

Ingroup's Apology For Past Wrongdoing Can Increase Outgroup Dehumanization

Hyeon Jeong Kim

Sang Hee Park[†]

Department of Psychology, Chungbuk National University

Apologies are used with increasing frequency for mending damaged relations between groups after intergroup conflict. Past research revealed that members of a perpetrator group may engage in (animalistic) dehumanization of victim group members to cope with guilt and responsibility associated with the ingroup's past wrongdoing. We hypothesized that ingroup's apology would relieve perpetrator group members of the moral threat, and therefore would make them perceive more humanness in the victim group members. The study was conducted in the context of South Korea's alleged atrocities against Vietnamese civilians during its military involvement in the Vietnam War. Korean participants read an article on the incidents with Korean government's issuance of an official apology manipulated, and reported their thoughts on the incidents and perceptions of Vietnamese people including their humanness. Contrary to our prediction, apology further enhanced dehumanization of Vietnamese people, even while it also decreased dehumanization through heightened feelings of relief. This study documents a seemingly ironic effect of intergroup apology, and calls for a more careful examination of the consequences of apology before recommending it as a viable strategy for alleviating intergroup tensions.

Key words : apology, dehumanization, mind perception, intergroup relations, intergroup conflict

[†] Correspondence : Sang Hee Park, Department of Psychology, Chungbuk National University, 1, Chungdae-ro, Seowon-gu, Cheongju-si, Chungcheongbuk-do, Korea. Tel : 043-261-2192, E-mail : sangheepark@chungbuk.ac.kr

Even long after they are over and have become part of history, intergroup conflicts often continue to invoke strong emotions in members of both parties and become an obstacle to restoration of a positive, stable relationship. Previous studies demonstrated that citizens of both victimizing and victimized countries have strong prejudices against each other (Wohl & Branscombe, 2005). How can we ease the tension between groups and its emotional residues originating from past history of hostilities? One of the possible and promising strategies for intergroup reconciliation is apology (de Grief, 2008; Nadler & Liviatan, 2006). In the current study, we examined the effects of an apology from the wrongdoer group on perception of the victims. Specifically, we focused on dehumanization (Haslam, 2006) of victim country citizens by people of the perpetrator country and examined whether an official apology from the (ingroup) government can reduce it.

Dehumanization: Denying the Humanness of People

Although it is only in rare occasions that a human being is completely denied human qualities (but see Kteily, Bruneau, Waytz, & Cotterill, 2015), more subtle forms of dehumanization have been reported to be rather common and pervasive. Bandura, Underwood, and Fromson (1975) presented an early demonstration of dehumanization and increased

aggression toward the dehumanized target. They showed that when a target was described like an animal rather than a human being, participants were more likely to express aggression to them. Bandura (1990) claimed that perceiving a victim as not having full range of qualities of a human can lead to disengagement of moral control and help justify violence against the victim. Likewise, other researchers documented dehumanization in mundane, everyday settings of self perception as well as interpersonal and intergroup relationship (Haslam & Bain, 2007; MacInnis & Hodson, 2012; Yang, Jin, He, Fan, & Zhu, 2015).

According to Haslam (2006), aspects of human qualities attributed to people can be classified using two broad dimensions of humanness: Human Uniqueness (HU) and Human Nature (HN). Human Uniqueness includes traits reflecting civility, rationality, capability, and moral sensibility, like 'polite', 'thorough', 'disorganized', and 'hard-hearted' - traits that are rarely exhibited by animals and thus make us distinct from them. Human Nature, in contrast, refers to the essential, inherent, and natural traits of a human being such as 'active', 'curious', 'impulsive', and 'nervous', and it is something that is shared with and can be observed in animals as well (see Leyens et al., 2000 for an alternative conceptualization of dehumanization). According to Haslam (2006), these two dimensions of humanness are largely independent of each other, and as a corollary

there can also be two ways that a person or a social group is considered to be lacking in humanness: denial of Human Uniqueness or of Human Nature. For instance, if someone is considered as lacking in HU-related traits, it would mean that the person is regarded as being similar to an animal(i.e., animalistic dehumanization). On the other hand, if another person is thought to be low on HN-related traits, s/he would be likened to a machine(i.e., mechanistic dehumanization). In previous research, it has been found that people subtly dehumanize certain types of people(individuals as well as group members) in these two discrete ways(Haslam, 2005).

