM. Refining ROM, testing the parallel mediators of	Israel and Palestine (Direct Conflict)	Cross-sectional data collected in	<i>n</i> = 200 (UK Women)	✓

		both ingroup identity dimensions (self-investment and self-definition) on the relationship between competitive victimhood and forgiveness. Extending ROM, testing whether any of the relationships are moderated by conflict type (Direct vs. Structural).	Kosovo and Serbia (Direct Conflict) Black Americans (Structural Conflict) UK Women (Structural Conflict)	four intergroup conflicts	<i>n</i> = 200 (Black Americans) <i>n</i> = 217 (Kosovo conflict) <i>n</i> = 243 (Israel conflict) Total <i>N</i> = 860	
5	4	Testing the longitudinal relationship between justice concerns (restorative, retributive, procedural, and distributive) and forgiveness. Testing the longitudinal relationship between both positive (HMII) and negative (ingroup glorification and collective narcissism) forms of ingroup attachment and forgiveness.	Black South Africans	Longitudinal	<i>N</i> = 491	✓

6	5	Testing the causal effect of structural conflict on UK women women's decision to forgive and the accentuating and attenuating effect of both ingroup identity dimensions (self-investment & self-definition) moderate this relationship.	Experimental	<i>N</i> = 309	✓
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Chapter 3: Beyond Strength of Ingroup Identification: What Dimension of Ingroup Identity Is Responsible for Suppressing Outgroup Forgiveness Attitudes?

Chapter Overview

In this chapter we present the first three studies of our programme of research. Study 1 is a systematic review of the items that have been used to measure the ingroup identity and forgiveness relationship. Thus, we wished to quantify the relative prevalence of the self-investment and self-definition ingroup identity dimensions in previous studies that have examined the ingroup identity and forgiveness relationship. Further, we conducted a meta-analysis to quantify the association between ingroup identity and forgiveness. The meta-analysis was conducted on all studies that have examined the ingroup identity and forgiveness relationship since the meta-analysis on forgiveness was published (i.e., Van Tongeren et al., 2014). Study 2a was a large cross-sectional study that had two primary aims. First, to test the factor structure of ingroup identity (Leach et al., 2008) and forgiveness (McLernon et al., 2004). Second, to test the predictive power of both the lower-order components (centrality, solidarity, satisfaction, individual self-stereotyping, and ingroup homogeneity) and higher-order dimensions (self-investment & self-definition) of HMII in predicting forgiveness. Study 2b was a three-wave preregistered (https://osf.io/98abe/?view_only=b423ea9ecebd4043b05f6105c74c785c) longitudinal study replicating the between-person effects of Study 1b and extending our analysis to the within-person level.

Study 2a and Study 2b were conducted in the real-world context of the UK leaving the EU (i.e., Brexit), sparked by a referendum held in 2016. The referendum

campaign was divisive, polarising opinions and leading to an increase in hate crimes and political intolerance, illustrated by the murder of Jo Cox (Awan & Zempi, 2018). Jo Cox was a sitting Member of Parliament (MP) who was murdered when on her way to meet her local constituents by a person she had never met but disagreed with her position on Brexit. Ultimately, this is what was at stake with Brexit: for Remainers Brexit signified the loss of their European identity; for Leavers Brexit meant restoring British sovereignty and yet fearing their democratic victory could be overturned. Before reporting the three studies (Study 1—Study 2b), we first theorise about the role of HMII in predicting forgiveness in the Brexit context.

The Role of Self-Investment in Predicting Forgiveness

Strength of ingroup identification negatively predicts outgroup forgiveness attitudes, but we do not know which dimension (or component) of identification is responsible for this. In the following, we theorise how the different lower-order components and higher-order dimensions of ingroup identity may differentially predict forgiveness in the context of the Brexit intergroup relations.

Centrality—the degree to which ingroup identity is central to the self—may negatively predict forgiveness because when centrality is high group members are aware of threats to the ingroup (Rios et al., 2018). Increased perceptions of threats should lead to a higher motivation to defend against the source of the threat (Fritzsche et al., 2011). In the Brexit context, Remainers high in centrality will perceive the UK's exit from the EU as a threat to their cherished European identity—and Leavers as the source of that threat. Similarly, Leavers high in centrality will perceive *not* honouring the referendum's outcome as a major threat, with Remainers as the source of such threat. Given these heightened levels of threat to Remainer and Leaver identities, identity centrality should negatively predict forgiveness.

Solidarity—attachment to the ingroup’s goals and fellow ingroup members—should negatively predict forgiveness. Forgiving the outgroup would signal to fellow ingroup members that group members are not committed to the ingroup’s cause and accomplishing its goals (Hogg, 1992; Wohl et al., 2010). A strong sense of solidarity means group members are more likely to toe the line. In the Brexit context, it would be implausible for Remainers high in solidarity to offer forgiveness towards Leavers because doing so would directly undermine Remainers’ central goal of stopping Brexit—signalling their lack of commitment to their group. Similarly, for Leavers high in solidarity to forgive Remainers would undermine their central goal of implementing Brexit—also signalling their lack of commitment.

Satisfaction—the positive feelings that group members get from their group membership—should negatively predict forgiveness. Ingroup members want to maintain a positive evaluation of their ingroup (Ashmore et al., 2004). Forgiving the outgroup tacitly accepts the outgroup’s negative representation of the ingroup, undermining satisfaction. In the Brexit context, both Remainers and Leavers want to feel positive about their group membership. Yet, at the same time, both groups hurl derogatory characteristics at the other (e.g., ‘bigoted’, ‘out of touch with reality’; Letters, 2018; O’Neil, 2020), undermining each group’s positive representation of their group. Thus, forgiving the outgroup means accepting these derogatory representations of the ingroup.

The combined effect of each lower-order component, as captured by the higher-order self-investment dimension, might be greater than the sum of its parts. The lower-order components of self-investment are likely to influence one another. To illustrate, to the extent that the ingroup identity is central to the self (i.e., centrality) should motivate members to be concerned for one’s fellow ingroup members (i.e., solidarity) and the

positive representation of the ingroup (i.e., satisfaction). Consistent with our reasoning, recent empirical work has shown that the effect of the self-investment dimension is larger than the effects of its lower-order components, predicting intergroup outcomes (Masson & Barth, 2020).

The Role of Self-Definition in Predicting Forgiveness

Individual self-stereotyping—group members perceiving they are similar to the ingroup prototype—should negatively predict outgroup forgiveness. When individual self-stereotyping is high, group members emotionally share in the failures (and successes) of their ingroup (Tajfel, 1978), lowering their willingness to forgive. In the Brexit context, failing to thwart Brexit will be experienced as a collective failure by Remainers high in self-stereotyping, who will be less likely to forgive Leavers. Failing to implement Brexit will be experienced as a collective failure for Leavers high in self-stereotyping, who will be less likely to forgive Remainers.

Ingroup homogeneity—the perception that the ingroup is a coherent social entity—should also negatively predict forgiveness. Strong ingroup homogeneity should generate hypersensitivity to threats to the ingroup’s coherence and its goals from the adversarial outgroup, suppressing forgiveness towards the threatening outgroup (Brewer, 1993). For example, Remainers being deprived of their EU identity should threaten their homogeneity, suppressing forgiveness of Leavers. Leavers being deprived of their democratic victory should be perceived as a threat to their homogeneity, suppressing forgiveness of Remainers.

Like self-investment, the combined effect of each lower-order component of self-definition might be greater than the sum of its parts. To the extent that group members perceive themselves as like the group prototype (i.e., individual self-stereotyping) should also increase group members’ perceptions that the ingroup is a

coherent social unit (i.e., ingroup homogeneity). This reasoning has been supported by the moderate to high degree these lower-order components correlate (see Leach et al., 2008).

Furthermore, it is possible that the relative predictive power of the self-investment versus self-definition dimension might differ in relation to forgiveness attitudes. Given self-investment is more motivation-based and action-oriented, and self-definition is more cognition-based, it is possible that the former might be a stronger negative predictor than the latter (Masson & Barth, 2020).

Study 1

Study 1 was a systematic review of the ingroup identity measures that have previously been used to test the ingroup identity and forgiveness relationship. Specifically, we assessed whether the unidimensional way that ingroup identity has been conceptualised include items that assess both the self-investment and self-definition dimensions of group members' identity. Further, we wished to assess the relative prevalence of the self-investment and self-definition dimensions in the ingroup identity measures. Finally, given that nearly ten years have passed since the last meta-analysis was published estimating the average relationship between ingroup identity and forgiveness (i.e., Van Tongeren et al., 2014; $k = 20$, $r = -.32$), we conducted a meta-analysis on all studies conducted since the meta-analysis was published

Sample and Procedure

First, we searched the 2014 meta-analysis on forgiveness for all studies that went into the estimate of the relationship between ingroup identity and forgiveness ($k = 20$). Second, we conducted a keyword search (see Appendix B for keywords) of the following electronic databases to identify studies that have been published since 2014: EBSCO and Google Scholar. This search returned 581 hits, each of which was

examined to see if the article met the following four inclusion criteria. First, only articles that were written in English or translated into English were retained. Second, only articles that had a quantifiable measure of ingroup identity and forgiveness were retained. Third, only articles that empirically estimated the relationship between ingroup identity and forgiveness were retained. Fourth, only articles that reported all the items used to measure ingroup identity were retained. If articles did not report all the items that were used to measure ingroup identity either in the article or the supplementary online material, the first author of the article was emailed to request the full list of items. Final analyses for the systematic review included a total of 30 articles with $k = 39$ independent studies of the ingroup identity and forgiveness relationship. This translated to a total of 288 items that have been used to measure ingroup identity with a total 14 different measures of ingroup identity used (see Appendix C for full measures of ingroup identity).

Of the studies that were identified for our systematic review of ingroup identity items ($k = 39$) if they met the following three criteria, they were used in our meta-analysis of the ingroup identity and forgiveness relationship. First, the study must have been conducted post 2014 and therefore not included in the previous meta-analysis on forgiveness (i.e., Van Tongeren et al., 2014). Second, the articles needed to include a quantitative measure of the bivariate relationship between ingroup identity and forgiveness, or sufficient information (d, η, η_p^2) to compute the bivariate relationship. If the article did not contain this information either in the main article or the supplementary online material, the first author of the article was emailed to request the bivariate relationship. Third, each effect size estimate needed to be based on an independent sample. Final analysis for the meta-analysis included 20 publications with

$k = 32$ independent studies, based on different samples ($N = 12,180$), that have estimated the relationship between ingroup identity and forgiveness.

Coding of Ingroup Identity Items

One coder first read through each ingroup identity item and coded each item as belong to either the self-investment or self-definition identity dimension. The coding of each item of ingroup identity to either the self-investment or self-definition identity dimension was mutually exclusive. A second coder followed the same coding procedure, coding all items as belonging to either the self-investment or self-definition identity dimension. Inter-coder reliability was assessed using Kappa (κ) which showed that coder one and coder two showed substantial agreement in their coding of ingroup identity items ($\kappa = .63$) (McHugh, 2012). Coders one and two met up to discuss and resolve discrepancies. There was a total of seven items that did not belong to either the self-investment or self-definition identity dimension. Of the 288 items that were coded, there was an average of 7.38 items per study ($SD = 6.21$).

Results

Self-Investment Identity Dimension. Of the 288 identity items that were coded, 219 belonged to the self-investment identity dimension (76%).

Self-Definition Identity Dimension. Of the 288 identity items that were coded, 69 belonged to the self-definition identity dimension (24%).

Meta-Analysis. We conducted a meta-analysis across the $k = 32$ independent studies that have estimated the relationship between ingroup identity and forgiveness, since the publication of the only previous meta-analysis on forgiveness (Van Tongeren et al., 2014). As we know that the studies differ in how they have operationalised ingroup identity, we used a random effects approach to estimate the average relationship between ingroup identity and forgiveness (Borenstein et al., 2010 see also

Van Tongeren et al., 2014). The overall effect of ingroup identity on forgiveness was weak, negative, and significant: $r = -.11$, $t(31) = -2.61$, $p = .013$.

Study 1 Discussion

Our results showed that previous research that has examined the negative relationship between strength of ingroup identity and forgiveness have used measures that assess both the self-investment and self-definition dimensions of group members' identity (Hewstone et al., 2006; Noor et al., 2008; Voci et al., 2015). Therefore, the negative relationship between ingroup identity and forgiveness cannot be attributed to just one dimension of group members' identity (Leach et al., 2008). Rather, measuring ingroup identity via strength of identification provides an estimate of group members' identity that contains elements of both the self-investment and self-definition dimension. This is problematic because it means we are unable to say precisely why group members' identity suppresses their forgiveness of outgroups. Further, our results also indicated that items assessing the self-investment (vs. self-definition) dimension are approximately three times more prevalent in previous research that has examined the negative relationship between ingroup identity and forgiveness. This suggests that it is the self-investment dimension of group members' identity that is more responsible for suppressing group members' forgiveness. However, this is yet to be empirically tested as research has only examined the association between ingroup identity strength and forgiveness.

Study 2a

Study 2a was conducted with two aims. First, to assess the psychometric properties of the HMII (Leach et al., 2008) and intergroup forgiveness (McLernon et al., 2004) scales within the Brexit conflict context. Second, to test the relative predictive

power of the lower-order components (centrality, solidarity, satisfaction, individual self-stereotyping and ingroup homogeneity) and higher-order dimensions (self-investment & self-definition) of HMII in predicting forgiveness. Study 2a was conducted in the real-world context of the UK leaving the EU (i.e., Brexit), sparked by a referendum held in 2016. The referendum campaign was divisive, polarising opinions and leading to an increase in hate crimes and political intolerance, illustrated by the murder of Jo Cox (Awan & Zempi, 2018). Ultimately, this is what was at stake: Brexit signified for Remainers the loss of their European identity; for Leavers Brexit meant restoring British sovereignty and yet fearing their democratic victory could be overturned. Against this backdrop, we explored how the lower-order components and their respective higher-order dimensions of HMII would relate to intergroup forgiveness attitudes.

Method

Sample and Procedure

We recruited 1,109 participants ($M_{\text{age}} = 32.16$, $SD = 16.10$; female = 51.5%) in the summer and autumn of 2019 to complete a cross-sectional survey. The sample were primarily prospective students and their relatives (83%) who were attending Open Day events at a university in the Northwest of England, the rest of the sample were recruited through social media sites (17%) (i.e., Twitter & Facebook). Three quarters (74.9%, $N = 831$) of the participants identified as Remainers and a quarter (25%, $N = 277$) identified as Leavers. The study was completed via paper and pencil (72%) or online (28%). The University Open Day events coincided with four critical dates in the Brexit process (for more details see Appendix C). Research obtained ethics approval from the institutional research ethics committee (see Appendix A) and strictly followed the British Psychological Society's Code of Human Research Ethics (Oates et al., 2021).

For all analyses, only complete data was used, so sample sizes across analyses differ marginally. The main analyses (i.e., testing the predictive power of HMII on forgiveness) are based on complete cases $N = 911$ ($M_{\text{age}} = 32.10$, $SD = 15.90$; female = 55.90%; Leavers = 25.20%).

Power Analysis

Effect size sensitivity analysis revealed we could detect an effect of $|r| = .09$ at 80% power (with $\alpha = 5\%$ and our Study 1 sample $N = 911$), smaller than the effect reported in a meta-analysis ($|r| = -.32$, Van Tongeren et al., 2014). Thus, we concluded that our analysis was sufficiently powered.

Measures

Responses to all scales in the study were measured on a scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Full measures, including those not reported here, are available in Appendix D.

Ingroup Identity

We measured ingroup identity using the HMII model of ingroup identity, as proposed by Leach et al. (2008).

Self-Investment. This higher-order dimension showed good composite reliability ($\omega = .87$), as did each of its lower-order components: centrality ($\omega = .90$), solidarity ($\omega = .88$), and satisfaction ($\omega = .86$). The lower-order component of centrality (e.g., “I often think about the fact that I am a [Remainer/Leaver]”) and solidarity has three items (e.g., “I feel solidarity with [Remainers/Leavers]”), and satisfaction has four items (e.g., “It is pleasant to be a [Remainer/Leaver]”).

Self-Definition. The second higher-order dimension showed good composite reliability ($\omega = .85$) as did its lower-order components: individual self-stereotyping ($\omega = .87$) and ingroup homogeneity ($w = .84$). Both individual self-stereotyping (e.g., “I have

a lot in common with the average [Remainer/Leaver]”) and ingroup homogeneity (e.g., “[Remainers/Leavers] are very similar to each other”) are made up of two items.

A confirmatory factor analysis (CFA), directly replicating the hierarchical model proposed by Leach et al. (2008), fit the data well: $\chi^2(71) = 507.85, p < .05$; CFI = .95; RMSEA = .08, CI 90% [.07, .09] (West et al., 2012). As we were also interested in the predictive power of the lower-order components of HMII we tested a simpler model where the lower-order components are treated as distinct (i.e., higher-order dimensions are not specified). This model also fit the data well: $\chi^2(67) = 468.14, p < .05$; CFI = .96; RMSEA = .08, CI 90% [.07, .08]. For all measures in the study, we examined the measurement invariance of our scales across Leavers and Remainers by testing a series of CFAs that impose increasingly restrictive parameter constraints across the groups. The first, imposes that the factor structures are the same (configural invariance); the second, imposes that the factor loadings are the same (metric invariance); and the final one imposes that the item intercepts are the same (scalar invariance). In line with recommended guidelines, we concluded that measurement invariance holds if the scalar invariance model fit the data. The scalar invariance model for HMII: CFI = .95, RMSEA = .08 (.07, .09), SRMR = .07, and the scalar invariance model for the lower-order components: CFI = .95, RMSEA = .08 (.07, .08), SRMR = .04 fit the data well (see Appendix F for full model results).

Intergroup Forgiveness

We measured intergroup forgiveness using the intergroup version of the Enright Forgiveness Inventory (McLernon et al., 2004). This instrument consists of twenty-one items measuring three forgiveness components: affective, cognitive, and behavioural forgiveness. This initial model proposed by McLernon et al. (2004) did not fit the data well (see Appendix F for full CFA results), due to common variance among the

negatively formulated items (four items affective, two items cognitive, and one item behavioural) loading onto one common factor. After removing these items, the three-component model fit the data well: $\chi^2(32) = 282.27, p < .05$; CFI = .95; RMSEA = .09, CI 90% [.08, .10]. As all three components (affective, cognitive, and behavioural) correlated substantially ($r > .74$), we tested a higher-order model in which all three lower-order components (i.e., affective, cognitive, and behavioural) loaded onto a higher-order forgiveness dimension. This model fitted the data equally well: $\chi^2(32) = 282.27, p < .05$; CFI = .95; RMSEA = .09, CI 90% [.08, .10]. Thus, we arrived at two final forgiveness CFA models, one containing the lower-order components as proposed by McLernon et al. (2004). In the second CFA model, the lower-order components load onto a higher-order forgiveness dimension.

Higher-Order Forgiveness Dimension. The higher-order forgiveness dimension showed good composite reliability ($\omega = .91$) as did each of its lower-order components: affective ($\omega = .90$), cognitive ($\omega = .78$) and behavioural forgiveness ($\omega = .76$). The affective lower-order component contained four items (e.g., “I feel goodwill towards [Remainers/Leavers]”), the cognitive lower-order component contained three items (e.g., “I wish well to [Remainers/Leavers]”) and the behavioural component also contained three items (e.g., “I would reach out to [Remainers/Leavers]”).

The scalar invariance model for the higher-order: CFI = .94, RMSEA = .09 (.08, .10), SRMR = .05 and the lower-order: CFI = .94, RMSEA = .09 (.08, .10), SRMR = .05 forgiveness models fit the data well. Based on the good fit of the two forgiveness models, we estimated the predictive power of HMII across the two forgiveness specifications. To test our research predictions, four structural equation models (SEMs) were estimated across all the CFA models.

Data Analysis

We used structural equation modelling with latent variables to investigate our exploratory predictions. Model 1 regressed higher-order forgiveness on the two higher-order dimensions of identity. Model 2 regressed the three lower-order components of forgiveness on the two higher-order dimensions of identity. Model 3 regressed the three lower-order components of forgiveness on the five lower-order components of identity. Finally, Model 4 regressed the higher-order forgiveness dimension on the five lower-order components of identity. Thus, we tested the predictive power of the lower-order components and higher-order dimensions of HMII in separate models, to yield more precise results. As each lower-order component loads onto one higher-order dimension, you would not be able to isolate their unique relationship with forgiveness when estimated in the same model (Mai et al., 2018). Variance inflation factor (VIF) statistics across each model demonstrated that multicollinearity did not affect the precision of estimates as no VIF value exceeded 3.45 (Marcoulides & Raykov, 2019; see Appendix G for VIF figures). As Table 2 demonstrates, all the SEMs fitted the data well (West et al., 2012). Figure 1 displays the standardised (transparent circle) and unstandardised (opaque circle) coefficients of the four models. All analyses were conducted in R (R Studio Team, 2020), all models were estimated using lavaan (Rosseel, 2012). For all materials, data, and analysis scripts see:

https://osf.io/xbesv/?view_only=23170e2b8b1d42e89b9fb07754ec5a9c.

Results

We first asked whether self-investment would predict intergroup forgiveness in the context of Brexit? Higher-order self-investment negatively predicted the higher-order forgiveness dimension (Model 1: $\beta = -.24, p < .001$) and predicted all three lower-

order components of forgiveness: affective (Model 2: $\beta = -.22, p < .001$), cognitive (Model 2: $\beta = -.23, p < .001$), and behavioural (Model 2: $\beta = -.17, p = .002$) forgiveness.

Of the lower-order components of self-investment, centrality negatively predicted the higher-order forgiveness dimension (Model 4: $\beta = -.18, p = .001$), and the lower-order components of affective (Model 3: $\beta = -.17, p = .001$) and cognitive forgiveness (Model 3: $\beta = -.20, p < .001$), but was not related to behavioural forgiveness (Model 3: $\beta = -.09, p = .097$). Solidarity did not predict the higher-order forgiveness dimension (Model 4: $\beta = -.14, p = .090$), but it negatively predicted the lower-order component of affective forgiveness (Model 3: $\beta = -.16, p = .040$). It predicted neither cognitive (Model 3: $\beta = -.15, p = .070$) nor behavioural (Model 3: $\beta = -.02, p = .860$) forgiveness. Finally, satisfaction predicted neither the higher-order forgiveness (Model 4: $\beta = .05, p = .562$) nor any of its lower-order components: affective (Model 3: $\beta = .08, p = .344$), cognitive (Model 3: $\beta = .09, p = .309$), and behavioural (Model 3: $\beta = -.08, p = .395$) forgiveness.

Second, we asked whether self-definition would predict intergroup forgiveness in the context of Brexit? Higher-order self-definition predicted neither the higher-order forgiveness dimension (Model 1: $\beta < .01, p = .950$) nor any of its lower-order components: affective (Model 2: $\beta = .02, p = .719$), cognitive (Model 2: $\beta = -.03, p = .570$), or behavioural (Model 2: $\beta = .03, p = .587$) forgiveness.

Of the lower-order components of self-definition, a similar pattern emerged as neither individual self-stereotyping nor ingroup homogeneity predicted higher-order forgiveness or the lower-order components (Model 3 & Model 4: $\beta s < .08, ps > .263$).

Overall, all four models tell the same story in that self-investment is the stronger predictor of outgroup forgiveness attitudes. We further note that the results held for

both Leavers and Remainers (i.e., a multigroup SEM that constrained the paths predicting forgiveness across groups fitted well: $\chi^2(484) = 1211.14, p < .05$; CFI = .95; RMSEA = .06, CI 90% [.05, .06]). Finally, controlling for some known predictors of forgiveness (i.e., competitive victimhood, age, and gender), and the time the study was completed, did not change the results of Model 1 (see Appendix H).

Figure 1.

SEM results for all combinations of the 2 identity and 2 forgiveness models for the full sample.

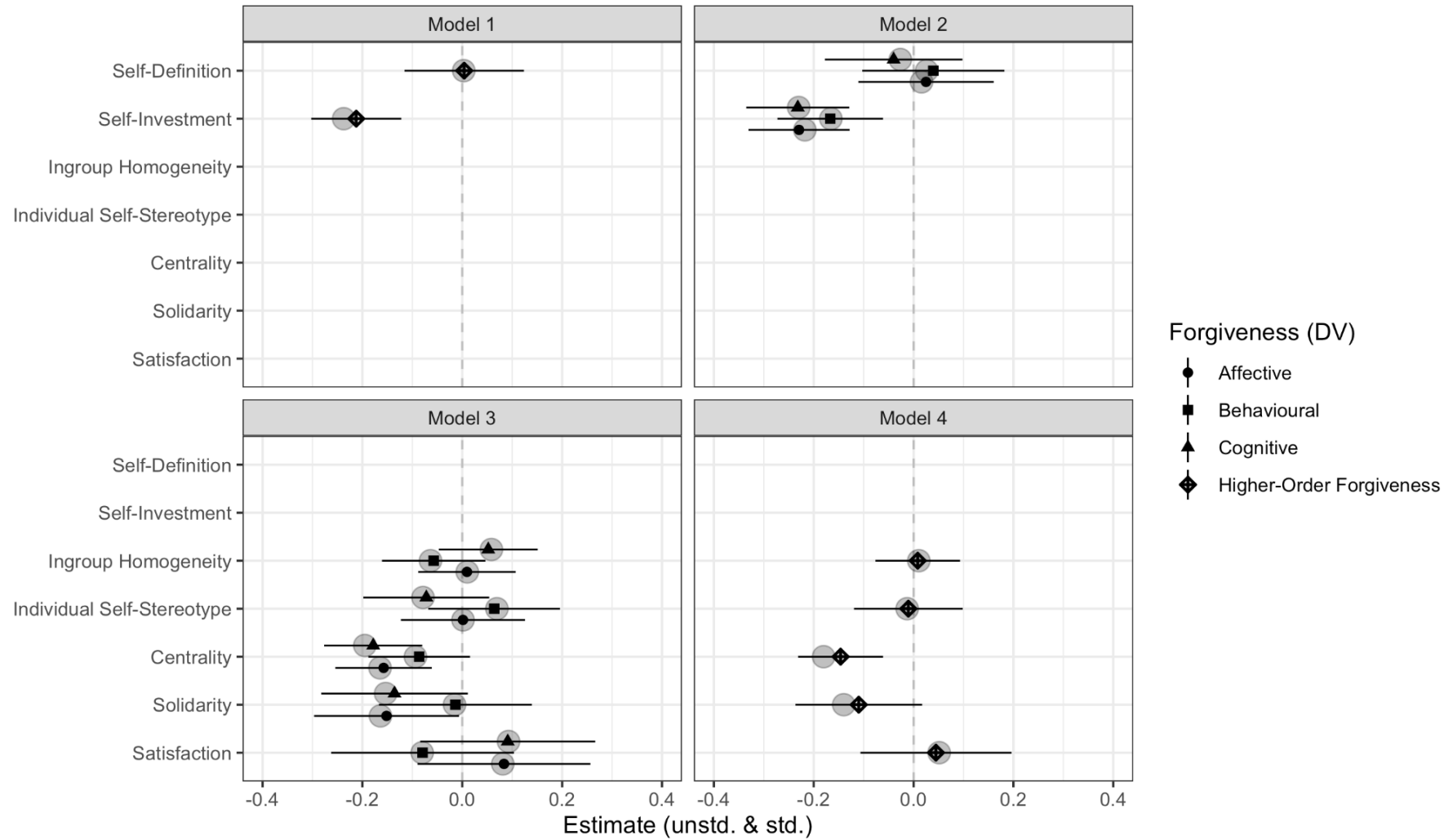


Table 2.*Fit indices for all structural equation models estimated on the full sample.*

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
CFI	.95	.95	.95	.95
TLI	.94	.94	.94	.94
SRMR	.05	.04	.04	.04
RMSEA	.06	.06	.06	.06
CI 90%	[.05, .06]	[.05, .06]	[.05, .06]	[.05, .06]
χ^2	921.13*	912.41*	855.33*	877.54*
<i>df</i>	241	237	224	234
R^2 Higher	.06			.06
R^2 Affect		.04	.05	
R^2 Cognitive		.06	.08	
R^2 Behaviour		.02	.03	

* $p < .05$. CFI = Comparative Fit Index; TLI = Tucker-Lewis Index; SRMR =

Standardized Root Mean Square Residual; RMSEA = Root Mean Square Error of

Approximation; χ^2 = Chi-Square Statistic; R^2 Higher = Higher-Order Forgiveness, R^2

Affect = Affective Forgiveness, R^2 Cognitive = Cognitive Forgiveness, R^2 Behaviour =

Behavioural Forgiveness.

Study 2a Discussion

Study 1 demonstrated that the higher-order self-investment dimension of ingroup identification was the most robust predictor of forgiveness in the Brexit context. The lower-order components of self-investment did not predict forgiveness to the same degree. Contrary to our predictions, neither the higher-order self-definition dimension, nor its lower-order components, were significant predictors of forgiveness.

Thus, based on these results, a preliminary conclusion points to self-investment being a more robust predictor than self-definition. To our knowledge, our findings are the first to provide a refined analysis of the relationship between ingroup identity and outgroup forgiveness. Our findings are also in line with recent research which has demonstrated that, compared to self-definition, the self-investment dimension is the stronger predictor of various intergroup outcomes such as collective action and guilt (i.e., Blackwood & Louis 2012; Masson & Barth, 2020). A possible explanation of the present results could be that, because the self-investment dimension captures the close psychological bond to the group and is more affect laden and therefore more action-oriented, it motivates group members to act on behalf of their ingroup identity (Leach et al., 2008; Masson & Fritsche, 2014). Nonetheless, a limitation of Study 1, and past research, is the reliance on cross-sectional designs. Study 2 employed a longitudinal panel design to capture the temporal dynamics and differences in between- vs. within-person relationships of social identity and forgiveness.

Study 2b

In our preregistered Study 2b (preregistration:

https://osf.io/98abe/?view_only=b423ea9ecebd4043b05f6105c74c785c), we could replicate and extend Study 2a, employing a three-wave longitudinal design, also in the Brexit context. Replicating Study 2a, testing *between-person effects*; whether participants who generally (i.e., averaged across three-waves) report high endorsement of ingroup identity dimensions also report less forgiveness. Extending Study 2a, testing *within-person effects*; how deviations from each participant's between-person effect on each identity dimension predict deviations from each participant's average levels of forgiveness. That is, whether individuals who identify more than *they* typically do express less forgiveness than *they* typically do, i.e., whether the effect of ingroup

identity on forgiveness occurs at the within-person level. Each wave of Study 2b coincided with a time of heightened conflict, allowing us to examine what effect this would have on forgiveness via within-person effects. To our knowledge, no previous research has examined the within-person effect of ingroup identity on forgiveness during times of ongoing conflict. Lastly, we tested the *lagged within-person effects* whether ingroup identity measured at an earlier wave predict forgiveness at a subsequent wave. Because the predictor (i.e., ingroup identity) is measured before the outcome (i.e., forgiveness) it can shed light on temporal dynamics (Kuiper & Ryan, 2018).

Preregistered Confirmatory Hypotheses

Guided by our theorising and the results from Study 2a, we preregistered the following confirmatory hypotheses:

H1: People who more strongly endorse self-investment (which consists of subcomponents: solidarity, satisfaction, and centrality) dimension of identity will show significantly less outgroup forgiveness on average (between-person effect).

H2: People who more strongly endorse the self-investment dimension of identity than they usually do, will display less outgroup forgiveness than they usually do (within-person effect).

H3: People who more strongly endorse the self-investment dimension of identity at the start of the study will show significantly less forgiveness at subsequent time-points in the study (lagged within-person effect).

Exploratory Research Questions

In our pre-registration, we specify several exploratory research questions. Of these, we highlight here only those with the most important implications, namely: (i) whether the relationships outlined in H1 to H3 apply to the self-

definition dimension of identity. Although Study 1 revealed a non-significant relationship between self-definition and forgiveness, we wondered whether this would replicate in the longitudinal design; (ii) to what extent does time, need for cognitive closure, and group membership moderate the relationship between identity and forgiveness. We will report the findings associated with exploratory questions in full in the SOM, while highlighting the most important implications in the main paper.

Finally, although not pre-registered, we also explored to what extent would H1 and H2 apply to the lower-order components of ingroup identity, and their effects on the lower-order components and higher-order dimension of forgiveness, i.e., replicating the analysis of Study 2a. Testing these with a three-wave longitudinal data set generated a large set of results. To avoid overwhelming the reader with volumes of results, we limit the reporting to the between- and within-person effects of the lower-order components of identity on the higher-order forgiveness dimension only. Interested readers, however, can read the full results of all the possible high- and low-order level combinations in Appendix K.

Method

Procedure and Sample

Study 2b was conducted across three time-points (T1-T3) between October 2019 and February 2020, with intervals ranging between 52 and 56 days. Participants were recruited through Prolific and paid an hourly rate of £7.50 for completing each time-point. All participants were a minimum of 21 years of age and a UK resident, making them eligible to have voted in the referendum. T1 was launched on October 18th, 2019, the day before a critical vote in the UK Parliament, determining whether the

UK would request an extension for leaving the EU. This extension, which was granted, favoured Remainders. The sample at T1 was $N = 519$ (Leavers = 150; Remainders = 369; $M_{\text{age}} = 38.24$, $SD = 12.70$). T2 was launched on December 13th 2019 ($N = 410$; Leavers = 124; Remainders = 286; $M_{\text{age}} = 39.19$, $SD = 12.67$), the day following the Conservative Party won a national election on a promise to ‘Get Brexit Done’ (Gaskell et al., 2020). This election outcome benefited Leavers, as it made the prospect of leaving the EU more likely. T3 was launched on February 3rd 2020 – three days following the UK’s official departure from the EU ($N = 374$, Leavers = 111; Remainders = 263; $M_{\text{age}} = 39.42$, $SD = 12.73$). Attrition between T1 – T3 was 27.93%. A logistic regression showed that T1 levels of ingroup identity, forgiveness, group membership, and gender failed to significantly predict attrition rates (see Appendix I). Research obtained ethics approval from the institutional research ethics committee (see Appendix A) and strictly followed the British Psychological Society’s Code of Human Research Ethics (Oates et al., 2021).

Power Analysis

The obtainable sample size was limited by available research funds to recruit participants. We carried out sensitivity analysis to determine the minimum between-person effect size that we would be able to detect with 80% power ($\alpha = 5\%$ and T3 of $n = 374$). Results revealed that we would be able to detect a between-person effect of $|r| = .14$. Smaller than both meta-analytic findings ($|r| = -.32$, Van Tongeren et al., 2014) and the observed effect in Study 2a ($|r| = .21$). Thus, we concluded that our analysis was sufficiently powered.

Measures

Ingroup identity and forgiveness were measured using the same scales as Study 2a. Responses to all scales were recorded on a scale ranging from 0 (*strongly disagree*)

to 100 (*strongly agree*). To ensure that all models converged, all scales were transformed to range from 0 to 10 before analyses. All measures, including those for exploratory analyses not reported here, are available in Appendix D.

Ingroup Identity

All lower-order components and higher-order dimensions of identity were reliable across all time-points ($\omega = .83 - .96$). Leach and colleagues' (2008) HMII model of identity showed equally good fit across each time-point, as demonstrated by the scalar invariance model: $\chi^2(799) = 2132.33, p < .05$; CFI = .91; RMSEA = .07, CI 90% [.06, .07] (see Appendix F for full results of longitudinal invariance models).

Intergroup Forgiveness

All lower-order components and the higher-order dimension of forgiveness were reliable across all time-points ($\omega = .82 - .95$). Forgiveness modelled with the higher-order dimension (and lower-order components: cognitive, affective, and behavioural) showed equally good fit across each time-point, as demonstrated by the scalar invariance model: $\chi^2(401) = 841.94, p < .05$; CFI = .95; RMSEA = .07, CI 90% [.06, .07].

Analytic Strategy

As preregistered, we ran a series of random effects within-between multilevel models to test our confirmatory hypotheses (i.e., Bell et al., 2019). As we had one outcome measure, this modelling approach meant we could maximise study power given our sample size was limited by available funds (Liu & Rhemtulla, 2022). First, we computed each participant's mean score for the two higher-order dimensions of identity across all time-points, adding each as a predictor of forgiveness to the model (Table 3; Model 1, between-person effect). Next, we computed each participant's deviation from their mean score at each time-point (Table 3; Model 1, within-person

effect). Finally, we computed the lagged within-person effect (Table 3; Model 2). The between- and within-person variables were grand-mean and person-mean centred, reducing multicollinearity among the predictors (Hox, 2013). We also added group membership and time as potential moderators to the baseline model (Model 1). These analyses are reported in Table 2 (Model 3—Model 5). All analyses were carried out in R (R Studio Team, 2020), multilevel models were estimated using the lme4 (Bates et al., 2015) and lmerTest (Kuznetsova et al., 2017) packages. For all materials, data, and analyses scripts see

https://osf.io/xrtge/?view_only=23170e2b8b1d42e89b9fb07754ec5a9c.

Results

Results of all multilevel models can be found in Table 3. To assess the extent of nesting in the data we estimated a null model, which allowed intercepts to vary across participants. This model produced an intraclass correlation coefficient of $ICC = 0.76$ for forgiveness, indicating that 76% of the variance in forgiveness can be accounted for by the between-person differences in participants.

Table 3.*Multilevel Models Predicting Forgiveness with standardised regression coefficients.*

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5	
	β	95% CI	β	95% CI	β	95% CI	β	95% CI	β	95% CI
Fixed Effects										
Between-Person										
Self-Investment	-.26***	[-.36, -.15]	-.22***	[-.36, -.09]	-.26***	[-.37, -.16]	-.26***	[-.37, -.16]	-.26***	[-.36, -.16]
Self-Definition	-.12*	[-.23, -.02]	-.13*	[-.27, .00]	-.08	[-.18, .02]	-.08	[-.18, .02]	-.08	[-.18, .02]
Group Membership					-.24***	[-.31, -.16]	-.24***	[-.31, -.16]	-.24***	[-.31, -.16]
Within-Person										
Self-Investment	-.03*	[-.06, -.01]	-.03	[-.08, .01]	-.03*	[-.06, .00]	-.03	[-.06, .00]	-.03	[-.06, .00]
Self-Definition	-.03*	[-.06, .00]	<-.01	[-.05, .04]	-.02	[-.05, .00]	-.02	[-.05, .00]	-.03	[-.05, .00]
Time					.04**	[.01, .07]	.04**	[.01, .07]	.04**	[.01, .07]

Self-Investment	-0.03	[-.07, .02]
Lagged		
Self-Definition Lagged	.03	[-.01, .07]

Interactions

Self-Investment ×			<-.01	[-.03, .02]	<-.01	[-.03, .02]
Group Membership						
Self-Definition ×			<.01	[-.02, .03]	<.01	[-.02, .03]
Group Membership						
Self-Investment ×					<.01	[-.03, .05]
Time						
Self-Definition × Time					.01	[-.02, .05]

Random Effects

Intercept Variance	2.75	3.33	2.51	2.51	2.51
Residual Variance	1.01	.91	1.00	1.00	1.00
ICC	.73	.79	.71	.71	.71

Model Fit

Log-Like	2382.05*	1505.42	2361.18*	2364.56	2367.89
Marginal R^2 /Conditional R^2	.13/.77	.11/.81	.19/.77	.19/.77	.19/.77

* $p = .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; * Log-Like = significant likelihood Ratio Test; Group Membership Coded: 0 = Leaver, 1 = Remainer;

ICC = intraclass correlation coefficient; Log-Like = logarithm of likelihood; Marginal R^2 = variance explained by fixed effects,

Conditional R^2 = variance explained by the entire model.

Confirmatory Analysis: Self-investment and Forgiveness

Between-person effect. Supporting *H1*, across all models (Models 1 - 5), the between-person effect of self-investment on forgiveness was significant (Model 1: $\beta = -.26, p < .001$). The more participants felt their ingroup identity was central to their sense of self, felt a close bond with other group members, and were glad to have their group identity—captured in the self-investment dimension—the less forgiveness participants expressed on average across all three waves. As the confidence intervals of these estimates overlapped across models, the magnitude of this effect did not significantly differ across the models.

Within-person effect. Supporting *H2*, in Model 1 ($\beta = -.03, p = .016$) and Model 3 ($\beta = -.03, p = .029$), the within-person effect of self-investment on forgiveness was significant. If participants endorsed more self-investment at a wave, they also expressed less forgiveness at that wave, compared to their average. Although significant, the within-person effect was relatively small and not significant in models with lagged terms.

Lagged-effect. The lagged effect of self-investment on forgiveness was not significant, contradicting *H3* (Model 2: $\beta = -.03, p = .227$). When the lagged and within-person effects were both estimated in the same model, the within-person effect of self-investment was no longer significant (Model 2: $\beta = -.03, p = .172$); since these effects are estimated whilst controlling for the effect of the other, it suggests that they are both estimated from the same within-person variance. After testing *H3* (Model 2) the lagged-effect was dropped from further analysis, when it was dropped, the within-person effect of self-investment was again significant (Model 3: $\beta = -.03, p = .029$).

In sum, the results supported *H1*; across the study, participants who endorsed more self-investment also expressed less forgiveness. The results also support *H2*; at a

particular time-point, when participants' self-investment was above their average, their forgiveness was below average. The results did not support *H3*; prior levels of self-investment did not predict later levels of forgiveness.

