



The benefits of group-based pride: Pride can motivate guilt in intergroup conflicts among high glorifiers☆



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HIGHLIGHTS

- We examine how inducing group-based pride can affect group-based guilt.
- Increasing pride leads to greater guilt only among high group glorifiers.
- This interaction was found during two stages of violent intergroup conflict.

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ABSTRACT

Group-based guilt and acknowledging responsibility for collective moral transgressions are an important part of conflict resolution. However, they are not a common phenomenon. This is particularly true during intergroup conflict, and among those group members who glorify their group and see it as superior to others. In the current research we investigated ways to increase group-based guilt among group members who tend to glorify their group. We reasoned that satisfying the motivation behind group glorification may counteract its negative association with group-based guilt. In two studies, conducted during the 2014 Gaza war, we demonstrated that inducing conflict-related group-based pride among high glorifiers can increase group-based guilt for group actions during the same conflict; effectively regulating one group-based emotion by regulating another. The possible mechanism and implications are discussed.

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Guilt is an unpleasant emotion associated with regret over one's harmful actions or intentions toward another (Baumeister, Stillwell, & Heatherton, 1994; Eisenberg, 2000; Tangney, 1991). Guilt can also be experienced over the actions of one's ingroup or members of one's ingroup (e.g., Doosje, Branscombe, Spears, & Manstead, 1998). While group-based guilt is an aversive affective experience, it can have an important role in conflictual intergroup relations. Indeed, group-based guilt was found to promote constructive political action (Leach, Iyer, & Pedersen, 2006); support for reparation for the wronged groups (e.g., Allpress, Barlow, Brown, & Louis, 2010; Čehajić-Clancy, Efron, Halperin, Liberman, & Ross, 2011; Lickel, Steele, & Schmader, 2011; Zebel, Zimmermann, Tendayi Viki, & Doosje, 2008); and apology for moral transgressions (McGarty et al., 2005).

Group-based guilt, however, is not a prevalent emotion (Wohl, Branscombe, & Klar, 2006). Various lines of research have shown that

it can be impeded by feeling a strong sense of belongingness to the ingroup (Branscombe & Miron, 2004; Doosje, Branscombe, Spears, & Manstead, 2004, 2006). For example, Doosje et al. (1998) found that highly identified group members experienced less group-based guilt over negative aspects of their group's history compared with low-identified group members. Similarly, Roccas, Klar, and Liviatan (2006) have shown that the more group members exhibited glorification of their group (perception of one's ingroup as superior to others, and deference to its leaders and symbols), the less group-based guilt they experienced, whereas attachment to the group (without the glorification element) did not impede group-based guilt. In the current research we address the challenge of counteracting the effect of glorification on group-based guilt. This would help meet one of the key challenges in intergroup conflict resolution: promoting group members' shared accountability for the wrongdoings committed by their group.

To that end, we propose to provide high glorifiers with the opportunity to "let go" of some of their basic tendency to defend their ingroup's actions. Research on group glorification (Roccas et al., 2006; Roccas, Sagiv, Schwartz, Halevy, & Eidelson, 2008) and related work on collective narcissism (de Zavala, Cichocka, Eidelson, & Jayawickreme, 2009; Golec de Zavala, 2011; Golec de Zavala, Cichocka,

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& Bilewicz, 2013) suggests that group glorifiers are driven by a need to enhance the group's positive image and sense of esteem. For example, high glorifiers tend to view the ingroup as superior to all others (e.g., Bilali, 2013). However, perceiving the ingroup as superior to every other group in all domains is excessive to achieving positive self-image; high glorifiers need to perceive their ingroup not only as good and moral, but as flawless. If this is the underlying mechanism, which fits with findings that directly presenting descriptions of wrongdoings committed by the ingroup does not induce guilt among high glorifiers (e.g., Leidner, Castano, Zaiser, & Giner-Sorolla, 2010; Roccas et al., 2006), then satisfying this fundamental drive could counteract the negative effects of group glorification. We therefore suggest that one possible way to enable high glorifiers to experience guilt is to first satisfy their need to feel *pride* over their group's achievements in the same context in which guilt is to be aroused. By inducing pride on the threatened dimension of group identity (e.g., improper conduct in conflict), the underlying motivation of glorifiers is satisfied and they might be more able to acknowledge possible wrongdoings of the group and experience guilt over them.