The Relationship between Intergroup Conflict and Dehumanization

According to social identity theory(Tajfel & Turner, 1986), people tend to think about ingroup members more favorably and prefer them to outgroup members. Thus, it is not surprising that we attribute human qualities more to members of ingroup than those of outgroup(Cortes, Demoulin, Rodriguez, Rodriguez, & Leyens, 2005), as an extension of self-humanization(Haslam & Bain, 2007). This tendency can be especially pronounced in the context of intergroup conflict, where there are more reasons to maintain the belief that the ingroup is superior to the outgroup(see Haslam, 2005). As an example, it has been shown that

members of a group that harmed another group would dehumanize the victim group members even though their ingroup is to blame. Castano and Giner-Sorolla(2006) showed that when people were reminded of wrongdoings committed by their ingroup towards another group, they tend to infrahumanize the outgroup. Specifically, in their experiments, participants who read a scenario describing ingroup's past infliction of harm on outgroup members underestimated the victim group members' capacity to experience secondary emotions compared to those who did not read such a scenario. The extent to which the perpetrator group members infrahumanized the victims was positively correlated with the ingroup's perceived responsibility. In a similar vein, Čehajić, Brown, and González(2009) conducted studies in the context of historical conflicts in Chile as well as Bosnia and Herzegovina. Čehajić et al. observed that when participants learned that their ingroup(a member or the entire group) is responsible for an outgroup's suffering, they would be more likely to dehumanize members of the victim group. Besides, the more they dehumanized the victims, the less they felt empathy for them.

What benefits can perpetrator group members gain from dehumanizing victims? Dehumanization of the victims may be the result of a psychological defense mechanism to protect one's moral image: When people are reminded of the wrongdoings that their ingroup have inflicted upon others, they may think of this fact as a

threat to their moral image, and feel the need to restore it to an acceptable level(see needs-based model of reconciliation by Shnabel & Nader, 2008, for a similar discussion). One effective way to regain their moral status is to regard the victims as beings that are less human than the ingroup. Once a group of people are pushed out of one's moral circle(Singer, 1981), any harm inflicted on those people are less blameworthy and more justifiable.

Dehumanization matters because it could further worsen the relationship between two groups. If people dehumanize other people, they are less willing to help the targets(Cuddy, Rock, & Norton, 2007; Viki, Fullerton, Raggett, Tait, & Wiltshire, 2012) and become less generous (Viki, Osgood, & Phillips, 2013) and more aggressive(Bandura et al., 1975; Greitemeyer & McLatchie, 2011) to them. In turn, these negative effects of dehumanization could further exacerbate the relations with the outgroup.

Possible Rehumanization of the Victim Group through Apology

What can alleviate the tensions brought by a history of intergroup conflict? Apologizing for the past wrongdoing is commonly considered to be a viable solution. Among the many studies about the benefits of intergroup apology, Brown, Wohl, and Exline(2008) showed that an apology from the country that harmed the ingroup promotes the willingness of citizens of the

victimized country to forgive the perpetrators, have more supportive attitude of them, and reduce the motivation to take revenge on them. Similarly, Philpot and Hornsey(2008) showed participants one of two scenarios that stated that Australians were harmed by the Japanese army during World War II and later the Japanese government apologized for this or not. Then participants' reactions were measured. They found that victims would perceive the perpetrators more remorseful and felt more satisfaction when they received apology from them.

Apology was observed to have positive effects in the perpetrator group as well. Lastrego and Licata(2010) found that when the perpetrator group apologized, they felt the damage they had inflicted to be greater, and were more willing to pay off the harm compared to when they did not apologize. Participants in the apology condition also showed a greater willingness to improve their relationship. Exline, Deshea, and Holeman(2007) found that apology was a way for perpetrators to avoid regret, remorse, and self-punishing attitude. Thus, apology can help resolve old animosities for both sides of intergroup wrongdoing.