Preregistered Exploratory Analyses I: Self-definition and Forgiveness

Between-person effect. The between-person effect of self-definition on forgiveness was significant across Model 1 ($\beta = -.12, p = .024$) and Model 2 ($\beta = -.13, p = .046$). The more participants perceived that they were similar to the group prototype, and all group members are similar, the less forgiveness participants expressed across the entire study. This effect was small and sensitive to the inclusion of other predictors (Models 3 - 5).

Within-person effect. The within-person effect of self-definition on forgiveness was only (marginally) significant in Model 1 ($\beta = -.03, p = .051$), suggesting that this effect was small. When participants endorsed more than their usual levels of self-definition, they expressed less forgiveness than usual. Across all other models, the self-definition within-person effect was not significant.

Lagged-effect. The lagged-effect of self-definition on forgiveness was not significant (Model 2: $\beta = .03, p = .186$). The results suggest that both the between- and within-person effects of self-definition had small negative effects on forgiveness but were not sufficiently robust, especially after including other fixed effects.

Preregistered Exploratory Analyses II: Group Membership, Time, and Moderation Effects

The relationship between the within-person effects of identity dimensions (self-investment & self-definition) and forgiveness did not significantly vary as a function of group membership (self-investment: $\beta = < .00, p = .741$; self-definition: $\beta = < .00, p = .917$) or time (self-investment: $\beta = < .00, p = .663$; self-definition: $\beta = .01, p = .487$).

The three-way interactions between group membership, time, and both within-person identity dimensions were also not significant (self-investment: $\beta = -.03, p = .106$; self-definition: $\beta = <.00, p = .733$). Group membership was a significant predictor in all the models it was entered (Model 3 – 5: $\beta = -.24, p <.001$). Remainders were significantly less forgiving than Leavers. Time was a significant predictor in all the models it was entered (Model 3 – 5: $\beta = .04, p = .004$), over time participants became more forgiving.

Non-preregistered Exploratory Analyses III: Lower-Order Components Analyses

We tested the between- and within-person effects of the lower-order components of identity on the higher-order dimension of forgiveness, replicating the refined analysis of Study 2a. Results of this model can be seen in Table 4.³ Note that in the interest of space we have limited reporting the effects on the higher-order dimension of forgiveness only. Results for the lower-order components of forgiveness are reported in Appendix K.

Regarding self-investment's lower-order components, centrality and solidarity had a significant negative between-person effect on higher-order forgiveness (see Table 4 for all results). Satisfaction had a significant positive between-person effect on higher-order forgiveness. These lower-order components had no significant within-person effect on higher-order forgiveness. Regarding self-definition's lower-order components, neither individual self-stereotyping nor ingroup homogeneity had significant between-person effects on higher-order forgiveness. In fact, the only effect that was observed in this set of components was a small and negative within-person effect of individual stereotyping (Model 1: $\beta = -.04, p = .011$).

³ We omitted testing the lagged effects to preserve the power of the models and therefore not including too many predictors.

In sum, findings across all possible high- and lower-order level models tell a similar story to Study 1 in that self-investment is the strongest predictor of outgroup forgiveness attitudes (see Appendix K for full results).

Table 4.

Multilevel Model Predicting Higher-Order Forgiveness from Lower-Order components of HMII, with standardised coefficients.

Model 1					
Global-Forgiveness					
	β	95% CI		β	95% CI
Fixed Effects					
Between-Person	Within-Person				
Centrality	-.30***	[-.41, -.19]	Centrality	-.02	[-.05, .00]
Solidarity	-.13*	[-.25, -.01]	Solidarity	-.02	[-.05, .01]
Satisfaction	.13*	[.00, .25]	Satisfaction	<-.01	[-.03, .03]
Individual Self-Stereotyping	-.12	[-.26, .02]	Individual Self-Stereotyping	-.04*	[-.08, -.01]
Ingroup Homogeneity	.01	[-.11, .13]	Ingroup Homogeneity	.01	[-.02, .05]
Random Effects					
Intercept	1.01				
Variance					

Residual	2.63
Variance	
ICC	.72
Model fit	
Log-Like	-
	2383.40
Marginal R^2 /	.16/.77
Conditional R^2	

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

Study 2b Discussion

To overcome the limitation of the cross-sectional design in Study 2a, Study 2b employed a three-wave longitudinal design, allowing us to draw more robust inferences about the refined relationships between ingroup identity dimensions and outgroup forgiveness. As far as we know, Study 2b provides the first empirical evidence of this nature. Replicating Study 1's findings, the results of Study 2b demonstrated that the more participants endorsed self-investment, the less forgiveness they expressed (between-person effects). Importantly, this effect was also extended to the within-person level. When participants' level of self-investment increased (relative to their own mean levels), their forgiveness level decreased (relative to their own mean levels). Deviating from Study 2a, in Study 2b the self-definition dimension of ingroup identity had a significant negative between-person effect and a marginally significant within-person effect on forgiveness. However, these effects of self-definition were less stable and much smaller than those observed for self-investment. Thus, the findings of Study 2a reinforce the key message from Study 2b. Namely, the self-investment dimension

most reliably predicts outgroup forgiveness attitudes, rather than the self-definition dimension. This major finding remains robust and unaltered across Remainers and Leavers, over time, and were not influenced by a number of control variables.

Finally, our most refined analysis, set at the lower-order level of ingroup identity, further revealed that the higher-order dimensions of self-investment and self-definition generate effects that are more than the sum of their parts. This was evidenced by the fact that frequently one or more of the lower-order components yielded non-significant effects. Yet, at the higher-order level, the dimension did exert a significant effect. We will discuss the theoretical and applied implications of these findings in the next section.

Discussion

Intergroup conflict is ubiquitous. Such conflicts stem from a sense of ‘us versus them’, reflecting a threat to who we are and our collective goals. Conflicting social identities play a major role in fuelling conflict, ranging from prejudice attitudes hate crimes and mass violence (Effron & Knowles, 2015; Staub, 2006). Our response to conflicts will determine their escalation or constructive resolution. A constructive response that continues to gain traction is forgiveness, a motivation to inhibit one’s impulse for revenge and to replace feelings of resentment with prosocial ones (Hewstone et al., 2006). Ample research has established that the more individuals identify with their ingroup the less they are willing to forgive a transgressing outgroup (Noor et al., 2008; Van Tongeren et al., 2014). The aim of the present research was to go beyond strength of identification and provide a refined analysis of what dimensions of ingroup identification are responsible for suppressing outgroup forgiveness attitudes.

Contrasting Leach and colleagues’ (2008) two dimensions of ingroup identity, we found strong evidence that, compared to self-definition, self-investment was a more

robust negative predictor of outgroup forgiveness attitudes. In other words, the more group membership is central to the individuals' sense of self, the more they feel connected to fellow ingroup members, and the more positive they feel about their group, the less willing they are to forgive an adversarial outgroup. These findings were established first in a large cross-sectional study, examining the two identity dimensions as predictors of forgiveness between the opponents (Remainers) and supporters (Leavers) of the UK's exit from the European Union (Brexit). The more individuals of both groups endorsed higher levels of self-investment, the less forgiving they were of one another. In contrast, self-definition—consisting of individual self-stereotyping and ingroup homogeneity—did not predict forgiveness between Leavers and Remainers.

To replicate the between-person findings of Study 1 and extend our analysis to the within-person level, we conducted a three-wave longitudinal study (Study 2). We replicated the between-person effect of self-investment on forgiveness. More importantly, the within-person effect of self-investment on forgiveness was also significant. This means that as a participant's level of self-investment increased (relative to their individual average), their levels of forgiveness decreased. Unlike Study 1, in Study 2, the self-definition dimension's effects on forgiveness reached (marginal) statistical significance. Nonetheless, these effects were substantially smaller than the effects of self-investment. Thus, these findings point to the superior role of self-investment in predicting forgiveness. To contextualise these results in the Brexit intergroup relations, the self-investment dimension of ingroup identity was a major obstacle to Leavers and Remainers forgiving and therefore transforming their hostility towards each other.

Our findings are consistent with recent research which has demonstrated that, relative to self-definition, self-investment is a more robust predictor of different

intergroup outcomes (Blackwood & Louis 2012; Masson & Barth, 2020). One explanation for this pattern of findings is to do with the affect-laden nature of self-investment as compared to the more cognitive nature of self-definition, with the former motivating group members to act (Masson & Fritsche, 2014; Tiedens & Leach, 2004).

Theoretical Implications

Our work builds on the idea that ingroup identity is multidimensional (Leach et al., 2008). Although this idea is supported by emerging research, consistently social psychology has conceptualised social identity as unidimensional. But the benefits of a multidimensional conceptualisation approach are clear.

One such benefit is to enable researchers to conduct a more fine-grained analysis of the impact of ingroup identity on key outcome variables that can potentially re-define and transform hostile intergroup relations. To demonstrate, although past research had reported a negative association between strength of ingroup identity (as a unidimensional construct) and forgiveness, we understood little more than this. In contrast, a multidimensional model of ingroup identity, as shown by the present research, revealed that the self-investment dimension (rather than self-definition) is most responsible for suppressing outgroup forgiveness. Utilising such novel theoretical insights can pave the way for effective intervention strategies in the field to reduce intergroup conflict and foster peaceful coexistence.

Our findings also raise some important questions concerning the reliability and validity of past research findings regarding the relationship between ingroup identity and forgiveness. To demonstrate, previous meta-analytical research reported a moderate and negative association ($k = -.32$) between ingroup identity and forgiveness (Van Tongeren et al., 2014). Considering the present findings, this estimate may not reflect the true size of the association. To explain, because past research has predominately

treated ingroup identity as a unidimensional construct, it is not clear whether the above estimate reflects the contribution of self-investment, self-definition, or a combination of both. Put differently, one can think of three different scenarios bearing different consequences. First, if the studies included in the meta-analysis had measured ingroup identity by tapping self-investment only, this would reflect a more accurate estimate of the effect size, albeit it would still miss the weak contribution of self-definition. Second, if studies had measured ingroup identity by tapping self-definition only, this would reflect a less accurate effect size because it would entirely miss the (stronger) contribution of self-investment. Finally, if studies had measured both self-investment and self-definition but treated them as though they belonged to a unidimensional construct, their analysis would still be unclear because of the possibility that each dimension might have potentially cancelled out each other's effect. Thus, our findings call for future research to take a more refined approach to assessing the relationship between ingroup identity and forgiveness and, of course, other important intergroup outcomes.

Limitations

We would also like to note a few limitations of the present research. First, we acknowledge that the proliferation of further theoretical refinements of ingroup identification—e.g., glorification, patriotism, and collective narcissism—means that the relationship between ingroup identity and forgiveness could be more complex.

Although, it was beyond the scope of the current work to investigate the additional impact of these emerging theoretical refinements, the promising findings of the present research should stimulate future studies with this aim. Second, the Study 2a sample was not nationally representative, limiting the findings generalisability. But, collecting data during university open days we managed to recruit a large sample of participants from

diverse regions in the UK. This meant we could go beyond student samples, by also recruiting parents of prospective students. Third, both Studies 2a and 2b's sample contained more Remainders than Leavers. However, the number of Leavers in both samples was still greater than required to reliably fit the models estimated (Weston & Gore Jr, 2006). The results of the multigroup SEM (Study 2a) and moderation analysis (Study 2b) demonstrated that the effect of the ingroup identity dimensions did not vary across groups. Fourth, Study 2a employed a cross-sectional design, limiting our ability to make causal claims. We partially addressed this limitation by conducting Study 2b, which had a longitudinal design. We could investigate the within-person level of analysis, meaning we could make inferences at the individual rather than group level. Future research should experimentally manipulate the different ingroup identity dimensions and measure their effects on forgiveness to directly test their causal relationships. Fifth, the effect of self-definition was not consistent across Studies 2a and 2b. Whereas it did not significantly predict forgiveness in Study 2a, it did so in Study 2b – albeit weakly and at close to marginal statistical significance. Given the longitudinal design of Study 2b, and therefore the repeated assessment, we think the findings of Study 2b are a more reliable reflection of the relationship between self-definition and forgiveness. However, this finding does not detract from the central conclusions of the present research, namely that the effects of self-investment on forgiveness attitudes were the most robust and reliable across both studies. Finally, the present findings were observed in the national context of the Brexit conflict. This conflict was incredibly divisive, an elected politician was murdered, hate crime increased, and it caused deep divisions across society (Devine, 2021). However, future research ought to replicate our findings across different conflict settings, not least

because emerging research reminds us of the importance of contextual differences which can impact results (Vollhardt et al., 2021).

Conclusion

Identity is central to group members' consideration to forgive or not. Researchers have established the negative link between the strength of ingroup identification and outgroup forgiveness attitudes. The present research provides a more refined analysis of this relationship by employing contemporary conceptualisation that goes beyond a monolithic understanding of identity and embraces it as a multi-dimensional concept. Using a refined model of ingroup identification, we demonstrated that it is the self-investment dimension of ingroup identity, which suppresses group members' willingness to forgive an adversarial outgroup. As polarisation rises across society, we hope that this research now paves the way for targeted, theory-driven, effective interventions aimed at fostering forgiveness, tolerance, and peaceful co-existence between conflicting groups.

Chapter 4: Replicating, Refining, and Extending the Reconciliation Orientation Model (ROM): The Contribution of Multidimensional Identity and the Role of Conflict Type

Chapter Overview

In this chapter we present our study that refined and extended the Reconciliation Orientation Model (ROM) (Noor et al., 2008). Refining ROM, we integrate the HMII as parallel mediators of the negative relationship between competitive victimhood and forgiveness. Extending ROM, we test whether any of the paths in our refined ROM are moderated by conflict type (Direct vs. Structural Conflict). To do so, we collected data across four intergroup conflicts, two direct conflicts (Israel-Palestine & Kosovar-Serbian) and two structural conflicts (Black Americans & UK Women).

Forgiveness: Why Suffering Need Not Beget Suffering

Intergroup conflicts are ubiquitous. Groups engage in direct, violent conflicts, injuring and killing their adversaries over disputed resources, territories, goals, and values (Böhm et al., 2020). Groups also engage in structural conflicts, marked by systems of inequality, oppression and discrimination, that privilege some groups and prevent others from realising their potential (Galtung, 1969; Kira et al., 2019). The costs of these types of conflicts are tremendous in terms of immense human suffering and deep psychological wounds, which are often transmitted across generations (Bagci et al., 2018; Noor et al., 2017; Taylor et al., 2020).

Although it is known that the way suffering is framed can generate positive intergroup attitudes and solidarity (Shnabel et al., 2013; Vollhardt, 2015), more often suffering can form the basis of new conflicts or the continuation of old ones. To understand the latter tendency, social psychological theorising has developed models that study the processes of why suffering might beget suffering (for some examples see

De Guissmé & Licata, 2017; Noor et al., 2012; Uluğ et al., 2022; Vollhardt et al., 2021).

In the present article, we aim to replicate, refine, and extend the Reconciliation Orientation Model (ROM; Noor et al., 2008a). We focus on this model because it captures the core experiences that are involved in most intergroup conflicts—i.e., competitive victimhood, ingroup identity, and forgiveness. ROM proposes that competitive victimhood—group members’ motivation to establish that they have suffered more than the outgroup (Noor et al., 2008a; 2012; Young & Sullivan, 2016)—is a key negative predictor of major outcome variables that form the basis of a peaceful reconciliation orientation; one such variable being the willingness to forgive past intergroup grievances. ROM conceptualised and has shown that it is the strength of group members’ identification with their ingroup that mediates the negative association between competitive victimhood and forgiveness (Noor et al., 2008a).

In this article, we make four contributions to the original model. First, we conduct an empirical replication of the central conceptual process stipulated by ROM. That is, the more conflicting groups engage in competitive victimhood, the less likely they are to forgive their past grievances, and in turn this negative relationship is mediated via individuals’ identification with their ingroup. Second, whereas the original model conceptualised and measured ingroup identity in the form of strength of identification, in the present work we refine our understanding of this variable by going beyond this oversimplified conceptualisation and unitary measures of ingroup identification. Instead, we will employ a multi-dimensional conceptualisation and measure ingroup identity using a model developed by Leach and colleagues (2008). This refinement will reveal novel insights into the precise role of ingroup identity and its dimensions (self-investment vs. self-definition) regarding the observed relationships in ROM. Third, we also extend ROM by testing the extent to which the observed

relationships in refined ROM might vary as a function of conflict type —i.e., direct violence vs. structural violence (Galtung, 1969; Mari et al., 2020). Fourth, expanding our analysis of ROM beyond the direct conflict in Northern Ireland (Noor et al., 2008a), we test our refinement and extension of ROM across four real-life intergroup conflicts; two conflicts involving direct violence (Israeli-Palestinian & Kosovar-Serbian) and two conflicts involving structural violence (US racial conflict & UK gender conflict). In the following section we provide a brief review of ROM as well as the rationale for its proposed refinement and extension.

Review of The Original Reconciliation Orientation Model

Reconciliation means finding a way to transform intergroup enmity into cultivating peaceful and sustainable relationships between conflicting groups (Bar-Tal, 2000; Nadler, 2012; Noor, Shnabel, et al., 2015). Acknowledging that such a transformation is challenging, ROM proposes forgiveness as a central factor in fostering intergroup reconciliation (Noor et al., 2008a). Forgiveness is the decision made by victims' to overcome negative feelings of vengefulness and resentments and replace them with feelings of goodwill and benevolence towards their harms-doers (McCullough et al., 1997; McLernon et al., 2004; Noor, 2016). Forgiveness is uniquely placed to deal with conflict because it can help groups break seemingly never-ending cycles of revenge and acknowledge past harms, therefore overcoming the painful past and shifting the focus towards a more peaceful future (Hanke et al., 2013; Mullet et al., 2010; Noor et al., 2008a; Wohl & Branscombe, 2005). Despite its benefits, forgiveness is not easy for group members to consider because there are countervailing forces making forgiveness challenging. Chief among such forces is the thorny issue of dealing with past and ongoing grievances, especially in contexts where outgroup perpetrators are unwilling to make amends for their past hurt (Borinca et al., 2021). To illustrate, in

the Israeli-Palestinian conflict the issue of allowing Palestinian refugees to return to their homes in Palestine is a major ongoing grievance that undermines both groups' good will and concrete peace accords (Peled & Rouhana, 2004). In the Kosovar-Serbian conflict, the Serbian Government still does not recognise Kosovo's independence and still considers it part of Serbia (Borinca et al., 2022). Similarly, many women in the UK are exposed to sexism and gender pay inequality, while police brutality and incarceration against Black Americans remain unabated (Litman et al., 2020; Zare et al., 2022).

Given the impact of grievances, ROM proposes that the failure to adequately deal with intergroup grievances forms a major obstacle to forgiveness and more broadly reconciliation efforts. Specifically, ROM theorises that the more conflicting groups engage in competitive victimhood—referring to the efforts of conflicting groups to establish that their group has suffered more than their adversarial group—the less likely they are to forgive one another (Noor et al., 2008a; 2012).⁴ Ample research has provided evidence in support of this theorising across the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (Shnabel et al., 2013; Uluğ et al., 2021), the Turkish-Kurdish conflict (Uluğ, Lickel, et al., 2021), the Protestant-Catholic conflict (Cohrs et al., 2015; Noor et al., 2008a), and supporters-detractors of the Pinochet regime (Noor et al., 2008b).

Finally, ROM theorised and found that, given the outgroup is often perceived as a threat to the ingroup's existence, protection from such threat should be sought in the strong bond with the ingroup (Staub, 2006). Further, a sense of ingroup victimhood often stems from fundamental disagreements between the in and outgroups' relative

⁴ We note that intergroup competitive victimhood is one form of conflicting groups engaging with their collective suffering and falls under the umbrella term 'exclusive victim beliefs' (see Vollhardt, 2012; Vollhardt & Bilali, 2015). This term captures multiple different ways of framing one's collective suffering that can set the ingroup apart from the outgroup, without necessarily having a competitive dimension.

sovereignty, power, and/or statehood (Noor et al., 2017). As such, experiences of ingroup victimhood might result in bolstering identification with the ingroup, which in turn may deem the decision to forgive the outgroup as ‘foolish’. In other words, identification with the ingroup was found to mediate the relationship between competitive victimhood and outgroup forgiveness attitudes, which was empirically established in the context of direct conflict between the Catholic and Protestant communities in Northern Ireland (Noor et al., 2008a).

Refining Our Understanding of The Role of Ingroup Identity in ROM

(Contribution I)

Whereas the original ROM conceptualised and measured ingroup identity in terms of the strength with which individuals identified with their ingroups, in the present work we update and refine the model by going beyond the oversimplified conceptualisation and unitary measure of ingroup identification. Instead, we will employ a multi-dimensional conceptualisation and measure of ingroup identity. As such, our first contribution will reveal novel insights into the precise role of ingroup identity and its dimensions regarding the observed relationships in ROM. According to Leach et al. (2008), ingroup identity consists of two dimensions. The *self-investment* dimension captures how central and salient group membership is to the self-concept, the solidarity group members feel with their fellow members, and the satisfaction they derive from their group membership. In contrast, the *self-definition* dimension captures the extent to which group members see themselves as a prototypical member and the extent to which such prototypicality is believed to be shared by the whole group. The model has gained robust cross-sectional, longitudinal, and experimental support (Jans et al., 2015b; La Barbera & Capone, 2016; Roth et al., 2019b). In the refined ROM we explore both identity dimensions as parallel mediators of the relationship between

competitive victimhood and forgiveness (see Figure 2).⁵ Broadly speaking, we agree with other researchers in that the ingroup's victimhood is integral to the ingroup's understanding of themselves (Bar-Tal et al., 2009; Volkan, 2001). One concrete way this is realised is via the impact of ingroup victimhood on the ingroup's identity (Hirschberger, 2018). In the case of the refined ROM, this is accounted for by the impact of competitive victimhood on both ingroup identity dimensions—the rationales for which we outline below.

Competitive victimhood predicting self-investment. Engaging in competitive victimhood is likely to bolster individuals' self-investment dimension of their ingroup identity. In the competitive victimhood mindset, group members are likely to attend exclusively to the suffering of their ingroup (Noor et al., 2008a; Vollhardt, 2012). Such an exclusive focus is likely to lead to perceiving the outgroup as a source of existential threat to the ingroup (Hirschberger et al., 2016). Consequently, individuals should be motivated to seek protection in the form of strengthening their bond with the ingroup. Moreover, the more central the ingroup is to defining groups members' sense of self, the more aware ingroup members are to the dangers of outgroup perpetrators (Hinton et al., 2022; Rios et al., 2018). Additionally, group members should feel compelled to mobilise with their fellow ingroup members, by invoking solidarity, against their outgroup rivals (Smeeke et al., 2018; Wohl et al., 2012; see also Lang et al., 2022; Wohl & Branscombe, 2009). Finally, witnessing one's ingroup as a coherent unit which successfully defends itself and mobilises against outgroup perpetrators must provide

⁵ We note that in the original ROM two other mediators were included; one that failed to mediate (empathy) and one that did mediate (trust). It also included the outcome variable of subjective evaluation of past violence. In the interest of managing theoretical complexity, in the refined and extended ROM, to a reasonable level (i.e., to avoid running 4 mediation tests), in the present research we focussed on the ROM's core relationships (i.e., competitive victimhood multidimensional ingroup identity and forgiveness) moderated by conflict type.

individuals with a great sense of satisfaction with their group membership (Leach et al., 2010; Pantaleo et al., 2014). Thus, in line with the above reasoning, we predict that the more competitive victimhood ingroup members report, the more self-investment in their ingroup identity they will report (see Figure 2).

Competitive victimhood predicting self-definition. Exclusive focus on ingroup suffering, which is a function of engaging in competitive victimhood, should remind ingroup members of the suffering they share (Ashmore et al., 2004; Moons et al., 2009). This is closely aligned with individual self-stereotyping captured by the self-definition dimension of ingroup identity (Leach et al., 2008). Engaging in competitive victimhood is an inherently relative claim—*we have suffered more than you*—that can sharpen the boundaries between the ingroup and outgroup (Vollhardt et al., 2021). Consequently, competitive victimhood might also increase perceptions of ingroup homogeneity among ingroup members because the basis of suffering inflicted on them is their shared group membership, i.e., *we are violated against not as individuals but because of our shared group membership* (De Cremer, 2001; Hutchison et al., 2006). Thus, in line with the above reasoning, we predict that the more competitive victimhood ingroup members report, the more self-definition in their ingroup identity they will report (Figure 2).

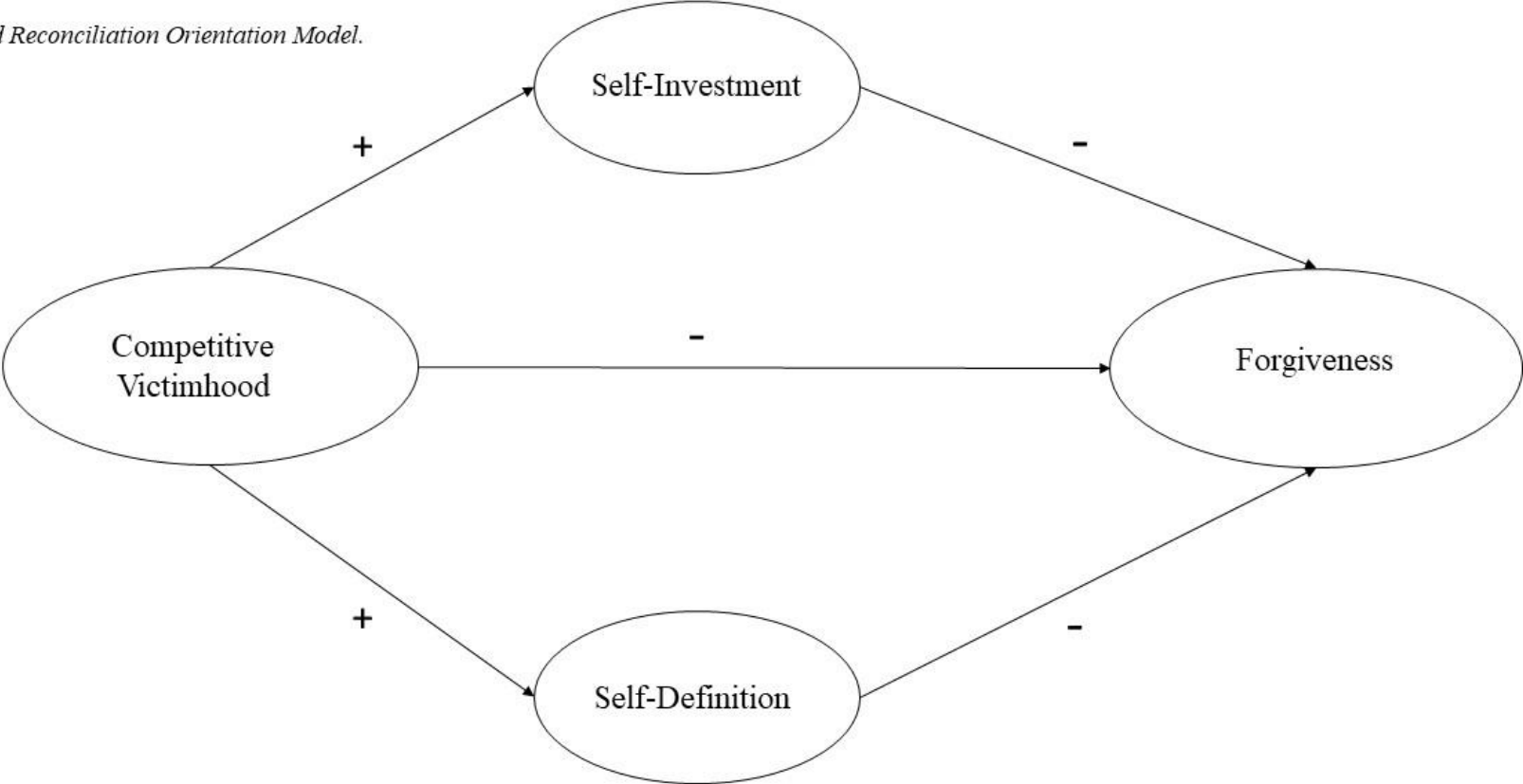
Self-investment and self-definition predicting forgiveness. When the self-investment dimension of identity is high, group members are attuned to the transgressions that have been perpetrated against the ingroup and work with fellow ingroup members to achieve ingroup goals (Loy et al., 2022; Uysal et al., 2022). In the face of such transgressions, forgiving those who have historically and contemporarily harmed the ingroup should be seen as ‘foolish’ and undermine the survival of the ingroup and its members. Thus, we predict that the more self-investment in their

ingroup identity group members report, the less forgiveness they will report (Figure 2). When self-definition is high, group members see themselves as part of a homogeneous social unit (Snyder & Cistulli, 2021). Such perceptions and feelings of ingroup homogeneity might not only lead individuals to feeling hurt because of their direct victimisation, but feeling hurt vicariously due to their fellow group members victimisation, resulting in less forgiveness (Stenstrom et al., 2008). Further, when self-definition is high group members adopt the perceived norms of the ingroup (Latrofa et al., 2009). In the context of conflicting identities, this should translate to a strong desire to distance themselves from the outgroup via suppressed forgiveness (Odak & Čehajic-Clancy, 2021). Thus, we predict that the more self-definition in their ingroup identity group members report, the less forgiveness they will report (Figure 2).

Taken together, we expect that both dimensions of ingroup identity will serve as parallel mediating mechanisms—via their indirect effects—of the associations between competitive victimhood and outgroup forgiveness attitudes.

Figure 2.

Refined Reconciliation Orientation Model.



However, we predict that the self-investment dimension—because it represents the affect-laden dimension of ingroup identity (feelings of satisfaction, ingroup closeness, and ties)—will be a more potent mediator than the cognitively orientated self-definition dimension. Our theorising is also in line with recent findings that show self-investment, compared to self-definition, is a stronger predictor of intergroup outcomes such as experiencing collective guilt and collective action (Blackwood & Louis, 2012; Masson & Barth, 2020; Teixeira et al., 2023).

Competitive victimhood predicting forgiveness. Although the original test of ROM did not specify the direct path between competitive victimhood and forgiveness, more recent findings have demonstrated the negative direct relationship between competitive victimhood and forgiveness (Uluğ et al., 2021). Adding the direct path from competitive victimhood to outgroup forgiveness attitudes (Figure 2), to our refinement of ROM, allows us to further test the strength of this relationship, whilst controlling for the other relationships in our extended ROM. It also allows us to test whether the strength of this relationship differs across conflict type (see below).

In sum, the outlined theorising provides a major contribution regarding a refined understanding of the relationships between competitive victimhood and multi-dimensional ingroup identity, on the one hand, and the relationship between the latter and outgroup forgiveness attitudes, on the other hand.

Does Type of Conflict Moderate ROM? (Contribution II)

Whereas the original ROM was tested in the context of direct, violent conflict between the Northern Irish Protestant and Catholic communities (Noor et al., 2008a), recent research has highlighted the prevalence of groups competing over their suffering across conflicts that are characterised by structural inequalities (Danbold et al., 2022; Young & Sullivan, 2016). Thus, a further contribution of our work aimed at extending

ROM by testing whether the theorised relationships are moderated by conflict type. This contribution is premised on Galtung's (1969) systematic investigation into violence which revealed that primarily there are two forms of violence. Direct violence occurs when individuals or groups physically injure or kill others, violating the basic human needs of survival and well-being (Galtung, 1990). For example, a UN report highlighted that 2022 saw the most deaths in the Israel-Palestine conflict for several years, and Palestinians endured the majority of the deaths (UN News, 2022). In contrast, structural violence occurs when individuals or groups are unable to realise their true physical and psychological potential because they are living in a social milieu where they are discriminated against and oppressed, resulting in harm that exploits their survival and well-being (Galtung, 1969). For example, a Human Rights Watch report found that Black Americans, relative to White Americans, faced a disproportionate impact of the COVID-19 pandemic in terms of increased risk of infections, serious illness, death, and serious economic hardship (Human Rights Watch, 2020). These findings were attributed to the longstanding health inequities faced by Black Americans. Both types of conflict give rise to conflict because they result in victimisation that leaves deep grievances. However, we theorise that the relationships in the refined ROM will be stronger in direct than structural conflicts—the rationales for which are outlined below.

As direct violence undermines the very survival of the ingroup, it is existential in nature and therefore more acute and visible than structural violence. There is an identifiable perpetrator group who is looking to injure or kill members of the ingroup. Indeed, as Galtung (1969) highlighted, structural violence is more insidious precisely because it can be harder to detect. Because of the more existential nature of the threats in direct conflicts, group members should be more motivated to seek protection through strengthening their bond with the ingroup (Wohl et al., 2012). Further, because violence

in direct conflicts is more visible group members can more readily see the suffering inflicted on their fellow ingroup members that is due to their shared group membership. This shared suffering should increase the perceived similarity amongst the ingroup and make the experience of vicarious hurt more potent (Stenstrom et al., 2008).

In sum, because of the existential nature of direct conflicts, group members should be more motivated to seek protection from the ingroup. The ingroup can do this via increased self-investment, i.e., increasing their solidarity with the ingroup, its subjective importance, and the satisfaction they derive from the ingroup (Rios et al., 2018; Wohl et al., 2012). As visible direct violence is perpetrated on fellow ingroup members, this should draw the ingroup's attention to the shared suffering they incur because of their common group membership, increasing the self-definition dimension (Hutchison et al., 2006; Stenstrom et al., 2008). Thus, we predict that the paths from competitive victimhood to both the self-investment and self-definition dimensions will be moderated by conflict type, such that observed relationships will be significantly stronger in direct than structural conflicts.

In the face of imminent threats in direct conflicts the decision to forgive the outgroup could be seen as even more 'foolish' because it undermines the survival of the ingroup and could appear to let the outgroup off the hook for the killing of fellow ingroup members (İslambay-Yapalı & Cingöz-Ulu, 2023). Thus, we predict that the paths from both self-investment and self-definition dimensions and forgiveness will be moderated by conflict type, such that the observed relationships will be significantly stronger in direct than structural conflicts. Finally, when direct violence is perpetrated by both groups, group members engage in more competitive victimhood to draw attention to their suffering and to blame the outgroup for the ingroup suffering. Thus, we predict that the path from competitive victimhood to forgiveness will be moderated

by conflict type, such that the observed relationship will be significantly stronger in direct than structural conflicts.

Overview

To summarise, we refine ROM by accounting for the multi-dimensional nature of ingroup identity. In doing so we replicate the central conceptual process stipulated by ROM, the more conflicting groups engage in competitive victimhood the less likely they are to forgive (Noor et al., 2008a), but we introduce the parallel mediators of the self-investment and self-definition dimensions of ingroup identity (Leach et al., 2008). We extend the refined ROM by testing whether conflict type (direct vs. structural violence) might serve as a moderator of the predicted relationships. We validate our model in four real-world ongoing conflicts, two that include direct violence (Israeli-Palestinian & Kosovar-Serbian) and two that include structural violence (U.S. racial conflict & UK gender conflict).

Method

Participants and Data Collection

We recruited 915 participants ($M_{\text{age}} = 37.26$, $SD = 12.02$; female = 58.8%) to complete the survey. All analyses, however, are based on complete cases $N = 860$ ($M_{\text{age}} = 37.36$, $SD = 12.02$; female = 61.7%). Participants recruited from the Israeli-Palestinian and Kosovar-Serbian direct conflicts were sampled via volunteer and snowball sampling. Participants recruited from the Black American and UK Women structural conflicts were sampled through the online research platform Prolific and were paid an hourly rate of £7. Research obtained ethics approval from the institutional research ethics committee (see Appendix A) and strictly followed the British Psychological Society's Code of Human Research Ethics (Oates et al., 2021). Descriptive statistics from each conflict sample are presented in Table 5. All materials

were translated from English to the language spoken in the conflict by researchers fluent in both languages (see: https://osf.io/xrtge/?view_only=23170e2b8b1d42e89b9fb07754ec5a9c for translated materials).

Table 5.

Demographic Information Across Conflicts.

Variable	Direct Conflict				Structural Conflict	
	Israeli Jews (<i>n</i> = 155)	Palestinians living in Israel (<i>n</i> = 88)	Kosovar (<i>n</i> = 107)	Serbian (<i>n</i> = 110)	Black Americans (<i>N</i> = 200)	UK Women (<i>N</i> = 200)
Age						
<i>M</i>	41.56	35.48	31.92	31.24	38.12	40.42
<i>SD</i>	15.82	11.95	9.71	8.29	10.21	10.62
Gender (%)						
<i>Male</i>	52.90	35.23	39.20	64.50	50.70	-
<i>Female</i>	46.45	64.77	59.80	35.50	50.20	100

Power Analysis

Our sample size was determined by the available research funds and the number of participants that could be recruited before data collection stopped. Across all conflict

contexts, data collection began in March 2022 and stopped in June 2022. Effect size sensitivity analysis was carried out using G*Power (vs.3.1.9.3) and revealed that with a sample size of 860 we could detect effects in the refined ROM of $\beta = .11$ with power = 80%, and alpha = 5%. This effect size is smaller than those reported in the original ROM (Noor et al., 2008a) and meta-analytic research on intergroup forgiveness (Van Tongeren et al., 2014). Further, we assumed a small moderation effect of conflict type, as is common in social psychological research. Consequently, our available sample would be able to detect a moderation effect of $\beta = .12$ with power = 80% and alpha = 5%.

Measures

Responses to all measures were on a scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Full measures, including those not reported here, can be found in Appendix L.

Competitive Victimhood

Competitive victimhood was measured with three items (adapted from Noor et al., 2008a; Shnabel et al., 2013). These were: “[Ingroup] have suffered more casualties than [outgroup]”, “[Ingroup] have suffered more morally unacceptable atrocities compared to [outgroup]”, and “[Ingroup] have suffered more emotional pain than [outgroup]”. This measure showed good composite reliability across direct and structural conflicts ($\omega_s = .89 - .87$).

A confirmatory factor analysis (CFA), testing a one factor model of competitive victimhood, estimated on the full sample, fitted the data well (see Appendix M for all CFA results). For all variables in the Refined ROM, we examined the measurement invariance of our scales across conflict type. We inspect the fit of a series of CFAs that impose increasingly restrictive parameter constraints to be equal across conflict type.

The first, imposes the factor structure to be equal across conflict type (configural invariance); the second imposes the factor loadings to be equal across conflict type (metric invariance); and the final imposes that the item intercepts must be equal across conflict type (scalar invariance). In line with recommended guidelines, we conclude measurement invariance holds if the CFA examining scalar invariance fits the data well (Chen et al., 2005). For competitive victimhood, the scalar invariance model fit reasonably well: CFI = .99, RMSEA = .19 (.16, .23), SRMR = .07 (see Appendix O for all invariance results). The RMSEA value was larger than anticipated, but research shows that RMSEA is upwardly biased when the number of model degrees of freedom is low, like the present case (Reise et al., 2013). Thus, we concluded the invariance of competitive victimhood across conflict type.

Ingroup Identity

As recommended by Leach et al. (2008), we measured the self-investment dimension of ingroup identity by assessing participants' responses to the following three subscales: centrality was measured with three items (e.g., "Being an [ingroup] is an important part of how I see myself"), solidarity was measured with three items (e.g., "I feel committed to [ingroup]"), and satisfaction was measured with four items (e.g., "It is pleasant to be [ingroup]"). The self-investment dimension ($\omega_s = .97 - .91$) and all three subscales ($\omega_s = .92 - .82$) showed good composite reliability across direct and structural conflicts.

As recommended by Leach et al. (2008), we measured the self-definition dimension of ingroup identity by assessing participants' responses to the following three subscales: individual self-stereotyping was measured with two items (e.g., "I am similar to the average [ingroup] person") and ingroup homogeneity was measured with two items (e.g., "[Ingroup] people are very similar to each other"). The self-definition

dimension ($\omega_s = .89 - .73$) and all its lower-order components ($\omega_s = .89 - .78$) showed good composite reliability across direct and structural conflicts. A CFA testing the Leach et al. (2008) model of ingroup identity fitted the data well (see Appendix M) and the scalar invariance model fit the data well: CFI = .94, RMSEA = .09 (.08, .09), SRMR = .07.

Intergroup Forgiveness

Forgiveness was measured using an adapted version of the Enright Forgiveness Inventory (i.e., McLernon et al., 2004), we assessed participants' responses to following three subscales: affective forgiveness was measured with four items (e.g., "I feel caring towards [outgroup]"), cognitive forgiveness was measured with three items (e.g., "I think [outgroup] are worthy of respect"), and behavioural forgiveness was measured with three items (e.g., "I would reach out to [outgroup]"). Forgiveness ($\omega_s = .96 - .96$) and all its subscales ($\omega_s = .97 - .84$) showed good composite reliability across direct and structural conflicts. A CFA testing the adapted version of the Enright Forgiveness Inventory fitted the data well (see Appendix M) and the scalar invariance model fit the data well: CFI = .97, RMSEA = .08 (.07, .09), SRMR = .07.

Data Analysis

We used two structural equation models (SEM), based on the full sample of complete cases, to investigate our refined ROM. The first SEM investigated the relationship between competitive victimhood and forgiveness via the self-investment and self-definition dimensions of ingroup identity (parallel mediation model). The second SEM was a multigroup structural equation model to investigate whether the mediation effects of both self-investment and self-definition were moderated by conflict type (Little et al., 2007). Following open-research practices, all materials, code, and data from the present research can be found at:

https://osf.io/xrtge/?view_only=23170e2b8b1d42e89b9fb07754ec5a9c. All analyses was carried out in R (R Team, 2015) with the lavaan package (Rosseel, 2012).