This strategy draws in part on the concept of group affirmation as a tool for increasing group-based guilt (Gunn & Wilson, 2011; but see Čehajić-Clancy et al., 2011, for evidence showing the group-affirmation is not always affective). However, pride induction departs from group affirmation in that it focuses on inducing a positive group image in the *same context* that might arouse guilt, whereas group affirmation is based on bolstering the group's global integrity through calling to mind positive aspects of the group's identity in a *different* context. We argue that such a shift in focus would be all but impossible during a time of increased conflict, in which group members' attention is riveted by the escalation. It is specifically at such times that group-based pride is dominant and group-based guilt is scarce. Capitalizing on this reality, we seek to utilize the experience of pride in the setting of conflict to prompt guilt in the same context. We expect that inducing conflict-related group-based pride would increase group-based guilt over the same events among high, but not low, group glorifiers. Two studies were conducted to test this hypothesis against the backdrop of the recent round of hostilities (summer 2014) in the Israeli–Palestinian conflict.

1. Study 1a

Study 1a was conducted in June 2014, during an IDF operation in the West Bank aimed at finding and rescuing three Jewish-Israeli teenagers who had been kidnapped by Palestinians earlier that month. Data was collected while the operation was ongoing, including extensive and sometimes aggressive door-to-door searches in the West Bank by the IDF, but before the teenagers' bodies were found. Jewish-Israeli participants were presented with information aimed at either inducing pride (or not) in this context. We expected high glorifiers, who are highly motivated to view their group positively, to experience more guilt after reading pride-inducing information.

1.1. Method

1.1.1. Participants

One hundred and fifty six Jewish-Israeli participants responded to an internet questionnaire in exchange for approximately \$2 (the "Midgam" Project Website: <http://www.midgam.com/info.asp>). The sample included 79 men and 77 women whose ages ranged between 18 and 73, $M = 41.90$, $SD = 15.29$. Regarding political orientations, 46.1% of the respondents defined themselves as rightists, 31.4% as centrist, and 19.8% as leftists (2.6% did not answer this question).

1.1.2. Procedure and measures

Unless otherwise specified, response options ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). The study was described as dealing

with social and political attitudes. Participants first completed group glorification, $\alpha = .91$, and attachment measures, $\alpha = .93$ (e.g., "other groups can learn a lot from us"; "this group is an important part of my identity"; Roccas et al., 2008). Then they were randomly assigned to either the pride or control condition. In the pride condition participants read a description of the efforts involved in the operation to return the kidnapped teenagers, focusing on Israel's tenacity and creativity (e.g., "The IDF expressed determination to leave no stone unturned in trying to locate the boys... Special units and forces like SWAT teams may be employed in unique operational configurations") and answered questions related to the text. Then, participants read a description of the ramifications of the military operation on the Palestinian population, including reports of morally questionable behavior such as looting, and of the number of Palestinians killed. Five items were used to assess participants' guilt over Israel's actions during these occurrences (e.g., "I feel guilt over the way Israel is conducting the operation to return the kidnapped", $\alpha = .95$). In the control condition, participants first completed the identification measure, then completed the guilt measure, and finally read the pride text and completed its related items.

1.2. Results and discussion

Means, standard deviations, and correlations are presented in Table 1. To examine our predictions regarding the combined effect of group glorification and condition on group-based guilt, we used the PROCESS macro for moderation analysis (Hayes, 2012; Model 1). The analysis revealed a significant main effect of the experimental condition on group-based guilt ($b = .49$, $SE = .22$, $t = 2.24$, $p = .03$), as well as a main effect of group glorification on group-based guilt ($b = -.52$, $SE = .09$, $t = -5.90$, $p < .001$). The analysis further revealed the predicted Group Glorification \times Experimental condition (Group-based Pride/Control) interaction ($b = .44$, $SE = .18$, $t = 2.45$, $p = .02$). To interpret this interaction, we examined the effect of the pride manipulation on group-based guilt among participants with high- vs. low- glorification (see Fig. 1). Group-based guilt among low glorifiers was relatively high, and unaffected by the pride manipulation (control: LSM = 3.14, pride: LSM = 3.10; $b = -.04$, $SE = .32$, $t = -.13$, $p = .90$). However, as predicted, among high glorifiers, the pride manipulation significantly increased the levels of group-based guilt (LSM = 2.34) relative to the control condition (LSM = 1.34) ($b = 1.02$, $SE = .33$, $t = 3.11$, $p < .01$). Repeating the analyses while controlling for attachment revealed the same pattern; when attachment was used as a moderator in the model (controlling for glorification) no effects were significant.¹