The Present Study

As reviewed so far, reminding of past wrongdoings committed by the ingroup can make people devaluate the humanness of

victimized outgroup members(Čehajić et al., 2009). Because such dehumanization occurs out of the need to cope with threats to the ingroup's moral image, if one can reduce the moral threat, one may also be able to decrease victim group dehumanization. We surmised that an official apology to the victim group can change the perception of victims that perpetrator group members have. If apology can relieve perpetrator group members of moral threat, there will be less need for victim derogation. Even though it has been documented that perpetrator group's apology can restore the group members' moral self-image(e.g., Exline et al., 2007), it is not clear whether apology also has the effect of rehumanizing the victims.

In the present study, we hypothesized that an official apology from a country which committed violence on people of another country would decrease the degree of dehumanization toward them. Additionally, based on the literature suggesting that emotional reactions to intergroup apology is essential for positive consequences of apology(Leonard, Mackie, & Smith, 2011), we also hypothesized that group-based emotions would mediate between apology and degree of victim dehumanization. According to the research of Castano and Giner-Sorolla(2006) or Čehajić, Brown, and González(2009), emotions such as remorse or empathy that participants felt for the victimized group members affect the degree of dehumanization of them. Thus it is possible that the group-based emotions are the link between

intergroup apology and reduction of victim dehumanization. Also, adding to the findings of Castano and Giner-Sorolla(2006) that perceived responsibility of wrongdoing increases the extent of inhumanization toward victims, we postulated that participants' perception of responsibility or harmfulness of past wrongdoing can be moderated by the presence or absence of apology and in turn may affect the level of dehumanization toward victims.

We used the context of alleged massacres of Vietnamese civilians by South Korean soldiers during the Vietnam War. Although never explicitly acknowledged by the Korean government, there have been allegations of mass killings by the Korean military during its involvement in the Vietnam War(Griffiths, 2018). We manipulated ingroup apology with Korean participants by having them read about the incidents and the pain inflicted on Vietnamese people. We manipulated apology by varying the description on how Korea responded to its past wrongdoing. In one condition, participants were told that Korean government issued an official apology(Apology condition). In another, Korean government was described as refusing to apologize(No Apology condition). Participants in a third condition were given general information of Vietnam and its people (Control condition). Then we measured attribution of human qualities to Vietnamese people, as well as group-based emotions and other variables of interest including attitudes

toward the Vietnamese and ingroup identification.

We predicted that participants who read that the Korean government formally apologized to the Vietnamese would perceive more humanness in Vietnamese people compared to those who were made to believe there was no apology. In addition, because the perpetrator group would cope with moral threat with animalistic dehumanization(i.e., less attribution of Human Uniqueness traits) of the victim group(Castano & Giner-Sorolla, 2006), relieving them of the threat with apology would lead to rehumanization particularly in the dimension of Human Uniqueness. We also expected that this effect would be partly accounted for by emotions felt as group members. For exploratory purposes, we also measured perceived competence and warmth (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002) of Vietnamese people as well as general attitude toward them, to see whether and how these evaluations may also be affected by the apology manipulation. Because perceived competence and warmth are considered as the basic dimensions of evaluating outgroup members(Fiske et al., 2002), we intended to explore that the intergroup apology can affect the perception of and attitude toward victim group members.

Method

Participants and Procedure

Two hundred and fifty-five students(137 female, $M = 21.64$) of a regional public university in South Korea participated in this experiment for research credit in psychology courses. All procedures except for debriefing were conducted using the computer software Inquisit 3.0(2011).