Results

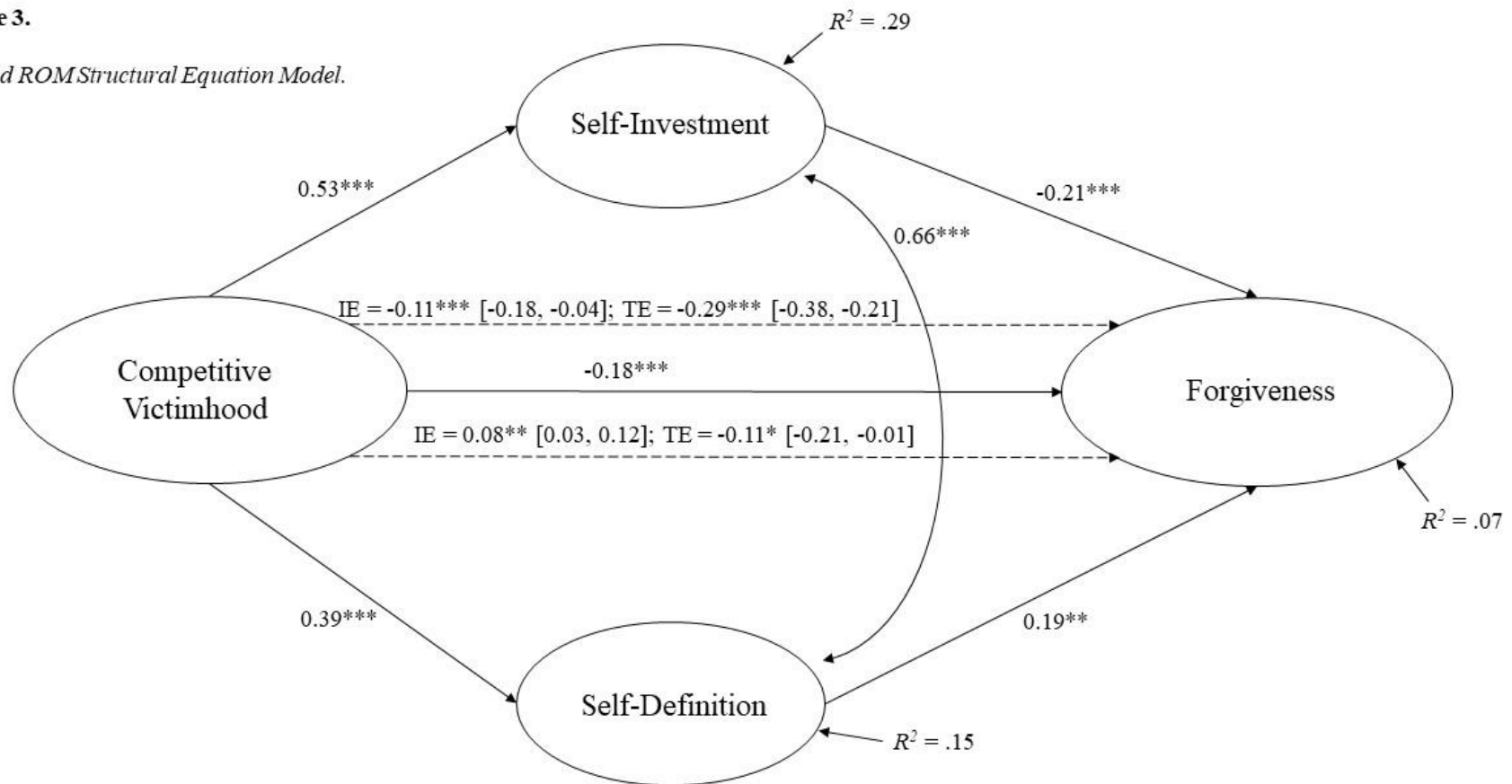
In the first structural equation model we examined the relationship between competitive victimhood and forgiveness, via the parallel mediators of self-investment and self-definition. The model is displayed in Figure 3 and fitted the data well: $\chi^2(311) = 1276.774, p < .05$; CFI = .94; RMSEA = .06, CI 90% [.06, .06]; SRMR = .05 (see Figure 2 for model results).

Refined ROM (Parallel Mediation Model)

As predicted by our parallel mediation model, competitive victimhood negatively predicted forgiveness, and it positively predicted both self-investment and self-definition (see Figure 3 for results). Further, and as predicted, self-investment negatively predicted forgiveness. In contrast to our expectation, self-definition positively predicted forgiveness (see Figure 3).

Figure 3.

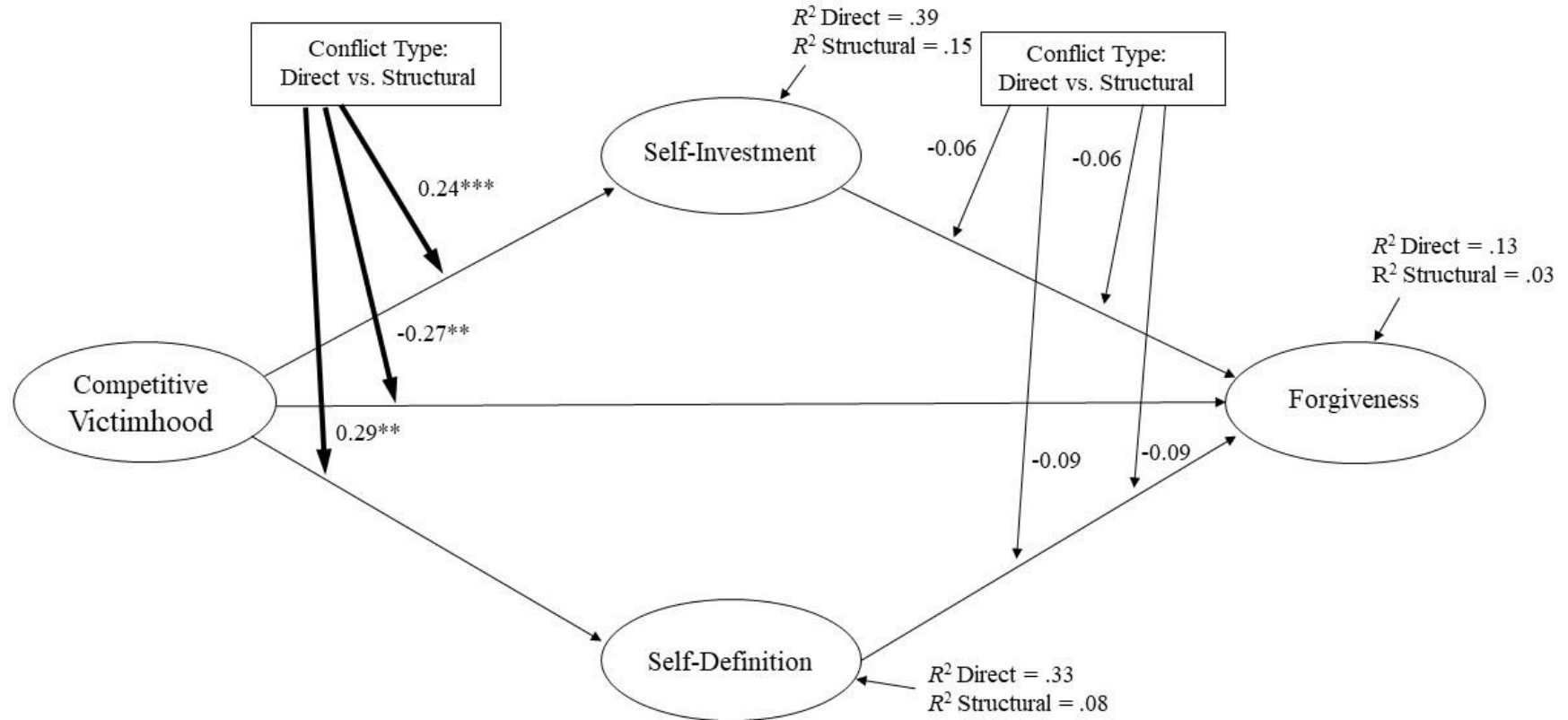
Refined ROM Structural Equation Model.



Note. $N = 860$. Path estimates are standardised. Dashed lines indicate indirect effects (IE) and total effects (TE). * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

Figure 4.

Refined ROM Moderated Mediation.



Note. Direct Conflict $n = 460$; Structural Conflict $n = 400$. Path estimates are standardised. Moderated-mediation effects compare the size of the path estimates in the direct and structural conflicts to see if they statistically differ. The paths from competitive victimhood to: self-investment, self-definition, and forgiveness were significantly stronger in direct conflicts, indicated by bold arrows.

Consistent with our theorising, the affective-based self-investment dimension that captures how group members feel about the ingroup was a stronger predictor of forgiveness, compared to the cognitive-based self-definition dimension. Crucially, and as predicted, self-investment and self-definition partially mediated the effect of competitive victimhood on forgiveness. The indirect effects of self-investment and self-definition were significant (see Figure 3).⁶

Moderated Mediation

In the second SEM, we ran a multigroup model to test whether the observed relationships in ROM were moderated by conflict type. The multigroup model fits the refined ROM simultaneously in both the direct and structural conflict (see Little et al., 2007). The size of the relationships across each path of the refined ROM are then compared to examine if the comparable paths statistically differ across direct and structural conflicts. If they do, the mediation effects are moderated by conflict type. Following recommended guidelines (see Muller et al., 2005; Preacher et al., 2007), the presence of moderated mediation is substantiated if any one of the paths in the system linking competitive victimhood to forgiveness, through both self-investment and self-definition, is moderated—i.e., the paths linking competitive victimhood to the ingroup identity dimensions (mediators) and the paths linking the ingroup identity dimensions to forgiveness. We also tested whether the indirect effects were moderated—i.e., the product

⁶ We also tested a model in which competitive victimhood served as a mediator of the relationship between both ingroup identity dimensions and forgiveness (see SOM for full model results). Although the overall model fit was comparable to the refined ROM, self-definition failed to significantly predict competitive victimhood and competitive victimhood did not mediate the relationship between self-definition and forgiveness (see Appendix O). Thus, the data suggest that ingroup identity dimensions are better conceptualised as mediators (endogenous) rather than exogenous variables in the model.

of the paths linking competitive victimhood to the ingroup identity dimensions, and the ingroup identity dimensions to forgiveness. The model is displayed in Figure 3 and fitted the data well: $\chi^2(624) = 2008.174, p < .05$; CFI = .93; RMSEA = .07, CI 90% [.70, .80]; SRMR = .10 (for full model results see Table 6).

As predicted, the negative relationship between competitive victimhood and forgiveness was significantly stronger in direct than structural conflicts (see Figure 4). As predicted, the positive relationship between competitive victimhood and both self-investment and self-definition were significantly stronger in direct than structural conflicts (Figure 4). Thus, we found evidence of a moderated mediation via the paths linking competitive victimhood to both ingroup identity dimensions (i.e., Preacher et al., 2007). Contrary to our predictions, the relationships between both self-investment and forgiveness as well as self-definition and forgiveness did not significantly differ across conflict type (Figure 4).

Moreover, the indirect effects of competitive victimhood on forgiveness via both self-investment and self-definition were not significantly moderated by conflict type. That is, the product of the paths linking competitive victimhood to the ingroup identity dimensions, and the ingroup identity dimensions to forgiveness, did not significantly differ across conflict type. This is likely because the paths linking both ingroup identity dimensions and forgiveness did not significantly differ across conflict type. Finally, the refined ROM explained a higher portion of variance in self-investment (39% vs. 15%), self-definition (33% vs. 8%), and forgiveness (13% vs. 3%) in direct than structural conflicts.

In a final step we performed a likelihood ratio test (LRT) to compare the model fit of the moderate mediation when path coefficients were freely estimated compared to constrained across conflict type. Results indicated that the freely estimated and constrained models significant differed: $\chi^2(5) = 31.2, p < .001$, thus indicating that freely estimating some paths would improve the overall fit of the model.

Table 6.

Moderated-Mediation Refined ROM.

	Direct Conflict					
	Self-Investment		Self-Definition		Forgiveness	
	β	95% CI	β	95% CI	β	95% CI
Competitive	0.63***	[0.56,	0.57***	[0.49,0	-0.32***	[-0.47, -
Victimhood		0.69]		.65]		0.17]
Self-Investment	-	-	-	-	-0.11	[-0.23, 0.02]
Self-Definition	-	-	-	-	0.09	[-0.04, 0.22]
	Mediation Effects					
	Indirect Effect			Total Effect		
	β	CILL	CIUL	β	CILL	CIUL
Self-Investment	-0.07	-0.15	0.01	-0.39***	-0.51	-0.27
Self-Definition	0.05	-0.03	0.12	-0.27***	-0.40	-0.14
	Structural Conflict					
	Self-Investment		Self-Definition		Forgiveness	
	β	95% CI	β	95% CI	β	95% CI

Competitive	0.39***	[0.29,	0.28***	[0.18,	-0.05	[-0.17, 0.08]
Victimhood		0.49]		0.39]		
Self-Investment	-	-	-	-	-0.05	[-0.17, 0.07]
Self-Definition	-	-	-	-	0.17**	[0.06, 0.28]

Mediation Effects

	Indirect Effect			Total Effect		
	β	CILL	CIUL	β	CILL	CIUL
Self-Investment	-0.02	-0.07	0.03	-0.07	-0.18	0.05
Self-Definition	0.05**	0.01	0.09	-0.27***	-0.43	-0.12

Moderated Mediation

	Self-Investment		Self-Definition		Forgiveness	
	β	95% CI	β	95% CI	β	95% CI
Competitive	0.24***	[0.12,	0.29**	[0.16,	-0.27**	[-0.47, -
victimhood		0.36]		0.42]		0.08]
Self-Investment	-	-	-	-	-0.06	[-0.23, 0.12]
Self-Definition	-	-	-	-	-0.09	[-0.25, 0.09]

	Indirect Effect			Total Effect		
	β	CILL	CIUL	β	CILL	CIUL
Self-Investment	-0.05	-0.14	0.05	-0.32***	-0.48	-0.16
Self-Definition	<0.01	0.01	0.08	<0.01	-0.08	0.08

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

Two Alternative Models

To gain further confidence in our refined ROM, we tested two plausible alternative models. The first, competitive victimhood served as a mediator of the relationship between both ingroup identity dimensions (self-investment & self-definition) and forgiveness. The overall model fit was comparable to the refined ROM: CFI = .94; RMSEA = .06 (90% CI: .05, .06); SRMR = .05. But only self-investment significantly predicted competitive victimhood ($b = 0.52, p < .001$) and only competitive victimhood significantly mediated the relationship between self-investment and forgiveness ($b = -0.10, p < .001$). This alternative model suggests that the ingroup identity dimensions are better conceptualised as mediators (endogenous) rather than exogenous variables in the model.

The second alternative model treated each lower-order component of HMII (centrality, solidarity, satisfaction, individual self-stereotyping, and ingroup homogeneity) as parallel mediators of the relationship between competitive victimhood and forgiveness. This model did not fit the data as well as the refined ROM: CFI = .87; RMSEA = .09 (90% CI: .08, .09); SMRM = .08. The only significant mediators of competitive victimhood and forgiveness relationship were centrality ($b = .28, p = .044$) and individual self-stereotyping ($b = .18, p = .001$). This model suggests that ingroup identity is best measured at the level of the dimensions (vs. lower-order components) of ingroup identity. Because the alternative models are not nested in the refined ROM, i.e., the parameters are not a subset of each other, an LRT would not be an appropriate assessment of model comparison (Yen et al., 2020).

Ideally, we would have liked to test another alternative model, examining whether our refined ROM is moderated by the distinct ingroup identities (Israeli, Palestinian,

Kosovar, Serbian, UK Women, and Black Americans). However, we lacked sufficient statistical power to test the difference in indirect effects across six groups (Yuan & Chen, 2016).

Discussion

Building on the Reconciliation Orientation Model (ROM) (Noor et al., 2008a), we theoretically refined this model to account for the multi-dimensional nature of ingroup identity (Leach et al., 2008). Further extending the refined ROM, we provided evidence for the role of conflict type (direct vs. structural violence) in moderating the model's core processes. Testing the refined and extended ROM in four real-life conflict settings demonstrated that the more group members engage in competitive victimhood, the less forgiving they are of their past grievances. This association between competitive victimhood and forgiveness was found to be partially mediated by the ingroup identity dimensions of self-investment (negatively) and self-definition (positively). The paths from competitive victimhood to both self-investment and self-definition, and the path from competitive victimhood to forgiveness, were moderated by conflict type. In all cases, the paths were significantly stronger in conflicts defined by direct violence, compared to conflicts characterised by structural violence.

While these findings replicate the results reported by the original test of ROM (Noor et al., 2008a) and related literature (Uluğ et al., 2021), they also reveal that the relationship between competitive victimhood and forgiveness is more complex than originally conceived. Thus, one of the main contributions of this work was to investigate, for the first time, what it is about ingroup identity that suppresses forgiveness. The self-investment dimension of ingroup identity negatively predicted forgiveness. This is

consistent with the line of reasoning that the more group members' ingroup identity was central to the self, felt a close psychological bond with the ingroup, and derived satisfaction from their group membership, the more their ingroup self-investment dimension facilitated the negative association between competitive victimhood and forgiveness (Leach et al., 2008). However, in contrast to the self-investment dimension, the self-definition dimension of ingroup identity positively predicted forgiveness. That is, the more group members perceived themselves as similar to the ingroup prototype and the rest of the ingroup to share this prototype, the more their ingroup self-definition dimension inhibited the negative association between competitive victimhood and forgiveness (Wang et al., 2018). This demonstrates the importance of a multi-dimensional approach to ingroup identity, allowing us to uncover the opposite associations between the different dimensions of ingroup identity and forgiveness, missed by previous empirical studies.

The present research is also the first to highlight the potential that at least certain dimensions of ingroup identity could foster outgroup forgiveness attitudes. One explanation for this finding could be the prototype of the ingroup that members align themselves with when they self-stereotype (Latrofa et al., 2009, 2012; Turner et al., 1987). If this stereotype is of a forgiving group member, one would expect a positive association between self-definition and forgiveness. Indeed, perceiving the ingroup as beholding moral virtues, such as forgiveness, should be a source of self-esteem for ingroup members (Leach et al., 2007; Ward & King, 2021). Further, if group members perceive the whole group to share such virtuous attributes, such perceptions could exert a degree of social influence on ingroup members to conform to these virtuous attributes (Stein et al., 2022). That said, although such theorising presents avenues for further refinement, the positive association

between the more cognitive-based self-definition dimension and forgiveness was ultimately smaller than the negative association between the more affective-based self-investment dimension and forgiveness. These results echo recent findings regarding the differential predictive powers of these two identity dimensions in relations to outcome variables such as collective guilt and collective action (see also Masson & Barth, 2020; Teixeira et al., 2023).

Contributing to further theoretical advancement, our results also demonstrated that the paths linking competitive victimhood to both ingroup identity dimensions, and linking competitive victimhood to forgiveness, were significantly stronger in direct than structural conflicts (Galtung, 1969). Given the rather existential nature of violence in direct conflicts, group members appear more ready to seek solidarity and support from the ingroup through bolstered self-investment (Wohl et al., 2012). Moreover, because violence in direct conflicts is easily visible, compared to more subtle structural violence, it likely draws group members' attention to their shared suffering (Stenstrom et al., 2008), bolstering the similarity amongst the ingroup (Leach et al., 2008). In contrast, because structural violence is embedded in the structure, it becomes the rule rather than the exception. As structural violence is normalised, its threat to the ingroup might appear less imminent, making ingroup suffering more imperceptible—even though research demonstrates structural violence's pervasive and damaging nature (Schlick et al., 2021; Yoon et al., 2019). The stronger negative relationship between competitive victimhood and forgiveness in direct, compared to structural conflict, could also reflect the scale of suffering. Suffering in direct conflicts is often perceived as so severe it often attracts revenge (Okimoto & Wenzel, 2010; Pyszczynski et al., 2006). Such reasoning is also corroborated by research on

interpersonal forgiveness which has demonstrated that forgiveness might become suppressed, in part, because the perceived risk of future exploitation is viewed as high (Burnette et al., 2012).

The results of the moderated mediation revealed that the paths between both ingroup identity dimension and forgiveness did not significantly differ across conflict type, meaning that these relationships are the same across conflict type. But, compared to the full sample, the relationships between both ingroup identity dimensions and forgiveness were weaker when estimated separately in direct and structural conflicts (moderated mediation analysis). This could be because the present research is the first to differentiate the relationship between both ingroup identity dimensions and forgiveness, revealing more modest associations. Meta-analytic findings ($r = -.32$, Van Tongeren et al., 2014) has reported a moderately weak negative association between ingroup identity and forgiveness. However, these findings are based on research that have used homogenous measures of ingroup identity that conflate both ingroup identity dimensions (Brown et al., 1986; Hewstone et al., 2006), creating an unreliable estimate of the true relationship between ingroup identity and forgiveness. Results of the confirmatory factor analysis reported in the present study, and the invariance across conflict context, add further evidence that ingroup identity is in fact multidimensional (Jans et al., 2015; Roth et al., 2019). Therefore, the present research is amongst the first to get closer to the true association between ingroup identity and forgiveness.

Limitations

There are some limitations of the present research we would like to acknowledge. One limitation is our correlational design. Future research should test the refined and

extended ROM through experimental designs. However, the current research has provided the groundwork by validating this advanced model in four real-life conflict settings. We also acknowledge that characterising conflicts as direct vs. structural might not always be accurate. Direct conflicts can contain structural violence and vice versa, a point which Galtung (1969, p. 178) acknowledged. However, Galtung (1969) highlighted that the two forms of violence are ultimately distinct, since structural violence is always indirect—i.e., arising from oppressive structures—whereas the same is not true of direct violence. Further, the closer study of structural conflicts in the present work is welcome since the substantive amount of theorising on forgiveness has so far taken place in direct conflicts. For example, in the only meta-analysis on intergroup forgiveness to be carried out, just 9% of the studies were conducted in structural conflicts (Van Tongeren et al., 2014). Further still, we also extended previous analysis by testing ROM in direct conflicts with non-WEIRD samples (cf. Noor et al., 2008). Relatedly, we acknowledge that competitive victimhood is only one of many ways conflicting groups can engage with their collective suffering (e.g., Cohrs et al., 2015; Schori-Eyal et al., 2014; Vollhardt & Bilali, 2015). This makes it likely that the relationship between ingroup victimhood, ingroup identity, and forgiveness is possibly even more complex than currently accounted for. Future research could explore how the different forms of ingroup collective victimhood might differentially relate to ingroup identity and forgiveness. Further still, future studies could focus on how the region in which the conflict is situated might moderate these relationships (see Vollhardt et al., 2021).

Conclusion

In conclusion, for social psychologists to contribute to the resolution of prolonged intergroup conflicts, the field needs to deepen its understanding of complex questions such as how adversary groups might deal with the thorny issue of past and ongoing grievances that they have inflicted on one another. The present research contributed to this end by further refining the Reconciliation Orientation Model, which focuses on the consequences of intergroup competitive victimhood for other core variables involved in intergroup conflict. We hope that the present findings will pave the way for a more refined analysis of intergroup conflict both via the multi-dimensional approach to ingroup identity, and the moderating role of conflict type in ROM on other related conceptual models.

Chapter 5: The Role of Justice Concerns and Forms of Ingroup

Attachment on Forgiveness: A Three-Wave Longitudinal Study in Post-Apartheid South Africa

Chapter Overview

In this chapter we extend our analysis of the relationship between ingroup identity and forgiveness in three ways. First, we investigate the role of the four different justice concerns (restorative, retributive, distributive, and procedural) in predicting outgroup forgiveness attitudes. Second, acknowledging that beyond positive ingroup attachment forms (i.e., HMI) there exists negative forms of ingroup attachment (e.g., ingroup glorification & collective narcissism), in this study we will examine the unique relationship that both positive and negative forms of ingroup attachment have with forgiveness. Third, we test our theoretical mediation model that investigates the different forms of justice on forgiveness, via the types of ingroup attachment. To do so, we conducted a three-wave longitudinal study in post-Apartheid South Africa.

Exploring the Relationships Between the Different Justice Concerns and Forgiveness

History has shown that one way to try and broker peace between conflicting groups is through peace agreements and democratic mandates (Mac Ginty et al., 2007). To illustrate, the election of anti-Apartheid activist Nelson Mandela as South Africa's first Black President to many symbolised the end of Apartheid (Glad & Blanton, 1997). However well intentioned, such democratic transitions are rarely straightforward and without their problems. They often struggle to bring about their intended peace because the historically victimised ingroup feel a deep sense of injustice long after the transition happens (Lynch & Joyce, 2018). If the historically victimised ingroups justice concerns go

unsatisfied, even after the violent phase of the conflict has subsided, tensions between the groups are allowed to fester (Bouchat et al., 2017). In particular, the victimised group can find it difficult to forgive their historical victimisation and to work towards a more harmonious future (Noor et al., 2008; Uluğ et al., 2020). To contextualise this, even though the democratic election of Nelson Mandela in 1994 ushered in the post-Apartheid era in South Africa, many Black South Africans still feel a deep sense of injustice because of their historical victimisation (Brewer, 2006). For example, many Black South Africans attribute their current socio-economic deprivation (relative to White South Africans) to the Apartheid-era, fuelling a sense of collective victimhood (Adonis, 2018). Thus, leaving the historical conflict between Black and White South Africans open and unresolved and it will remain unresolved so long as there remains a discrepancy between the justice Black South Africans think they deserve and what they have received.

Although social psychological theorising has advanced our understanding of the way the suffering of the ingroup can promote further suffering (see Noor et al., 2012; Vollhardt et al., 2021). We still know very little about how the suffering of the ingroup can lead to different justice concerns for the victimised ingroup. Further, the ingroup's justice concerns have yet to be studied in the context of historical victimisation where attempts have already been made to serve justice and promote peace (Leidner & Li, 2015). Such intergroup contexts provide an opportunity to see the potential disparity between explicit attempts that have been made to promote justice, i.e., the democratic election of the first Black President of South Africa, and what forms of justice the ingroup desires for their historical victimisation (Li & Leidner, 2019). Thus, in the present study we aim to see what form of justice (restorative, retributive, distributive, and procedural) the historically

victimised ingroup desire, once the transition away from direct violence has occurred, and attempts to broker peace have been made (Enslin et al., 2002).

Suffering leads to a sense of injustice for the ingroup because it means justice has been violated in some way (Tripp et al., 2007). This causes an injustice gap which suppresses the ingroup's willingness to forgive the outgroup (van Oyen Witvliet & Luna, 2017). Indeed, victimised (vs. perpetrator) groups more readily interpret the transgressions of the outgroup through an intergroup lens which leads victimised groups to demand justice (Hornsey et al., 2017). Once the ingroup receives the justice they believe they deserve, the injustice gap is reduced, and it promotes forgiveness (Davis et al., 2016). In the context of historical victimisation, forgiveness might be uniquely placed to promote peace between both groups because it can bring a closure to the past whilst focusing both group's attention towards the potential for a prosperous future (Hewstone et al., 2006). Specifically, the way that the ingroup has suffered might influence the form of justice the ingroup desire to have their suffering redressed (Li & Leidner, 2019). Yet, research on the ingroup's concern for justice has prioritised studying certain forms of justice and neglected others (Witvliet et al., 2008). Specifically, while researchers have looked at the role of restorative and retributive justice in promoting (suppressing) forgiveness, researchers have neglected what roles distributive and procedural justice might have in predicting forgiveness (Lind & Tyler, 1988; Lucas et al., 2022). Thus, research to date is yet to systematically study how all the different forms of justice (restorative, retributive, distributive, and procedural) relate to the ingroup's forgiveness attitudes towards the outgroup. In the next section we theorise about how the four different forms of justice concerns (restorative, retributive, distributive, and procedural) might predict Black South Africans' forgiveness attitudes towards White South

Africans, within post-Apartheid South Africa. In this research, participants were sampled through the Prolific research platform. As a result, our sample predominantly reflects socio-economically prosperous Black South Africans. Our sample therefore may not fully capture the experience of socio-economically deprived Black South Africans, particularly those residing in townships (Sekhampu, 2013).

The Different Justice Concerns for Black South Africans

Restorative justice—healing hurt by bringing victims and perpetrators together to share dialogue—should positively predict Black South Africans’ forgiveness (Wenzel & Okimoto, 2014). The South African context is one where restorative justice has been implemented via the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) (see also Bueno et al., 2016; Ingabire et al., 2017). Thus, to the extent that Black South Africans desire restorative justice this would have been satisfied by the TRC and should increase their forgiveness towards White South Africans. This is consistent with empirical findings demonstrating a positive association between restorative justice and forgiveness in the context of the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians and between supporters of the Government and guerrilla groups in Colombia (Leidner et al., 2013; Garzón-Rojas et al., 2022).

Retributive justice—the desire to see the outgroup suffer—should negatively predict Black South Africans’ forgiveness (Wenzel & Okimoto, 2016b). Conceptually, retributive justice is closest to our understanding of revenge in that the ingroup desire to see the outgroup suffer just like the ingroup has suffered, and we know revenge is antithetical to forgiveness (Osgood, 2017). Thus, while desiring to see the outgroup suffer, the ingroup should be unwilling to forgive the outgroup (Wenzel & Okimoto, 2014). Applying this to the South African context, a key motive behind the TRC was to avoid

retributive justice in favour of restorative justice (Allais, 2011). This should leave Black South Africans concerns for retributive justice unsatisfied and therefore should negatively predict their forgiveness of White South Africans. In other words, it is not just that the outgroup has not suffered for what they have done, but they have been explicitly spared enduring any suffering in favour of restorative justice. Or rather, the only suffering they have endured is having to give up some of their power, but White South Africans are still privileged relative to Black South Africans (Wilson, 2011).

Distributive justice—the desire to see fair and equitable distribution of resources—should negatively predict Black South Africans’ forgiveness (Cohen, 1987). Not only are Black South Africans, compared to White South Africans, on average poorer and less prosperous but they experience this in the context of their historical suffering (SAHRC, 2021; Sguazzin, 2021). This should lead to a sense that they deserve more than they are currently getting, and the people that deserve less (White South Africans) are receiving more than they should be getting. In turn, the desire to see more resources distributed towards their group should suppress Black South Africans’ forgiveness towards those that hold the greater goods they believe they deserve.

Procedural justice—the desire to see a fair and equitable decision-making process, irrespective of the outcome of that process—should positively predict Black South Africans’ forgiveness (Thibaut & Walker, 1975). When the process for making decisions is perceived as fair, by giving people a voice and equitable treatment, people are more satisfied by the outcome of the process independent of the specific outcome itself (Wemmers et al., 1995). If Black South Africans believe the decisions made about dealing with Apartheid are fair and equitable towards Black South Africans, they should be more

satisfied with the outcome of this process (Lambert et al., 2020). Thus, Black South Africans should be more accepting of the justice they received and more forgiving towards White South Africans.

In sum, we predict that Black South Africans concerns for restorative and procedural justice will positively predict their forgiveness of White South Africans. And Black South Africans concerns for retributive and distributive justice will negatively predict their forgiveness of White South Africans. To address the second aim of the study, we next theorise about the role of both positive and negative forms of ingroup attachment in predicting forgiveness in post-Apartheid South Africa.

Positive and Negative Ingroup Attachment and Forgiveness

So far in this thesis we have reported strong evidence that it is the self-investment dimension of individuals' ingroup identity—known as a positive form of ingroup attachment (Cichocka, 2016)—that is responsible for suppressing outgroup forgiveness attitudes. We have reported this association cross-sectionally (Study 2a), longitudinally (Study 2b), and across distinct intergroup conflicts (Study 2a—Study 3), thus providing evidence regarding what precisely it is about ingroup identity that suppresses outgroup forgiveness attitudes, beyond strength of identification. Yet, this analysis could be further refined because group members can also negatively attach themselves to their ingroup.

Whereas positive ingroup attachment is based on a positive yet critical appreciation for the ingroup—e.g., the Hierarchical Model of Ingroup Identity (HMII; Leach et al., 2008)—negative ingroup attachment is based on an uncritical adoration for the greatness of the ingroup—i.e., ingroup glorification and collective narcissism (Roccas et al., 2006; de Zavala et al., 2009). Ingroup glorification is founded on the belief in the superiority of the

ingroup and a deep deference for the ingroup's symbols and traditions (Roccas et al., 2006). Collective narcissism is a belief in the unqualified greatness of the ingroup, but it is accompanied with a notion that such greatness is not sufficiently recognised by others (de Zavala et al., 2009).

Appreciating the different forms of ingroup attachment has helped to refine theory by studying how both positive and negative forms of ingroup attachment predict intergroup behaviour (Górska et al., 2022; Guerra et al., 2022; Li et al., 2018). Theoretically, this is based on the following rationale. Both positive (HMII) and negative (ingroup glorification & collective narcissism) forms of ingroup attachment share a belief in the high value of the ingroup (Marchlewska et al., 2020). Yet, they differ in where the belief in the high value of the ingroup comes from. For positive ingroup attachment it is based on a secure, realistic, and critical appreciation for the strengths of the ingroup. For negative ingroup attachment it is based on an uncritical adoration for the greatness of the ingroup (Cichocka & Cislak, 2020). Thus, by accounting for what they share (i.e., a belief in the high value of the ingroup), you are left with only those elements they differ on (i.e., their residual forms, see de Zavala et al., 2020). For positive ingroup attachment this is a belief in the value of the ingroup that is independent of the recognition from others and is realistic about the strengths of the ingroup (Costarelli, 2015). For negative ingroup attachment this is a belief in the unqualified greatness of the ingroup, a greatness that should be recognised by other groups (de Zavala et al., 2020). Emerging research has demonstrated that positive ingroup attachment is positively associated with, and negative ingroup attachment negatively associated with, outgroup tolerance and positive intergroup attitudes (Dyduch-Hazar et al., 2019; Górska et al., 2022). Importantly, the opposite associations that positive and negative

ingroup attachment have with intergroup behaviour are obscured if researchers do not account for what positive and negative ingroup attachment share (i.e., a belief in the high value of the ingroup) (Cichocka, 2016). Thus, the positive association that positive ingroup attachment has with outgroup tolerance is only apparent when you partial out the shared variance it has with negative ingroup attachment (Golec de Zavala et al., 2022). In a similar vein, to further refine our analysis of the ingroup identity and forgiveness relationship, we incorporate both positive and negative forms of ingroup attachment in the present study. Doing so allows us to assess whether, like emerging findings, positive ingroup attachment in its residual form positively predicts outgroup forgiveness attitudes.

In line with previous findings of this thesis, we predict that high levels of self-investment will suppress Black South Africans' forgiveness. Black South African's whose ingroup identity is central to their sense of self, feel connected to fellow ingroup members, and are satisfied with their ingroup identity, will be less likely to forgive White South Africans. But, consistent with reviewed research findings, we expect that, when the shared variance between the self-investment dimension and negative ingroup attachment (ingroup glorification & collective narcissism) is partialled out, self-investment will increase Black South Africans' forgiveness of White South Africans (Dyduch-Hazar et al., 2019; Górska et al., 2022; Golec de Zavala et al., 2020). In other words, Black South Africans who have a realistic appreciation for the strengths of the ingroup and do not need these strengths recognised by others, should positively predict their forgiveness of White South Africans (i.e., residual form of positive attachment de Zavala et al., 2020). As for the self-definition dimension of ingroup identity, we have so far observed a rather irregular pattern of findings, i.e., a negative, positive, and null relationship between self-definition and

forgiveness (Study 2a—Study 3). Therefore, we only tentatively predict that the self-definition dimension will positively predict Black South Africans' forgiveness of White South Africans, based on the following rationale. We observed a positive relationship between self-definition and forgiveness across a more diverse range of intergroup conflicts, conflicts that have similarities with the post-Apartheid context (Study 3). For example, there exists a great deal of structural inequity between Black and White South Africans (Black Americans & UK Women, Study 3). Further, Black South Africans have been historically victimised and have experienced a great deal of direct violence at the hands of the outgroup (Israeli-Palestinian & Kosovar-Serbian, Study 3). Further, we believe that the positive relationship between self-definition and forgiveness will be observed without having to partial out the shared variance between positive and negative ingroup attachment. What positive and negative ingroup attachment share is the emotion-based *feelings* of high value about the ingroup (Cichocka, 2016). But the self-definition dimension of group members (positive) identity is cognitive based and therefore this dimension of group members' identity has less conceptual overlap with negative ingroup attachment (Leach et al., 2008).

There is more than one way that group members can negatively attach themselves to the ingroup. High levels of either ingroup glorification or collective narcissism motivate group members to act with hostility, aggressions, and exacerbate conflict with the outgroup (Dyduch-Hazar & Mrozinski, 2021; Li et al., 2016). Collective narcissists, however, care little about the ingroup or fellow ingroup members and care only for what they can get out of the ingroup (Marchlewska et al., 2020). Ingroup glorifiers, on the other hand, show concern for the goals of the ingroup and fellow ingroup members (Leidner et al., 2010).

These findings represent a conceptual distinction between ingroup glorification and collective narcissism such that they are not equivalent forms of negative ingroup attachment. Collective narcissists care little for the ingroup and are only interested in having the perceived greatness of the ingroup continually recognised by others (Cichocka, 2016). Ingroup glorification do care about the ingroup, and although they have a belief in the superiority of the ingroup, they do not need this superiority continually recognised by others (Roccas et al., 2008). Thus, in the present study we can control for what ingroup glorification and collective narcissism share (i.e., a belief in the superiority of the ingroup), to leave only those elements they differ on (i.e., in their residual form). For ingroup glorification this will be a concern for fellow ingroup members and deep commitment to the traditions and idols of the ingroup (Roccas et al., 2008). For collective narcissism this will be the compulsion to have the greatness of the ingroup continually recognised by outgroups (de Zavala et al., 2009). Both ingroup glorification and collective narcissism should therefore negatively predict forgiveness, but for different reasons. In the case of ingroup glorification, suppressed forgiveness is based on a concern for protecting the ingroup and its members. In the case of collective narcissism, suppressed forgiveness is based on not having the greatness they think they deserve recognised by the outgroup. In terms of the relative strength of these negative relationships, we are aware of only two studies that have tested the relative strength of ingroup glorification and collective narcissism on intergroup behaviour (hostility) (Golec de Zavala et al., 2009; Golec de Zavala et al., 2019). Both studies demonstrated that collective narcissism, compared to ingroup glorification, was a stronger predictor of hostility and this was attributed to the increased anger collective narcissists (vs. ingroup glorifiers) feel when they believe their

inflated image has been damaged (Golec de Zavala et al., 2009). These findings were attributed to the increased anger collective narcissists feel when they don't have their greatness recognised by others, and since ingroup glorifiers don't have the same need to have their greatness recognised, they do not feel the same levels of anger (Golec de Zavala et al., 2019). Based on similar reasoning, we predict that collective narcissism, compared to ingroup glorification, will have a stronger negative relationship with forgiveness.

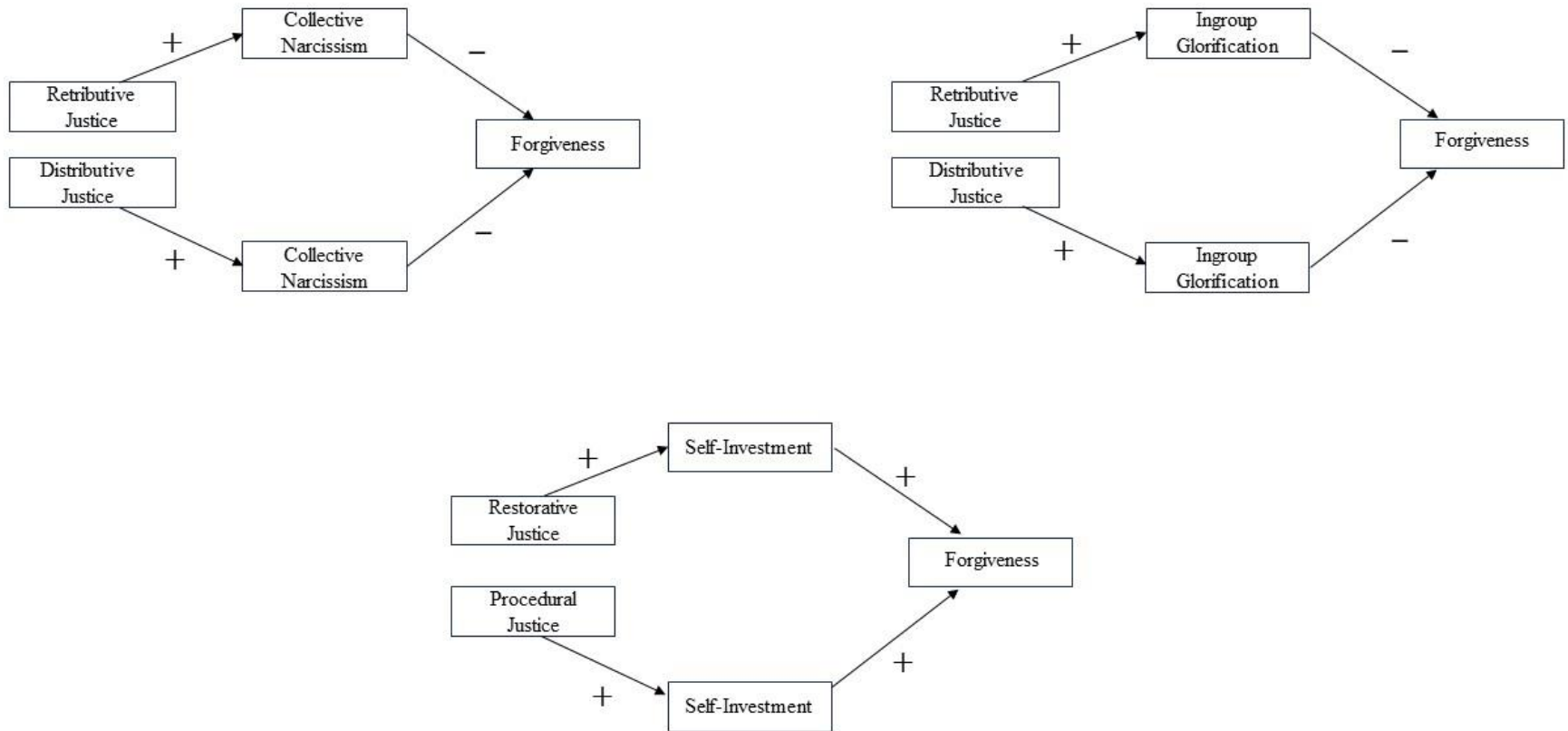
In sum, we predict that the self-investment dimension of ingroup identity will negatively predict, and self-definition dimension of ingroup identity will positively predict, Black South Africans' forgiveness of White South Africans. When the shared variance between positive (HMII) and negative (ingroup glorification & collective narcissism) ingroup attachment is partialled out, the self-investment dimension of Black South Africans' identity will positively predict their forgiveness of White South Africans. For negative ingroup attachment, we predict that both ingroup glorification and collective narcissism will negatively predict Black South Africans' forgiveness of White South Africans, and the relationship between collective narcissism and forgiveness will be stronger. Finally, we believe the negative forms of ingroup attachment will have stronger relationships with forgiveness than positive ingroup attachment. Negative forms of ingroup attachment are constantly looking to have their superiority validated (collective narcissism) and are particularly vigilant to how the ingroup is being treated and represented by the outgroup (ingroup glorification) and this should more sharply (vs. positive ingroup attachment) bring into focus Black South Africans relationship with the outgroup (White South Africans) (Golec de Zavala, 2019).