The design of this Study, involving two differences sequences of measures (i.e., in the experimental condition participants reported their pride, and then their guilt, while in the control condition the order was reserved), did not allow for a proper manipulation check aimed at examining differences in pride across conditions. Indeed, we found no differences between the pride levels in the control ($M = 5.47$) and experimental condition ($M = 5.25$; $t(149) = 1.03$, $p = .31$). One possibility in that in the control condition, after reporting guilt levels participants felt "licensed" to express more pride, leading to the same levels of pride across conditions (Monin & Miller, 2001). In order to verify that the manipulation was effective in increasing group-based pride, and to test whether other emotions were also affected, we conducted Study 1b.

¹ Repeating the analysis while controlling for attachment revealed a marginal main effect of the experimental condition on group-based guilt ($b = .43$, $SE = .23$, $t = 1.89$, $p = .06$), a main effect of group glorification on group-based guilt ($b = -.36$, $SE = .12$, $t = -3.06$, $p < .01$), and the predicted Group Glorification \times Experimental condition (Group-based Pride/Control) interaction ($b = .46$, $SE = .18$, $t = 2.53$, $p = .01$). Group-based guilt among low glorifiers was unaffected by the pride manipulation ($b = -.18$, $SE = .33$, $t = -.54$, $p = .59$) but high glorifiers, the pride manipulation significantly increased the levels of group-based guilt relative to the control condition ($b = 1.04$, $SE = .33$, $t = 3.12$, $p < .01$).

Table 1
Zero-order correlations between study 1a variables.

Measures	Mean (SD)	1	2	3
1. Group glorification	4.66 (1.31)			
2. Group attachment	5.85 (1.07)	.66***		
3. Group-based pride	5.37 (1.32)	.34***	.37***	
4. Group-based guilt	2.45 (1.59)	-.46***	-.39***	-.34***

*** $p < .001$.

2. Study 1b

2.1. Method

2.1.1. Participants

One hundred and six Jewish-Israeli participants responded to an internet questionnaire in exchange for approximately \$.05 (via the “Midgam” Project). The sample included 52 men and 54 women whose ages ranged between 21 and 65, $M = 37.49$, $SD = 11.65$. Nine participants who failed reading comprehension check were excluded from analysis.

2.1.2. Procedure and measures

The study was described as dealing with the ways people process information about current events. Participants were randomly assigned to be presented with either the same pride-inducing description as in Study 1a, or with a short factual description of the same events. They were instructed to respond to the text as would an Israeli reading the same information while events were unfolding. Participants were then asked to indicate how much they experienced several emotions regarding Israel and the Palestinians following the description they’d read (response options ranged from 1 – not at all, to 7 – very much). The following emotions were measured: anger, hatred, fear, hope, despair, sadness, angst, and trust of the Israeli government. Group-based pride was measured using four items (“pride of the creativity demonstrated in planning the military operation”; “pride of the conduct of the Israeli political echelon”; “pride of Israel’s dedication to citizens in danger”; “pride of the efforts and resources devoted to locating the boys”; $\alpha = .85$).