The study was described as one about the effects of information processing on perception toward people of various backgrounds. Participants were randomly assigned to one of three conditions; Apology, No Apology, or Control. Those who were in the Apology and No Apology conditions read an article about mass killings of innocent Vietnamese civilians committed by Korean soldiers during the Vietnam war(Griffiths, 2018). In the Apology condition, the last paragraph of the article stated that there were official acknowledgements of the atrocities and compensation efforts in early 2000s including an apology by the then-president of Korea and governmental aids as well as fundraising by veterans for building a monument and schools in towns where the massacres had taken place. On the other hand, participants in the No Apology condition read that Korean government is denying the existence of the massacre and has been refusing to issue any apology. In the Control condition, participants read a paragraph taken from an encyclopedia describing general information of Vietnam

including its geography, climate, and people.

After presentation of the article, participants' perception of Vietnamese people (perceived humanness as well as perceived warmth and competence) and their attitude toward the Vietnamese were measured. Participants in the Apology and No Apology conditions were also asked about emotions (e.g., guilt, shame, discomfort, remorse) they felt after reading the article, rated the responsibility of Korea for the massacres as well as perceived harm inflicted, and evaluated Korean government's response to the atrocities. After performing tasks unrelated to this study, all participants reported their level of ingroup identification and glorification (Leidner, Castano, Zaiser, & Giner-Sorolla, 2010) as Koreans. After completing demographic questionnaire and an open-ended suspicion check about the purpose of this study, participants were given a debriefing sheet and thanked.

Measures

Seven-point Likert scales (e.g., 1 = "Strongly disagree"; 4 = "Neutral"; 7 = "Strongly agree") were used in all measures.

Perceived humanness

Participants rated the Vietnamese people on Human Uniqueness and Human Nature with 5 positive and 5 negative traits in each dimension. Participants rated how much they feel that the Vietnamese have each trait. To obtain trait

items related to the two humanness dimensions, we conducted a pilot study in which a separate set of participants from the same sample ($N = 45$) evaluated how descriptive they thought a list of traits were of three dimensions of Human Uniqueness, Human Nature, and desirability (Haslam, 2005). Specifically, we asked participants to rate to what extent they would agree with the following statements: "The trait is owned by animals as well as humans" (reverse coded: Human Uniqueness); "The trait is an aspect of human nature, and having it is considered as being human" (Human Nature); and "The trait is a desirable quality that people would want to have" (desirability). The traits were obtained from Haslam and Bain (2007) and translated into Korean by the authors. Then we selected the traits rated high on one of the two humanness dimensions and low on the other dimension (5 each for high and low on desirability). The 10 traits of HU are humble, polite, analytic, thorough, calm, stingy, rude, ignorant, disorganized, and hard-hearted; 10 HN traits are peaceful, satisfied, curious, active, enthusiastic, jealous, nervous, shy, impulsive, and simple-minded. These traits were somewhat different from those used by Haslam et al. (e.g., Bastian & Haslam, 2010) possibly reflecting cultural differences in the meanings of the traits. Cronbach's α for the two dimensions were .64 (HU) and .70 (HN).

Perceived warmth and competence

Perceived warmth and competence(Fiske et al., 2002) of the Vietnamese were measured with 6 items; “Vietnamese are warm”, “Vietnamese are good-tempered”, “Vietnamese are warm-hearted” (perceived warmth) and “Vietnamese are intelligent”, “Vietnamese are competent”, “Vietnamese are confident”(perceived competence) adapted from Kim et al.(2003). Participants rated their agreement with those sentences. Cronbach’s α of perceived warmth was .88 and that of perceived competence was .77.

General attitude

We measured general attitude toward the Vietnamese with a single item, “How do you feel about the Vietnamese?”. Participants answered the question by choosing a number from 1(very negative) to 7(very positive).

Group-based emotions. Participants rated their group-based emotions in reaction to the article. We asked participants how much they felt emotions of guilt, regret, remorse, humiliation, dishonor, shame, discomfort, displeasure, relief, happiness, joy, and fear after reading the article.