Indirect Effects of Justice Concerns on Forgiveness via Positive and Negative Ingroup Attachment

Emerging findings have started to disentangle the antecedents of positive (HMII) and negative (specifically collective narcissism, see below) forms of ingroup attachment (see Eker et al., 2023). Recent empirical works suggests that positive ingroup attachment stems from satisfied personal needs, whereas negative forms of ingroup attachment stem from thwarted and unsatisfied personal needs (Cichocka et al., 2018; Golec de Zavala et al., 2020). Based on these findings, we reason that the different (unmet) justice concerns (needs) of a historically victimised group might indeed generate identity-mobilising impact and as such carry crucial predictive powers in relation to the different forms of ingroup attachment (positive & negative). In return, such forms of ingroup attachment can be expected to predict outgroup forgiveness attitudes, as we have reasoned above and shown empirically in Study 3. In sum, in this study we will examine a series of different mediation models as shown in Figure 5, in which we expect to observe that the different justice concerns might have significant indirect effects on outgroup forgiveness attitudes via the positive and negative forms of ingroup attachment. In what follows we discuss the theoretical rationale for each mediation model (see Figure 5) in closer detail.

Figure 5.

Mediation Models of Justice Concerns on Forgiveness via Positive and Negative Ingroup Attachment.



Indirect Effects of Retributive and Distributive Justice on Forgiveness via Collective Narcissism

It is worth emphasising the underlying rationale that explains the relationships between the different justice concerns and the different forms of ingroup attachment, as follows. Two justice concerns (retributive & distributive) imply that the historically victimised ingroup have unmet justice concerns that are open and unresolved, as predicted via their negative association with forgiveness. Whereas two justice concerns (restorative & procedural) imply that the historically victimised ingroup have had their justice concerns satisfied, as predicted via their positive association with forgiveness. Indeed, the presence (or absence) of an injustice gap determines whether the historically victimised ingroup have had their justice concerns satisfied or not (Davis et al., 2016). In turn, the extent to which the ingroup have had their justice concerns met will fuel different forms of ingroup attachment (positive & negative).

To illustrate, Black South Africans who desire justice by seeing the outgroup suffer (retributive justice) or wanting a more equitable distribution of resources towards the ingroup (distributive justice), are going to be less likely to forgive White South Africans. When these justice concerns go unsatisfied, Black South Africans are more likely to increase their attachment to the ingroup via collective narcissism and perceive in the exceptional greatness of the ingroup (see Cichocka et al., 2018). Importantly, increased collective narcissism can be seen as a compensatory response that means Black South Africans can mitigate against their unmet justice concerns with the belief that their group is superior to other groups and deserving of special treatment (Cichocka, 2016; Golec de Zavala et al., 2020). Consequently, increased collective narcissism should decrease Black South Africans' forgiveness of White South Africans (see Figure 5).

Indirect Effects of Retributive and Distributive Justice on Forgiveness via Ingroup Glorification

Recent findings that have started to tease apart the antecedents of positive and negative forms of ingroup attachment have concentrated on collective narcissism and have omitted ingroup glorification from their analysis (see Eker et al., 2023; Cichocka, 2016). However, we think that it is plausible that ingroup glorification could operate as a driving mechanism of the negative relationship between both retributive and distributive justice and forgiveness. Just as increased narcissistic attachment is a compensatory response to Black South Africans unmet justice concerns (retributive & distributive), increased ingroup glorification could offer Black South Africans an alternative compensatory route to mitigate unmet justice concerns (Cichocka et al., 2018). Critically, ingroup glorifiers believe in the exceptional greatness of the ingroup and therefore Black South Africans' increasing their glorification with the ingroup should also compensate for their unmet justice concerns. Consequently, increased ingroup glorification should decrease Black South Africans' forgiveness of White South Africans (see Figure 5).

Indirect Effects of Restorative and Procedural Justice on Forgiveness via Self-Investment

Black South Africans who desire to see justice restored through increased interaction and shared dialogue with the outgroup (restorative) or because they believe decisions about how to deal with Apartheid should be fair and equitable (procedural), are going to be more likely to forgive White South Africans. When both these justice concerns are satisfied, Black South Africans don't need to compensate thwarted needs by attaching to their group via an inflated view of the greatness and superiority of the ingroup. Instead, Black South Africans can form a more realistic and critical, but still

positive, attachment towards the ingroup (Eker et al., 2023). Consequently, increased self-investment should increase Black South Africans' forgiveness of White South Africans (see Figure 5). We predict that self-investment, not self-definition, will have this indirect effect on forgiveness since this emotion-based dimension contains how group members feel about the ingroup and is conceptually closer to the negative forms of ingroup attachment (Golec de Zavala et al., 2009).

The theoretically derived mediation models described (see Figure 5) are predicated on the following two conditions. First, the relationships between justice concerns (restorative, retributive, distributive, and procedural) and forgiveness, and between the forms of ingroup attachment (self-investment, ingroup glorification, and collective narcissism) and forgiveness follow the predicted pattern. Second, each mediation model includes the forms of positive (self-investment) and negative (collective narcissism & ingroup glorification) ingroup attachment with the other forms of attachment partialled out (i.e., in their residual form).

Attributions of Blame. Beyond the psychological role of justice concerns and forms of ingroup attachment on forgiveness, we wanted to account for the historical and contextual dynamics in post-Apartheid South Africa. The ending of Apartheid was the explicit end of the oppression faced by Black South Africans and was the promise of their equal treatment with White South Africans (Freund, 2007). Yet even though Apartheid has ended, Black South Africans are still socio-economically deprived relative to White South Africans, leaving the promise of Apartheid unfulfilled (Pons-Vignon & Anseeuw, 2009). Further, many Black South Africans feel corruption within the African National Congress—the political party in Government in South Africa, founded as liberation movement for Black South Africans against Apartheid—is in part responsible for the deprivation that Black South Africans currently experience

(Lannegren & Ito, 2017). Thus, to whom Black South Africans attribute blame for the inequity they experience could be consequential for their forgiveness attitudes towards White South Africans, and we see three possibilities. First, if Black South Africans attribute blame for their inequity to the African National Congress Government, it could make White South Africans less culpable of wrongdoing and increase Black South Africans' forgiveness. Second, if Black South Africans attribute blame for their inequity to the Apartheid Government it could make White South Africans more culpable of wrongdoing and decrease Black South Africans' forgiveness. Third, if Black South Africans attribute blame for their inequity to the Apartheid Government it could make White South Africans less culpable, i.e., it is previous generations that are culpable, and increase Black South Africans' forgiveness. Thus, we aim to explore the way that attributions of blame (Apartheid Government vs. African National Congress Government) might increase (suppress) Black South Africans forgiveness.

Overview

To summarise, we extend our refined analysis of the ingroup identity and forgiveness relationship by systematically investigating the relationship that the different justice concerns and types of ingroup attachment have with forgiveness. We predict that restorative and procedural justice will positively predict forgiveness, whereas retributive and distributive justice will negatively predict forgiveness. We predict that once the shared variance between the positive and negative forms of ingroup attachment is partialled out, the self-investment and self-definition identity dimensions will positively predict forgiveness, whereas ingroup glorification and collective narcissism will negatively predict forgiveness. Combining justice concerns and types of ingroup attachment, we theoretically derived a series of mediation models. First, the negative relationship between retributive and distributive justice and

forgiveness will be mediated by collective narcissism. Second, the negative relationship between retributive and distributive justice and forgiveness will be mediated by ingroup glorification. Third, the positive relationship between restorative and procedural justice and forgiveness will be mediated by the self-investment dimension. We conducted a three-wave longitudinal study amongst Black South Africans in post-Apartheid South Africa. The end of Apartheid was meant to symbolise the end of Black South Africans' oppression and the beginning of a new and equal relationship with White South Africans. Yet, Black South Africans still face pervasive levels of ill treatment, compared to White South Africans, and both groups are attempting to come to terms with legacy of suffering incurred because of Apartheid.

Method

Sample and Procedure

Study 4 was conducted across three-time points (T1-T3) between March and May 2023, with intervals ranging between 34 and 40 days. Interval sizes were based on recent research which has reported significant longitudinal effects of ingroup identity on intergroup attitudes (Dunstone et al., 2023; Thomas et al., 2017). Participants were recruited through Prolific and paid an hourly rate of £6.40 for completing each survey. All participants were a minimum of 18 years of age, identified as a Black South African, and were South African residents. All data collection adhered to the British Psychological Society's Code of Human Research Ethics (Oates et al., 2021). T1 was launched on March 2nd 2023 and data collection was completed on the same day ($N = 491$; 63.81% female; $M_{\text{age}} = 27.47$, $SD = 5.87$). T2 was launched on April 6th and data collection was completed on 12th April 2023 ($N = 451$; 63% female; $M_{\text{age}} = 27.49$, $SD = 5.84$). T3 was launched on May 12th and data collection was completed on 16th May 2023 ($N = 413$; 62.13% female; $M_{\text{age}} = 28.14$, $SD = 11.49$). Attrition between T1-T2

was 4.2%, between T2-T3 was 4.4%, and total attrition was 11.6%. A logistic regression showed that T1 levels of justice (restorative, retributive, distributive, and procedural), HMII, ingroup glorification, collective narcissism, forgiveness, gender, and age failed to predict attrition rates (see Appendix P for full results). Research obtained ethics approval from the institutional research ethics committee (see Appendix A) and strictly followed the British Psychological Society's Code of Human Research Ethics (Oates et al., 2021).

Power Analysis

The obtainable sample size was limited by available research funds to recruit participants. We carried out sensitivity power analysis to determine the minimum between-person effect size we would be able to detect with 80% power ($\alpha = 5\%$ and $T3 n = 413$). Results revealed we would be able to detect a between-person effect of $|r| = .14$, smaller than previous research on positive ingroup attachment ($|r| = -.32$, Van Tongeren et al., 2014), ingroup glorification ($|r| = -.31$, Uluğ et al., 2020), and collective narcissism ($|r| = -.43$, Golec de Zavala et al., 2009). Thus, we concluded that our analysis was sufficiently powered.

Measures

Responses to all scales were recorded on a scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). All measures, including those not reported here, are available in Appendix Q.

Restorative Justice

Restorative justice was measured with four items (adapted from Leidner et al., 2013). These items were: "To restore justice, White South Africans need to offer a sincere apology for having acted wrongly against Black South Africans", "To restore justice, White South Africans need to tell the truth about the harms they did to Black

South Africans”, “To restore justice, White South Africans need to show compassion towards Black South Africans”, and “To restore justice, White South Africans must accept most of the moral responsibility for the violent aspects of South Africa’s history”. Restorative justice showed good composite reliability across all time-point (ω s .88 - .91). For all measures used in the study we examined the invariance of the scales across time-points by inspecting the fit of a series of confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) models that impose increasing restrictive parameter constraints across time. The first CFA model constrains the factor structure to be the same across time (configural invariance); then the factor loadings are constrained to be equal across time (metric invariance); finally, the item intercepts are constrained to be equal across time (scalar invariance). As per recommended guidelines, we conclude that longitudinal invariance holds if the CFA testing scalar invariance fits the data well (Chen et al., 2005). As can be seen for restorative justice, the scalar invariance model fit the data well: $\chi^2(53) = 109.110, p < .05$; CFI = .98; RMSEA = .06, CI 90% [.04, .07] (see Appendix S for full invariance results across all measures).

Retributive Justice

Retributive justice was measured with three items (adapted from Leidner et al., 2013). These items were: “The only way to restore justice is to punish White South Africans”, “For the sake of justice, White South Africans have to suffer”, and “Justice is served at the moment that White South Africans are punished”. Retributive justice showed good composite reliability across all time-points (ω s .91 - .95) and the scalar invariance model fit the data well: $\chi^2(25) = 65.771, p < .05$; CFI = .99; RMSEA = .06, CI 90% [.05, .08].

Distributive Justice

Distributive justice was measured with three items (adapted from Wenzel, 2000). These items were: “To restore justice, Black South Africans should have land redistributed to them from White South Africans”, “To restore justice, Black South Africans, compared to White South Africans, should be favoured when applying for jobs”, and “To restore justice, Black South Africans should receive financial compensation from White South Africans”. Distributive justice showed good composite reliability across all time-points (ω s .76 - .80) and the scalar invariance model fit the data well: $\chi^2(25) = 51.340, p < .05$; CFI = .99; RMSEA = .05, CI 90% [.03, .07].

Procedural Justice

Procedural justice was measure with three items (adapted from Tyler & Jackson, 2014). These items were: “To restore justice, people who make decisions on what is right and wrong must give Black South Africans the chance to tell their side of the story”, “To restore justice, people who make decisions on what is right and wrong must always make decisions based upon the law and not their personal biases or opinions”, and “To restore justice, people who make decisions on what is right and wrong must make decisions that respect Black South Africans”. Procedural justice showed good composite reliability across all time-points (ω s .70 - .79) and the scalar invariance model fit the data well: $\chi^2(25) = 18.352, p < .05$; CFI = 1.00; RMSEA = .01, CI 90% [.01, .02].

Ingroup Identity

Ingroup identity was measured in the same way as Study 2a—Study 3. The self-investment dimension of participants’ ingroup identity was measured by assessing participants’ responses to the following three subscales: centrality was measured with three items (e.g., “Being a Black South African is an important part of my identity”),

solidarity was measured with three items (e.g., “I feel committed to Black South Africans”), and satisfaction was measured with four items (e.g., “It is pleasant to be a Black South African”). The self-definition dimension of participants’ ingroup identity was measured by assessing participants’ responses to the following three subscales: individual self-stereotyping was measured with two items (e.g., “I am similar to the average Black South African”) and ingroup homogeneity was measured with two items (e.g., “Black South Africans are very similar to each other”). Both self-investment (ω s .88 - .91) and self-definition (ω s .88 - .90) showed good composite reliability across all time-points and the scalar invariance model fit the data well: $\chi^2(799) = 1894.391, p < .05$; CFI = .95; RMSEA = .06, CI 90% [.06, .06].

Ingroup Glorification

As recommended by Roccas et al. (2006), we measured ingroup glorification with their eight-item scale. An example of three items from this scale are: “It is disloyal for Black South Africans to criticize other Black South Africans”, “Relative to other groups, Black South Africans are a very moral group”, and “Black South Africans are better than all other groups in all respects”. The ingroup glorification scale showed good composite reliability across all time-points (ω s .89 - .91) and the scalar invariance model fit the data well: $\chi^2(255) = 567.154, p < .05$; CFI = .94; RMSEA = .06, CI 90% [.05, .06].

Collective Narcissism

As recommended by Golec de Zavala et al. (2009), we measured collective narcissism with their nine-item scale. An example of three items from this scale are: “The true worth of Black South Africans is often misunderstood”, “I insist on Black South Africans getting the respect that is due to them”, and “It really makes me angry when others criticize Black South Africans”. The collective narcissism scale showed

good composite reliability across all time-points (ω s .89 - .91) and the scalar invariance model fit the data well: $\chi^2(328) = 976.125, p < .05$; CFI = .91; RMSEA = .07, CI 90% [.07, .08].

Intergroup Forgiveness

Forgiveness was measured in the same way as Study 2a—Study 3 (i.e., McLernon et al., 2004). Thus, we assessed participants' responses to the following three subscales: affective forgiveness was measured with four items (e.g., "I feel kindness towards White South Africans"), cognitive forgiveness was measured with three items (e.g., "I wish well to White South Africans"), and behavioural forgiveness was measured with three items (e.g., "I am on good terms with White South Africans"). Forgiveness (ω s .90) and all its subscales (ω s .85 - .96) showed good composite reliability across all time-points and the scalar invariance model fit the data well: $\chi^2(401) = 848.988, p < .05$; CFI = .97; RMSEA = .05, CI 90% [.05, .06].

Blame

To measure blame we asked participants who is more to blame for the injustices and inequalities faced by Black South Africans: the African National Congress Government or the Apartheid Government? We recorded participants' responses on a seven-point scale to create a blame variable, higher score indicated that participants attributed more blame to the Apartheid Government.

Analytic Strategy

As per our study aims, we estimated a series of multilevel models (MLM) to systematically investigate the role of justice concerns and forms of ingroup attachment in predicting forgiveness. Thus, we estimated nine MLMs regressing forgiveness on the justice concerns and the types of ingroup attachment. To systematically investigate the role that justice concerns have in predicting forgiveness, we computed each

participant's mean for each justice concern across all time-points, adding each as a predictor of forgiveness (Table 7, Model 1, between-person effects). Next, we computed each participant's deviation from their mean score for each justice concern at each time-point, adding each as a predictor of forgiveness (Table 7, Model 2, within-person effects). Then, we added participant's within-person lagged effect, i.e., whether justice concerns measured at a previous time-point predicted participant's forgiveness as a subsequent time-point (Table 7, Model 3, lagged within-person effect). Finally, we added the interaction terms between blame and the within-person effect of each justice concern as predictors of forgiveness (Table 7; Model 4). To investigate the role of types of ingroup attachment in predicting forgiveness we first added participant's mean score (between-person effect) and deviation from their mean score (within-person effect) for the self-investment and self-definition identity dimensions and added them as predictors of forgiveness (Table 8; Model 1). Next, we added the lagged within-person effect for self-investment and self-definition dimensions as predictors of forgiveness (Table 8, Model 2). Then, we added the between-person and within-person effects (Table 8, Model 3) and the lagged within-person effects (Table 8, Model 4) for ingroup glorification and collective narcissism as predictors of forgiveness. Finally, we added the interaction terms between blame and the within-person effects of positive (HMII) and negative (ingroup glorification & collective narcissism) forms of ingroup attachment (Table 8, Model 5).

The between-person and within-person variables were grand-mean and person-mean centred, reducing multicollinearity amongst the predictors (Hox & McNeish, 2020). All analyses were carried out in R (R Studio Team, 2020), longitudinal invariance models estimated using lavaan (Rosseel, 2012), MLM estimated using lme4 and lmerTest (Bates et al., 2015; Kuznetsova et al., 2017), and mediations using

mediation (Tingley et al., 2014). For materials, data, and analysis scripts see:

https://osf.io/xbesv/?view_only=23170e2b8b1d42e89b9fb07754ec5a9c.

Results

To assess whether there were between-person differences in forgiveness across participants, we first estimated a null model only allowing intercepts to vary across participants. The null model produced an intraclass correlation coefficient (ICC) of 0.76, meaning that a large portion of variance (76%) in forgiveness could be attributed to between-person differences across participants. The ICC supports the MLM approach taken, and we next turn to the MLMs to attempt to explain this variance.

I: Justice Concerns and Forgiveness Relationship

Between-person effects

Retributive justice. Across all models (Model 1—Model 4; Table 7) the between person effect of retributive justice was significant and negative (Model 1: $\beta = -.35$, $p < .001$). Black South Africans who desired to see White South Africans punished, on average across all three time-points, were less likely to forgive White South Africans.

Distributive justice. Across all models (Model 1—Model 4) the between-person effect of distributive justice was significant and negative (Model 1: $\beta = -.19$, $p < .001$). Black South Africans who desired to see more goods and resources distributed towards Black South Africans, on average across all three time-points, were less likely to forgive White South Africans.

Procedural justice. Across all models (Model 1—Model 4) the between person effect of procedural justice was significant and positive (Model 1: $\beta = .21$, $p < .001$). Black South Africans who desired to see justice administered in a fair and equitable way, on average across all three time-points, were more likely to forgive White South Africans.

Restorative justice. Finally, Black South Africans who desired to see themselves and White South Africans come together in a form of restorative justice did not significantly relate to Black South Africans forgiveness (Model 1: $\beta = -.05, p = .321$).

Within-person effects

Retributive justice. The within-person effect of retributive justice on forgiveness was significant and negative (Model 2: $\beta = -.05, p = .001$). If Black South Africans endorsed more retributive justice at one time-point, they also expressed less forgiveness at that time-point, compared to their average. Although significant, the within-person effect of retributive justice was not significant in models with lagged terms.⁷

Procedural justice. The within-person effect of procedural justice was significant and positive (Model 2: $\beta = .03, p = .048$). If Black South Africans endorsed more procedural justice at one time-point, they also expressed more forgiveness at that time-point, compared to their average.

Non-sig. justice concerns. The within-person effects of restorative (Model 2: $\beta = -.02, p = .293$) and distributive (Model 2: $\beta = -.02, p = .172$) justice did not significantly relate to Black South Africans' forgiveness of White South Africans.

Cross-lagged effects

Restorative justice. The cross-lagged effect of restorative justice was significant and positive (Model 3: $\beta = .05, p = .024$). The more restorative justice Black South Africans endorsed at an earlier time-point, the more forgiveness they endorsed at a subsequent time-point.

⁷ The within-person effects and lagged effects are estimated from a substantial amount of the same within-person variance, we confirmed this because when all the lagged effects for justice were removed from the model, the within-person effects of retributive and procedural justice were significant.

Non-sig. justice concerns. The cross-lagged effect of retributive (Model 3: $\beta = <.01, p = .919$), distributive (Model 3: $\beta = -.04, p = .058$), and procedural (Model 3: $\beta = <-.01, p = .770$) justice did not significantly relate to Black South Africans' forgiveness of White South Africans.

Blame between-person effect and moderations. Whether Black South Africans attributed more blame to the Apartheid Government (vs. African National Congress Government) for the inequity they face did not significantly predict their forgiveness towards White South Africans (Model 4: $\beta = .08, p = .073$). Finally, the relationship between the within-person effect of all justice concerns (Model 4: restorative $\beta = -.02, p = .293$; retributive $\beta = .02, p = .232$; distributive $\beta = <-.01, p = .903$; procedural $\beta = <-.01, p = .743$) and forgiveness did significantly vary as a function of who Black South Africans blamed (Apartheid Government vs. African National Congress Government) for the inequity they face.

In sum, supporting our predictions, the between-person effects of retributive and distributive justice were negative, and the between-person effect of procedural justice was positive. Contrary our prediction, restorative justice did not significantly predict Black South Africans' forgiveness. At the within-person level, the effect of retributive justice was negative whilst the within-person effect of procedural justice was positive. Finally, the cross-lagged effect of restorative justice was positive.

Table 7.*Multilevel Models of Justice Concerns Predicting Forgiveness with Standardised Regression Coefficients.*

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
	β	95% CI	β	95% CI	β	95% CI	β	95% CI
Fixed Effects								
Between-Person								
Restorative	-.05	[-.07, .07]	-.05	[-.15, .05]	-.05	[-.15, .05]	-.09	[-.20, .02]
Retributive	-.35***	[-.43, -.27]	-.35***	[-.43, -.27]	-.35***	[-.43, -.27]	-.35***	[-.44, -.26]
Distributive	-.19***	[-.29, -.10]	-.19***	[-.29, -.10]	-.19***	[-.29, -.10]	-.18***	[-.29, -.08]
Procedural	.21***	[.12, .30]	.21***	[.12, .30]	.21***	[.12, .30]	.21***	[.11, .32]
Blame							.08	[.00, .15]
Within-Person								
Restorative			-.02	[-.04, .01]	-.01	[-.06, .04]	-.01	[-.06, .04]
Retributive			-.05**	[-.07, -.02]	-.02	[-.06, .02]	-.02	[-.06, .02]
Distributive			-.02	[-.05, .01]	<-.01	[-.05, .04]	<-.01	[-.06, .04]
Procedural			.03*	[.00, .06]	.04	[-.01, .08]	.03	[-.01, .08]

Restorative Lagged	.05*	[.01, .10]	.06*	[.01, .10]
Retributive Lagged	<.01	[-.04, .04]	<.01	[-.04, .04]
Distributive Lagged	-.04	[-.09, .00]	-.04	[-.09, .00]
Procedural Lagged	<-.01	[-.05, .04]	<-.01	[-.05, .04]

Interactions

Restorative × Blame			-.02	[-.06, .02]
Retributive × Blame			.02	[-.02, .06]
Distributive × Blame			<-.01	[-.04, .04]
Procedural × Blame			<-.01	[-.04, .03]

Random Effects

Intercept Variance	1.00	1.00	1.07	1.07
Residual Variance	.44	.43	.39	.39
ICC	.69	.70	.73	.73

Model Fit

Log-Like	-1839.41	-1839.80	-1224.88	-1233.02
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Marginal R^2 / Conditional .23/.76 .24/ .77 .23/.80 .24/.80

R^2

* $p = .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; Log-Like = Logarithm of the Maximum Likelihood; ICC = intraclass correlation coefficient; Marginal

R^2 = variance explained by fixed effects; Conditional R^2 = variance explained by entire model.

II: Forms of Ingroup Attachment and Forgiveness Relationship

Between-person effects

Self-Investment. Across all models (Model 1—Model 5; Table 8) the between-effect was significant and positive (Model 1: $\beta = .25, p < .001$). Black South Africans whose ingroup identity was central to their sense of self, felt a close bond with other Black South Africans, and were glad to have their ingroup identity, endorsed more forgiveness towards White South Africans, on average across all time-points.

Collective Narcissism. Across all models (Model 3—Model 5) the between-person effect of collective narcissism was significant and negative (Model 3: $\beta = -.20, p < .001$). Black South Africans who believed in the exceptional greatness of their group, a greatness that is not sufficiently recognised by others, endorsed less forgiveness towards White South Africans, on average across all three time-points.

Non-sig ingroup attachment. Neither Black South Africans similarity to the ingroup prototype (Model 1: $\beta = -.01, p = .813$) nor the perceived superiority of Black South Africans (Model 3: $\beta = .13, p = .411$) significantly predicted their forgiveness of White South Africans.

Within-person effects

Non-sig ingroup attachment. The within-person effect of self-investment (Model 2: $\beta = .02, p = .435$), self-definition (Model 2: $\beta = .01, p = .529$), ingroup glorification (Model 3: $\beta = -.04, p = .587$), and collective narcissism (Model 3: $\beta = -.01, p = .587$) did not significantly relate to Black South Africans' forgiveness of White South Africans.

Cross-lagged effects

Non-sig ingroup attachment. The cross-lagged effect of self-investment (Model 2: $\beta = -.01, p = .587$), self-definition (Model 2: $\beta = -.01, p = .587$), ingroup glorification

(Model 4: $\beta = -.01, p = .636$), and collective narcissism (Model 2: $\beta = .02, p = .536$) did not significantly relate to Black South Africans' forgiveness of White South Africans.

Blame moderations. The relationship between the within-person effect of both positive (Model 5: self-investment $\beta = .04, p = .083$; self-definition $\beta = -.02, p = .651$) and negative (Model 5: ingroup glorification $\beta = <-.01, p = .821$; collective narcissism $\beta = <-.01, p = .886$) forms of ingroup attachment and forgiveness did not significantly vary as a function of who Black South Africans blame (Apartheid Government vs. African National Congress Government) for the inequity they face.

In sum, the between-person effect of self-investment was positive, even before the positive overlap with negative ingroup attachment (ingroup glorification & collective narcissism) was partialled out. Supporting our prediction, the between person effect of collective narcissism was negative. Contrary our predictions, the between-person effects of self-definition and ingroup glorification did not significantly predict forgiveness. At the within-person level, none of the positive (HMII) or negative (ingroup glorification & collective narcissism) forms of ingroup attachment significantly predicted forgiveness. Finally, none of the cross-lagged effects for positive (HMII) or negative (ingroup glorification & collective narcissism) forms of ingroup attachment significantly predicted forgiveness.

Table 8.*Multilevel Models of Forms of Ingroup Attachment Predicting Forgiveness with Standardised Regression Coefficients.*

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5	
	β	95% CI	β	95% CI	β	95% CI	β	95% CI	β	95% CI
Fixed Effects										
Between-Person										
Self-Investment	.25***	[.15, .36]	.23***	[.12, .35]	.28***	[.16, .40]	.28***	[.16, .40]	.29***	[.16, .41]
Self-Definition	-.01	[-.13, .09]	<.01	[-.11, .12]	.02	[-.27, .31]	.01	[-.28, .30]	<.01	[-.28, .30]
Ingroup Glorification					.13	[-.17, .43]	.13	[-.17, .43]	.13	[-.17, .44]
Collective Narcissism					-.20***	[-.33, -.07]	-.20***	[-.33, -.07]	-.19***	[-.33, -.06]
Blame									-.02	[-.11, .07]
Within-Person										
Self-Investment	.02	[-.01, .05]	.03	[-.02, .07]	.03	[-.02, .07]	.03	[-.02, .07]	.03	[-.01, .08]
Self-Definition	.02	[-.01, .05]	.02	[-.02, .06]	<.01	[-.08, .10]	.02	[-.08, .12]	.02	[-.08, .12]
Ingroup Glorification					-.04	[-.20, .12]	-.06	[-.22, .11]	-.06	[-.23, .10]
Collective Narcissism					-.01	[-.05, .03]	<-.01	[-.05, .04]	<-.01	[-.05, .04]

Self-Investment Lagged	.02	[-.03, .06]	.02	[-.03, .06]	.01	[-.03, .06]	.02	[-.03, .06]
Self-Definition Lagged	.01	[-.03, .06]	.01	[-.03, .06]	.03	[-.07, .13]	.03	[-.06, .13]
Ingroup Glorification Lagged					-.02	[-.11, .07]	-.02	[-.12, .07]
Collective Narcissism Lagged					.01	[-.03, .06]	.01	[-.03, .06]

Interactions

Self-Investment × Blame							.04	[-.01, .08]
Self-Definition × Blame							-.02	[-.11, .07]
Ingroup Glorification × Blame							<-.01	[-.09, .08]
Collective Narcissism × Blame							<-.01	[-.04, .04]

Random Effects

Intercept Variance	1.34	1.40	1.38	1.38	1.39
Residual Variance	.44	.39	.39	.40	.40
ICC	.75	.78	.78	.78	.78
Model Fit					
Log-Like	-1899.23	-	-1267.84	-1268.75	-1275.01
		1267.39			
Marginal R^2 / Conditional	.06/.77	.06/.79	.07/.79	.07/.79	.07/.80
R^2					

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

III: Indirect Effects of Justice Concerns on Forgiveness via Types of Ingroup Attachment

Based on the pattern of findings reported in the preceding sections, we estimated three separate mediation models testing the indirect effects of the three different justice concerns (retributive, distributive, and procedural) on forgiveness via collective narcissism and self-investment. Collective narcissism did not mediate the negative relationship between retributive (indirect effect: $b = .01$, [-.01, .01]; direct effect: $b = -.44$, [-.52, -.36]) or distributive (indirect effect: $b = .01$, [-.01, .03]; direct effect: $b = -.32$, [-.39, -.24]) justice and forgiveness. However, self-investment did partially mediate the positive relationship between procedural justice and forgiveness (indirect effect: $b = .07$, [.04, .10]; direct effect: $b = .11$, [.01, .21]). Finally, whether Black South Africans attributed more blame to the Apartheid Government, or the African National Congress Government, did not significantly moderate any of the mediations for retributive (indirect effect: $b = .01$, [-.01, .01]; direct effect: $b = -.19$, [-.23, -.14]), distributive (indirect effect: $b = .01$, [-.01, .03]; direct effect: $b = -.32$, [-.39, -.24]), or procedural (indirect effect: $b = .01$, [-.01, .03]; direct effect: $b = -.41$, [-.52, -.36]) forms of justice.

Discussion

The present study examined how the different justice concerns and forms of ingroup attachment predict forgiveness in a three-wave longitudinal study conducted in post-Apartheid South Africa. On the one hand, our findings indicate that Black South Africans retributive and distributive justice concerns negatively relate to their outgroup forgiveness and their procedural justice concerns positively relate to their outgroup forgiveness. On the other hand, Black South Africans restorative justice concerns are unrelated to their outgroup forgiveness. Extending these findings, we found evidence that the negative between-person effect of retributive justice on forgiveness also

occurred within-persons. This means that as participants' level of retributive justice decreased (relative to their average) at a particular time-point, their forgiveness also decreased. The within-person effect of procedural justice was also significant, as participants' level of procedural justice increased (relative to their average) at a particular time-point, their forgiveness also increased. Black South Africans levels of restorative justice at a subsequent time-point positively predicted their forgiveness at a subsequent time-point (lagged within-person effect).

As for the forms of ingroup attachment, we found evidence that the more participants endorsed the self-investment dimension, on average across all three time-points, the more willing they were to forgive White South Africans. The positive association between self-investment and forgiveness was observed before the shared variance between self-investment and negative ingroup attachment (ingroup glorification & collective narcissism) was partialled out. This was evident because self-investment was added as a predictor of forgiveness before the negative forms of ingroup attachment (ingroup glorification & collective narcissism) were introduced into the model. Thus, self-investment had a positive association with forgiveness before partialling out the shared variance with negative ingroup attachment. In contrast, the more that Black South Africans endorsed collective narcissism, on average across all three time-points, the less willing they were to forgive White South Africans. The (positive) relationship between self-investment and forgiveness and the (negative) relationship between collective narcissism and forgiveness failed to replicate at the within-person level. Neither the self-definition identity dimension nor ingroup glorification significantly predicted outgroup forgiveness attitudes. Finally, we observed a significant indirect effect of the procedural justice concern on forgiveness via Black South Africans' self-investment identity dimension.

Theoretical Implications

Our research builds on the justice literature by demonstrating what types of justice the historically victimised ingroup are concerned with in an intergroup context where the violence has subsided, and both groups are trying to come to terms with the legacy of conflict (Taylor et al., 2022). Our research extends previous findings by demonstrating that the ingroup's justice concerns are not only prevalent during the violent phase of intergroup conflict, but they remain prevalent even once the violence has subsided. In particular, our research demonstrates the ingroup's desire to correct the hurt that has been inflicted on them lasts long after the violence has subsided. Our research builds on previous findings by demonstrating that the ingroup's justice concerns extend beyond retributive justice (Li et al., 2018; Wenzel & Okimoto, 2014). Indeed, not only does the desire to see the outgroup suffer suppress forgiveness, but so does the amount of goods and resources that the ingroup has access to (distributive justice). Such findings demonstrate that the ingroups justice concerns extend beyond the suffering of the outgroup to include tangible resources that the ingroup has (or has not) access to. Our findings also demonstrate that the justice concerns of the ingroup are not just about what punitive measures the outgroup deserves (retributive justice) or what resources the ingroup might wish to have access to (distributive justice), but the ingroup also wants to see the decision-making process to be fair and equitable, irrespective of the outcomes it produces. Indeed, the more the ingroup endorsed procedural justice, the more they were willing to forgive their adversarial outgroup.

Our findings demonstrated, for the first time, that the negative between-person effect of retributive justice extended to the within-person level as did the positive between-person effect of procedural justice. Importantly, these findings demonstrated that Black South Africans justice concerns are not invariant across time, but rather they

shift. In the case of restorative justice, Black South Africans prior levels of restorative justice positively predicted how much forgiveness they were willing to endorse. As group members' demands for certain kinds of justice can shift, it means that policymakers can target the ingroup's justice concerns and promote forgiveness. To illustrate, redistributive policies that redress the economic imbalance between Black and White South Africans should meet Black South Africans demand for (distributive) justice. Once the justice concerns of the ingroup are met, it should make ingroup members more willing to endorse forgiveness. In effect, this attests to the positive downstream consequences that addressing the ingroups concerns for justice can have on promoting peaceful intergroup relations.

Contrary to the previous findings of this thesis (Study 2a—Study 3) we found that the more that Black South Africans endorsed the self-investment dimension of their ingroup identity the more willing they were to forgive White South Africans. Further, the positive between-person effect of self-investment was present without partialling out the shared variance between self-investment and negative ingroup attachment (Dyduch-Hazar et al., 2019; Górska et al., 2022). In other words, contrary to previous findings, the negative forms of ingroup attachment were not concealing an otherwise positive relationship between self-investment and forgiveness (Golec ze Zavala et al., 2020).

The positive between-person effect of self-investment might have arisen as a function of how forgiveness is conceived across individualistic (predominantly Western) and collectivist (predominantly Eastern) societies (see Ho & Fung, 2011; Hook et al., 2012; Kurniati et al., 2020). In collectivist cultures, forgiveness is based on the norms of interconnectedness and the need to maintain social harmony which can promote forgiveness independent of the resentment victims might still have towards

their perpetrators (Hook et al., 2012; Kurniati et al., 2017). In individualistic cultures, forgiveness is based on an intraindividual process of the victim overcoming feelings of resentment (Hook et al., 2013; Paz et al., 2008). In a recent study, Cowden et al. (2019) found that a collectivist conception of forgiveness characterised the South African context, as demonstrated by the fit of the Collectivist-Sensitive Trait Forgiveness Scale. Further, studies in South Africa have shown that irrespective of ethnic group (Afrikaans-speaking Whites, Blacks, Indian/Asian) all South Africans show a high degree of South African pride and significance to national symbols (Bornman, 2006; see also Stein et al., 2008). In other words, the desire to maintain harmony and therefore forgive the outgroup, for the sake and pride of South Africa, might trump the feelings of hurt and resentment that group members feel (see also Grossberg et al., 2006). This relationship between one's own group and forgiveness towards the outgroup is consistent with the concept of *Ubuntu*, found particular amongst indigenous South Africans (Thomas, 2008). This is the desire to express compassion, harmony, and humanity in the interest of building an African community (Your pain is My pain; Nussbaum, 2003). Taken together, such findings suggest that Black South Africans who are invested in their identity as a Black South African might want to forgive the outgroup to promote harmony for a prosperous South Africa.

Finally, Black South Africans who believed in the greatness of their group, a greatness not recognised by others, were less likely to forgive White South Africans. Importantly, we observed this relationship whilst partialling out the shared variance between collective narcissism and ingroup glorification. Thus, when it comes to the negative forms of ingroup attachment, what is more consequential for group members' forgiveness is the extent to which the perceived greatness of the ingroup goes unrecognised or is even undermined by the outgroup. On the one hand, this could be

particularly problematic for forgiveness. Research in the interpersonal domain shows that narcissistic individuals are extremely reluctant to overcome their resentment and to forgive (Eaton & Struthers, 2006; Fatfouta et al., 2015). Narcissists' sense of entitlement provokes a deep sense of anger when they feel unfairly treated and it creates an unrealistic expectation of the reparations that they think they deserve (Exline et al., 2004). Translating this to the intergroup domain, collective narcissists should expect a great deal of reparations from the outgroup, something that the outgroup are reluctant to give. When reparations are not forthcoming, it will perpetuate or even exacerbate ingroup conflict. On the other hand, the negative relationship between collective narcissism and forgiveness could be beneficial for forgiveness. Emerging findings demonstrate that collective narcissists do not care about the ingroup or ingroup members (Cichocka et al., 2022; see also Biddlestone et al., 2022). Therefore, the ill treatment of fellow ingroup members is going to be less consequential for collective narcissists decision to forgive. This could stop the spread of intergroup conflict to the extent that collective narcissists are not going to retaliate, or suppress their forgiveness, on behalf of fellow ingroup members.

Limitations

There are some limitations we would like to acknowledge. First, we are aware that the ethnic category of Black South African can be further decomposed into other ethnic categories (Zulu, Xhosa, Bapedi), hence the pattern of relationships reported in this study might well differ as a function of the ethnic category. Although it was beyond the scope of the present research to examine the contributions of the different ethnic categories, future research could take a granular approach to the Black South African category. Second, our Prolific sample is not nationally representative since it does not contain Black South Africans lower in socio-economic status, who predominantly live

in townships (Sekhampu, 2013). It could be that the present findings diverge depending on the socio-economic status of Black South Africans and future research could look to tease apart these differences. However, using Prolific in the present research was advantageous because it meant we could get a geographically diverse sample (i.e., across all nine provinces) of non-students that enabled us to benefit from the methodological advantages of employing a three-wave longitudinal design. Third, our correlational design means we are unable to make causal claims. We partially addressed this limitation by conducting a longitudinal design, allowing us to carry out our analysis both between-person and within-person. Future research could experimentally manipulate the forms of justice and types of ingroup attachment to test their causal effect on forgiveness.