2.2. Results and discussion

Means and standard deviations are presented in Table 2. Five participants who failed a reading comprehension check were excluded from analysis. To examine whether the pride-induction manipulation

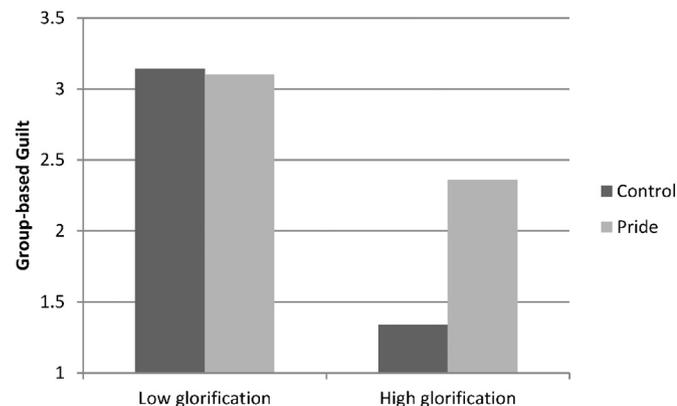


Fig. 1. The effect of group-based pride on group-based guilt as a function of group glorification in Study 1a.

Table 2
Means (Standard Deviations) as a function of experimental condition in Study 1b.

	Control	Pride induction	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Pride	5.51 (.87)	5.86 (.83)	-2.03	.045
Anger toward the Palestinians	6.23 (1.06)	6.06 (1.23)	.72	.47
Hatred toward the Palestinians	5.46 (1.64)	5.33 (1.70)	.39	.70
Fear of the Palestinians and their actions	5.46 (1.79)	4.57 (1.62)	-.03	.98
Hope regarding the future of relations with the Palestinians	2.00 (.99)	2.41 (1.80)	-1.38	.17
Despair regarding the future of relations with the Palestinians	5.33 (1.67)	5.12 (1.79)	.60	.55
Sadness as a results of Palestinians' actions	5.79 (1.64)	5.47 (1.53)	1.00	.32
Angst regarding the continued existence of Israel	2.69 (1.74)	3.12 (1.89)	-1.18	.24
Trust in the Israeli government	4.63 (1.28)	5.02 (1.36)	-1.47	.14

increased group-based pride, but not other emotions, we conducted *t*-test to compare the difference between the experiment and control groups. As expected, participants in the pride-induction condition experienced higher levels of group-based pride ($M = 5.86$) than participants in a control condition, who read a short factual description of the military operation ($M = 5.51$) ($t(95) = -2.03$, $p = .045$). The significant difference was found despite the overall high levels of pride. All other group-based emotions were unaffected by the manipulation (Table 2).

Taken together, the results of Studies 1a and 1b showed that inducing a sense of pride in the ingroup’s behavior in a specific context enabled group members high in glorification to express group-based guilt regarding group behavior in the same context; priming pride did not have this effect on low-glorification group members. In the next study, we examine whether pride would have the same effect during an even more volatile and violent phase of the Israeli–Palestinian conflict.

3. Study 2

Study 2 was conducted in mid-July 2014, one week after the beginning of the military operation Protective Edge (which would later devolve into the third Gaza war). At the time of data collection, Hamas fired rockets and mortar shells into Israel, and the IDF bombarded targets in the Gaza Strip with artillery and airstrikes. These deadly clashes between Israel and Gaza, which involved unparalleled amount of bombing and killing, resulted in many innocent victims, the vast majority of whom were Palestinians. The goal of the study was to replicate the effect found in Study 1 using a more direct manipulation of group-based pride, and to test whether increasing pride would still affect guilt during a tense period of violent conflict escalation.

3.1. Method

3.1.1. Participants and procedure

One hundred and twenty-three Jewish-Israeli participants completed an internet questionnaire in exchange for approximately \$2 (again via the “Midgam” company). The sample included 71 men and 52 women whose ages ranged between 18 and 74, $M = 32.81$, $SD = 13.96$. Regarding political orientations, 53.7% of the respondents defined themselves as rightists, 28.5% as centrist, and 14.6% as leftists (3.3% decline to answer).

Participants first completed the group glorification and attachment measures (identical to study 1, $\alpha = .92$, $\alpha = .94$), then were randomly assigned to either the high- or low- pride condition. All participants were instructed to read what was presented a passage from an Israeli news website as part of a study on media coverage during the operation. In the high-pride condition, participants were presented with a passage describing the “Iron Dome” defensive system as a unique and efficient system applauded by military experts worldwide. In the low-pride

condition, participants read a passage describing the damage caused to Israel and citing foreign military experts purportedly saying that Israel lacks the basic capacity to defend its citizens. At that point of the military operation (one week after its beginning), these two issues were predominant in the public discourse. All participants then completed four filler items related to information provided in the text and proceeded to complete the rest of the measures.