Perceived responsibility and harm

To verify that the manipulation of apology did not affect perception of the wrongdoing itself, we had participants in Apology and No Apology conditions rate Korea’s perceived responsibility for the atrocities and perceived harm that the Vietnamese suffered. The former

was measured with two items(“Korea is responsible for the harm Vietnamese civilians suffered in Vietnam War,” “Koreans are at fault for all the damage civilians received during Vietnam War.”) and the latter with a single item(“How much damage do you think Vietnamese civilians suffered from Vietnam War?”).

Evaluation of the Korean government’s responses

In the Apology(No Apology) condition, participant evaluated the responses of the Korean government about the massacre with two items about how necessary they thought the apology was and whether apologizing(not apologizing) was a right(wrong) thing to do. These measures are not included in the analysis and will not be discussed further.

Ingroup identification(attachment and glorification)

We measured ingroup identification using a scale developed by Roccas, Klar, and Liviatan (2006), which includes ingroup attachment and glorification. The items were translated into Korean by the authors. These measures were not used in the analysis and thus will not be discussed further.

Attention check and credibility of article

We gave an attention check question in the Apology and No Apology conditions: “According

to the article, Korean government officially apologized for mass killings of civilians during Vietnam War”(True/False). We also asked how much participants believed the article with one question: “How credible was the article?”(1 = not credible at all; 7 = very credible).

Results

We excluded data from 7 participants who gave a wrong answer to attention check and 27 participants who evaluated the credibility of the article lower than the midpoint(4). Thus, data from the remaining of 221 participants were used in the analysis: 67 in Apology condition, 69 in No Apology condition, and 85 in Control condition. The means and standard deviations of

all measures in the three conditions are presented in Table 1.

Perceived Humanness

We first compared the mean scores of perceived humanness between conditions with ANOVA. Manipulation had a significant effect on Human Uniqueness, $F(2, 218) = 6.11, p < .003, \eta^2 = .05$. Post-hoc tests using Tukey's HSD indicated that, contrary to our prediction, participants in the Apology condition rated Vietnamese's HU *lower* than did those in the No Apology condition, $p = .01, 95\% \text{ CI } [-0.55, -0.06]$, as well as those in the Control condition, $p = .005, 95\% \text{ CI } [-0.55, -0.08]$, but HU scores in the latter two conditions were not significantly different from each other.

Table 1. Means (Standard Deviations) of Measured Variables

Conditions	Apology	No Apology	Control	Overall
Human Uniqueness	2.90 (0.69)	3.20 (0.61)	3.21 (0.53)	3.11 (0.62)
Human Nature	3.07 (0.77)	3.48 (0.63)	3.68 (0.68)	3.43 (0.73)
Perceived warmth	3.99 (1.07)	4.40 (1.05)	4.43 (0.95)	4.29 (1.03)
Perceived competence	3.17 (0.99)	3.50 (0.92)	3.74 (0.80)	3.49 (0.92)
General attitude	4.37 (1.08)	4.41 (1.02)	4.27 (1.04)	4.34 (1.04)
Group-based emotions				
Guilt-shame	4.25 (1.39)	4.52 (1.17)		4.39 (1.28)
Relief	1.78 (0.92)	1.23 (0.38)		1.50 (0.75)
Discomfort	4.91 (1.35)	5.11 (1.16)		5.01 (1.26)
Perceived responsibility	5.41 (1.14)	5.28 (1.06)		5.35 (1.10)
Perceived harm	6.19 (0.72)	5.86 (1.05)		6.02 (0.91)

Regarding the Human Nature dimension, there again was a significant effect of manipulation, $F(2, 218) = 14.87, p < .001, \eta^2 = .12$. Post-hoc comparisons revealed that, same as for HU, the mean HN score in the Apology condition was lower than those in the No Apology condition, $p = .002, 95\% \text{ CI } [-0.70, -0.14]$ and the Control condition, $p < .001, 95\% \text{ CI } [-0.88, -0.34]$. Again, the latter two conditions did not significantly differ in terms of the mean HN score. To sum up, participants in the Apology condition dehumanized the Vietnamese people more (on both HU as well as HN measures) than those in the No Apology and the Control conditions did. This is opposite to our hypothesis that apology from the ingroup would make perpetrator group members humanize victims more.¹⁾