Conclusion

To prosper from periods of relative peace, we must understand the way that historically victimised groups can overcome their past to prosper in the present, that way violence cannot repeat itself. The present research provides a systematic analysis of the ingroup's desire for justice following their historical victimisation. We found that the ingroup's desire for retributive and distributive justice suppressed their desire to forgive the outgroup, but their desire for procedural justice increased their forgiveness of the outgroup. Further, greater endorsement of collective narcissism was associated with less willingness to forgive, but greater endorsement of the self-investment dimension of ingroup identity was associated with greater willingness to forgive.

Chapter 6: Examining the Causal Effect of Structural Violence on Forgiveness: The Moderating Role of the Self-Investment and Self-Definition Dimensions of Women's Ingroup Identity

Chapter Overview

In this chapter we extend our analysis of the relationship between ingroup identity and forgiveness. First, we test the causal role of structural violence on women's outgroup forgiveness attitudes towards those who perpetrate structural violence against their group. Second, we test the extent to which the self-investment and self-definition dimensions of women's ingroup identity accentuate or attenuate the relationship between structural violence and forgiveness.

Structural Violence and Forgiveness Relationship

Most forgiveness research has been carried out in the context of directly violent conflicts (Klar & Schori Eyal, 2015; Van Tongeren et al., 2014). Or rather, within contexts that used to be directly violent and are now places where once conflicting groups are trying to come to terms with the legacy of violence (Mullet et al., 2021). Forgiveness research has thus far had less to say about how group members forgive structural violence. Structural violence occurs when group members are subject to pervasive levels of discrimination, have unequal access to power and resources, and are living within a social system where they are oppressed (Galtung, 1969; Schwebel, 1997). Indeed, we know that the experience of structural violence can fuel a sense a collective victimhood for the ingroup (Selvanathan et al., 2023). Further, we know that

structural violence experienced by group members has many of the same ill effects as direct violence, such as reducing collective well-being, increasing personal distress, anger, and resentment (Killoren et al., 2020; Liu & Zhao, 2016; Muruthi et al., 2023). Given that structural violence has many negative consequences and can lead to a sense of collective victimhood, its neglect by forgiveness research is surprising.

On the one hand, one may expect asymmetrical attention in forgiveness research in favour of direct violence. Direct violence causes the most proximate risk to human life and suffering (Noor et al., 2017; see also Lopes et al., 2015). Therefore, understanding how group members' forgiveness can thwart such risk and suffering is going to bring about the biggest net gain. On the other hand, there may be some unique challenges presented by structural violence that makes it underrepresentation in forgiveness research startling. First, we know that when disadvantaged groups forgive an oppressive and advantaged outgroup it reduces the ingroup's desire to engage in collective action (Greenaway et al., 2011). Thus, when group members forgive structural violence, it can perpetuate the unequal relationship between the ingroup and outgroup and therefore potentially disadvantage the forgiving ingroup. Second, an insidious aspect of structural violence is that although the ingroup suffer, there need not always be a direct actor responsible for this suffering because the suffering they experience is embedded within the structure they live (Rylko-Bauer & Farmer, 2016). Thus, although structural violence increases suffering, it might be difficult for the ingroup to direct blame and therefore to forgive, leaving the ingroup trapped in a state of victimhood (Friedman et al., 2007). Third, unlike direct violence, contexts of structural violence are characterised by a high amount of contact between the ingroup and outgroup (Stathi et al., 2017). Indeed, a prerequisite of contexts of structural violence is that to a certain extent the victimised ingroup must get along with their

victimisers if they are to prosper in that environment. To illustrate, a woman who wants a promotion at work might feel obliged to get along with her sexist and derogatory boss to secure the promotion and her own prosperity.

In sum, this research suggests there is a rather nuanced relationship between structural violence and forgiveness. Yet, forgiveness research is yet to systematically tease apart the nuances presented by the context of structural violence. As a first step in this process, in this study we present the first causal test of the relationship between structural violence and forgiveness. In other words, whether structural violence experienced by the ingroup causes less forgiveness towards the perpetrators of structural violence.

The Relationship Between Structural Violence and Women's Forgiveness

Women, compared to men, like other devalued groups (see Frost, 2011 for review) face pervasive levels of discrimination, harassment, and ill-treatment because of their ingroup identity as a women (Schlick et al., 2021; Yoon et al., 2019). For example, women are more likely to face daily experiences of discrimination (Livingston et al., 2017), are more likely to face sexual harassment (Daniel et al., 2019; Kelly et al., 2022), and gender violence (Dawson et al., 2021). Further, women are not afforded the same opportunities as men because they are oppressed within the social structures that we all operate within. To illustrate, women are less likely than men to be hired for a job (Deros & Pepermans, 2019) and will be paid less than men when they eventually get the job (Zhang et al., 2023). Taken together, the experience of structural violence fuels deep grievances and hurt for women (Mari et al., 2020). In fact, the hurt of structural violence runs so deep that it predicts poorer physical and mental health for women (Logie et al., 2018; Rogers et al., 2022).

Further, we have reasons to believe that women who face structural violence will be less likely to forgive outgroup perpetrators. First, the results of our refined ROM (Study 3) demonstrated that the self-investment dimension of women's ingroup identity suppressed their forgiveness towards the perpetrators of structural violence. Second, research demonstrates that structural violence experienced by women is often viewed as intentional and therefore increases women's anger (Basford et al., 2014; Borders & Wiley, 2020). Meta-analytic findings have demonstrated that anger is one of the strongest negative predictors of forgiveness (see Fehr et al., 2010). Third, research with other marginalised and oppressed groups has demonstrated a negative relationship between experiences of structural violence and forgiveness towards the perpetrators of structural violence. To illustrate, Polynesian Americans who reported greater levels of discrimination reported less forgiveness towards the perpetrators of discrimination (Tanner et al., 2022). Similarly, African Americans who reported more instances of discrimination and traumatic events experienced because of their ingroup identity were less likely to forgive outgroup perpetrators (Balkin et al., 2021; see also Hammond et al., 2006). Since the structural violence experienced by women is like other marginalised groups, we expect the negative association between structural violence and forgiveness documented amongst marginalised ethnic groups to extend to women (Rosette et al., 2018). Further, the small amount of research that has thus far examined the negative relationship between structural violence and forgiveness have all used correlational designs (Brooks et al., 2021; Powell et al., 2017). In other words, such correlational designs are susceptible to the criticism that the observed negative relationship between structural violence and forgiveness is being caused by an omitted third variable (Pirlott & MacKinnon, 2016). Thus, we utilise an experimental design in the present study so we can make inferences about the causal impact of structural

violence on forgiveness. In other words, we can provide evidence whether structural violence causes group members' forgiveness. Taken together, this reviewed research suggests that the structural violence experienced by women will suppress their forgiveness towards the perpetrators of structural violence (Rosette et al., 2018; Tammer et al., 2022). Thus, we predict that structural violence will cause women to endorse significantly less forgiveness towards the perpetrators of structural violence.

In sum, the present study makes two contributions. First, we extend the analysis of forgiveness by studying how the structural violence experienced by women effects their decision to forgive. Second, we extend the analysis of structural violence by considering the causal (vs. correlational) role of structural violence on women's decision to forgive. Further, we extend this analysis by considering the accentuating and attenuating impact of women's own ingroup identity dimension on their decision to forgive structural violence (Leach et al., 2008).

Moderating Role of Women's Ingroup Identity Dimensions

A fundamental dimension of the structural violence that women suffer is that they incur this suffering because of their ingroup identity (Branscombe et al., 1999). Specifically, women experience structural violence because their identity is devalued in society relative to those who hold a different ingroup identity, e.g., men (Crocker & Major, 1989; Leach et al., 2010). Thus, women experience suffering because of their ingroup identity. We therefore think it is likely that how women respond to their suffering in the form of forgiveness will be moderated by the way women identify with their ingroup via the self-investment and self-definition dimensions of their identity (Leach et al., 2008). We predict that high levels of self-investment will accentuate the negative relationship between structural violence and forgiveness. Whereas high levels

of self-definition will attenuate the negative relationship between structural violence and forgiveness.

Accentuating Role of Self-Investment. Women high in self-investment feel their identity as a woman as central to their sense of self, feel a strong bond with other women, and are satisfied with their ingroup identity (Leach et al., 2008). Research demonstrates that when a devalued identity is central to the self, group members are more aware of transgressions committed against the ingroup and devalued group members will more readily work together to achieve social change (Hinton et al., 2022; Uysal et al., 2022). Thus, high levels of self-investment should make women less prepared to forgive those who are committing the transgressions against their group and hinder their progress towards social change.

Attenuating Role of Self-Definition. Women high in self-definition feel they are like the ingroup prototype and believe that all women are like this prototype (Leach et al., 2008). There are reasons to believe that the prototypical women could be perceived as a forgiving person. First, research demonstrates that people expect women (vs. men) to be more forgiving when women are transgressed against (Miller et al., 2008; Yao & Chao, 2019). Thus, given that such societal expectations exist, this could directly inform the prototype women believe to be representative of the ingroup (van Veelen et al., 2016). Second, research demonstrates that, on average, women tend to be more forgiving than men (Ghaemmaghami et al., 2011; Marigoudar & Kamble, 2014; Miller et al., 2008). Again, this could directly inform the prototype women believe to be representative of the ingroup. Thus, to the extent that women align themselves with the ingroup prototype of a forgiving ingroup member, this should attenuate the negative relationship between structural violence and forgiveness.

Overview

To summarise, we test the causal effect of structural violence on women's decision to forgive those who perpetrate structural violence. We predict that women who experience structural violence (vs. those who do not) will endorse significantly less forgiveness. Further, whereas the self-investment dimension of women's identity will accentuate the negative relationship between structural violence and forgiveness; the self-definition dimension of women's identity will attenuate the relationship between structural violence and forgiveness.

Method

Power Analysis

A priori power analysis revealed that assuming experimental condition has a small effect on forgiveness ($f = .15$), as is common in social psychological research, that for power = 90% ($\alpha = 5\%$) we would need a sample size of $N = 234$ ($n = 117$ per condition). For the moderation effect, we ran 1000 Monte Carlo simulations to determine the sample size we would need to detect a small moderation effect ($f = .15$) of women's ingroup identity dimensions on experimental condition and results revealed a sample size of $N = 250$ would have 93.20% power.

Participants

The inclusion criteria for the present study were that participants identified as a woman and were 18 years of age or older. We recruited a total of $N = 367$ ($M_{\text{age}} = 21.57$, $SD = 6.34$) participants who took part in the study. From this sample 58 participants were removed, 53 (91.4%) because they did not complete all the measures and five (8.6%) because they did not identify as a woman. The final sample, used in all analyses, was $N = 309$ ($M_{\text{age}} = 21.40$, $SD = 6.17$; female = 100%).

Most of the sample ($n = 245$, 79%, $M_{\text{age}} = 20.03$, $SD = 3.83$) were Keele University students who participated in exchange for course credit, and the remaining sample ($n = 64$, 21%, $M_{\text{age}} = 26.62$, $SD = 9.71$) were recruited through social media sites (i.e., Twitter and Facebook) and participated on a voluntarily basis. All data collection adhered to the British Psychological Society's Code of Human Research Ethics (Oates et al., 2021). Re-estimating the power analysis based on the final sample size ($N = 309$) revealed that we had power to detect a main effect of $f = .13$ (i.e., smaller than previous research see Kirchhoff & Čehajić-Clancy, 2014) and that the interaction was powered at 95.50%. Thus, we conclude that the present study was sufficiently powered.

Design and Procedure

The experiment had a between-subjects design that manipulated structural violence on two levels (gender discrimination [recall vs. control]). All participants completed the study online through the research platform Qualtrics.

Participants first completed the measure of ingroup identity (Leach et al., 2008) and a feminism scale (treated as a control variable). These scales were presented amongst several filler items (OCEAN personality inventory; O'Keefe et al., 2012) to disguise the true aims of the study. Participants were then randomly assigned to one of the two conditions. In the recall condition, using a remembered-offense paradigm (see Mosley & Branscombe, 2021; Schumann & Walton, 2022; Wenzel et al., 2023 for similar procedure), participants were asked to: "Please think of a situation which has happened to you where a man, or group of men, have discriminated against you because you are a woman, making you feel upset and hurt". Based on previous research that have asked women to report instances of gender discrimination (see Amodeo et al., 2020; Brinkman & Rickard, 2009), the experimental condition listed examples of

discrimination faced by women: “For example, they might have called you a degrading or sexist name, made comments that women possess lower levels of ability to men, or treated you with less respect because you are a woman”. To ensure participants’ thought in detail about the event, making the event as psychologically salient as possible (see Zechmeister & Romero, 2002), participants were asked to answer the following two questions: “Please use the space below to describe the incident. Please give as much detail as possible. To help you describe the event in detail, try answering the following questions: What exactly happened? How did it make you feel”. In case participants in the recall condition were unable to recall an experience of discrimination ($n = 11$), all participants in the recall condition were presented with four vignettes. Each vignette described a woman being discriminated against, and participants rated how offended they would be if it happened to them.

In the control condition participants were asked to: “tell us how you experienced the activities during your first week at university”. Participants were asked to answer the following two questions: “try answering the following questions: What exactly happened? How did it make you feel?”. After completing their randomly assigned condition, participants completed the measure of intergroup forgiveness. Research obtained ethics approval from the institutional research ethics committee (see Appendix A) and strictly followed the British Psychological Society’s Code of Human Research Ethics (Oates et al., 2021).

Measures

All measures, unless otherwise stated, were measured on a scale from 1 (*Strongly Disagree*) to 5 (*Strongly Agree*). All participants completed the ingroup identity, feminism, and intergroup forgiveness measures. Participants that were

randomly assigned to the recall condition also rated their levels of offense to the four vignettes. All measures are available in Appendix S

Ingroup Identity

As recommended by Leach et al. (2008), we measured ingroup identity via the two higher-order dimensions of identity.

Self-Investment. This higher-order dimension showed a good degree of composite reliability ($\omega = .77$), as did each of its lower-order components: centrality ($\omega = .75$), solidarity ($\omega = .79$), and satisfaction ($\omega = .77$). The lower-order component of centrality was measured with three items (e.g., “Being a woman is an important part of how I see myself”), as was solidarity (e.g., “I feel committed to women”), and satisfaction was measured with four items (e.g., “Being a woman gives me a good feeling”).

Self-Definition. This higher-order dimension also showed a good degree of composite reliability ($\omega = .88$), as did its lower-order components of individual self-stereotyping ($\omega = .87$) and ingroup homogeneity ($\omega = .79$). Both individual self-stereotyping (e.g., “I have a lot in common with the average woman”) and ingroup homogeneity (e.g., “Women have a lot in common with each other”) were measured with two items. Results of a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) testing the Leach et al. (2008) model of identity fitted the data well: $\chi^2(71) = 186.10, p < .05$; CFI = .94; RMSEA = .07, CI 90% [.06, .09].

Feminism

Three items measured participants’ levels of feminism (adapted from Levonian Morgan, 1996). These were: “A woman should have the same job opportunities as a man”, “Men should respect women more than they currently do” and “Although women

can be good leaders, men make better leaders”. The scale displayed poor reliability ($\omega = .28$).⁸

Vignettes

In the recall condition, participants were presented with four hypothetical vignettes, each describing a woman being discriminated against. The types of discrimination described were: receiving unequal pay, receiving unwelcomed comments, having less of a voice compared to a man, and being expected to carry out the housework. Participants were asked to imagine the vignette happening to them, and to rate how offended they would be (1 = *Not at all offended*, 5 = *Extremely Offended*). The scale displayed a reasonable level of reliability ($\omega = .54$).

Intergroup Forgiveness

Forgiveness was measured using an adapted version of the Enright Forgiveness Inventory (i.e., McLernon et al., 2004), we assessed participants’ responses to the following three subscales: affective forgiveness was measured with four items (e.g., “I feel friendly towards [sexist men]”), cognitive forgiveness was measured with four items (“I think favourably of [sexist men]”), and behavioural forgiveness was measured with four items (e.g., “I would help [sexist men]”). Forgiveness ($\omega = .98$) and all its subscales (ω s = .89 - .71) showed good composite reliability. A CFA testing the adapted version of the Enright Forgiveness Inventory fitted the data well: $\chi^2(32) = 122.145$, $p < .05$, CFI = .95, RMSEA = .10, CI 90% [0.08 – 0.12].

All analyses were carried out in R (R Studio, 2020) using the *lm.beta* (Behrendt, 2014), *stats* (R Core Team, 2020), *lavaan* (Rosseel, 2012), and *InteractionPowerR*

⁸ The correlations among the items were checked to see if the reverse coded item was reducing the reliability of the scale, i.e., introducing bias because it is reverse coded (see Weijters et al., 2013). However, the correlation among all the items was reasonably low (r s < .22, p s < .05). Sensitivity analysis revealed that treating feminism as a control variable did not affect the results of the study.

packages. Following open-research practices, all materials, code, and data from the present study can be found at:

https://osf.io/we7yp/?view_only=23170e2b8b1d42e89b9fb07754ec5a9c.

Results

Tests of Association: Discrimination Recalled & Relation to the Perpetrator

Participants' open-ended responses to the recall discrimination condition were coded to record the different types of discrimination and their frequencies. Being driven by the data, an inductive approach was carried out whereby all participants' responses were read and classified based upon the themes that emerged from the data, rather than relying on a priori categorisation scheme (for similar procedure see Ditlmann & Kopf-Beck, 2019). In following this inductive approach, we were able to maximise the complexities of the data (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). The most common type of discrimination experienced was being told one's skills and competencies were less adequate (47.30%), followed by being excluded or being the subject of degrading comments (39.90%), and finally being physically confronted in some way (5.41%).

Following the same inductive approach, the relation to the perpetrator(s) of the discrimination were also coded. Participants most frequently reported having no direct relationship with the perpetrator (56.10%), followed by working with them (22.30%), followed by them being a family member (8.11%), and finally them being a friend or romantic partner (6.08%).

A test of association revealed that type of discrimination and the relation to the perpetrator were significantly associated with each other: $\chi^2(N = 140) = 162, p < .001$. Follow up cell comparison revealed that if participants reported being told their skills and competencies were less than adequate, they were significantly more likely to report not knowing the perpetrator $\chi^2(N = 54) = 21, p < .001$, compared to them being a family

member, friend, or romantic partner. If participants reported being excluded or subject to degrading comments, they were more likely to report not knowing the perpetrator $\chi^2(N = 46) = 14, p < .001$ or working with them $\chi^2(N = 18) = 41, p < .001$, compared to them being a family member, friend, or romantic partner. To account for the multiple cell comparisons, the nominal alpha level ($p = .05$) was reduced to account for the number of cell comparisons ($p = .0083$) (De & Baron, 2012).

Descriptive Statistics and Correlations

Table 9 displays the means, standard deviations, and correlations between all measured variables. Neither the self-investment dimension nor the self-definition dimension of women's ingroup identity significantly correlated with their forgiveness. The self-investment dimension did positively correlate with participants' levels of offense towards the vignettes, but self-definition did not. A one-sample t-test revealed that participants in the experimental condition who reported their offense to the four vignettes, reported levels ($M = 4.10, SD = 0.57$) that were significantly higher than the midpoint of the scale ($M = 2.50$), $t(152) = 35, p < .001, d = 2.81$.

Table 9.

Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1.	2.	3.	4.
1. Self-Investment	4.00	0.60	-	.36*	-.04	.08
2. Self-Definition	3.10	0.88		-	.05	-.05
3. Forgiveness	1.65	0.64			-	-.21*
4. Feminism	4.63	0.48				-

* $p = .05$.

Confirmatory Analysis I: Main Effects and Moderation Effects

We ran two linear regression models to test our predictions (see Table 10 for full model results). In Model 1, the dummy coded (0 = control, 1 = gender discrimination) main effect of gender discrimination was added as a predictor of forgiveness, controlling for participants' levels of feminism (Model 1). Next, we added the moderation terms between the self-investment and self-definition identity dimensions and gender discrimination condition as predictors of forgiveness (Model 2). Following recommended guidelines, to both aid the interpretation of any moderations and reduce collinearity amongst the predictors all moderations were mean centred (see Irwin & McClelland, 2001; Little et al., 2006). Variance inflation factor statistics revealed that multicollinearity amongst the predictors (across both models) was low, not exceeding 2.62, and therefore would not have affected the precision of estimates (Marcoulides & Raykov, 2019).

Effect of Structural Violence on Forgiveness. Contrary to our prediction, the effect of gender discrimination condition on women's levels of forgiveness was not significant (Model 1: $\beta = -.07$, $p = .264$).

Accentuating Effect of Self-Investment Dimension. The self-investment dimension of women's ingroup identity did significantly moderate the relationship between gender discrimination condition and forgiveness (Model 2: $\beta = .21$, $p = .015$). Contrary to our prediction, participants' higher in self-investment reported more forgiveness in the recall (vs. control) condition. Following recommended guidelines, we carried out simple slope analysis by estimating participants' levels of forgiveness across recall and control condition at level $-1/+1 SD$, and the mean of self-investment (Preacher et al., 2006). Results revealed that participants' who were lower in self-

investment reported significantly less forgiveness in the experimental condition ($-1 SD$ $b = -.27, [-.47, -.07]$; mean $b = -.08, [-.22, .05]$, $+1 SD b = .10, [-.10, .31]$). The simple slopes are plotted in Figure 6 and as can be seen the significant interaction represent a crossover interaction because the linear relationship between self-investment and forgiveness changes sign across condition (as depicted by the intersection lines(lines (see Aiken et al., 1991; Kromrey & Foster-Johnson, 1998).

Attenuating Effect of Self-Definition Dimension. Contrary our prediction, women's self-definition identity dimension did not attenuate the relationship between recall condition and forgiveness (Model 2: $\beta = .09, p = .326$). Finally, sensitivity analysis revealed that removing participants who failed to recall a time they had been discriminated against ($n = 11$) and removing the feminism scale from the analysis did not change the results.

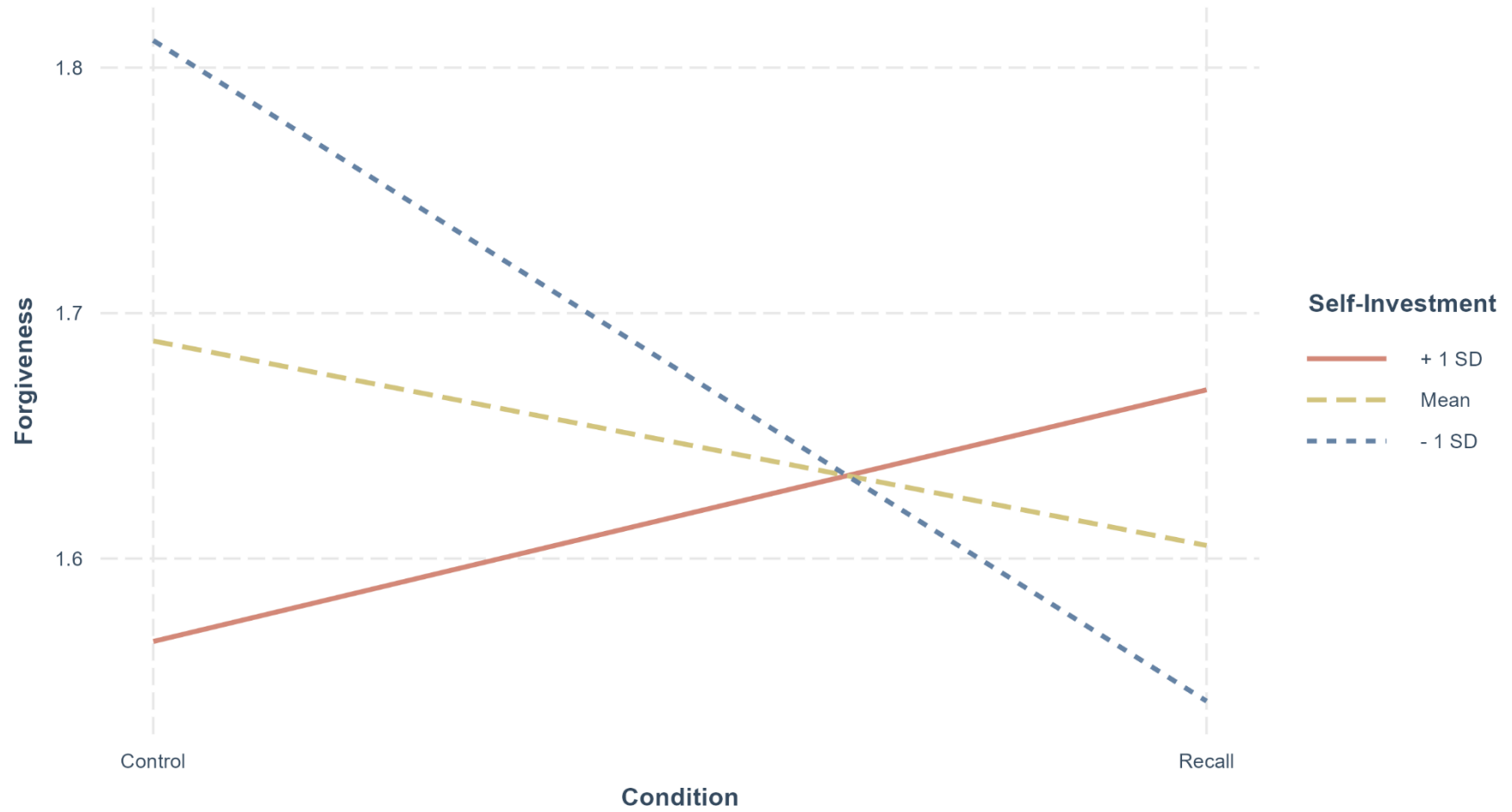
Table 10.*Linear Models Predicting Forgiveness.*

	Model 1		Model 2	
<i>Predictors</i>	β	95% CI	β	95% CI
Gender Discrimination	-.07	[-.22, .06]	-.06	[-.22, .06]
Condition				
Feminism	-.23***	[-.44, -.15]	-.23***	[-.45, -.15]
Self-Investment			-.19*	[-.38, -.03]
Self-Definition			-.01	[-.13, .12]
Self-Investment \times Gender Discrimination			.21*	[.06, .56]
Condition				
Self-Definition \times Gender Discrimination			.09	[-.09, .26]
Condition				
Discrimination Condition				
Model Statistics				
Multiple R^2	.05		.08	
Adjusted R^2	.04		.06	
ΔR^2			.03	
<i>F-Value</i>	7.98		4.62	
F_{Change}			3.36	

* $p = .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; Gender Discrimination Condition coding, 0 = control, 1 = recall.

Figure 6.

Simple Slopes Analysis.



Exploratory Analysis I: Lower-Order Components of Women's Ingroup Identity

Given that the results were contrary our predictions, to further investigate these findings, we carried out exploratory analysis at the level of participants' lower-order components of identity (i.e., centrality, solidarity, satisfaction, individual self-stereotyping, and ingroup homogeneity; Leach et al., 2008). Specifically, testing whether any of the lower-order components of ingroup identity moderate the relationship between gender discrimination condition and forgiveness.

Lower-Order Components of Self-Investment. Regarding self-investment's lower-order components, neither centrality ($\beta < .01, p = .993$), solidarity ($\beta = .06, p = .481$), nor satisfaction ($\beta = .17, p = .056$) moderated the relationship between recall condition and forgiveness.

Lower-Order Components of Self-Definition. Regarding self-definition's lower-order components, neither individual self-stereotyping ($\beta = -.06, p = .567$) nor ingroup homogeneity ($\beta = .17, p = .104$) moderated the relationship between recall condition and forgiveness. In sum, the results of the lower-order components do not change the results of the higher-order dimensions in that none of the lower-order components were significant moderators.

Discussion

Building on the structural violence and forgiveness literature, we examined the relationship between structural violence experienced by women and their forgiveness towards the perpetrators of structural violence (Balkin et al., 2021; Tanner et al., 2022). Further refining the structural violence literature, we went beyond previous correlational designs and tested the causal relationship between structural violence and forgiveness (Brooks et al., 2021; Powell et al., 2017). Contrary to our prediction, we did not find a significant effect of structural violence on women's forgiveness. Further

contrary our prediction, the self-definition dimension of women's ingroup identity did not attenuate the relationship between structural violence and forgiveness. However, the self-investment dimension did significantly moderate the relationship between structural violence and forgiveness such that women high in self-investment endorsed significantly more forgiveness in the structural violence (vs. control) condition.

These findings failed to extend previous findings that have reported a negative association between structural violence and forgiveness reported amongst ethnic groups such as Black and Multiracial Americans (Balkin et al., 2021; Enright et al., 2021; Sheehan et al., 2019). Rather, structural violence experienced by women did not affect their forgiveness towards the perpetrators of structural violence. However, women whose ingroup identity was central to their sense of self, felt a bond with fellow ingroup members, and were satisfied with their ingroup identity (*self-investment*), expressed significantly more forgiveness in the structural violence condition (vs. control). Probing this interaction more closely we revealed that participants' who endorsed less of the self-investment dimension of their identity as a woman, endorsed significantly less forgiveness in the structural violence condition (vs. control). This finding is contrary our prediction that high levels of self-investment would accentuate the negative relationship between structural violence and forgiveness. Further, the significant moderation reported for the self-investment dimension is also contrary to emerging findings that have revealed the self-investment dimension predicts greater willingness to act on behalf of the group such as adhering to ingroup norms and collective action (Barth et al., 2021; Steffens et al., 2021; Willis et al., 2020).

One explanation for the finding that women high in self-investment endorsed significantly more forgiveness in the structural violence (vs. control) condition could come from research on the rejection-identification model (Branscombe et al., 1999).

The model states that group members who face discrimination can buffer against the negative effects of discrimination via increased identification with their ingroup identity and thus preserve their collective well-being (Giamo et al., 2012; Ramos et al., 2012). Indeed, research amongst such disadvantaged groups as ethnic minorities and women has reported a positive association between discrimination and collective well-being mediated via strength of ingroup identification (Ball et al., 2023; Bourguignon et al., 2006; Foster et al., 2004; Schmitt et al., 2002). In other words, disadvantaged group members ingroup identity acts as a buffer against the negative effects of discrimination because it gives group members a means to affirm their value and need to belong via their ingroup identity (Branscombe et al., 1999). A similar conceptual process could have occurred in the present study. In the structural violence condition—when group members are reminded of the discrimination their group faces—group members high in self-investment can buffer against the negative effects of discrimination and thus endorse more forgiveness towards the outgroup. Importantly, we know that collective well-being positively correlates with forgiveness (Bono et al., 2008; McNulty & Fincham, 2012). Thus, given that discrimination positively correlates with collective well-being (i.e., Branscombe et al., 1999), it is feasible that it also positively correlates with forgiveness since the former positively correlates with the latter. Further, in the control condition group members were not reminded of the discrimination the ingroup faces. In such a circumstance, there is no need for group members' self-investment dimension to act as a buffer because there is nothing to buffer against.

Limitations

There are some limitations of the present research we would like to acknowledge. First, we did not add a temporal dimension to our experimental manipulation by specifying a specific time frame in which the discrimination that

participants reported happened. It is feasible that participants only reported events that happened in the distant past and therefore they had already forgiven, research shows that as distance from a hurtful event increases so too does forgiveness (Wohl & McGrath, 2007). Second, although the remembered-offense paradigm is frequently used in forgiveness research, because it is high in ecological validity as we draw on participants' own experiences, it is feasible that participants only reported offences they had already forgiven (Wenzel et al., 2023). Offences that participants have experienced and have not forgiven might still be too hurtful to recall. Third, we could have specified in the manipulation participants relationship with the perpetrator. Or rather, we could have manipulated participants relationship to the perpetrator as another between-subjects factor. It is possible that the manipulation was confounded with participants relationship with the perpetrator such that as closeness to the perpetrator increased so too does participants forgiveness (Tsang et al., 2006). Although we coded for participants relationship closeness with the perpetrator, we were unable to split the data on this basis and carry out sensitivity analysis because we did not have enough power in the split data set. Even then, the second most frequently reported relationship with the perpetrator was working with the perpetrator, which is ambiguous. We can have a very close relationship with our work colleagues, and we can have a very distant relationship with our work colleagues. Fourth, we measured participants' self-investment and self-definition ingroup identity dimensions before the experimental manipulation, potentially confounding the structural violence manipulation by making participants ingroup identity dimensions salient. A more stringent test of the proposed moderations could be measuring participants' ingroup identity dimensions at the end of the study, therefore ensuring their ingroup identity is not confounding the structural violence manipulation.

Conclusion

The systematic study of forgiveness in the context of structural violence has lagged behind the study of forgiveness in the context of direct violence. Yet, we know that the experience of structural violence can fuel a sense of collective victimhood, and this presents unique challenge to our understanding of forgiveness in the context of structural violence where groups coexistence sustains unequal relationships. The present study did not replicate previous findings that have reported a negative relationship between structural violence and forgiveness. However, we did reveal that women who endorsed more self-investment expressed more forgiveness when reporting the structural violence (vs. control) they experience.

Chapter 7: General Discussion

Chapter Overview

This chapter brings the theoretical and empirical work of this thesis together through a general discussion. To do so, first the research objective and research questions of the thesis are reviewed. Second, there is a terse summary of each study (Study 1—Study 5) of the thesis and the key findings from each study. Third, the theoretical contributions from the key findings of the thesis are discussed. Fourth, the methodological implications of the theoretical contribution are discussed. Fifth, the policy implications of the thesis findings are discussed. Sixth, the conceptual, theoretical, methodological, and statistical limitations of the thesis are discussed. Finally, the chapter (and the thesis) is closed by discussing the key avenues of future research for forgiveness moving forward.

Throughout this thesis I have adopted the first-person plural pronoun of we as this is the recommended writing style for peer-reviewed academic psychology journals, what the previous chapter were modelled on. However, for this final general discussion chapter, as I reflect and critically engage with the whole thesis, I am adopting the first-person singular pronoun I as the first-person singular is more congruent with the reflective task of this general discussion chapter.

Research Objectives and Research Questions

Intergroup conflicts cause immense destruction, loss of life, and human suffering (Halevy et al., 2015b). Once group members feel they have been victimised it can motivate a desire to take revenge and inflict suffering on others (Bar-Tal, 2011; Gausel et al., 2018). What makes this process particularly destructive is that often the victim and perpetrator do not know each other on a personal basis and have never met

before. But the perpetrator does know that the victim belongs to a group they have a fundamental disagreement with. In turn, this means that the victim knows they have suffered because of the group they belong to (Dinnick & Noor, 2019). This is pernicious because it means that intergroup conflict quickly spreads (Bar-Tal, 2013). The destructive process of intergroup conflict can cause never ending cycles of conflict that are difficult to disrupt once they have ignited and can fuel a deep sense of victimhood for the ingroup which exacerbates the conflict (Noor et al., 2017). To illustrate, groups often compete over who is the biggest victim in the conflict (i.e., competitive victimhood) which can motivate group members to act with hostility towards the outgroup and can help perpetuate the conflict across the generations (Noor et al., 2012; Štambuk et al., 2020).

Over the past two decades scholars have begun to pay closer attention to forgiveness to disrupt the pernicious cycle of intergroup conflict (Hewstone et al., 2004; McLernon et al., 2002). Forgiveness might be uniquely placed to deal with conflict because it can enable group members to deal with the past by acknowledging what has occurred and shift their focus to the potential for a harmonious future (Hanke et al., 2013).

Since the empirical investigation of forgiveness between conflicting groups began, strength of ingroup identity has emerged as one of the strongest negative antecedents of forgiveness (i.e., Van Tongeren et al., 2014). This negative relationship has been replicated across numerous distinct intergroup conflicts (Noor et al., 2008; Uluğ et al., 2022; Voci et al., 2015). Such findings demonstrate the focal role that group members' identity has in intergroup conflict. Yet, this research has all been based on a unidimensional conceptualisation of ingroup identity that is operationalised via strength

of identification (Hewstone et al., 2004). Such research has tried to offer a parsimonious explanation of why ingroup identity suppresses forgiveness by appealing to strength of identification (Van Tongeren et al., 2014). That is to say, the more we identify with our ingroups the less likely we are to forgive those who transgress against our groups. Yet, this explanation does not address what it is about ingroup identity that is responsible for suppressing outgroup forgiveness attitudes. To dig deeper into why ingroup identity is such a persistent negative antecedent of forgiveness we need to appreciate the multidimensional nature of group members' identity (Leach et al., 2008). Utilising the multidimensional nature of ingroup identity can help us to understand more precisely why ingroup identity suppresses forgiveness and can hopefully help us to disrupt conflict, stop the spread of suffering, and to promote peace.

Since ingroup identity was introduced to explain intergroup behaviour (Tajfel, 1978)—subsequently becoming the social identity approach—ingroup identity has always been conceptualised as multidimensional. However, it has most consistently been operationalised as unidimensional (i.e., Bouman et al., 2020; Steffens et al., 2021). Our most theoretically refined and empirically robust model of ingroup identity is the Hierarchical Model of Ingroup Identity (HMII) which specifies that ingroup identity is made up of the two higher-order dimensions of self-investment (lower-order component: centrality, solidarity, and satisfaction) and self-definition (lower-order components: individual self-stereotyping and ingroup homogeneity) (Leach et al., 2008). Thus, one theoretical contribution of this thesis is to utilise HMII to determine what it is about ingroup identity that suppresses forgiveness.

Adding further nuance to our understanding of the ingroup identity and forgiveness relationship, each intergroup conflict is unique (Vollhardt et al., 2021). The

precise magnitude and type of suffering that the ingroup incurs in the conflict varies as a function of the intergroup conflict itself (Noor et al., 2017). To illustrate, one way that research has characterised intergroup conflict is those that contain direct violence and those that contain structural violence (Galtung, 1969). Direct violence involves being physically injured or even killed. Structural violence involves the discrimination and oppression groups experience, living in a social milieu where they are devalued (Galtung & Höivik, 1971). Yet, even within the distinction between direct and structural conflicts there may be scope to further refine our understanding by seeing how differences emerge in the ingroup identity and forgiveness relationship across conflict context. In other words, as we build a more refined understanding of what exacerbates and suppresses intergroup conflict, this should progress in tandem with a more nuanced analysis of how the conflict in which such relations are situated might shape these relations.

In sum the central research objective of this thesis is to build a more refined understanding of the ingroup identity and forgiveness relationship by: (i) utilising our most up-to-date model of ingroup identity to understand the dimensions of ingroup identity that are responsible for suppressing (or even promoting) forgiveness (Leach et al., 2008); (ii) considering more closely the role that different types of conflict have in accentuating or attenuating the ingroup identity and forgiveness relationship; (iii) investigating the role of different justice concerns (restorative, retributive, distributive, and procedural) and type of ingroup attachment (positive attachment and negative attachment) play in predicting forgiveness.

Summary of Empirical Chapters and Key Findings

To address the research objectives of the thesis, I conducted six quantitative studies employing different study designs (systematic review and meta-analysis, cross-sectional, longitudinal, and experimental). As per the research aims, the research was situated in six different intergroup conflict contexts including direct (Israel-Palestine & Kosovar-Serbian) and structural (Black Americans & UK women) conflicts (Galtung, 1969). And conflicts where the historical victimisation has primarily been incurred by one group (Black South Africans), and finally a violent political conflict that was most fractious as this research was being designed and implemented (Brexit). To promote open and transparent research practices all materials, code, and data available:

https://osf.io/we7yp/?view_only=23170e2b8b1d42e89b9fb07754ec5a9c, and the three-wave longitudinal study conducted in the Brexit conflict context (Study 2b) was preregistered: https://osf.io/98abe/?view_only=b423ea9ecebd4043b05f6105c74c785c.

Study 1

The first aim of Study 1 was to carry out a systematic review of the ingroup identity measures that have been used to empirically examine the ingroup identity and forgiveness relationship. This could reveal whether the unidimensional nature of prior research has relied on only one of the dimensions of group members' identity (self-investment or self-definition) to examine the ingroup identity and forgiveness relationship. Or rather, whether the unidimensional nature of prior research contains items that relate to both the self-investment and self-definition dimensions of group members' identity. Thus, this assessed the prevalence of each ingroup identity dimension in the previous literature that has measured strength of identification. If both the self-investment and self-definition identity dimensions are prevalent in previous

research, it attests the importance of a multidimensional approach to understand which dimension is (more) responsible for suppressing outgroup forgiveness. Thus, the systematic review was conducted on the items that have been used to measure ingroup identity. To gather the empirical literature, the meta-analysis on forgiveness contained studies that had been conducted up to 2014 ($k = 20$, Van Tongeren et al., 2014). For all studies carried out post-2014, a keyword search on EBSCO databased was carried out ($k = 39$). A second aim of Study 1 was to carry out a meta-analysis on all the empirical studies that have been conducted since the publication of the previous meta-analysis on forgiveness ($k = 32$) (i.e., Van Tongeren et al., 2014). The meta-analysis was carried out to quantify the average relationship between ingroup identity and forgiveness since it has been approximately ten years since the previous meta-analysis was published. Indeed, more effect sizes went into the current meta-analysis ($k = 32$) than the previous meta-analysis ($k = 20$, Van Tongeren et al., 2014).

Results of the systematic review revealed that of the 288 items that have been used to measure the ingroup identity and forgiveness relationship, 219 (76%) items belonged to the self-investment dimension and 69 (24%) items belonged to the self-definition dimension. Thus, previous research measuring strength of identification contain items relating to both dimensions of group members' identity, and the majority come from the self-investment (vs. self-definition) dimension. Results of the meta-analysis revealed the average effect of ingroup identity strength of forgiveness to be: $r = -.11$, $t(31) = -2.61$, $p = .013$.