Ten items assessed participants' pride related to the Protective Edge operation, and served as a manipulation check (e.g., "I am proud of Israel's achievements in the operation so far"; $\alpha = .93$). Ten items, similar to those used in Study 1, assessed participants' guilt related to the operation. The scale was expanded and adapted according to the changing context, so that it was relevant to the then-occurring events. Sample item: "Israel is violating basic moral norms as part of its actions against the Palestinians, such as directly targeting civilian homes" ($\alpha = .95$).

3.2. Results and discussion

Means, standard deviations, and correlations are presented in Table 3. Comparing the level of group pride between the two conditions revealed that participants in the experimental condition reported more pride ($M = 5.43$) than those in the control condition ($M = 4.97$) ($t(120) = -2.29, p = .02$). We again used the PROCESS macro for moderation analysis (Hayes, 2012; Model 1) to examine our predictions regarding the combined effect of group glorification and the pride manipulation on levels of group-based guilt regarding the military operation. The analysis did not reveal a significant main effect for the manipulation on group-based guilt ($b = .01, SE = .21, t = .06, p = .95$). However, we found a main effect of group glorification on group-based guilt ($b = -.40, SE = .08, t = -5.12, p < .001$), similar to the effect found in the previous study. As predicted, the analysis further revealed the Group Glorification \times Group-based Pride interaction as in Study 1 ($b = .34, SE = .16, t = 2.15, p = .03$). To interpret the interaction, we examined the effect of the pride manipulation on group-based guilt among participants with high- vs. low- glorification (Fig. 2). As in study 1, the relatively high level of group-based guilt among low glorifiers was unaffected by the pride manipulation (control: LSM = 2.86, pride: LSM = 2.42; $b = -.43, SE = .30, t = -1.41, p = .16$). However, among high glorifiers, the pride manipulation increased the levels of group-based guilt, though marginally ($b = .47, SE = .28, t = 1.64, p = .1$). We again repeated the analyses while controlling for attachment, which revealed a similar pattern of results; the effects were non-significant when attachment (controlling for glorification) was used as moderator.²

The results of Study 2 provide additional support for the model we presented. We found that even during a time of increased threat to the ingroup, in which group-based guilt is less likely to occur (e.g., Wohl & Branscombe, 2009), inducing pride caused high glorifiers to experience more guilt. The difference in significance may be the result of the changed circumstances; the conflict escalation and increased threat experienced by the participants may have led overall lower group-based guilt. Despite this, the manipulation still had the same effect on guilt as in Study 1, albeit a marginal one.

4. General discussion

The results of two studies conducted during a recent escalation in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict indicate that inducing pride in the

² The analysis when controlling for attachment did not reveal a significant main effect for the manipulation ($b = .01, SE = .20, t = .01, p = .99$) or for glorification ($b = -.13, SE = .13, t = -1.00, p = .32$) on group-based guilt. We did find the expected Group Glorification \times Group-based Pride interaction ($b = .32, SE = .16, t = 2.05, p = .04$). As in study 1 group-based guilt among low glorifiers was unaffected by the pride manipulation ($b = -.43, SE = .30, t = -1.41, p = .16$). Among high glorifiers, the pride manipulation revealed a strong trend of increased group-based guilt, though non-significant ($b = .43, SE = .28, t = 1.53, p = .12$).

Table 3
Zero-order correlations between study 2 variables.

Measures	Mean (SD)	1	2	3
1. Group glorification	4.87 (1.33)			
2. Group attachment	5.91 (1.02)	.82***		
3. Group-based pride	5.09 (1.13)	.53***	.48***	
4. Group-based guilt	2.26 (1.28)	-.41***	-.46***	-.23*

* $p < .05$.