Perceived Warmth and Competence

Also found was the manipulation effects on

1) The items of HU and HN included five positive and negative traits each. To rule out the alternative interpretation that the effect of valence of traits each dimension has made the difference between conditions, we split HU and HN scores into negative- and positive-meaning ones and compared them. Regardless of valence or dimension (HU/HN), all the scores in the Apology condition were consistently lower than those in the Control and No Apology conditions and most of these differences were statistically significant. This, we think, suggests that valence of the humanness trait words mattered little with regards to the effects of apology.

perceived warmth, $F(2, 218) = 4.12, p = .018, \eta^2 = .04$ and competence, $F(2, 218) = 7.50, p = .001, \eta^2 = .06$. Participants in the Apology condition estimated the Vietnamese's perceived warmth significantly lower than those in the Control condition, $p = .02, 95\% \text{ CI } [-0.83, -0.05]$ and marginally lower than those in the No Apology condition, $p = .05, 95\% \text{ CI } [-0.82, 0.01]$. Also, the mean score of perceived competence in the Apology condition was significantly lower than that in the Control condition, $p < .001, 95\% \text{ CI } [-0.91, -0.22]$ and marginally lower than that in the No Apology condition, $p = .09, 95\% \text{ CI } [-0.69, 0.04]$. On the whole, we found that participants in the Apology condition on average underestimated both warmth and competence of the Vietnamese compared to those in the other two conditions. Although we did not have specific predictions, this was similar to the results of perceived humanness in that an apology from the perpetrator ingroup negatively affected perception of victims, regardless of the specific dimension of evaluation.

General Attitude toward Vietnamese

Although we found significant differences on perceived humanness, warmth and competence between conditions, there was no significant effect of manipulation on general attitude for Vietnamese. $F(2, 218) = 0.36, p = .70, \eta^2 = .003$.

Group-Based Emotions

By using exploratory factor analysis with maximum likelihood method and parallel analysis, we sorted emotions measured in this study into three groups of *guilt-shame* (guilt, regret, remorse, ashamed, shame, and fear; Cronbach's $\alpha = .87$), *relief* (relief, happiness, and joy; Cronbach's $\alpha = .72$), and *discomfort* (dishonor, discomfort, and displeasure; Cronbach's $\alpha = .76$). Because we measured emotions only in the Apology and No Apology conditions, we compared the scores using independent-samples t-tests. The score of relief in the Apology condition was significantly higher than that in the No Apology condition, $t(134) = 4.46, p < .001$, Cohen's $d = 0.78$, 95% CI [0.30, 0.79]. The effect of apology was not found on guilt-shame, $t(134) = 1.22, p = .23$, Cohen's $d = 0.21$, 95% CI [-0.70, 0.17], or on discomfort, $t(134) = 0.93, p = .35$, Cohen's $d = 0.16$, 95% CI [-0.63, 0.23]. Thus, while ingroup's apology instigated dehumanization rather than reducing it, apology also seems to have made participants feel more relieved, happier, and more joyful compared to when ingroup refused to apologize.

Perceived Responsibility and Harm

We compared the scores of perceived responsibility for and harm from the massacres between the Apology and No Apology

conditions. There was no difference in perceived responsibility between the two conditions, $t(134) = 0.68, p = .50$, Cohen's $d = 0.12$, 95% CI [-0.24, 0.50]. In perceived harm from the massacre, however, there was a significant difference: Participants in the Apology condition perceived the harm higher than those in the No Apology condition did, $t(134) = 2.19, p = .03$, Cohen's $d = 0.37$, 95% CI [0.03, 0.64]. This latter result implies that even though participants were provided the same description of the ingroup's wrongdoing, whether the ingroup apologized after the events affected how the events were perceived (i.e., harm inflicted). This posed a concern to our hypothesis testing because any observed differences between the two experimental conditions may be due not to apology or the lack of it but to differences in perceived harm. This makes it necessary to statistically take into account of perceived harm when testing for indirect effects of apology on perceived humanness through felt emotions (see the next section).