Study 2a

The aim of Study 2a was twofold: (i) to assess and replicate the dimensionality of the Hierarchical Model of Ingroup Identity (HMII; Leach et al., 2008) and the

tripartite model of intergroup forgiveness (as proposed by McLernon et al., 2004); (ii) and to investigate the role of the lower-order components (centrality, solidarity, satisfaction, individual self-stereotyping, and ingroup homogeneity) and higher-order dimensions (self-investment and self-definition) of HMII in predicting forgiveness. To do so, a large cross-sectional survey was conducted. The cross-sectional survey was carried out against the backdrop of the intergroup conflict sparked by the UK's exit (Brexit) from the EU which plummeted the UK into two polarised camps, Remainers vs. Leavers.

Results replicated the dimensionality of HMII and based upon the assessment of the dimensionality of ingroup forgiveness, a higher-order forgiveness dimension was specified. Further, the self-investment dimension of ingroup identity was the most robust negative predictor of forgiveness in the Brexit context. And the negative relationship between self-investment and forgiveness was not reducible to any of the lower-order components (centrality, solidarity, and satisfaction) of this dimension. Neither the higher-order self-definition dimension nor its lower-order components (individual self-stereotyping and ingroup homogeneity) significantly predicted forgiveness in the Brexit context.

Study 2b

The three-wave longitudinal Study 2b aimed to replicate and extend Study 2a via the three-wave longitudinal design, also in the Brexit context. Thus, replicating Study 2a, there was *between-person effects*, i.e., whether participants who report higher average endorsement (across all three-waves) of both ingroup identity dimensions also report lower average levels of forgiveness. Extending Study 2a there was *within-person effects*, i.e., whether deviations from each participant's between-person effect, at a

particular time-point, predicted deviation from participant's average level of forgiveness at that time-point. Lastly, there was *lagged within-person effect*, i.e., whether participant's level of each ingroup identity dimension measured at an earlier wave predicts their forgiveness at a subsequent wave. To examine the impact of the psychological salience different key events associated with Brexit might have, each wave of the longitudinal study was designed to coincide with a time of heightened conflict. The Study 2b analysis was preregistered:

https://osf.io/98abe/?view_only=b423ea9ecebd4043b05f6105c74c785c

Replicating Study 2a, results revealed a significant negative between-person effect of self-investment on forgiveness—the more participants endorsed the self-investment dimension, on average across all three time-points, the less forgiveness they expressed. Further, this negative between-person effect of self-investment extended to the within-person level. When participant's level of self-investment increased (relative to their between-person effect), at a particular time-point, their forgiveness decreased relative to their average. Differing from Study 2b, results revealed a significant albeit small negative between-person effect of self-definition on forgiveness—the more participants endorsed the self-definition dimension, on average across all time-points, the less forgiveness they expressed. There was also marginal evidence that this relationship held up at within-persons level. However, the effects of self-definition were substantially weaker than self-investment since they were only significant when there were few other predictors in the models. Thus, the evidence shows that self-investment (vs. self-definition) is a much stronger (negative) predictor of forgiveness. Also replicating Study 2a, our exploratory analysis demonstrated that the self-investment dimension was a stronger negative predictor of forgiveness than the lower-order components of this higher-order dimension (centrality, solidarity, and satisfaction).

Finally, the within-person cross-lagged effect for neither self-investment nor self-definition significantly predicted participants' forgiveness.

Study 3

The aim of Study 3 was to replicate, refine, and extend the Reconciliation Orientation Model (ROM) (Noor et al., 2008). For the first time, closer scrutiny could be placed on how the refined understanding of ingroup identity can shed new light on the way the suffering of the ingroup impacts upon group members' decision to forgive. First, I aimed to replicate the central conceptual negative relationship between competitive victimhood and forgiveness. Second, I aimed to refine this model by testing the self-investment and self-definition dimensions of ingroup identity as parallel mediators of this process (Leach et al., 2008). Third, I aimed to extend this model by testing the role of conflict type (direct vs. structural) in moderating the paths in the refined ROM. To do so, cross-sectional data was collected across four distinct intergroup conflicts, two direct (Israel-Palestine & Kosovar-Serbian) and two structural (Black Americans & UK Women) conflicts.

Results replicated the central conceptual process of ROM, the more group members engaged in competitive victimhood the less likely they were to forgive their adversarial outgroup. Refining this association, both self-investment and self-definition were partial parallel mediators of the relationship between competitive victimhood and forgiveness. Importantly, however, these mediations operated in opposite directions on the negative relationship between competitive victimhood and forgiveness. In the case of the self-investment dimension, it operated as a facilitating mechanism of the competitive victimhood and forgiveness relationship. In the case of self-definition dimension, it operated as an inhibiting mechanism of the competitive victimhood and

forgiveness relationship. Further, the paths from competitive victimhood to both ingroup identity dimensions and from competitive victimhood to forgiveness were moderated by conflict type—and stronger in direct (vs. structural) conflicts.

Study 4

The aim of Study 4 was to systematically investigate the role of the range of ingroup justice concerns (restorative, retributive, distributive, and procedural) and types of ingroup attachment (positive and negative) in predicting forgiveness. To do so, a three-wave longitudinal study amongst Black South Africans in post-Apartheid South Africa was carried out. The South African context provides a unique opportunity to see how the justice concerns of the historically victimised ingroup relate to their forgiveness of their historical perpetrators.

Results revealed a significant negative between-person effect of retributive and distributive justice on forgiveness—the more participants expressed retributive and distributive justice concerns, on average across all three time-points, the less forgiveness they expressed. Results also revealed a significant positive between-person effect of procedural justice on forgiveness. Extending this analysis to the within-person level, results revealed that when participants' retributive justice concerns increased (relative to their between-person effect), at a particular time-point, participants' willingness to forgive decreased at that time-point (within-person effect). And when participants' procedural justice concerns increased (relative to their between-person effect), at a particular time-point, participants' willingness to forgiveness increased at that time-point. Further, results revealed a significant positive lagged within-person effect of restorative justice on forgiveness. The more restorative justice endorsed at an

earlier time-point the more forgiveness participants endorsed at a subsequent time-point.

Results revealed a significant positive between-person effect of the self-investment ingroup identity dimension on forgiveness, on average across all three time-points. The positive relationship between self-investment and forgiveness was observed even before the positive overlap between self-investment and negative ingroup attachment (ingroup glorification & collective narcissism) was partialled out. There was also a negative between-person effect of collective narcissism on forgiveness. Unlike the Brexit context, at the within-person level, positive (HMII) and negative (ingroup glorification & collective narcissism) types of ingroup attachment did not significantly predict group members forgiveness. Like the Brexit context, the lagged within-person effects of types of ingroup attachment (positive attachment and negative attachment) did not significantly predict forgiveness. Finally, whether Black South Africans blamed the Apartheid Government, or the African National Congress Government did not significantly moderate any of the relationship between justice concerns and forgiveness. Nor did Black South Africans blame moderate the relationship between types of ingroup attachment (positive attachment and negative attachment) and forgiveness.

Study 5

The aim of Study 5 was to test the causal effect of structural violence experienced by women on their forgiveness. Forgiveness research has predominantly been studied in the context of direct violence; forgiveness research has therefore paid less attention to forgiveness amongst group members who experience structural violence. The research that has focused on structural violence has concentrated on ethnic identities, using correlational designs to test the negative association between structural violence and forgiveness. Overcoming these limitation, Study 5 extended the

analysis of structural violence to understand women's decision to forgive the structural violence they experience. Overcoming the methodological limitation, Study 5 tested the causal effect of structural violence experienced by women on their decision to forgive. Further, the causal test of structural violence was integrated with our refined understanding of ingroup identity. Therefore, testing the extent to which the self-investment and self-definition dimensions of women's ingroup identity accentuate or attenuate the relationship between structural violence and forgiveness.

Results revealed that there was no significant effect of structural violence on forgiveness. However, there was a significant interaction between the experimental condition and the self-investment dimension. Participants' higher in self-investment reported more forgiveness in the experimental condition. Probing this interaction, follow up simple slope analysis revealed that participants' lower on the self-investment dimension reported significantly less forgiveness in the experimental condition (vs. control).

Theoretical Contributions

In refining our understanding of the ingroup identity and forgiveness relationship there are several key theoretical contributions in revealing insights into group members' decision to forgive (or not). First, the empirical contribution of this thesis builds on the idea that ingroup identity is multidimensional and that a unidimensional understanding of ingroup identity does not fully capture group members' identity (Ellemers et al., 1998; Leach et al., 2008; Sellers et al., 1998; Tajfel, 1978). Unidimensional models of ingroup identity are not able to capture the multiple dimensions that comprise group members' identity and are therefore not an accurate representation of ingroup identity. Indeed, across all empirical chapters there was strong

evidence that HMII showed good fit across distinct ingroup identities (Leavers, Remainers, Palestinians, Israelis, Kosovars, Serbs, UK women, Black Americans, and Black South Africans). Further, there was strong evidence that HMII showed equally good fit across time as demonstrated by the longitudinal invariance (Study 2b & Study 4) and showed equally good fit across distinct ingroup identities as demonstrated by the cross-cultural invariance of HMII (Study 3). This means that HMII has the same meaning, and therefore is equally adept at explaining, ingroup identity across time and across groups (Liu et al., 2017). Also, there is strong evidence to believe that group members' identity comprises two higher-order dimensions (self-investment & self-definition) that subsume five lower-order components (centrality, solidarity, satisfaction, individual self-stereotyping, and ingroup homogeneity). Despite such strong evidence—and that based on other emerging research (Teixeira et al., 2023)—the social psychological literature still treats ingroup identity as unidimensional (Kahalon et al., 2019; Leverso & Matsueda, 2019). Hence, one aim of this thesis was to accrue further evidence for HMII and encourage scholars to embrace it in their research.

The benefits of a multidimensional understanding of ingroup identity far outstrip a unidimensional approach to ingroup identity. To illustrate, although research has consistently reported a negative association between ingroup identity and forgiveness, we could not precisely say why ingroup identity strength suppresses forgiveness (Brown et al., 2006; Jasini et al., 2017). As demonstrated in the systematic review (Study 1), this is because measuring ingroup identity strength mixes the dimensions of group members' ingroup identity into one empirical estimate, thereby creating an imprecise estimate of ingroup identity. This means we are not able to accurately discern the relative contribution of each ingroup identity dimension (Rose et

al., 2019). In the present thesis, for the first time, the analysis moved beyond strength of identity to disentangle the distinct associations between ingroup identity dimensions and outgroup forgiveness attitudes. The results (Study 2a—Study 2b) strongly pointed to the self-investment (rather than self-definition) dimension being responsible for suppressing group members' forgiveness. The more group members' identity was central to their sense of self (*centrality*), the more they felt connected to other ingroup members (*solidarity*), and the more satisfied they were with their ingroup identity (*satisfaction*), the less likely they were to forgive outgroups. What is more, the negative relationship between group members' identity and forgiveness was not reducible to the relationship any one lower-order component (*centrality*, *solidarity*, and *satisfaction*) of the self-investment dimension had with forgiveness. Thus, the negative relationship between ingroup identity and forgiveness was strongest and most prominent at the level of the high-order dimension of the self-investment dimension (compared to the lower-order components of this dimension: centrality, solidarity, and satisfaction). Evidence for this was found both cross-sectionally (Study 2a) and longitudinally (Study 2b) as results revealed that the self-investment dimension was a stronger negative predictor than the lower-order component.

The Theoretical Benefits of a Multidimensional Approach to Ingroup Identity

These findings are consistent with emerging research that has demonstrated that self-investment (vs. self-definition) is a stronger predictor of such intergroup behaviour such as adherence to ingroup norms, collective action, and feelings of group-based guilt (Blackwood & Louis, 2012; Leach et al., 2010; Van Bavel et al., 2022). These emerging findings, on the relative strength of the self-investment (vs. self-definition) dimension, in predicting intergroup behaviour has been attributed to the fact that self-investment is more affective based (Masson, 2018). Being more affective-based means

that this dimension is a stronger predictor of intergroup behaviour, motivating group members to act on behalf of their ingroup identity, more so than the cognitive-based self-definition dimension (Masson & Barth, 2020). The thesis findings extend this emerging pattern of findings to forgiveness by demonstrating that it is the self-investment (vs. self-definition) dimension that is more consequential for group members' decision to forgive the outgroup.

Further, the relative strength of the self-investment (vs. self-definition) dimension in predicting group members' forgiveness is consistent with emerging research in the interpersonal forgiveness domain (Worthington, 2019). Interpersonal forgiveness research has demonstrated that emotional forgiveness, i.e., changing negative emotions and motivations towards someone that has hurt us, is a stronger predictor of interpersonal forgiveness than decisional forgiveness, i.e., making the decision to control one's negative behaviour towards someone that has hurt us (Chi et al., 2019; Lichtenfeld et al., 2019). Emotional forgiveness more closely resembles the self-investment dimension because this dimension consists of emotions such as pleasure, pride, gladness, commitment, and bonding (Leach et al., 2008). Decisional forgiveness, on the other hand, more closely resembles the self-definition dimension since this dimension consists of group members' cognitive representation of the ingroup (Leach et al., 2008). We can see parallels between interpersonal and intergroup forgiveness in that the more emotion and affective based contents of group members' identity (self-investment) more consequential for group members' decision to forgive.

Multidimensional Ingroup Identity Dimensions as Mediating Mechanisms

Further refining the analysis of the thesis was integrating the multidimensional approach to ingroup identity to the analysis of the negative relationship between

competitive victimhood and forgiveness (Noor et al., 2008; Uluğ et al., 2021). Importantly, this meant investigating how the suffering of the ingroup differentially predicts group members' multidimensional ingroup identity, and their decision to forgive. The Reconciliation Orientation Model (ROM, Noor et al., 2008) proposed and found that strength of ingroup identity was a key mediating mechanism of the negative relationship between competitive victimhood and forgiveness. Refining ROM, the self-investment and self-definition dimensions of group members' identity were proposed to operate as parallel mediators of the negative relationship between competitive victimhood and forgiveness. Building on the previous findings (Study 2a—Study 2b), the self-investment dimension was a facilitating mechanism and partially mediated the negative relationship between competitive victimhood and forgiveness. Thus, not only was self-investment negatively related to outgroup forgiveness attitudes, but the more group members engaged in competitive victimhood the more it bolstered their identity as an ingroup member. Further, refining previous findings, ingroup suffering does not just bolster strength of ingroup identity, but it bolsters the dimensions of group members identity (Noor et al., 2008). Specifically, the more group members engage in competitive victimhood the more central their ingroup identity becomes (*centrality*), the more committed to the ingroup they are (*solidarity*), and the more satisfied they are with their ingroup identity (*satisfaction*). Thus, a multidimensional approach to ingroup identity can also refine our analysis of intergroup conflict by determining how key variables, such as ingroup suffering, differentially relate to the different dimensions of group members' identity.

Further, the self-definition dimension of group members' identity was an inhibiting mechanism of the negative relationship between competitive victimhood and forgiveness. The more group members' thought of themselves as akin to the ingroup

prototype (*individual self-stereotyping*) and that the whole group share this prototype (*ingroup homogeneity*), this partly suppressed the negative relationship between ingroup identity and forgiveness. In other words, the more group members saw themselves as an ingroup member the more forgiving they became (Latrofa et al., 2012). The positive relationship between self-definition and forgiveness may be surprising because it questions a fundamental assumption that previous research on forgiveness has made. Specifically, previous research has taken it as synonymous that when group members identify with a group that is in conflict, group members are less likely to forgive those who transgress against the group they are members of (Hewstone et al., 2006). In fact, this relationship is more complicated, it does not necessarily follow that seeing oneself as an ingroup member is a sufficient condition to produce suppressed outgroup forgiveness attitudes. Indeed, seeing oneself as an ingroup member can make group members more forgiving. This suggests that what is more consequential for group members' decision to forgive is precisely who group members see themselves as, which varies across ingroup identities as each ingroup has a unique prototypical ingroup member (van Veelen et al., 2016).

Further, results of the refined ROM showed that the more group members engage in competitive victimhood the more akin to the ingroup prototype they see themselves and that the whole group are similar (*self-definition*). This casts further nuance onto the positive relationship between self-definition and forgiveness because it suggests that engaging in competitive victimhood can promote forgiveness, to the extent that it increases the self-definition dimension of group members identity. Contrary to previous findings, engaging in competitive victimhood can promote (rather than suppress) forgiveness if that means engaging in competitive victimhood increases the self-definition dimension of group members' identity (Young & Sullivan, 2016).

One reason for this finding could be that, rather paradoxically, an inevitable byproduct of competitive victimhood is that it draws group members' attention to the suffering of *both* the ingroup and outgroup, at least in part (Green et al., 2017). This would be paradoxical because competitive victimhood is group members' attempt to establish that they have suffered more than the outgroup (Noor et al., 2008). Thus, group members seek to show that they have suffered more than, rather than equally with, the outgroup (Noor et al., 2012). However, group members cannot engage in competitive victimhood if they don't have some understanding of outgroup suffering. In other words, if group members' really want to establish that they have suffered more than the outgroup they must know what suffering the outgroup has incurred, before they can demonstrate they have suffered more. Therefore, the very process of establishing that the ingroup has suffered more than the outgroup might draw group members' attention to the shared suffering of the ingroup and outgroup (Vollhardt, 2015). Research demonstrates that highlighting the shared suffering of both the ingroup and outgroup can promote positive forgiving relations between conflicting groups (Shnabel et al., 2013; see also Vollhardt, 2009). It should be noted that this reasoning implies there might be an inevitable positive byproduct of competitive victimhood for forgiveness, but this needs to be considered in tandem with its deleterious impact on forgiveness—as demonstrated via our refined ROM.

The findings of the refined ROM further attests to the importance of utilising a multidimensional approach to understand the ingroup identity and forgiveness relationship. The opposite associations that self-investment and self-definition of group members' identity had with forgiveness were previously obscured by measuring strength of ingroup identity (see Noor et al., 2008). In the case of self-investment, it was a facilitating mechanism of the negative relationship between competitive victimhood

and forgiveness. In the case of self-definition, it was an inhibiting mechanism of the negative relationship between competitive victimhood and forgiveness.

Our analysis of the refined ROM also demonstrated the potential that group members' ingroup identity has in cultivating, rather than suppressing, forgiveness between conflicting groups. This means that the relationship between ingroup identity and forgiveness is more nuanced than previously understood (Van Tongeren et al., 2014). The relationship between ingroup identity and forgiveness is not unilaterally negative, but we might be able to draw on group members' own ingroup identity to cultivate forgiveness, via the self-definition dimension.

One reason that self-definition might promote forgiveness is via the prototype that members align themselves with when they self-stereotype (van Veelen et al., 2016). When group members self-stereotype they view themselves as an ingroup member and act in line with the ingroup stereotype (Hinton et al., 2022). There is a great deal of research which demonstrates the precedence group members place on the perceived morality of the ingroup (Brambilla et al., 2011; Leach et al., 2015). In other words, ingroup members want to believe that the group they are members of is moral and this can provide a source of pride and collective self-esteem via their group membership (Reeder et al., 2002). Thus, group members might wish to believe that the ingroup prototype is a forgiving person since forgiveness is often considered a character strength, i.e., someone who is able to forgive in the face of suffering must be admired because it is difficult to do so. Therefore, when group members act in line with the ingroup stereotype, a forgiving group member, they are going to express more forgiveness towards the outgroup. This suggests a bottom-up route to forgiveness amongst the ingroup, group members want to believe the ingroup prototype is forgiving

because they desire the ingroup to be perceived as moral (Bianchi et al., 2010).

However, there might also be a top-down route to forgiveness. This route is top-down because certain ingroup identities, such as women, are expected to be more forgiving than other group members (men) (Ghaemmaghami et al., 2011; Yao & Chao, 2019). If there is an expectation that certain groups should be more forgiving this could manifest via the ingroup prototype, i.e., who group members align themselves with when they see themselves as an ingroup member (Leonard et al., 2011). In other words, to be a forgiving group member is imposed on the ingroup by the expectation outgroups have of them. Of course, once the ingroup prototype is perceived to be forgiving, the more that group members believe the whole group are like the ingroup prototype (*ingroup homogeneity*), the more pressure group members will feel to conform to this position and to be a forgiving ingroup member (Stewart et al., 2012). Such reasoning—and the findings from the refined ROM analysis—demonstrates the opposite association each dimension of group members' identity can have with forgiveness. It also implies that the relationship between ingroup identity and forgiveness might operate differently across intergroup conflicts. To illustrate, if a particular ingroup is living in a social milieu where their ingroup identity is expected to be forgiving, this could manifest as a positive relationship between self-definition and forgiveness. In contrast, if a particular ingroup is living in a social milieu where their ingroup identity is not expected to be forgiving, this could manifest as a negative relationship between self-definition and forgiveness. In other words, ingroup prototypes are informed via a set of dominant norms and it therefore is not inherent that such norms promote or suppress prosocial behaviour (Paluck & Green, 2009).

Conflict Context and Group Members' Decision to Forgive

Building upon the refined analysis, this thesis investigated the way that the contexts of direct or structural conflict might differentially shape group members' forgiveness through the paths of the refined ROM. This is the first empirical assessment of forgiveness across the dimensions of direct and structural conflict. Competitive victimhood in direct (vs. structural) conflict was a stronger negative predictor of forgiveness. This likely reflects the magnitude of suffering that is incurred in direct conflicts. As, in direct conflicts, the ingroup incur more suffering across the different dimensions of suffering (*physical, material, and cultural suffering*) the overall magnitude of suffering increases (Noor et al., 2017). When the suffering of the ingroup is perceived to be so strong, the ingroup are going to find it more difficult to forgive the outgroup. Further, a key motive for engaging in competitive victimhood is to draw attention to the suffering of the ingroup so the ingroup can mobilise support to achieve their goals (Noor et al., 2012). In direct conflicts, the goals of the ingroup are more proximate because they concern the very survival of the ingroup. Thus, group members in direct conflict should engage in more competitive victimhood to highlight their suffering and make them less ready to forgive the outgroup. Further, emerging correlational and experimental evidence in the context of direct violence (Kosovo & Bosnia and Herzegovina) has recently demonstrated that the more group members engage in competitive victimhood, the less willing they are to engage in intergroup contact with the outgroup (Voca et al., 2023). Research has demonstrated that intergroup contact positively predicts forgiveness, so the more competitive victimhood the ingroup engages in, the more segregated the ingroup and outgroup are, and the less likely forgiveness becomes (Hewstone et al., 2006; Voci et al., 2015). On the other side of this, structural conflicts are often characterised by a high degree of contact between

the ingroup and outgroup which should promote forgiveness in structural conflicts (Mari et al., 2020).

Competitive victimhood in direct (vs. structural) conflicts was also a stronger positive predictor of both the self-investment and self-definition dimensions of group members' identity. This attests to the more proximate relationship between the suffering of the ingroup and group members' own understanding of the self (Staub, 2006). As the suffering of the ingroup increases it more readily impacts group members' own identity. In the context of direct (vs structural) conflict, the ingroup suffer more along the physical dimension of suffering, as group members face physical injuries and death (Noor et al., 2012). This type of suffering should increase group members' desire to seek protection from the ingroup through solidarity with the ingroup and the subjective importance they place on their ingroup identity (*self-investment*) (Wohl et al., 2012). Further, the suffering of fellow ingroup members is more noticeable in direct conflicts since they are characterised by open hostilities and noticeable skirmishes between the ingroup and outgroup (Kauff et al., 2021). This should draw group members' attention to the suffering that the whole group share with each other and therefore their similarity (*self-definition*) (Stenstrom et al., 2008). Further, in direct conflicts intergroup segregation is more prominent so the ingroup spend more time with their fellow ingroup members, helping to draw group members' attention to the similarities amongst ingroup members (*self-definition*). As well as refining our conceptual understanding of forgiveness via the mechanisms of self-investment and self-definition, the moderation effects across direct and structural conflicts are consistent with emerging findings that draw our attention to the conflict-dependent nature of intergroup conflict (Vollhardt et al., 2022). In other words, observing the way forgiveness differs across intergroup conflicts can reveal insightful

between conflict differences such as the way the suffering of the ingroup predicts forgiveness and the ingroup's understanding of themselves (*self-investment & self-definition*).

Justice and Forgiveness Relationship

The findings of this thesis also add to our theoretical understanding of justice by systematically investigating all four justice concerns (*restorative, retributive, distributive, and procedural*) in an intergroup context with a history of violent past (cf. Leidner et al., 2012). The findings extend previous research by demonstrating that the ingroup's desire for justice continue after the violent phase of conflict has passed and democratic transition towards peace has been made (Hirschberger et al., 2015; Li & Leidner, 2019). Indeed, the ingroup's desire to see the outgroup suffer (*retributive justice*) remains a negative predictor of forgiveness even after the violence has subsided. Thus, the ending of violence and the democratic transition towards peace is not sufficient in satisfying the ingroup's desire for justice. Rather, what is explicitly implemented at a societal level to attempt to usher in peace and what the ingroup desire to satisfy the injustice they have experienced can diverge. If the ingroups desire for justice goes unsatisfied, and they still feel an injustice gap, all post-conflict peace accords might be a form of negative peace in that violence has subsided but positive reconciliation between both groups has not been reached (see Galtung et al., 2013). The succession of violence with non-violence might be seen as a first step of a longer process of redressing the historically victimised ingroup's injustice. This of course attests to the need for a systematic study of all forms of justice to see their different implications for forgiveness, a form of positive peace that can promote reconciliation between conflicting groups (Kang, 2021).

The justice findings show that the ingroup's desire for justice extends beyond the prism of restorative and retributive justice (Li et al., 2018; Suzuki & Jenkins, 2023). Indeed, the ingroup's desire for distributive and procedural justice are also consequential for their decision to forgive. The more group members desire to have material goods and resources distributed towards their group (*distributive justice*) the less likely ingroup members were to forgive the outgroup. Thus, group members' decision to forgive extends beyond the direct suffering that has been incurred as a function of intergroup conflict. Rather, group members' decision to forgive also hinges on the unequal distribution of goods and resources that have been accumulated as a function of the intergroup conflict. The omission of distributive justice from previous research on forgiveness is surprising since many intergroup conflicts are asymmetric in that one group has access to more goods and resources (Kteily et al., 2013b). Indeed, unless intergroup conflicts are perfectly symmetric an inevitable consequence of intergroup conflict is that one group has greater access to goods and resources (Rouhana & Fiske, 1995). Group members also desire to see decisions about justice made in a fair and equitable way, irrespective of the outcome of the justice process (*procedural justice*). Indeed, when decision are seen as more procedurally fair, the more likely ingroup members were to forgive the outgroup. This offers an untapped hope that reconciliation and forgiveness is attainable in the aftermath of violent conflict. To desire procedural justice is to want equitable treatment with the outgroup and therefore to see the outgroup on an equal footing with the ingroup (Ståhl et al., 2004). Equitable treatment between the ingroup and outgroup ensures the outgroup are not punitively punished (*retributive justice*) or unfairly treated with any redistributive policies (*distributive justice*). If the outgroup believe they are being treated disproportionately it could evoke a sense of injustice in the outgroup and a desire to redress the injustice that

can escalate the conflict (Strelan, 2018). Instead, demands for procedural justice offers another route to forgiveness between conflicting group that has thus far gone unrepresented in the intergroup conflict literature.

Thus, previous research that has focused on restorative and retributive justice have only portrayed part of the picture between group members concerns for justice and forgiveness (Li & Leidner, 2019). Previous research has neglected the negative impact of distributive justice on group members' decision for forgive, this omission could particularly favour advantaged groups and entrench divisions. To illustrate, in the context of post-Apartheid South Africa, it is White South Africans who are served by neglecting Black South Africans desire for distributive justice since White South Africans would have to give up some of the advantage in favour of Black South Africans. Therefore, it is not just that disadvantaged groups can suffer more during the violent phase of intergroup conflict, but their unequal suffering continues after the violent phase has passed. Furthermore, the omission of distributive justice from the justice and forgiveness literature neglects the material dimension of conflict. Specifically, some have argued that psychology is at risk of over 'psychologising' intergroup conflict by neglecting the material dimensions of intergroup conflict in favour of (Fox, 2011a, 2011b). Distributive justice, on the other hand, squarely grounds justice—and the likelihood of group members' forgiveness—in the material resources that the ingroup does (or does not) have.

Positive and Negative Forms of Ingroup Attachment

A further contribution of this thesis is to examine the role of different forms of ingroup attachment in predicting outgroup forgiveness attitudes. Recent literature has revealed intriguing insights into how the positive vs. negative forms of ingroup

attachment can uniquely predict intergroup outcomes once the shared variance of these different forms is partialled out (Dugas et al., 2018; Golec de Zavala et al., 2020). Specifically, in addition to positive ingroup attachment (HMII, Leach et al., 2008), this thesis measured two negative forms of ingroup attachment—ingroup glorification (Roccas et al., 2008) and collective narcissism (Golec de Zavala et al., 2009)—to examine their predictive power in relation to outgroup forgiveness attitudes. This combined analysis of both positive and negative forms of ingroup attachment in predicting forgiveness is the first. Both positive and negative ingroup attachment share a belief in the positive value of the ingroup (Cichocka, 2016). However, they differ in where the positive belief comes from: for positive ingroup attachment it is based on a secure understanding of the strengths of the ingroup, whereas for negative ingroup attachment it is based on the unrecognised greatness of the ingroup (de Zavala et al., 2020). Thus, when accounting for positive and negative ingroup attachment's shared variance (i.e., belief in the positive value of the ingroup), what is left are just those elements on which they differ. For positive ingroup attachment, what remains is a belief in the positive value of the ingroup that is independent of recognition from others and resilient to threat (Golec de Zavala et al., 2019). For negative ingroup attachment, what remains is a sense of entitlement and a demand for recognition.

Contrary to recent findings in the ingroup attachment literature (Hamer et al., 2018; Marinthe et al., 2022), and the findings of this thesis (Study 2a—Study 3), there was a positive relationship between the self-investment dimension of Black South Africans' ingroup identity and forgiveness. What is more, this relationship was without having to partial out the shared variance between self-investment and negative ingroup attachment (ingroup glorification & collective narcissism). This was observed because self-investment was added as a predictor of forgiveness before the negative forms of

attachment (ingroup glorification & collective narcissism) were added, and self-investment positively predicted forgiveness (Study 4). Thus, unlike recent findings with such intergroup outcomes as outgroup derogation, the shared variance between self-investment and negative ingroup attachment did not need to be partialled out to observe a positive relationship between self-investment and forgiveness (Golec de Zavala et al., 2020; Cichocka, 2016). This differs from previous findings on ingroup attachment because positive ingroup attachment did not need to be in its residual form, i.e., a belief in the positive value of the ingroup that is independent of recognition from others and resilient to threat (Golec de Zavala et al., 2019), to observe a positive relationship between self-investment and forgiveness. What this means is that the positive relationship between self-investment and forgiveness was not being suppressed by the positive relationship between positive and negative ingroup attachment (MacKinnon et al., 2000).

Contrary to the findings across other intergroup conflict contexts in this thesis (Study 2a—Study 3), there was a positive relationship between self-investment and Black South Africans' forgiveness of White South Africans. Black South Africans' whose ingroup identity was central to their sense of self (*centrality*), were more committed to other Black South Africans (*solidarity*) and were more pleased to have their ingroup identity (*satisfaction*) were more likely to forgive White South Africans. Whereas the relationship between self-investment and forgiveness has primarily been negative across other intergroup conflicts reported in this thesis (Study 2a—Study 3), in the post-Apartheid South African context it was positive. This finding means we need to think about how the conflict context might shape our refined multidimensional understanding of the ingroup identity and forgiveness relationship. Indeed, in the post-Apartheid context this led us to theorise about the role of harmony and peace building

in South Africa (Arthur et al., 2015). In other words, Black South Africans desire to maintain harmony by forgiving the outgroup for the sake of a prosperous South Africa (see *Ubuntu*, Kamwangamalu, 2013) might override their feelings of bitterness and resentment (Stein et al., 2008). This is congruent with emerging findings in the forgiveness literature that has demonstrated a collectivist approach to forgiveness, i.e., the will to maintain social harmony through interconnectedness, is congruent to the South African context (Cowden et al., 2019).

What is more, in the post-Apartheid South African context, the context-dependent nature of the conflict was captured by assessing who Black South African's blame (the Apartheid Government vs. African National Congress Government) for the inequity they face. Results revealed that Black South Africans attribution of blame did not moderate the relationships between either justice concerns or forms of ingroup attachment and forgiveness. On the one hand, this could speak to the fact that Black South African's do not want to dwell on the legacy of Apartheid by blaming the Apartheid Government, and wish to move one (i.e., *Ubuntu*). On the other hand, this finding could indicate that neither do Black South Africans want to blame fellow ingroup members in the form of the African National Congress Government. As such, the fact that Black South Africans do not blame *either* the Apartheid Government or the African National Congress Government could speak to a sense that there is a desire for harmony in South Africa, amongst Black South Africans.

The analysis of group members' decision to forgive was further refined by testing the predictive role of the negative forms of ingroup attachment. Black South Africans who believed in the unqualified greatness of the ingroup, a greatness not sufficiently recognised by others (*collective narcissism*), were less likely to forgive White South Africans. This suggests that—when it comes to the negative forms of

ingroup attachment—what is consequential for group members’ decision to forgive is whether group members are getting the recognition they believe they deserve (Marchlewska et al., 2020). When this recognition is not forthcoming, or even worse the ingroup is disadvantaged relative to the outgroup, group members are less likely to forgive outgroups. What is more, the negative relationship between collective narcissism and forgiveness was observed whilst partialling out the shared variance between the former and ingroup glorification. Both collective narcissists and ingroup glorifiers share a belief in the greatness of the ingroup. However, it is ingroup glorifiers and not collective narcissists that care for fellow ingroup members (Leidner et al., 2010). It was theorised that ingroup glorifiers concerns for fellow ingroup members would mean that ingroup glorification would negatively relate to their forgiveness. However, there was not a significant negative relationship between ingroup glorification and forgiveness. On the one hand, this suggests that ingroup glorifiers do not show so much concern for their fellow ingroup members that they are prepared to withhold their forgiveness towards outgroup who have mistreated the ingroup. On the other hand, it shows that what is more deleterious for forgiveness is not having the inflated self-image of the ingroup recognised or even worse it being degraded by outgroups which is characteristic of the narcissistic form of ingroup attachment (Federico et al., 2023).

To summarise, this thesis has primarily refined the understanding of group members’ ingroup identity and their decision to forgive in two ways. First, digging deeper into this relationship, moving beyond strength of identification, to reveal more precisely what it is about group members’ identity that suppresses group members’ forgiveness. Second, demonstrating that the refined understanding of the ingroup identity and forgiveness relationship is not invariant across conflict context. The former

refinement means we can be more precise about why ingroup identity suppresses (increases) forgiveness by theorising about how the different dimensions of positive ingroup identity predict group members' forgiveness (Leach et al., 2008). The second refinement means we can think more closely about how the conflict-context shapes the refined understanding of the ingroup identity and forgiveness relationship.

Methodological Implications

Following on from the empirical and theoretical contributions, this thesis highlights three key methodological implications for the intergroup relations literature. First, there is the untapped potential that can be unlocked in other areas of social psychological research by shifting our approach from a unidimensional understanding of ingroup identity to a multidimensional one. The multidimensional approach supersedes the more often used unidimensional approach to understanding ingroup identity because it offers more theoretical insight into the precise role that group members' identity has in intergroup relations. Second, there is the implications of a unidimensional approach to ingroup identity for our meta-analytic findings. Third, there is a prudent way to begin to assess between-conflict differences in forgiveness at scale that has recently been fruitful in other areas of social psychology (i.e., Sternisko et al., 2023).

From Unidimensional Identity to Multidimensional Identity

Across the empirical chapters results revealed that both the self-investment and self-definition dimensions of group members' identity can have negative and positive relationships with forgiveness across different intergroup contexts (Study 2a—Study 4). Further, as emerging research has demonstrated, the relationship between the positive form of ingroup attachment (HMII) and intergroup behaviour is more nuanced when the shared variance with negative ingroup attachment (ingroup glorification & collective

narcissism) is partialled out (Cichocka, 2016). However, social psychological research still consistently measures ingroup identity via strength of identification, therefore assuming group members' identity is unidimensional (Howlett et al., 2023; Karataş et al., 2023). Thus, a great deal of theoretical potential could be unlocked if research were to move away from a unidimensional to a multidimensional conceptualisation and measurement of ingroup identity. In other words, there is no reason why the central topic of this thesis, i.e., forgiveness, is unique and particularly susceptible to a multidimensional analysis of ingroup identity. Indeed, there is evidence for this proposition as the relationship between competitive victimhood and each ingroup identity dimension was significantly stronger in direct (vs. structural) conflicts, as demonstrated by the refined ROM (Study 3). This thesis has contributed toward the shift in our analysis of ingroup identity not only by measuring ingroup identity across its multiple dimensions but also across the different positive and negative forms of attachment.

Meta-Analytic Implications

Coding the measures that have been used to empirically assess the ingroup identity and forgiveness relationship revealed that previous measures contain items relating to both the self-investment and self-definition dimension (Study 1). Even though most items measuring ingroup identity related to the self-investment dimension (76%), when researchers do not differentiate between the dimensions of group members' identity it is empirically problematic. Specifically, measuring ingroup identity via strength of identification creates an imprecise estimate of ingroup identity because it combines both ingroup identity dimensions into one estimate. This is problematic because the unreliable estimates of ingroup identity—measured via strength of identification—are then used as data points that go into meta-analyses,

creating unreliable meta-analytic effect size estimates (e.g., Van Tongeren et al., 2014). Meta-analyses are an important method that estimate effect sizes by averaging across independent studies (Amanda et al., 2020). Meta-analytic effect sizes estimates are then used as a basis for power analysis and sample size planning (Sutton et al., 2007). Also, meta-analytic findings play a key role in shaping the direction that research takes (Fagard et al., 1996). Relationships that generate larger meta-analytic effect sizes are considered more worthy of researchers' attention than relationships than generate smaller effect sizes. To illustrate, if the meta-analytic effect size between ingroup identity and empathy is stronger than ingroup identity and forgiveness, the former might be considered more worthy of researchers' attention. Thus, concentrating on the multidimensional nature of ingroup identity will help to refine theory and will help to generate reliable meta-analytic results. However, it is worth acknowledging that the full scale used to measure ingroup identity contains 12 items (i.e., Leach et al., 2008) and researchers sometimes opt for shorter scales to measure ingroup identity to reduce participant burden. Utilising shorter scales to measure ingroup identity might be valid in certain research contexts, especially where participant burden is already high. But using shorter scales does not stop researchers from focusing on just one dimension (or even lower-order component) of group members' identity so we can have a more precise understanding about what facet of group members' identity is predicting intergroup behaviour.

Assessing Between-Conflict Differences (at scale)

The theoretical and empirical contributions of this thesis have highlighted the importance of between-conflict differences that can shape the ingroup identity and forgiveness relationship. However, research on forgiveness is yet to tap the variability in forgiveness across different intergroup conflicts. Beginning to understand these

between-conflict differences is a key next step for research on forgiveness (see Future Directions below), and intergroup conflict more broadly. The best way to understand between-conflict differences is to collect data across numerous different intergroup conflicts and intergroup contexts (see Van Bavel et al., 2020; Sternisko et al., 2023 for some recent examples). This methodological approach is advantageous because we can directly estimate the extent to which our variables of interest vary between conflicts. Put another way, by utilising this methodological approach we can estimate how much variance there is in forgiveness and how potential predictors might account for such variance across conflict context. In fact, what is proposed is a multilevel approach where between-conflict differences are treated as random effects, across different parts of the model (intercept, slopes) (see Sternisko et al., 2023). A multilevel methodological approach is particularly advantageous as research on forgiveness (and intergroup conflict) is in greater need to build more general theories. This means generating more integrative theories that extend beyond the bounds of one conflict to find general principles from which more general theories can be deduced. A key first step in this process would be to collect data across far-reaching intergroup conflicts so we can empirically estimate the variability across contexts, i.e., providing an overall picture of the landscape of forgiveness.

Potential Policy Implications

By digging deeper into the relationship between ingroup identity and forgiveness the findings of this thesis offer more insight into what it is about ingroup identity that suppresses (increases) forgiveness. By concentrating the analysis at the level of ingroup identity dimensions, results revealed that in some conflicts the self-investment dimension can suppress (or increase) forgiveness; and in other conflicts the self-definition dimension can suppress (or increase) forgiveness (Study 2a—Study 4).

Integrating the analysis at the level of ingroup identity dimensions can further refine interventions that have been designed and tested by social psychologists to reduce conflict (see Čehajić-Clancy & Bilewicz, 2021; Staub, 2006; see also Van Assche et al., 2020), thus identifying fruitful avenues to design practical interventions to reduce conflict and promote peace. Further still, the findings of the thesis can also appeal to politicians, conflict mediators, and civil society who desire to reduce tensions and promote peaceful cooperation.