*** $p < .001$.

ingroup's achievements and conduct during the escalation promotes group-based guilt in the same context among high-, but not low-, glorifiers. These findings have important theoretical and practical implications. On the theoretical level, although there is evidence that one emotion can be regulated through another (e.g., Tugade & Fredrickson, 2004), this is the first evidence that we know of in the group-based emotion regulation literature. The results also indicate that the emotion-through-emotion regulation may have different effects on individuals with different characteristics (high- or low-glorification). We believe that the difference is driven by the disparate underlying motivation: low glorifiers remain unaffected by the increase in pride because it does not address their psychological needs in that context, whereas high glorifiers are motivated by the need to protect a more fragile sense of group-based worth. The configuration of glorification compared to other modes of identification also explains why it has a different effect on guilt in response to mixed information (both pride-inducing and guilt-inducing) about the ingroup (cf. Doosje et al., 1998). Future research should further explore this interpretation. Another contribution of the present work is shedding light on the concurrence of guilt and pride, which has received little attention in existing literature on mixed emotions, especially as pride is often associated with other emotions, such as grief, in this context (e.g., Sullivan & Strongman, 2003; though see also Sullivan, 2007). Recent work on the experience of mixed emotions (Larsen & McGraw, 2011) implies that although the two emotions are opposite in valence, it is possible to experience both guilt and pride in the same situation and not merely vacillate between the two. Such simultaneous experience of pride and guilt may result in a fluctuating movement of moving toward the self (in that pride bring one's, or one's group, closer to one's individual or collective identity and ideals), and moving away from the self (in that guilt leads one to move against the self, e.g., by self-reproach) (Roseman, 2013; Roseman, Wiest, & Swartz, 1994). A practical implication of the findings is that even during conflict escalation, the possibly

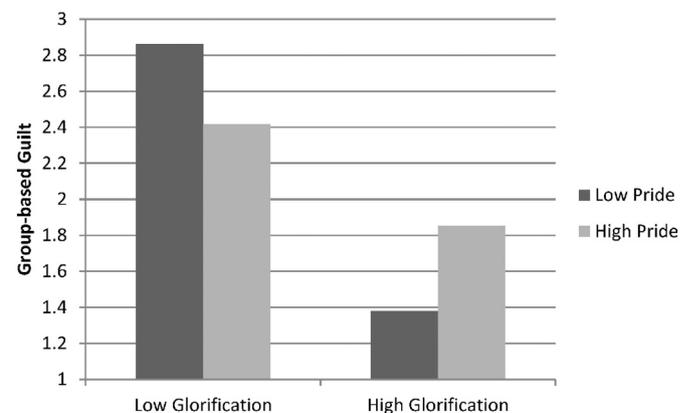


Fig. 2. The effect of group-based pride on group-based guilt as a function of group glorification in Study 2.

detrimental group-based pride can be utilized to prompt more resolution-oriented responses like group-based guilt – particularly in a context that emphasizes group-based atrocities.

Although the manipulation we used resembles group affirmation (e.g., Gunn & Wilson, 2011), two important differences set it apart and may account of its success. One is that the focus of pride remained in the same context that dominated the public discourse as well as the private reality of the participants. Another difference is that where group affirmation appeals more to a cognitive-appraisal component, inducing pride raised the affective experience and is thus arguably better suited to meet high glorifiers' need (cf. Čehajić-Clancy et al., 2011). Future research could compare group affirmation and pride induction to examine the differences between the two interventions and their underlying mechanisms. Another future direction could be to test whether the changes in group-based guilt mediate further conflict-related attitudes and behaviors, such as reduced support for aggression³ or greater support for apology and reparation.

In sum, the two studies presented demonstrate that group-based guilt can be induced even at times when it is usually suppressed, such as violent conflict escalation, and among group members who are less prone to experiencing it. This can be achieved through using the dominant response of group-based pride; thus the combination of two potentially negative elements – group glorification and group-based pride in conflict – can be employed to regulate and increase the emotion of group-based guilt to better promote conflict resolution.

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³ Initial results along this line of research found no interaction effect between glorification and experimental condition on aggression in Study 1a ($b = -.13, SE = .22, t = -.59, p = .56$) or in Study 2 ($b = .31, SE = .21, t = 1.52, p = .13$). Whether the aggression did not carry over to the end of the surveys, indicating that more powerful manipulations are required, or whether expressing increased guilt in the pride-inducing condition serves as a form of moral licensing should be explored in further studies.