The common ingroup-identity model has proved efficacious at reducing conflict and promoting peace (CIIM; Dovidio et al., 2000). Changing ingroup category perceptions from subordinate conflict-based identities to inclusive superordinate categories reduces tensions because those included in the superordinate category are considered fellow ingroup members. This intervention should be most closely tied to the self-definition dimension, since this dimension contains the categorical knowledge of who is in the ingroup (and therefore the outgroup) (Leach et al., 2008). Thus, ensuring the efficacy of this intervention should be a function of one's ability to manage and manipulate the prototype of the subordinate group identities. If the subordinate category prototypes are fuzzier, this could help or hinder the ability to create a common ingroup identity. It could help, because the fuzzier the subordinate category prototype the less likely ingroup members are to project their subordinate group prototype onto the superordinate group. It could hinder, because if the subordinate category prototypes are clear, it could be harder to harness a superordinate category that is suitably distinct from the subordinate identities yet that group members are willing to identify with (Wenzel et al., 2008).

However, research has also demonstrated that the CIIM has not always been effective at promoting peace in real-world intergroup conflict settings (Noor et al., 2010; Wenzel et al., 2008). Researchers have pointed to the fact that often group members project their own subordinate ingroup prototypes onto the superordinate category, thus making CIIM ineffective (Ufkes et al., 2012). The findings of the thesis might complement this critique by demonstrating that in certain contexts projecting the ingroup prototype onto the superordinate category might in fact be beneficial to conflict reduction and peace. Indeed, our findings demonstrated that in certain conflict context the self-definition dimension of group members' identity promotes forgiveness (Study 3). Thus, to the extent that group members' ingroup prototype is a key aspect of the positive relationship between self-definition and forgiveness, projecting this prototype onto a superordinate category could further benefit (and not hinder) attempts to promote peace.

The role of self-definition on reconciliation can be integrated with emerging research on the efficacy of the moral exemplar intervention (Čehajić-Clancy et al., 2021). Exposing ingroup's members to stories of outgroup members who have risked their life to save other group members (i.e., moral exemplars) increases the ingroup's desire to reconcile. The logic behind the intervention is that exposing ingroup members to inconsistent information about the outgroup, specifically framed around morality, should increase their desire to reconcile with the outgroup (Brambilla et al., 2013). Integrating moral exemplars and common ingroup identity interventions, the moral exemplars intervention should be more effective the more similar the moral exemplar is to the prototypical ingroup member.

Perspective taking with the outgroup has been shown to increase positive feelings and reconciliation with the outgroup (Noor & Halabi, 2018). Seeing the world through the eyes of the outgroup means the ingroup can more readily understand and empathise with the outgroup, thus softening their attitude toward the outgroup (Wu & Keysar, 2007). This is often done by prompting ingroup members to “*imagine the mental states of the outgroup*”. This intervention could be refined by asking the ingroup to perspective take with the outgroup as if they had high level of self-investment with the outgroup. In other words, imagine that the (outgroup) identity was central to your sense of self, that you felt a strong sense of solidarity with (outgroup), and that you are satisfied with the (outgroup) identity. This should make the ingroup’s ability to perspective take with the outgroup more effective since it more accurately reflects how they identify with their ingroup. A similar logic should apply to the paradoxical thinking intervention, i.e., inducing a realisation of the paradoxical beliefs about conflict the ingroup hold (Halperin & Bar-Tal, 2011). Such an intervention is an attempt to change beliefs by exposing group members to information that is consistent with those beliefs but of extreme content so that group members paradoxically perceive their current position as irrational (Bar-Tal & Hameiri, 2020). To illustrate, one could expose participants to extreme actions that group members high in solidarity are willing to undertake against the outgroup on behalf of the ingroup.

The empirical and theoretical work presented in this thesis provide further insights to policies aimed at redefining hostilities, reducing tensions, and promoting peace between conflicting groups (Gaertner et al., 2000). The longitudinal analysis conducted within the Brexit conflict demonstrated the role that salient conflict events have on the ingroup’s forgiveness of the outgroup (Study 2b; within-person effects). For the first time, the results of this thesis empirically showed that during times of

conflict the ingroup's forgiveness of the outgroup is not invariant across time (between-person effect). Rather, salient conflict events can further suppress group member's forgiveness of the outgroup (within-person effect). This demonstrates that the ingroup's forgiveness of the outgroup can shift, albeit during the fractious times of the Brexit conflict the ingroup's forgiveness of the outgroup decreased. These findings indicate that policies designed to reduce tensions and promote peace should be calibrated around salient conflict events. Implementing policies aimed at reducing tensions indiscriminately will not be as effective as implementing them close to salient events during the conflict itself.

Further still, the findings within the Brexit conflict demonstrated that it was the self-investment dimension of group members' identity that negatively suppressed outgroup forgiveness attitudes (Study 2a—Study 2b). The negative relationship between self-investment and forgiveness occurred both at the between-person level (i.e., on average across all three time-points) and at the within-person level (i.e., increased levels of self-investment relative to participants between-person effect). Such findings demonstrate what conflict mediators, politicians, and civil societies who desire to reduce conflict and tensions ought to pay attention to successfully reduce conflict. To illustrate, acknowledging that group members ingroup identity is an important part of how group members define themselves (*centrality*) and want to pursue their group goals because they are committed to their fellow ingroup members (*solidarity*). Further, that people derive satisfaction from their ingroup identity (*satisfaction*). Talking more specifically about these facets of group members identity, on either side of the conflict, should more closely resonate with group members as our findings demonstrate that it is such facets that negatively relate to their outgroup forgiveness attitudes. We often see and hear politician characterise groups engaged in conflict by relying on stereotypes of

what they think the prototypical ingroup member is like (Pas et al., 2022; see also Denning & Hodges, 2022). While this is one dimension of group members' identity (*self-definition*), our findings demonstrate that politicians who desire to reduce conflict will be better advised to talk about such things as how committed to the ingroup members are and how the ingroup is central to defining group members sense of self.

Our analysis also demonstrated the negative role that collective narcissism had on forgiveness (Study 4). This suggests that if politicians and conflict mediators more frequently acknowledge the successes and merits of the ingroup, it might do more to appease collective narcissists desire for recognition and promote their forgiveness. This strategy could be a short-term way to promote forgiveness amongst collective narcissists. However, in the longer-term, it might be problematic because it could generate unrealistic expectations for collective narcissists already inflated views of the ingroup and cause collective narcissists to negatively retaliate when their recognition is not forthcoming (Cichocka & Cislak, 2020).

The analysis of Black South Africans justice concerns demonstrated that the ingroup's justice concerns exceed the violent phase of the conflict (Study 4). Thus, we should not think that because the violence phase of conflict has passed, the ingroup no longer desire justice (Li et al., 2018). This means that policies designed to satisfy the historically victimised ingroup justice concerns should be implemented even after the violence has stopped, lest we find that conflict has started again. Further, we observed the ingroup's justice concerns in a unique intergroup context where a large-scale attempt to implement justice has been made via the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). In other words, we should not think that because attempts at a specific form of justice (restorative) have been designed and implemented, the ingroup no longer have any justice concerns. Rather, the ingroup's justice concerns are

multifaceted (retributive, distributive, and procedural justice) and policies that only address one form of justice will not be completely effective. In particular, the findings of the ingroup's justice concerns point to the often-neglected material dimension of intergroup conflict (Fox, 2011a). Black South Africans who desired to see more goods and resources distributed towards their group, were less forgiving of White South Africans. This suggests that the ingroup's forgiveness of the outgroup is at least in part determined by the material success of the ingroup. Therefore, to promote forgiveness, policies should be implemented that redress the economic imbalances between the ingroup and outgroup. More broadly, the findings of the thesis demonstrated that all the various forms of ingroup justice concerns need to be considered as they were all (restorative, retributive, distributive, and procedural) consequential for forgiveness, and policies to promote forgiveness should reflect this. To illustrate, not only should economic redistribution be considered (*distributive justice*) but this policy would be more effective if it was adjudicated by a third party (*procedural justice*).

For the first time, the results of this thesis showed that the ingroup's justice concerns are not invariance across time (between-person effect). Rather, group member's justice concerns can increase (*procedural justice*) and decrease (*retributive and distributive justice*) (within-persons). This offers hope that policies that can adequately address the ingroup's justice concerns will be efficacious at promoting peace via group member's increased forgiveness. To illustrate, policies that redistribute more towards the ingroup could be efficacious at increasing the ingroup's distributive justice concerns and therefore increase their forgiveness. Indeed, such redistributive policies by their nature are taking away resources from the outgroup and this could satisfy the ingroup's need to see the outgroup suffer and reduce the negative relationship between retributive justice and forgiveness.

Thesis Limitations

There are number of conceptual and theoretical limitations of the thesis that need to be acknowledged and discussed. First, why there was no experimental manipulation of group members' ingroup identity dimension to test their causal effect on forgiveness. Second, the criticism that is sometimes levelled against forgiveness research: forgiveness is not a panacea to all intergroup conflicts. Third, the congruency between forgiveness and some of the intergroup conflict contexts in which the research was situated. Fourth, the omission of some context-specific variables that could have further refined our analysis. Fifth, the omission of identity fusion, an alternative form of ingroup attachment, into the analysis of the ingroup identity and forgiveness relationship. Sixth, the focus on exclusive us versus them dynamics in intergroup forgiveness has been conceptualised.

After addressing these conceptual and theoretical limitations, the methodological and statistical limitations are discussed. First, the issue of multicollinearity between the different dimensions of HMII and both positive and negative forms of ingroup attachment. Second, the fact that conflict type in the refined ROM was a measured variable and was not manipulated. Third, whether identification strength might have offered a more parsimonious explanation in the refined ROM. Fourth, whether negative ingroup attachment should have been introduced into the analysis of group members' decision to forgive earlier. Finally, what the prevalence of the self-investment dimension in the previous forgiveness literature demonstrates about the reliability of strength of identification as a measure of ingroup identity.

Conceptual and Theoretical Limitations

First, there was no test of the causal effect of HMII on forgiveness using an experimental paradigm, i.e., the ingroup identity dimensions were not manipulated. This is because, first and foremost, this thesis sought to provide first evidence for the relationship between ingroup identity and forgiveness using correlational and longitudinal designs. The use of longitudinal designs means the analysis presented in the thesis went beyond between-person effects to the within-person and cross-lagged level. Specifically, the relationships between positive (HMII) and negative (ingroup glorification & collective narcissism) forms of ingroup attachment and forgiveness. And the relationships between the different justice concerns (restorative, retributive, distributive, and procedural) and forgiveness. Analysis at the within-person level are not confounded by between-person effects so we can be more confident that the relationships at the within-person level are not in fact confounded by any unmeasured third variables, i.e., the main reason why correlational designs cannot lead to causal inferences (Bleske-Rechek et al., 2015). Additionally, experimental designs were not utilised because—like the broader trend in social psychological research—established paradigms that are frequently used to manipulate ingroup identity target the overall salience of strength of ingroup identity (see Cvetkovska et al., 2021; Glasford et al., 2009). These established paradigms can be classified into four types; (i) *writing-based paradigms* where participants are asked to write about their ingroup identity (Falomir-Pichastor & Frederic, 2013; Glasford et al., 2009; Kyprianides et al., 2019; Li et al., 2019); (ii) an *article-based* paradigm where participants are provided with an article from an ostensibly reputable source that describes what people who have a particular ingroup identity are like (or think or feel) (Banfield & Dovidio, 2013; Dierckx et al., 2020; Dierckx et al., 2021); (iii) a *false-feedback* paradigm where participants complete

some form of personality inventory, and the personality inventory informs the participant that they feel about their group in a certain way (Goode et al., 2014; Jans et al., 2012); and finally (iv) a *scale-as-treatment* paradigm where participants are provided an ingroup identity scale that consist of items that the average ingroup member would strongly agree with, thus leading participants to think they must be highly attached to their group (Cvetkovska et al., 2021; Owuamalam et al., 2021).

Typically, for all these experimental paradigms, two orthogonal conditions are created one where strength of ingroup identification is high and a control condition. While all these paradigms have been successful at manipulating strength of identification, they are not suitably refined to target just the dimensions (self-investment & self-definition) or even lower-order components (centrality, solidarity, satisfaction, individual self-stereotyping, and ingroup homogeneity) of ingroup identity. To provide a suitably rigorous causal test of HMII on forgiveness we would need to manipulate the intended dimension and ensure that as part of this manipulation we suppress the other ingroup identity dimension. To illustrate, to test the causal effect of the self-investment dimension on forgiveness we would need to manipulate this dimension whilst at the same time keeping levels of the self-definition dimension low. Since the ingroup identity dimensions covary, this was not feasible utilising the established experimental paradigms (Glasford et al., 2009; Leach et al., 2008). It is worth noting that it is no coincidence that correlational designs have consistently measured strength of identity, and then experimental design have manipulated strength of identity (Dierckx et al., 2021). Indeed, the fact that ingroup identity has been consistently measured via strength of identification has directly led to the development of paradigms that manipulate strength of identity. However, I hope that more researchers will see the benefits of a refined approach to ingroup identity, and this will

increase our collective efforts to design targeted interventions to target the dimensions (or lower-order components) of group members identity.

A second limitation is that forgiveness is not a panacea and research on forgiveness should not be pursued as if it is. The benefit of forgiveness is that it can disrupt violence, promote peace, and suppress suffering (Hewstone et al., 2006). However, research has also demonstrated that forgiveness does have negative costs, especially amongst disadvantages groups. Greenaway et al. (2011) found that appealing to our common humanity increased the historical victimised ingroup's (Indigenous Australians) forgiveness of the outgroup (Australians). However, increasing forgiveness also suppressed the victimised ingroup's willingness to engage in collective action to redress the injustice they face. Further, recent research has demonstrated that low status ingroups (students, females) who express thanks to a high-status outgroup (professors, males) that transgress against the ingroup but then offer to help, suppresses low status group members collective action intentions. Importantly the negative relationship between thanks and suppressed collective action intentions was mediated by the lower-status group's forgiveness of the outgroup (Ksenofontov & Becker, 2020). In other words, forgiveness expressed by disadvantages groups can be problematic because it can entrench inequities and the hierarchies that already exist (see Raj et al., 2020). Such research demonstrates that forgiveness research should not be pursued in an indiscriminate manner, as if forgiveness will always be beneficial to those who express forgiveness (McNulty, 2011). Instead, researchers need to think about who is offering forgiveness, who the target it, and what are the desired ends of forgiveness. I hope that this thesis has contributed to a more circumscribed appreciation of forgiveness by taking a closer look at the role that conflict context has in shaping forgiveness. However, the thesis could have gone further by measuring some downstream

consequences of forgiveness (see also Future Directions below). To illustrate, in the Brexit context whether Leavers' and Remainers' forgiveness of the respective outgroup predicted willingness to make political concessions on Brexit. Or rather, whether Black South Africans' forgiveness of White South African predicts Black South Africans' decreased support for affirmative action policies that advantage the ingroup. This additional analysis would provide further insight into when forgiveness is beneficial to the ingroup and when it might not be. Further, such analysis—examining the downstream consequences of forgiveness—could be looked at from multiple perspectives. Specifically, whether it favours the ingroup, the outgroup, or even perhaps the longer-term resolution of the conflict. In other words, what does (or does not) benefit the ingroup is not necessarily the same thing as what might bring about the quickest end to intergroup conflict.

A third limitation is whether forgiveness itself is congruent to all intergroup conflict contexts studied in the present thesis. This critique takes two forms. The first is that intergroup forgiveness too readily takes from the interpersonal literature and applies concepts to the ingroup level (Enright et al., 2016). Specifically, forgiveness between conflicting groups is not conceptually viable because for forgiveness in this context to make sense we must attribute states and intentions to groups that they do not possess. It is argued that *groups* cannot think, feel, and act but it is group members that can do this (Enright et al., 2020). This critique fundamentally misses the target because we are not attributing such qualities to the group per se but rather the individuals that share the same ingroup identity (Turner et al., 1987). Critically, it is this sharing of an ingroup identity that is a necessary and sufficient condition for forgiveness between conflicting groups to make conceptual sense. Through one's ingroup identity is the propensity to suffer (Bagci et al., 2018b), feel resentment (Uluğ et al., 2021), hold the

outgroup accountable for the suffering of the ingroup (Dyduch-Hazar et al., 2019), and to decide to take revenge or (as we might hope) to decide to forgive (Dinnick & Noor, 2019). It does not follow from this that because one has a particular ingroup identity, forgiveness will be pertinent to that ingroup member. Indeed, this is equivalent to saying that not all interpersonal transgressions evoke the same degree of anger and resentment (Jones Ross et al., 2018). The second critique is whether forgiveness is equally applicable to all intergroup contexts. It is a critique that research on forgiveness between conflicting groups is yet to conceptually engage in. Forgiveness appears more congruent to conflicts characterised by direct violence and historical victimisation, rather than conflicts characterised by structural conflict (Mari et al., 2020). Indeed, most of the research on forgiveness has been situated in the former rather than the latter conflict context (i.e., Van Tongeren et al., 2014). Although research demonstrates that group members' subject to structural violence are less likely to forgive outgroup members, the systematic study of forgiveness in these intergroup contexts is lacking (Davis et al., 2015; Powell et al., 2017). I think this is because structural conflict by its very nature normalises oppressive and exploitative relationships (Galtung & Høivik, 1971). In that way structural conflicts appear as the norm, meaning there is nothing aberrant about the relationship between the ingroup and outgroup. If the relationship between the ingroup and outgroup is the expected one, it might appear as if there is nothing to forgive. This is a particular insidious feature of structural conflicts, since research demonstrates the suffering incurred by minority groups in structural conflicts (Anderson et al., 2023; Lloyd et al., 2019).

A fourth limitation is the omission of variables that could help to elucidate between-conflict differences in the ingroup identity and forgiveness relationship. A key advantage of the thesis is that we replicated our central conceptual relationship (ingroup

identity & forgiveness) in different conflict contexts. However, in building up this refined analysis—across diverse conflict contexts—variables specific to each conflict context that could help further elucidate group members’ decision to forgive were lacking. To illustrate, in the Brexit conflict (Study 2a—Study 2b) I theorised about why each lower-order component (and therefore higher-order dimension) of HMII might suppress Leavers and Remainers forgiveness. For example, I theorised that group members high in centrality would be more likely to see the threats to the ingroup and therefore less likely to forgive the respective outgroup. The role of threat in this theorising is operating as a mediating mechanism that could have added to the study to further explain group members’ ingroup identity and their decision to forgive. Further, the relationship between Black South Africans ingroup identity and their decision to forgive could well be moderated by the extent to which Black South Africans desire peace (peace visions) (Noor et al., 2015). This conceptual limitation was partly addressed by adding Black South Africans attributions of blame (the Apartheid Government vs. the African National Congress Government) for the inequity they face as a potential conflict specific moderator. However, including additional mediating and moderating variables in earlier studies of the thesis (Study 2a—Study 2b) would have added another layer of complexity to thesis by digging deeper into the variability of the central conceptual relationship across conflict contexts.

The fifth theoretical limitation is the omission of identity fusion. A form of ingroup attachment where group members feel a visceral sense of oneness with their group (Swann Jr. et al., 2009). Identity fusion has been used to explain extreme pro-group behaviour in the form of fighting and dying for one’s ingroup and fellow ingroup members (Chinchilla et al., 2022; Fredman et al., 2017). Highly fused group members should be less willing to forgive adversarial outgroups because they are more inclined

to act with hostility (Buhrmester et al., 2022). Incorporating fusion could have refined the analysis by distilling the unique associations that fusion, self-investment, and self-definition have with forgiveness. Research has demonstrated that identity fusion is a stronger predictor of extreme pro-group behaviour than strength of ingroup identity (Buhrmester et al., 2015; Swann Jr. et al., 2014). Research is yet to take a more refined approach by investigating the unique associations of fusion, self-investment, and self-definition. Theoretically, identity fusion should be more closely related to the self-investment dimension since they are both more affect-laden (Swann Jr. et al., 2009). Thus, one would expect the relationship between self-definition and forgiveness to be unaffected by identity fusion whilst self-investment and fusion should be competing to explain the same variance in forgiveness.

The final theoretical limitation concerns how the intergroup process of forgiveness was conceptualised throughout the thesis. Namely, there was an exclusive focus on how the ingroup feels about the outgroup. Although it was an explicit approach of this thesis to discern how conflict context shape these intergroup processes, the final analysis of forgiveness was conceptualised as binary in nature (Dixon & McKeown, 2021). It concerned how the ingroup felt about one outgroup. Social psychological theorising has begun to think beyond the binary perspective in intergroup processes (see Dixon et al., 2020). Specifically, intergroup phenomena often include more than two groups, and an overly binary perspective might not do fidelity to the complexity of the processes that we are investigating (Dixon et al., 2017). Put another way, a Black South Africans decision to forgive a White South African could be more than the sum of how the Black South Africans thinks about the White South African. For one, our analysis of this process might have to take a closer look at how the various ingroup identities in the South African context interact to predict group members’

forgiveness. Thus, future research would benefit from expanding the scope of forgiveness—beyond the binary—to better capture the multiple group dynamics that categorise intergroup processes (Kerr et al., 2017).

Methodological and Statistical Limitations

Firstly, multicollinearity between the self-investment and self-definition dimensions of group members' identity and the positive (HMII) and negative (ingroup glorification & collective narcissism) forms of ingroup attachment could have biased the parameter estimates across the various models (Kraha et al., 2012).

Multicollinearity exists when predictors in a model are highly correlated, which reduces the reliability of the parameter estimates and inflates the Type I error (Kalnins, 2018).

In essence, this means that predictors in the model are redundant because some predictors are a linear combination of other predictors. However, the variance inflation factor (VIF) was assessed across all models to ensure >5 —the conventional threshold used to infer that multicollinearity is not biasing the results (O'Brien, 2007).

Additionally, across all longitudinal models the between-person and within-person variables were grand-mean and person-mean centred, respectively, which reduces multicollinearity amongst predictor variables (Hox, 2011).

Second, in the refined ROM, the moderating variable conflict type (direct vs. structural) was measured and not manipulated. This leaves open the possibility that the moderating relationships found are due to unmeasured third variable(s) (Campbell & Stanley, 2015). Type of intergroup conflict is an inherently difficult variable to manipulate because it requires randomly assigning participants to intergroup conflicts. One way to get around this—as is sometimes done in forgiveness research (see Wenzel & Okimoto, 2012)—could have been to use a vignette-based design and randomly

assign participants to read about different types of conflict. Whilst this would provide a causal test, a vignette-design loses ecological validity and strips all historical context out of the study design (Kihlstrom, 2021). Thus, the study design employed in the refined ROM had the advantage of being high in ecological validity, testing the refined ROM in the field. These results can now be complemented with vignette-based designs to provide further causal evidence of the relationships amongst our refined ROM.

Third, based on the theorising for the refined ROM, competitive victimhood was predicted to positively predict both dimensions of group members' identity (self-investment & self-definition) and both dimensions of group members' identity would negatively predict group members' forgiveness. In other words, both ingroup identity dimension would be negative parallel mediators of the negative relationship between competitive victimhood and forgiveness. Given such theorising, one might argue that there was little a priori added value in differentiating between the dimensions of group members' identity. However, as demonstrated by the moderated mediation, differentiating between the different dimensions of group members' identity provided a more nuanced test of the moderation via the different paths of the refined ROM. To illustrate, although competitive victimhood positively predicts both dimensions of group members identity, the magnitude of these positive relationships significantly differed across conflict context. Detecting the different relationships between competitive victimhood and group members' ingroup identity would not have been possible via measuring strength of identification. Further, contrary to the predicted relationship, the self-definition dimension positively predicted forgiveness—detecting this relationship would not have been possible by measuring strength of identity (see Noor et al., 2008).

Fourth, across most studies of the thesis (Study 2a—Study 3) there was a negative relationship between self-investment and forgiveness. However, when negative ingroup attachment was introduced into the analysis (Study 4), self-investment positively predicted forgiveness even before the shared variance between positive and negative ingroup attachment was partialled out. This leaves open the possibility that in such contexts as Brexit (or Study 3 conflict contexts), when you partial out the shared variance between positive and negative ingroup attachment, self-investment positively predicts forgiveness—this would be consistent with recent findings in the ingroup attachment literature (Golec de Zavala et al., 2020). Thus, I could have introduced negative ingroup attachment into the analysis sooner or in a conflict context where the relationship between self-investment and forgiveness was already reported as negative.

Finally, the observation could be made that when previous research has measured the relationship between strength of ingroup identity and forgiveness, strength of ingroup identity has been masquerading as self-investment. This is because the scales used in previous research predominantly capture the self-investment dimension (Brown et al., 1986; Cameron, 2004; Ellemers et al., 1999). Indeed, the results of the systematic review demonstrated that most items used to measure the ingroup identity and forgiveness relationship pertain to the self-investment dimension (Study 1). However, measuring strength of identification is unreliable for two reasons. First, creating one score that combines both dimensions into one estimate deviates the estimate of ingroup identity away from its true score. This is still the case even if the contribution of self-investment to that unreliable estimate is higher (vs. self-definition). Second, previous research that has measured strength of identity has underrepresented the self-definition dimension. Findings from across this thesis demonstrate that self-definition can suppress (Study 2b) or promote (Study 3) forgiveness.

Future Research Directions

There are seven research directions to be expanded on from this thesis. The first is the need to design manipulations to test the causal effect of group members' ingroup identity dimensions on forgiveness. Four are avenues to be pursued to further refine our understanding of the ingroup identity and forgiveness relationship that address the between-conflict variability in this relationship. Some of these theoretical directions directly follow from the limitations of this thesis that have already been discussed. The sixth points to an untapped perspective in forgiveness research, treating forgiveness as a predictor rather than an outcome. Finally, I close this thesis with a hope for theoretical work on forgiveness going forward: to try and develop of theory of intergroup forgiveness.

First, future research should manipulate the dimensions of group members' identity to test their causal effect on forgiveness. In the thesis limitations I have already discussed the difficulties of applying paradigms used to manipulate ingroup identity to the dimensions of group members' identity. However, there has been one study that successfully manipulated the ingroup identity dimensions that might offer a starting point to design a first experimental study. In a within-subjects design, Roth et al. (2019) manipulated the dimensions of ingroup identity by presenting participants with vignettes of different ways that group members can identify with the groups they are members of. Across four conditions, the vignettes manipulated the dimensions of ingroup identity by describing identifying with a group where self-investment is high (vs. low) or self-investment is low (vs. high) and self-definition is high (vs. low) or self-definition is low (vs. high). In each condition, participants selected a group they are members of that meets the description in the vignette before completing the HMII scale,

i.e., the dependent variable (Leach et al., 2008). This experimental design was successful because participants got to select the group that they are members of that meets the description in the vignette. Therefore, the group membership was not imposed on them by the researchers. Thus, there would not be a clash between the description in the vignette and participants' actual group membership. Roth et al. (2019) opted for the more ecologically valid approach of having participants draw on their actual group memberships. Directly applying this design to forgiveness is problematic because the group membership that participants select (to match the vignette) would have had to have been transgressed against, so there is something to forgive. If participants select a group membership (to match the vignette) that has not been transgressed against then there is nothing to forgive, and the dependent variable becomes meaningless. However, you could adapt the Roth et al. (2019) design to a between-subjects design using the same conditions. Again, participants could select their own group memberships that meets the description in the vignette. However, after the manipulation, participants could read another vignette describing a transgression happening against an ingroup member and imagine it happening to them and report their forgiveness (see Wenzel & Okimoto, 2014). This design is not without its drawbacks, not least the lack of ecological validity as a function of the use of vignette to invoke a transgression. And that because participants get to select their own group memberships, this could potentially confound the relationship between the ingroup identity dimensions manipulation and forgiveness. However, it could provide a first experimental test of the relationship between the ingroup identity dimensions and forgiveness. More broadly, because of our multidimensional understanding of ingroup identity, there is a need to design more refined manipulations of ingroup identity that

can effectively target the dimensions (or even lower-order components) of group members' identity.

Second, future research should begin to dig deeper into the between-conflict variability in the central relationship between ingroup identity and forgiveness. A logical starting point would be to further integrate the multidimensional analysis of ingroup identity with the ingroup's collective suffering (Noor et al., 2017). There is a great deal of variability across conflict contexts in the magnitude and type of suffering incurred by the ingroup (Vollhardt et al., 2022). Indeed, it was reasoned that this should directly affect one's ingroup identity because the suffering incurred is a function of one's ingroup identity through which one makes sense of conflict (Bar-Tal, 2013). This thesis has dug deeper into this relationship by integrating our multidimensional approach to ingroup identity with the refined Reconciliation Orientation Model (ROM) (Noor et al., 2008). However, competitive victimhood is just one form of collective suffering that the ingroup engages in (see Schori-Eyal et al., 2017; Vollhardt, 2012). It could be that the different forms of collective suffering that the ingroup engages in has different relationships with group members' ingroup identity (Leach et al., 2008). This could subsequently differentially impact their decision to forgive the outgroup. Thus, this analysis would integrate a refined analysis of the different forms of collective suffering with the different dimensions of ingroup identity to test their impact on group members' decision to forgive. Alternately, an interesting approach could be to look at the different dimensions across which the ingroup suffers (physical, material, and cultural dimension of suffering, Noor et al., 2012) and assess their impact on group members' ingroup identity and forgiveness. This latter approach takes a step back, as it were, and asks not how the ingroup construe their suffering but rather precisely how does the ingroup suffer. This reasoning implies, like our refined ROM (Study 3), that

the ingroup identity dimensions operate as a key mediating mechanism between the different dimensions of group members' identity and forgiveness.

Third, a key advantage of taking the refined approach in this thesis is that it meant, for the first time, we could theorise about how group members' ingroup identity relates to their forgiveness via their ingroup identity dimension (and lower-order components) (Leach et al., 2008). However, this isn't the end of this theorising. In fact, by the very process of theorising about how each dimension (or even lower-order component) of group members' identity relates to their forgiveness, several mediating mechanisms have been identified that could further elucidate group members' decision to forgive. To illustrate, on the self-investment side, it was reasoned that perceptions of intergroup threat could explain the negative relationship between the centrality lower-order component and forgiveness (Stephan et al., 2009). Further, it was reasoned that the ingroup's desire to defend fellow ingroup members explains the negative relationship between solidarity and forgiveness (Wohl et al., 2012). On the self-definition side, it was reasoned that failing to thwart the outgroup from achieving their goals could explain the negative relationship between individual self-stereotyping and forgiveness (Leach et al., 2008). Testing such mediating mechanism would go further in refining our analysis between ingroup identity and forgiveness by identifying more precisely why the different dimensions suppress (or increase) forgiveness. Testing these mediating mechanisms could follow a two-step approach. First, using a cross-sectional design, the mediating mechanisms could be tested as a first way to identify the causal mechanism. This first step is the common approach to testing mediations in social psychology, however it suffers from the fact the observed mediation could be caused by unmeasured omitted variables and a causal identification problem (Pearl, 2014). Specifically, is it the proposed independent variable that causes the mediator or vice

versa. The second step, to build on the first cross-sectional step, could test the mediating pathways using experimental designs, therefore testing the causal effect of the independent variable on the mediator and the mediator on the dependent variable (see Imai et al., 2010). Another advantage of testing potential mediating mechanisms is that they introduce another source of between-conflict variability. For example, not all intergroup conflicts pose the same immediate threat to ingroup members. Indeed, there are different dimensions of threat that the ingroup experiences in intergroup conflict (real, symbolic) (Stephan et al., 2009). Furthermore, some threat is existential and one's group faces being destroyed whilst some is more insidious when one's worldview is being threatened (Galtung, 1969). Thus, leaving open the potential for the mediating mechanisms to differ as a function of intergroup conflict.

Fourth, testing the moderating role of conflict type (Study 3), conflicts were classified as either direct or structural (Galtung, 1969). Although this is in keeping with a distinction that has long been made in the intergroup conflict literature, it is a rather crude distinction since direct violence includes structural violence (and vice versa) (Mari et al., 2020). In other words, direct and structural conflicts covary. There are other ways to classify conflicts that might be more illuminating. For example, those conflicts where attempts have (vs have not) been made to end conflict and bring about peace. To illustrate, the signing of the Good Friday Agreement was an explicit attempt to satisfy Catholics and Protestants demand for justice and to broker peace. But in the Israeli and Palestinian conflict no explicit peace agreement has been brokered (although attempts have been made, i.e., Oslo accords). Using attempts at justice as our way to test between conflict difference would be better since we have external metrics to appeal to make the distinction, i.e., the justice that has or has not been implemented. This represents a distinction that is more orthogonal than the direct vs. structural

distinction. Orthogonality is, in effect, the degree of (linear) independence between two variables (Bhatia & Šemrl, 1999). The more (less) orthogonal two variables are the less (more) they covary. Therefore, because justice concerns is more orthogonal (vs. conflict type) we can more reliably attribute between-conflict differences to the distinction (Imai et al., 2010). Integrating this distinction in conflict type with the different forms of justice might further refine the way the ingroup's demand for justice predicts their forgiveness. In particular, the type of justice that has (vs. has not) been implemented might shape the ingroup's demand for a particular form of justice (restorative, retributive, distributive, and procedural) and therefore their levels of forgiveness. In other words, the conflict context shapes the ingroup's demand for a particular form of justice. Taking a longer perspective at the intergroup conflict literature, it is good practice for researchers who compare across intergroup conflicts—when this variable is treated in a nominal way—to consider the orthogonality of the conflicts. The more orthogonal the conflicts the more reliably we can attribute results to genuine between-conflict differences, rather than unmeasured third variables (Imai et al., 2010). Considering the relative orthogonality of between conflict differences is especially important since it is inherently difficult to manipulate type of intergroup conflicts, so researchers are always going to be faced with the challenge of unmeasured third variables affecting the outcome. Yet, researchers should embrace measuring (rather than manipulating) type of intergroup conflicts as that way researchers can capture the unique historical contexts that exist in each intergroup conflict. Thus, researchers can avoid the accusation that social psychological research is too ahistorical because it places too high a pedigree on experimental designs that strip all context out of the research (Gergen, 2012).

Fifth, harnessing the potential of collecting data across multiple intergroup conflict contexts, as has been done recently in other areas of intergroup relations, would greatly benefit our understanding of forgiveness (i.e., Van Bavel et al., 2020; Sternisko et al., 2023). In this form of analysis, the different types of intergroup conflicts are not treated in a nominal way but rather as a random effect (Hox, 2013). This means that we directly estimate the variability across conflicts, rather than differences between conflicts (Zhang et al., 2009). This is a non-trivial distinction because we want to see how much forgiveness varies across different intergroup conflict and the magnitude of this difference (i.e., between-conflict differences) does not tell us anything about the variability. Thus, being able to collect data across a large cross-section of intergroup conflicts allows us to directly assess this variability and provide us with a landscape picture of forgiveness. Importantly, this gives us access to data we would not have by collecting data in one or across a small number of conflicts. Rather, it would allow us to collect data across a diverse range of intergroup conflicts and for the first-time estimate variability that exists in forgiveness and its antecedents across intergroup conflicts.

Sixth, thus far the future avenues of research have concentrated on the predictive side of the equation. In other words, how can we advance our understanding of group members' forgiveness by treating forgiveness as an outcome variable and adding more predictors to the model and reading off their relationships. This is of course informative, and it is predominantly how forgiveness research has progressed so far (Hewstone et al., 2006; Noor et al., 2008; Van Tongeren et al., 2014). However, if we unilaterally pursue this approach, we might omit a certain layer of understanding we would get if we thought of forgiveness as the predictor, instead of the outcome. Thus, there might be utility in pursuing forgiveness research from another point of view, for the following reason. The most consistent finding in the interpersonal forgiveness

literature is that relationship closeness is the strongest positive predictor of forgiveness (Karremans et al., 2011; Tsang et al., 2006). The logic goes that not only can we be the most hurt by those closest to us, but we also want to resolve conflict with those closest to us (Strelan et al., 2013). It is hard to draw parallels with this and intergroup conflict. In the context of intergroup conflict, there is not always a relationship to resolve in the sense that the ingroup have lost a valued relationship with the outgroup. In many intergroup conflicts, the ingroup never had a close relationship with the outgroup (Al Ramiah et al., 2011). This might be the reason why intergroup forgiveness is so difficult to attain, there has never been a valued relationship between the ingroup and outgroup to tether our hopes of forgiveness to. It is perhaps also the sharpest distinction between interpersonal and intergroup forgiveness. This draws into question some fundamental questions about what intergroup forgiveness looks like. Rather than working towards or restoring a valued relationship, forgiveness between conflicting groups might be more indicative of the positive downstream consequences it produces for the conflict (see Schumann & Walton, 2022; Twardawski et al., 2023). To illustrate, an Israeli forgiving a Palestinian might be more indicative of that Israeli acknowledging the Palestinian's equal political rights, rather than that Israeli having a valued relationship with that Palestinian. It is a worthy endeavour to pursue this so far underappreciated dimension of forgiveness research, i.e., what does forgiveness predict, in tandem with pursuing the antecedents of forgiveness. It will help to identify the downstream consequences of forgiveness, and therefore when it might be beneficial and when it might be negative for the ingroup (Greenaway et al., 2011). Further, it will help refine our theoretical understanding of forgiveness, demonstrating how forgiveness manifests itself in the context of intergroup conflict.

The final, and most lofty, future research direction is to work towards a theory of intergroup forgiveness that could help us explain group members' decision to forgive, a theory unspecific to a particular conflict but general to them all. This research aim might strike one as odd, and there are two obvious objections to a theory of forgiveness. First, a theme subscribed to throughout this thesis is that we must not attempt to overgeneralise our findings on intergroup conflict, and we must appreciate the conflict-dependent nature of many of the processes we investigate (Vollhardt et al., 2021). Second, the central finding of this thesis is that there is variability in group members' decision to forgive across conflict context. In the wake of these two objections, why would a theory of intergroup forgiveness be desirable (or even attainable)? One must answer each objection. On the first objection, it is eminently likely that attempts to guard against overgeneralising are precisely a function of our lacking more general integrative theories of intergroup conflict (Wiggins & Christopherson, 2019). Put another way, if we are yet to have a theoretical basis to explain why our findings differ across intergroup conflict, then we must say that our findings are context dependent. This is a prudent move to make when lacking theoretical justification to move beyond the context of your empirical findings (Oberauer & Lewandowsky, 2019). Yet, it does not follow from this that a theory of forgiveness is therefore not attainable. It just means we are yet to have done the empirical and theoretical work to accrue a theory of forgiveness. On the second objection, variability across conflict context might tempt one to say a theory of forgiveness is too ambitious, no theory of forgiveness could ever be up to the task of explaining such variability. I must confess, I am not so bold to make such a claim. I subscribe to the much more conservative claim that research on forgiveness between

conflict groups is still too premature and we need more data before we could justify that claim.

I offer one bit of conservative hope that a theory of forgiveness between conflicting groups is attainable. I don't think anyone would doubt the myriad different ways that we are hurt by others. Friends lie to us. Loved one's cheat on us. People steal from us. Relatives break our trust. Work colleagues talk behind our back. And people we care about abandon us. Yet, through this complicated mess of hurt and suffering, research on interpersonal forgiveness have generated theories that explain how people come to forgive those that have hurt them (Forster et al., 2020; Freedman & Enright, 2019; Worthington Jr et al., 2015). These theories do not caveat that the transgression one experiences must be of a certain type, of a certain magnitude, or to have occurred at a specific time from the present, they attempt to explain forgiveness in all its nuances (McCullough, 2000). I see no reason to limit forgiveness between conflicting groups to a context-dependent relationship. We must just acknowledge that we need to deepen our understanding of intergroup forgiveness to a stage where we can build more detailed, encompassing, and deductive theory. I hope the contribution of this thesis makes another step in that direction. Not least, this thesis has demonstrated that the relationship between ingroup identity and group members' decision to forgive is a lot more nuanced than previously appreciated—and that is a starting point.

Conclusion

Intergroup conflicts cause a deep sense of suffering for group members. The suffering ingroup members experience is so potent that it can motivate them to inflict suffering of their own. As social psychology has endeavoured to disrupt this suffering and to promote peace, forgiveness is a potential response group members can make to

their suffering to promote peace. This thesis has refined our understanding of group members decision to forgive by isolating on the different dimensions of group members' identity to see which predicts forgiveness. We have found strong evidence that it is the self-investment dimension of group members' identity that suppresses their forgiveness of outgroups. However, we have also demonstrated that the relationship between group members' identity dimension and forgiveness is more complex since group members' decision to forgive is shaped by the conflict the identities are situated in.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Ethics Approval Letter for Research



Psychology – Faculty Research Ethics Committee

October 19th, 2021

Project title: Understanding the relationship between group identification, forgiveness and intergroup reconciliation
Main applicant: Iwan Dinnick
FREC project number: PS-190049
Type of review: Amendment
Decision: Approved

Dear Iwan,

Thank you for confirming that the new set of experiments will follow the same format as those described in phase 2 of your initial application:

- for example, employ the same type of stimuli, collect the same type of data, same approach to data management etc
- and do not require changes to the participant information sheet, consent form;

Best of luck with your study.

Best wishes,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Nicky Edelstyn".

Chair

Prof Nicky Edelstyn

Appendix B

Keyword Search for Systematic Review of Ingroup Identity Items

“ingroup” or “identity” or “ingroup identity” or “collective identity” or “group identity” or “social identity” AND “forgive” or “forgiveness” or “revenge”

Appendix C

List of Measures used to Measure Ingroup Identity and Forgiveness Relationship

Brown, R., Condor, S., Mathews, A., Wade, G., & Williams, J. (1986). Explaining intergroup differentiation in an industrial organization. *Journal of Occupational psychology*, 59(4), 273-286.

I am a person who considers [ingroup] important

I am a person who identifies with the [ingroup]

I am a person who feels strong ties with the [ingroup]

I am a person who is glad to belong to the [ingroup]

I am a person who sees myself as belonging to the [ingroup]

I am a person who makes excuses to belonging to the [ingroup]

I am a person who tries to hide belonging to the [ingroup]

I am a person who feels held back by the [ingroup]

I am a person who is annoyed to say I'm a member of the [ingroup]

I am a person who criticizes the [ingroup]

Hogg, M. A., & Hains, S. C. (1996). Intergroup relations and group solidarity: Effects of group identification and social beliefs on depersonalized attraction. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 70(2), 295.

While filling out this questionnaire I thought of myself as an [ingroup]

How important is being an [ingroup] in your everyday life

I feel similar to other [ingroup]

Are the values that are important to you related to being an [ingroup]

Leach, C. W., Van Zomeren, M., Zebel, S., Vliek, M. L., Pennekamp, S. F., Doosje, B., ... & Spears, R. (2008). Group-level self-definition and self-investment: a hierarchical (multicomponent) model of in-group identification. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 95(1), 144.

Lower-Order Component: Solidarity

I feel a bond with [Leavers/Remainers]

I feel solidarity with [Leavers/Remainers]

I feel committed to [Leavers/Remainers]

Lower-Order Component: Satisfaction

I am glad to be a [Leaver/Remainer]

I think that [Leavers/Remainers] have a lot to be proud of

It is pleasant to be [Leaver/Remainer]

Being [Leaver/Remainer] gives me a good feeling

Lower-Order Component: Centrality

I often think about the fact that I am a [Leaver/Remainer]

The fact that I am a [Leaver/Remainer] is an important part of my identity

Being a [Leaver/Remainer] is an important part of how I see myself

Self-Definition Dimension

Lower-Order Component: Individual Self-Stereotype

I have a lot in common with the average [Leaver/Remainer]

I am similar to the average [Leaver/Remainer]

Lower-Order Component: Ingroup Homogeneity

[Leavers/Remainers] people have a lot in common with each other

[Leavers/Remainers] people are very similar to each other

Vandiver, B. J., Cross Jr, W. E., Worrell, F. C., & Fhagen-Smith, P. E. (2002).

Validating the Cross Racial Identity Scale. *Journal of Counseling psychology, 49(1), 71.*

As an African American, life in America is for good for me

I think of myself as primarily as an American, and seldom as a member of a racial group

Too many Blacks “glamorize” the drug trade and fail to see opportunities that don’t involve crime

I go through periods when I am down on myself because I am Black

As a multiculturalist, I am concerned to many groups (Hispanics, Asian-American, Whites, Jews)

I have strong feeling of hatred and disdain for all White people

I see and think about things from an Afrocentric perspective
When I walk into the room, I always take note of the racial make-up of the people around me
I am not so much a member of a racial group, as I am an American
I sometimes struggle with negative feeling about being Black
My relationship with God plays an important role in my life
Blacks place more emphasis on having a good time than on hard work
I believe that only those Black people who accept an Afrocentric perspective can truly solve the race problem in America
I hate the White community
When I have a chance to make a new friend, issues of race and ethnicity seldom play a role in who that person might be
I believe it is important to have both Black identity and a multicultural perspective, which is inclusive of everyone (e.g., Asians, Latinos, gays & lesbians)
When I look in the mirror at my Black image, sometimes I do not feel good about what I see
If I had to put a label on my identity, it would be “American” and not African American
When I read the newspaper or a magazine, I always look for articles and stories that deal with race and ethnic issues
Many African Americans are too lazy to see opportunities that are right in front of them
As far as I am concerned, affirmative action will be needed for a long time
Black people cannot truly be free until our daily lives are guided by Afrocentric values and principles
White people should be destroyed
I embrace my own Black identity, but I also respect and celebrate the cultural identities of other groups (e.g., Native Americans, Whites, Latinos)
Privately, I sometimes have negative feelings about being Black
If I had to put myself into categories, first I would say that I am American, and second I am a member of a racial group
My feelings and thoughts about God are very important to me
African Americans are too quick to turn to crime to solve their problems
When I have a chance to decorate a room, I tend to select pictures, posters, or works of art that express strong racial-cultural themes
I have White people

Henry, K. B., Arrow, H., & Carini, B. (1999). A tripartite model of group identification: Theory and measurement. *Small group research*, 30(5), 558-581.

I would prefer to be in a different group

Members of this group like one another

I enjoy interacting with members of this group

I don't like many other people in this group

In this group members don't have to rely on one another

All members need to contribute to achieve the group's goals

This group accomplishes things that no single member could achieve

In this group members do not need to cooperate to complete group tasks

I think of this group as part of who I am

I see myself as quite different other members of the group

I don't think this group of part of who I am

I see myself as quite similar to other members of the group

Cameron, J. E. (2004). A three-factor model of social identity. *Self and identity*, 3(3), 239-262.

I have a lot in common with other group members

I feel strong ties to other ingroup members

I find it difficult to form a bond with other ingroup members

I don't feel a sense of being "connected" with other ingroup members

I really "fit in" with other ingroup members

In a group of ingroup members, I really feel that I belong

I often think about the fact that I am an ingroup member

Overall, being an ingroup member has very little do with how I see myself

In general, being an ingroup member is an important part of my self-image

The fact that I am an ingroup member rarely enters my mind

I am not usually conscious of the fact that I am an ingroup member

Being an ingroup member is an important reflection of who I am

In my everyday life I often think about what it means to be an ingroup member

In general, I'm glad to be an ingroup member

I often regret that I am an ingroup member

I don't feel good about being an ingroup member

Generally, I feel good when I think about myself as an ingroup member

Justing think about the fact that I am an ingroup member gives me a bad feeling

Doosje, B., Branscombe, N. R., Spears, R., & Manstead, A. S. (1998). Guilty by association: When one's group has a negative history. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 75(4), 872.

I identify with ingroup

Ingroup are an important group to me

Being an ingroup is an important part of how I see myself

Doosje, B., Ellemers, N., & Spears, R. (1995). Perceived intragroup variability as a function of group status and identification. *Journal of experimental social psychology*, 31(5), 410-436.

I identify with ingroup

I see myself as an ingroup

I am glad to be ingroup

I feel strong ties with ingroup

Hamer, K., & Gutowski, J. (2009). Social identifications and pro-social activity in Poland. *On behalf of others: The psychology of care in a global world*, 163-183.

How close to you feel to ingroup

How often do you use the word we to refer to ingroup

Umaña-Taylor, A. J., Yazedjian, A., & Bámaca-Gómez, M. (2004). Developing the ethnic identity scale using Eriksonian and social identity perspectives. *Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research*, 4, 9 –38

My feelings about my ethnicity are mostly negative

I feel negative about my identity

I wish I were of a different ethnicity

I am not happy with my ethnicity

If I could choose, I would prefer to be a different ethnicity

I dislike my ethnicity

I have not participated in many activities that would teach me about my ethnicity

I have experienced things that reflect my ethnicity, such as eating food, listening to music, and watching movies

I have attended events that helped me to learn about my ethnicity

I have read books/magazines/newspapers or other materials that have taught me about my ethnicity

I have learned about my ethnicity by doing things such as reading (books, magazines, newspapers), searching the internet, or keeping up with the current events

I am clear about what my ethnicity means to me

I understand how I feel about my ethnicity

I know what my ethnicity means to me

I have a clear sense of what my ethnicity means to me

Sellers, R. M., Smith, M. A., Shelton, J. N., Rowley, S. A., & Chavous, T. M.

(1998). Multidimensional model of racial identity: A reconceptualization of African American racial identity. *Personality and social psychology review*, 2(1), 18-39.

Overall, being black has very little to do with how I see myself

In general, being Black is an important part of my self-image

My destiny is tied to the destiny of other Black people

Being Black is unimportant to m sense of what kind of person I am

I have a strong sense of belonging to Black people

I have a strong attachment to other Black people

Being Black is an important reflection of who I am

Being Black is not a major factor in my social relationships

I feel good about Black people

I am happy that I am Black

I feel that Black have made major achievements and accomplishments

I often regret that I am Black

I am proud to be Black

I feel that the Black community have made a major contribution to society today

Overall, Blacks are considered good by others

In general, others respect Black people

Most people find that Black people, on average, to be more effective than other racial groups

Blacks are not respected by the broader society

In general, others view Blacks in a positive manner

Society views Black people as an asset

Okimoto, T. G., & Tyler, T. R. (2007). Is compensation enough? Relational concerns in responding to unintended inequity. *Group processes & intergroup relations*, 10(3), 399-420.

I talk about ingroup as a good country to be part of
The values of ingroup are similar to mine
I am proud to tell people I am part of ingroup
I would recommend ingroup to foreigners as a good place to live
When someone praises ingroup, I feel proud
Being an ingroup is a large part of who I am

Van Zomeren, M., Spears, R., Fischer, A. H., & Leach, C. W. (2004). Put your money where your mouth is! Explaining collective action tendencies through group-based anger and group efficacy. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 87(5), 649.

I view myself as a student
I feel connected to other students
I am glad to be a student

Phinney, J. S. (1992). The multigroup ethnic identity measure: A new scale for use with diverse groups. *Journal of adolescent research*, 7(2), 156-176.

I have time trying to find out more about my own ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs
I am active in organisations or social groups that include mostly members of my own ethnic group
I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means to me
I like meeting and getting to know people from ethnic groups other than my own
I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my ethnic group
I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to
I sometimes feel it would be better if different ethnic groups didn't try to mix together
I am not very clear about the role of my ethnicity in my life
I often spend time with people from ethnic groups other than my own
I really have not spent time trying to learn more about the culture and history of my ethnic group
I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me, in terms of how I relate to my own group and other groups
In order to learn more about my ethnic background I have often talked to other people about my ethnic background
I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group and its accomplishments
I don't try to become friend with people from other ethnic groups

I participate in cultural practices of my own group, such a special food, music, or customs

I am involved in activities with people from other ethnic groups

I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group

I enjoy being around people from ethnic groups other than my own

I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background

Appendix D

Critical Brexit Dates

Most of the data (83%) was collected across four University Open Days that coincided with the following key Brexit dates (all in 2019):

1. August 18th: Boris Johnson was elected leader of the Conservative Party on a mandate to revise the UK's deal with the EU.
2. October 12th and 13th: Boris Johnson had recently written to the EU to ask for an extension to the UK's departure from the EU.
3. November 19th: a Bill in the UK Parliament had just been passed stating that Parliament would not approve any deal (to leave the EU) until a means of implementing the deal was also approved. Effectively, this delayed the UK's departure from the EU.

Appendix E

List of Full Measures

Hierarchical Model of Ingroup Identification (HMII; Leach et al., 2008)

Self-Investment Dimension

Lower-Order Component: Solidarity

I feel a bond with [Leavers/Remainers]

I feel solidarity with [Leavers/Remainers]

I feel committed to [Leavers/Remainers]

Lower-Order Component: Satisfaction

I am glad to be a [Leaver/Remainer]

I think that [Leavers/Remainers] have a lot to be proud of

It is pleasant to be [Leaver/Remainer]

Being [Leaver/Remainer] gives me a good feeling

Lower-Order Component: Centrality

I often think about the fact that I am a [Leaver/Remainer]

The fact that I am a [Leaver/Remainer] is an important part of my identity

Being a [Leaver/Remainer] is an important part of how I see myself

Self-Definition Dimension

Lower-Order Component: Individual Self-Stereotype

I have a lot in common with the average [Leaver/Remainer]

I am similar to the average [Leaver/Remainer]

Lower-Order Component: Ingroup Homogeneity

[Leavers/Remainers] people have a lot in common with each other

[Leavers/Remainers] people are very similar to each other

Intergroup Forgiveness (McLernon et al., 2004)

Lower-Order Component: Affective

I feel kindness towards [Leavers/Remainers]

I feel hostile towards [Leavers/Remainers]

I feel resentful towards [Leavers/Remainers]

I feel goodwill towards [Leavers/Remainers]

I feel caring towards [Leavers/Remainers]

I feel bitter towards [Leavers/Remainers]

I feel friendly towards [Leavers/Remainers]

I feel disgust towards [Leavers/Remainers]

Lower-Order Component: Cognitive

I think [Leavers/Remainers] are evil

I think [Leavers/Remainers] are worthless

I think [Leavers/Remainers] are misunderstood

I think [Leavers/Remainers] are worthy of respect

I wish well to [Leavers/Remainers]

I disapprove of [Leavers/Remainers]

I think favourably of [Leavers/Remainers]

I condemn [Leavers/Remainers]

Lower-Order Component: Behavioural

I would avoid [Leavers/Remainers]

I would help [Leavers/Remainers]

I would reach out to [Leavers/Remainers]

I would want to see [Leavers/Remainers] hurt

I am on good terms with [Leavers/Remainers]

Ingroup Disloyalty:

I would never change my position on Brexit because I would not want to seem disloyal to the [Leaver/Remainer] cause

Competitive Victimhood (based on Shnabel et al., 2013):

[Leavers]

Outcome A: Leavers could face the prospect of losing their Democratic victory by not implementing Brexit or by the prospect of having a second referendum.

Outcome B: Remainers could face the prospect of losing their European identity by implementing Brexit or no-deal causing economic crisis

Compared to A, outcome B would cause more suffering

Compared to A, outcome B would cause more injustice

Compared to A, outcome B would be morally wrong

[Remainers]

Outcome A: Remainers could face the prospect of losing their European identity by implementing Brexit or no-deal causing economic crisis

Outcome B: Leavers could face the prospect of losing their democratic victory by not implementing Brexit or by the prospect of having a second referendum

Compared to A, outcome B would cause more suffering

Compared to A, outcome B would cause more injustice

Compared to A, outcome B would be morally wrong

In addition to the Study 1 variables, in Study 2 we also measured the following.

Identity Fusion (Swann et al., 2009)

Of the images below: A, B, C, D & E please select the one that best represents your relationship with the [Leave/Remain] group. Participants were then presented with the pictorial version of the identity fusion scale (see

<https://michaelbuhmester.files.wordpress.com/2015/06/pictorial-fusion.pdf>).

Need for cognitive closure (Roets & Van Hiel, 2011)

I don't like situations that are uncertain

I feel uncomfortable when I don't understand the reason why an event occurred in my life

I don't like to go into a situation without knowing what I can expect from it
I dislike unpredictable situations

Emotional Reactions (based on affective forecasting: Wilson & Gilbert, 2005).

We assessed participants' emotional reaction to the likelihood of Brexit being implemented or not being implemented. To increase the psychological salience of this likelihood (or lack thereof), it was framed around Parliamentary decisions that were taking place during each time-point, with the last time-point taking place after Brexit was implemented.

Time-Point 1 = Please indicate how you feel each of the following emotions, if the recent negotiated deal was [not] approved by Parliament tomorrow and therefore Brexit could [not] be implemented: *the [not] was only seen by Remainers to keep the framing of the questions consistent with group membership*

Time-Point 2 = Please indicate how you currently feel each of the following emotions in response to the General Election results and what they could mean for Brexit:

Time-Point 3 = Please indicate how you currently feel each of the following emotions in response to Britain having left the EU on Friday 31st of January.

Responses were recorded on a scale from 1 = not at all, to 7 = very much

I would feel anger

I would feel happiness

I would feel sadness

I would feel fear

I would feel pride

I would feel shame

I would feel contempt

Appendix F

Confirmatory Factor Analysis Invariance Results across Leavers and Remainers

	HMII			Lower-Order Identity			Higher-Order Forgiveness			Lower-Order Forgiveness		
	Configural	Metric	Scalar	Configural	Metric	Scalar	Configural	Metric	Scalar	Configural	Metric	Scalar
<i>Fit indices</i>												
CFI	.95	.95	.95	.95	.95	.95	.95	.95	.94	.95	.95	.94
TLI	.94	.94	.94	.94	.94	.94	.93	.94	.93	.93	.94	.93
SRMR	.05	.07	.07	.04	.04	.04	.05	.05	.05	.05	.05	.05
RMSEA	.08	.08	.08	.08	.08	.08	.09	.08	.09	.09	.09	.09
CI 90%	[.08, .09]	[.07, .09]	[.07, .09]	[.07, .09]	[.07, .08]	[.07, .08]	[.08, 0.10]	[.07, .09]	[.08, .10]	[.08, .10]	[.08, .09]	[.08, .10]
χ^2	¹ 610.88*	² 638.94*	³ 658.21*	⁴ 566.17*	⁵ 572.02*	⁶ 591.85*	⁷ 303.56*	⁸ 322.74*	⁹ 389.58*	¹⁰ 303.56*	¹¹ 319.84*	¹² 386.63*
χ^2 / df	4.30	4.15	4.09	4.23	4.00	3.89	4.74	4.42	4.93	4.74	4.50	7.96
AIC	34791.35	34795.40	34800.67	34762.63	34750.48	34752.32	24659.58	24660.76	24715.60	24659.58	24661.86	24714.65
SABIC	34957.11	34940.44	34933.63	34942.21	34914.52	34900.82	24772.54	24758.32	24802.89	24772.54	24762.84	24803.65
GFI	.98	.98	.98	.98	.98	.98	.99	.99	.98	.99	.99	.99
AGFI	.97	.97	.97	.97	.97	.97	.98	.98	0.97	.98	.98	.97

* $p < .05$; ¹ $df = 142$; ² $df = 154$; ³ $df = 161$; ⁴ $df = 134$; ⁵ $df = 143$; ⁶ $df = 152$; ⁷ $df = 64$; ⁸ $df = 73$; ⁹ $df = 79$; ¹⁰ $df = 64$; ¹¹ $df = 71$; ¹² $df = 78$.

Appendix G

Full Confirmatory Factor Analysis Fit Statistics for Different Intergroup Forgiveness Models

The confirmatory factor analyses (CFA) fit statistics of the three poor-fitting forgiveness models which we refined to arrive at the two reported in the manuscript. Firstly, replicating the three-factors proposed by McLernon et al. (2004), secondly including a method factor for negatively worded items, and thirdly removing the method factor.

	<i>Forgiveness CFAs</i>		
	GEFI-SF	GEFI-SF + Method Factor	GEFI-SF – Method Factor
<i>Fit Indices</i>			
CFI	.70	.93	.95
TLI	.66	.91	.93
SRMR	.11	.06	.05
RMSEA	.13	.08	.09
CI 90%	[.13, .14]	[.07, .08]	[.08, .10]
χ^2	¹ 3393.04*	² 771.33*	³ 282.27*
χ^2 / df	18.2	6.71	8.82
AIC	53446.78	42857.71	24761.54
SABIC	53523.20	42922.56	24800.90
GFI	0.62	.90	.94
AGFI	0.53	.87	.90

Appendix H

Variance Inflation Factor

	Self- Investment	Self- Definition	Solidarity	Centrality	Satisfaction	Individual Self- Stereotyping	Ingroup Homogeneity
	VIF	VIF	VIF	VIF	VIF	VIF	VIF
Model 1	1.56	1.56					
Model 2	1.56	1.56					
Model 3			3.23	1.89	3.45	2.50	1.72
Model 4			3.23	1.89	3.45	2.50	1.72

Appendix I

Sensitivity Analysis Controlling for Known Predictors of Forgiveness

We re-estimated Model 1 (i.e., higher-order HMII predicting higher-order forgiveness), the most parsimonious predictor of forgiveness, controlling for: competitive victimhood, age, gender, and ingroup disloyalty. The relationships between both identity dimensions and the global forgiveness dimension did not significantly change. The following control variables also significantly predicted the global forgiveness dimension: ingroup disloyalty ($\beta = -.21, p < .001$) and gender ($\beta = -.08, p < .047$; males were significantly less forgiving). The model with the mentioned controls did not fit the data as well as the model without the control variables $\chi^2(414) = 1446.08, p < .05$; CFI = .91; TLI = .90; RMSEA = .06, CI 90% [.06, .06]; SRMR = .09.

Appendix J

Logistic Regression Predicting Attrition

	<i>b</i>	SE	Sig	Exp	CI
Forgiveness	<-.01	.01	.594	.99	[-.15, .08]
Self-investment	.02	.01	.200	1.02	[-.04, .21]
Self-definition	<.01	.01	.738	1.01	[-.11, .15]
Group Membership	-.05	.04	.282	0.95	[-.73, .19]
Gender	<.01	.04	.949	1.01	[-.39, .43]

Appendix K

Longitudinal Invariance of Ingroup Identity and Forgiveness Models

	HMII			Forgiveness		
	Configural	Metric	Scalar	Configural	Metric	Scalar
<i>Fit Indices</i>						
CFI	.91	.91	.91	.95	.95	.95
TLI	.89	.90	.90	.95	.95	.95
SRMR	.08	.08	.08	.06	.07	.06
RMSEA	.08	.07	.07	.06	.06	.05
CI 90%	[.08, .08]	[.06, .07]	[.06, .07]	[.06, .07]	[.06, .07]	[.05, .06]
χ^2	2480.65*	2062.51*	2132.33*	936.52*	907.01*	841.94*
χ^2 / df	3.32	2.68	2.67	2.46	2.50	2.1
AIC	128376.79	128353.50	128444.52	92588.92	92595.40	92694.26
SABIC	128493.61	128452.35	128553.58	92651.60	92671.52	92764.40
GFI	.76	.76	.86	.86	.86	.91
AGFI	.71	.71	.84	.83	.82	.88

* $p < .05$.

Appendix L

Testing Between- and Within-Person Effects of Higher- and Lower-Order Models of Both Ingroup Identity and Forgiveness

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5		Model 6	
	Affective		Cognitive		Behaviour		Affective		Cognitive		Behaviour	
	β	95% CI	β	95% CI	β	95% CI	β	95% CI	β	95% CI	β	95% CI
Fixed Effects												
Between-Person												
Self-Investment	-.24***	[-.34, -.13]	-.28***	[-.38, -.18]	-.18***	[-.29, -.07]						
Self-Definition	-.11*	[-.22, -.01]	-.12*	[-.22, -.02]	-.09	[-.20, .01]						
Centrality							-.29***	[-.39, -.18]	-.27***	[-.37, -.16]	-.27***	[-.38, -.16]
Solidarity							-.13*	[-.25, -.01]	-.17**	[-.29, -.05]	-.02	[-.15, .10]
Satisfaction							.14*	[.02, .26]	.11	[-.01, .23]	.05	[-.07, .18]
Individual Self-Stereotyping							-.15*	[-.28, -.01]	-.14*	[-.27, .00]	<-.01	[-.13, .15]
Ingroup Homogeneity							.04	[-.07, .16]	.02	[-.09, .14]	-.08	[-.20, .05]
Within-Person												
Self-Investment	-.03*	[-.07, .00]	-.02	[-.05, .01]	-.04*	[-.07, -.00]						
Self-Definition	-.01	[-.05, .02]	-.04**	[-.07, -.01]	-.04*	[-.07, .00]						
Centrality							-.02	[-.06, .01]	<-.01	[-.04, .02]	-.04*	[-.07, .00]
Solidarity							-.02	[-.06, .02]	-.01	[-.04, .02]	<-.01	[-.04, .04]

Satisfaction							<.01	[-.03, .04]	<-.01	[-.04, .03]	<-.01	[-.05, .03]
Individual Self-Stereotyping							-.04	[-.08, .00]	-.05*	[-.08, -.01]	-.04	[-.08, .00]
Ingroup Homogeneity							.02	[-.02, .06]	<-.01	[-.04, .03]	<-.01	[-.04, .04]
Random Effects												
Intercept Variance	3.01		3.20		2.19		2.85		3.07		2.12	
Residual Variance	1.81		1.32		1.25		1.80		1.33		1.25	
ICC	.63		.71		.64		.61		.70		.63	
Model Fit												
AIC	5326.56		5079.22		4870.34		5335.50		5095.65		4891.52	
BIC	5362.77		5115.43		4906.55		5402.74		5162.89		4958.76	
Log-Like	-2656.28		-2532.61		-2428.17		-2654.75		-2534.83		-2432.76	
Marginal R^2 / Conditional R^2	.11/.67		.15/.75		.07/.66		.14/.67		.18/.75		.09/.66	

Appendix M

List of Full Measures

Competitive Victimhood (Noor et al., 2008)

[ingroup] have suffered more casualties than [outgroup]

[ingroup] have suffered more morally unacceptable atrocities compared to [outgroup]

[ingroup] have suffered more emotional pain than [outgroup]

Hierarchical Model of Ingroup Identification (HMII; Leach et al., 2008)

Self-Investment Dimension

Lower-Order Component: Solidarity

I feel a bond with [Leavers/Remainers]

I feel solidarity with [Leavers/Remainers]

I feel committed to [Leavers/Remainers]

Lower-Order Component: Satisfaction

I am glad to be a [Leaver/Remainer]

I think that [Leavers/Remainers] have a lot to be proud of

It is pleasant to be [Leaver/Remainer]

Being [Leaver/Remainer] gives me a good feeling

Lower-Order Component: Centrality

I often think about the fact that I am a [Leaver/Remainer]

The fact that I am a [Leaver/Remainer] is an important part of my identity

Being a [Leaver/Remainer] is an important part of how I see myself

Self-Definition Dimension

Lower-Order Component: Individual Self-Stereotype

I have a lot in common with the average [Leaver/Remainer]

I am similar to the average [Leaver/Remainer]

Lower-Order Component: Ingroup Homogeneity

[Leavers/Remainers] people have a lot in common with each other

[Leavers/Remainers] people are very similar to each other

Intergroup Forgiveness (McLernon et al., 2004)

Lower-Order Component: Affective

I feel kindness towards [Leavers/Remainers]

I feel hostile towards [Leavers/Remainers]

I feel resentful towards [Leavers/Remainers]

I feel goodwill towards [Leavers/Remainers]

I feel caring towards [Leavers/Remainers]

I feel bitter towards [Leavers/Remainers]

I feel friendly towards [Leavers/Remainers]

I feel disgust towards [Leavers/Remainers]

Lower-Order Component: Cognitive

I think [Leavers/Remainers] are evil

I think [Leavers/Remainers] are worthless

I think [Leavers/Remainers] are misunderstood

I think [Leavers/Remainers] are worthy of respect

I wish well to [Leavers/Remainers]

I disapprove of [Leavers/Remainers]

I think favourably of [Leavers/Remainers]

I condemn [Leavers/Remainers]

Lower-Order Component: Behavioural

I would avoid [Leavers/Remainers]

I would help [Leavers/Remainers]

I would reach out to [Leavers/Remainers]

I would want to see [Leavers/Remainers] hurt

I am on good terms with [Leavers/Remainers]

Intergroup Forgiveness (McLernon et al., 2004)

I feel kindness towards those members of the [outgroup]

I feel resentful towards those members of the [outgroup]

I feel goodwill towards those members of the [outgroup]

I feel caring towards those members of the [outgroup]
I feel friendly towards those members of the [outgroup]
I would help those members of the [outgroup]
I would reach out to those members of the [outgroup]
I am on good terms with those members of the [outgroup]
I think those members of the [outgroup] are worthy of respect
I wish well to those members of the [outgroup]
I would avoid those members of the [outgroup]
I think favourably of those members of the [outgroup]
I am prepared to forgive those members of the [outgroup] for the misdeeds they have committed

Media Role in Conflict

By not ignoring [ingroup], the media could play a central role in healing our wounds
By not presenting women as primitive, the media could play a central role in healing our wounds
By presenting women in a positive manner, the media could play a central role in healing our wounds

Appendix N

CFA Fit Statistics

	Competitive Victimhood	Ingroup Identity	Forgiveness
<i>Fit indices</i>			
CFI	.99	.96	.96
TLI	.99	.95	.95
SRMR	.04	.04	.03
RMSEA	.08	.07	.10
CI 90%	[.03, .14]	[.06, .08]	[.09, .11]
χ^2	6.31	366.28	291.17
χ^2 / df	6.31	5.16	9.1
AIC	6699.65	30377.30	22218.40
SABIC	6707.60	30431.49	22254.77
GFI	.99	.93	.94
AGFI	.97	.91	.90

$df = 1$; $df = 71$; $df = 32$.

Appendix O

CFA Multigroup Invariance Model Fit Statistics

	CV			Ingroup Identity			Forgiveness		
	Configural	Metric	Scalar	Configural	Metric	Scalar	Configural	Metric	Scalar
<i>Fit indices</i>									
CFI	.99	.99	.94	.97	.96	.94	.98	.97	.97
TLI	.98	.98	.93	.96	.95	.93	.97	.97	.96
SRMR	.03	.04	.07	.04	.07	.08	.03	.06	.07
RMSEA	.08	.10	.19	.07	.07	.09	.07	.07	.08
CI 90%	[.02, .14]	[.06, .15]	[.16, .23]	[.06, .08]	[.07, .08]	[.08, .09]	[.06, .08]	[.06, .08]	[.07, .09]
χ^2	7.99*	18.04*	90.16*	422.25*	504.583*	700.195*	267.536*	304.380*	362.57*
χ^2 / df	4	6.01	18	2.97	3.28	3.13	3.26	3.31	3.66
AIC	6508.25	6516.30	6584.87	29411.52	29469.85	29651.46	24787.59	24804.43	24848.63
SABIC	6533.68	6540.14	6605.53	29564.53	29603.74	29774.19	24901.43	24902.47	24935.60
GFI	.99	.99	.99	.99	.98	.98	.98	.97	.97
AGFI	.99	.99	.98	.98	.97	.97	.96	.96	.96

Appendix P

SEM with Competitive Victimhood as Mediator

	Self-Investment		Self-Definition		Forgiveness	
	β	95% CI	β	95% CI	β	95% CI
Competitive Victimhood	0.53***	[0.42, 0.67]	0.01	[-0.10, 0.12]	-0.18***	[-0.27, -0.09]
Self-Investment	-	-	-	-	-0.21***	[-0.34, -0.09]
Self-Definition	-	-	-	-	0.19**	[0.08, 0.31]
Mediation Effects						
	Indirect Effects			Total Effects		
	β	CILL	CIUL	β	CILL	CIUL
Self-Investment	-0.09***	-0.14	-0.05	-0.31***	-0.42	-0.19
Self-Definition	<-0.01	-0.02	0.02	0.19*	0.07	0.31

Appendix Q

Logistic Regression Predicting Attrition

	Exp(<i>b</i>)	SE	Sig	Exp(<i>b</i>)	CI
Forgiveness	<-0.01	0.01	.533	1.00	[-.01, .03]
Retributive Justice	0.01	0.01	0.660	1.01	[-.01, .03]
Restorative Justice	<-0.01	0.01	0.787	1.00	[-.03, .02]
Distributive Justice	-0.03	0.02	0.060	0.97	[-.06, <.01]
Procedural Justice	0.01	0.02	0.624	1.01	[-.02, .04]
Self-investment	<0.01	.02	0.734	1.01	[-.03, .04]
Self-definition	<0.01	.02	0.841	1.00	[-.02, .03]
Ingroup Glorification	-0.01	.01	0.435	0.98	[-.05, .02]
Collective Narcissism	0.01	.01	0.895	1.01	[-.03, .03]
Gender	-0.03	<.01	0.360	0.97	[-.10, .03]
Age	<0.01	<.01	0.758	1.00	[<-.01, <.01]

Appendix R

List of Full Measures

Hierarchical Model of Ingroup Identification (HMII; Leach et al., 2008)

Self-Investment Dimension

Lower-Order Component: Solidarity

- I feel a bond with Black South Africans
- I feel solidarity with Black South Africans
- I feel committed to Black South Africans

Lower-Order Component: Satisfaction

- I am glad to be a Black South African
- I think that Black South Africans have a lot to be proud of
- It is pleasant to be a Black South African
- Being a Black South African gives me a good feeling

Lower-Order Component: Centrality

- I often think about the fact that I am a Black South African
- The fact that I am a Black South African is an important part of my identity
- Being a Black South African is an important part of how I see myself

Self-Definition Dimension

Lower-Order Component: Individual Self-Stereotype

- I have a lot in common with the average Black South African
- I am similar to the average Black South African

Lower-Order Component: Ingroup Homogeneity

- Black South Africans have a lot in common with each other
- Black South Africans are very similar to each other

Ingroup Glorification (Roccas et al., 2006)

- Other groups can learn from Black South Africans

In today's world the only way to know what to do is to rely on leaders of Black South Africans

Black South Africans have the best army in the African continent

One of the important things we have to teach children is to respect the leaders of Black South Africans

Relative to other groups, Black South Africans are a very moral group

It is disloyal for Black South Africans to criticise other Black South Africans

Black South Africans are better than all other groups in all respects

There is a generally a good reason for every rule and regulation made by Black South Africans

Collective Narcissism (Golec de Zavala et al., 2009)

I wish other groups would more quickly recognise the authority of Black South Africans

Black South Africans deserves special treatment

I will never be satisfied until Black South Africans get the recognition they deserve

I insist on Black South Africans getting the respect that is due to them

It really makes me angry when others criticize Black South Africans

If Black South Africans had a major say in the world, the world would be a much better place

I get upset when people do not notice the achievements of Black South Africans

Not many people seem to fully understand the importance of Black South Africans

The true worth of Black South Africans is often misunderstood

Distributive Justice (Wenzel, 2000)

To restore justice, Black South Africans should have land redistributed to them from White South Africans

To restore justice, Black South Africans, compared to White South Africans, should be favoured when applying for jobs

To restore justice, Black South Africans should receive financial compensation from White South Africans

Procedural Justice (Tyler & Jackson, 2014)

To restore justice, people who make decisions on what is right and wrong must give Black South Africans the chance to tell their side of the story

To restore justice, people who make decisions on what is right and wrong must always make decision based upon the law and not their personal biases or opinions

To restore justice, people who make decisions on what is right and wrong must make decisions that respect Black South Africans

Retributive Justice (Leidner et al., 2013)

The only way to restore justice is to punish White South Africans

For the sake of justice, White South Africans have to suffer

Justice is served at the moment that White South Africans are punished

Restorative Justice (Leidner et al., 2013)

To restore justice, White South Africans need to offer a sincere apology for having acted wrongly against Black South Africans

To restore justice, White South Africans need to tell the truth about the harms they did to Black South Africans

To restore justice, White South Africans need to show compassion towards Black South Africans

To restore justice, White South Africans must accept most of the moral responsibility for the violent aspects of South African's history

Intergroup Forgiveness (McLernon et al., 2004)

Lower-Order Component: Affective

I feel kindness towards White South Africans

I feel resentful towards White South Africans

I feel goodwill towards White South Africans

I feel caring towards White South Africans

I feel friendly towards White South Africans

Lower-Order Component: Cognitive

I think White South Africans are worthy of respect

I wish well to White South Africans

I think favourably of White South Africans

Lower-Order Component: Behavioural

I would help White South Africans

I would reach out to White South Africans

I am on good terms with White South Africans

Blame

Who do you blame for the inequalities Black South Africans face, compared to White South Africans?

Who do you blame for the injustices Black South Africans face, compared to White South Africans?

Overall, considering all the inequalities and injustices faced by Black South Africans, compared to White South Africans, who do you think is more to blame?

Appendix S

Longitudinal Invariance Models

	Restorative Justice			Retributive Justice			Procedural Justice			Distributive Justice		
	Configural	Metric	Scalar	Configural	Metric	Scalar	Configural	Metric	Scalar	Configural	Metric	Scalar
<i>Fit indices</i>												
CFI	.98	.98	.98	.99	.99	.99	1.00	1.00	1.00	.99	.99	.99
TLI	.97	.98	.98	.99	.98	.98	1.00	1.00	1.00	.99	.99	.98
SRMR	.03	.03	.03	.02	.04	.04	.02	.03	.02	.03	.04	.04
RMSEA	.06	.06	.05	.06	.06	.06	<.01	<.01	<.01	.03	.04	.05
CI 90%	[.05, .08]	[.04, .07]	[.04, .07]	[.04, .09]	[.04, .08]	[.05, .08]	[.01, .03]	[.01, .03]	[.01, .02]	[.01, .06]	[.01, .06]	[.03, .07]
χ^2	¹ 98.911*	² 101.649*	³ 109.110*	⁴ 36.920*	⁵ 49.171*	⁶ 65.771*	⁷ 10.039*	⁸ 13.726*	⁹ 18.325*	¹⁰ 22.190*	¹¹ 28.386*	¹² 51.340*
χ^2 / df	4.30	4.15	4.09	4.23	4.00	3.89	4.74	4.42	4.93	4.74	4.50	7.96
AIC	15789.870	15780.608	15796.069	10585.926	10590.176	10612.777	12145.422	12141.108	12151.708	13006.540	13004.736	13033.690
SABIC	15822.365	15808.104	15826.898	10610.996	10611.904	10637.011	12170.492	12162.836	12175.942	13031.610	13026.463	13057.924
GFI	.96	.96	.99	.97	.97	.98	.99	.99	.99	.98	.99	.99
AGFI	.92	.93	.98	.94	.94	.95	.98	.98	.98	.97	.97	.98

¹df = 39; ²df = 45; ³df = 53; ⁴df = 15; ⁵df = 19; ⁶df = 25; ⁷df = 15; ⁸df = 19; ⁹df = 25; ¹⁰df = 15; ¹¹df = 19; ¹²df = 25.

	HMI			Collective Narcissism			Ingroup Glorification			Forgiveness		
	Configural	Metric	Scalar	Configural	Metric	Scalar	Configural	Metric	Scalar	Configural	Metric	Scalar
<i>Fit indices</i>												
CFI	.93	.93	.93	.91	.91	.91	.94	.94	.94	.97	.97	.97
TLI	.92	.92	.92	.90	.90	.91	.93	.93	.93	.96	.97	.97
SRMR	.06	.06	.06	.05	.06	.06	.06	.06	.06	.04	.05	.05
RMSEA	.06	.06	.06	.07	.07	.07	.06	.06	.06	.05	.05	.05
CI 90%	[.06, .06]	[.06, .06]	[.06, .06]	[.07, .08]	[.07, .08]	[.07, .08]	[.05, .06]	[.05, .06]	[.05, .06]	[.05, .06]	[.05, .06]	[.05, .06]
χ^2	¹ 1829.707*	² 1850.381*	³ 1894.391*	⁴ 923.595*	⁵ 945.034*	⁶ 976.125*	⁷ 508.299*	⁸ 532.642*	⁹ 567.154*	¹⁰ 795.514*	¹¹ 807.632*	¹² 848.988*
χ^2 / df	2.45	2.40	2.37	3.14	3.05	2.98	2.26	2.23	2.22	2.19	2.12	2.12
AIC	47150.458	47123.446	47195.142	35578.879	35568.318	35617.408	34192.205	34188.548	34239.060	32715.664	32691.781	32753.137
SABIC	47280.821	47233.753	47317.148	35649.074	35625.143	35681.754	34255.063	34239.672	34296.889	32800.150	32761.358	32830.997
GFI	.89	.82	.95	.85	.85	.94	.90	.90	.97	.88	.87	.94
AGFI	.78	.76	.94	.81	.82	.92	.87	.87	.96	.84	.85	.92

¹df = 747; ²df = 771; ³df = 799; ⁴df = 294; ⁵df = 310; ⁶df = 328; ⁷df = 225; ⁸df = 239; ⁹df = 255; ¹⁰df = 363; ¹¹df = 381; ¹²df = 401.

Appendix T

Full List of Measures

Ingroup Identity (Leach et al., 2008)

Hierarchical Model of Ingroup Identification (HMII; Leach et al., 2008)

Self-Investment Dimension

Lower-Order Component: Solidarity

I feel a bond with [Leavers/Remainers]

I feel solidarity with [Leavers/Remainers]

I feel committed to [Leavers/Remainers]

Lower-Order Component: Satisfaction

I am glad to be a [Leaver/Remainer]

I think that [Leavers/Remainers] have a lot to be proud of

It is pleasant to be [Leaver/Remainer]

Being [Leaver/Remainer] gives me a good feeling

Lower-Order Component: Centrality

I often think about the fact that I am a [Leaver/Remainer]

The fact that I am a [Leaver/Remainer] is an important part of my identity

Being a [Leaver/Remainer] is an important part of how I see myself

Self-Definition Dimension

Lower-Order Component: Individual Self-Stereotype

I have a lot in common with the average [Leaver/Remainer]

I am similar to the average [Leaver/Remainer]

Lower-Order Component: Ingroup Homogeneity

[Leavers/Remainers] people have a lot in common with each other

[Leavers/Remainers] people are very similar to each other

OCEAN Personality (O'Keefe et al., 2012)

I am a very shy person

I am the life of the party

When I am under stress, I often feel like I am about to break down

I am imaginative

I am highly interested in all fields of science

I love adventure

I am a worrier

I stress out easily

I don't mind being the centre of attention

I am usually the one that starts a conversation

Feminism (Levonian Morgan, 1996)

A woman should have the same job opportunities as a man

Men should respect women more than they currently do

Although women can be good leaders, men make better leaders

Vignettes

You finally secure a job at a company you've wanted to work for a while now. During a staff meeting, you discover that your boss pays your male co-workers significantly more money than you for the same job role.

At family gatherings, some of your male relatives make some comments about your appearance that you are uncomfortable with. You tell them, but they don't seem to understand or care because the comments continue.

You and your partner are looking to move into a new house but cannot come to an agreement on which one to purchase. Your partner tells you that since he earns more money than you, he should get the final say, as it is more of his money that you will be spending.

Your partner suddenly informs you that his elderly mother is unwell and needs to stay at your shared house so that she can be looked after. His mother objects knowing that you are both busy, but he assures her that it will be fine and that you will help look after her.

Intergroup Forgiveness (McLernon et al., 2004)

Lower-Order Component: Affective

I feel kindness towards sexist men

I feel resentful towards sexist men

I feel goodwill towards sexist men

I feel caring towards sexist men

I feel friendly towards sexist men

Lower-Order Component: Cognitive

I think sexist men are worthy of respect

I wish well to sexist men

I think favourably of sexist men

Lower-Order Component: Behavioural

I would help sexist men

I would reach out to sexist men

I am on good terms with sexist men