Group-Based Emotions as Mediators between Apology and Humanization

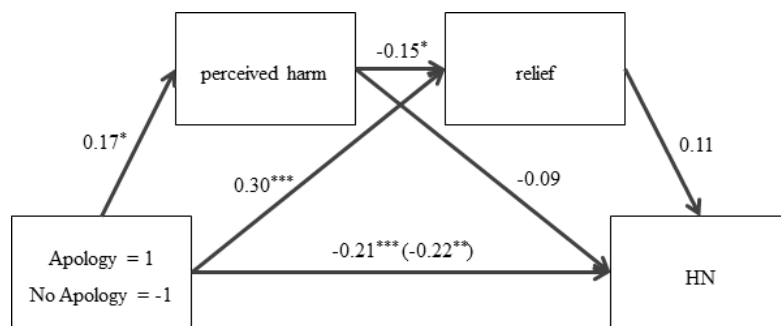
To find out whether group-based emotions mediated the relationship between apology and perception of humanness of Vietnamese, we conducted mediation analyses using PROCESS, the SPSS macro developed by Hayes (2013). As previously mentioned, we wanted to separate

apology effects on perceived humanness through emotions from any effects involving perceived harm caused by apology manipulation. Although we found the effect of ingroup apology increasing perceived harm to be surprising, there is previous research in line with this result. According the work of Lastrego and Licata (2010), perpetrator group members perceive the harm from the ingroup's wrongdoing greater when the ingroup apologizes, and in turn are more willing to pay off for that. If apologizing makes a perpetrator group member think more harm has been inflicted, it may also have the unintended effect of *amplifying* the uncomfortable emotions associated with ingroup wrongdoing. Therefore, it is necessary to statistically account for this undesired effect of apology on perceived harm.

We adopted the serial multiple mediator model(Model 6 in the classification of Hayes, 2013) with the proposed causal chain from

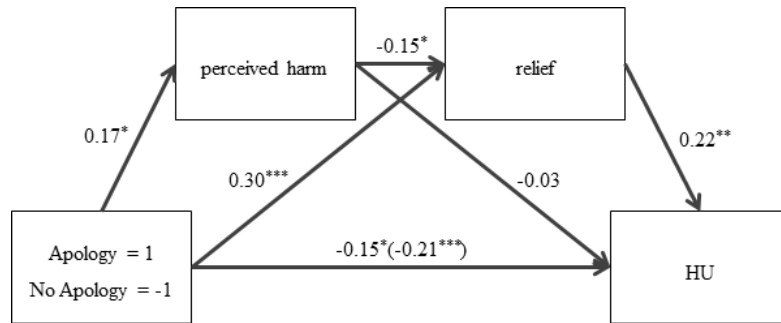
apology manipulation to perceived harm to emotions to perceived humanness(Figures 1a and 1b). Only relief was included in the model as the emotion variable because it was the only emotion that significantly differed between the Apology and the No Apology conditions. The independent variable of condition was dummy-coded(Apology = 1 and No Apology = -1) and HU or HN were entered as the outcome variable. Our main interest was whether apology would have positive effects on humanness perception through the emotion of relief, after indirect effects through perceived harm are taken into account. We used the bias-corrected bootstrapping method with 5,000 resamplings.

Figures 1a(for HU) and 1b(for HN) show the results of mediation analyses with unstandardized regression coefficients, and Tables 2a(for HU) and 2b(for HN) present the coefficients for total and indirect effects and their 95% confidence



Note. Numbers are unstandardized regression coefficients. Coefficient in parentheses indicates direct effect. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Figure 1a. Mediation model from apology manipulation to Human Uniqueness through perceived harm and relief.



Note. Numbers are unstandardized regression coefficients. Coefficient in parentheses indicates direct effect. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Figure 1b. Mediation model from apology manipulation to Human Nature through perceived harm and relief.

Table 2a. Coefficients and 95% Confidence Intervals in Serial Mediation Model with Human Uniqueness as Outcome Variable

	B	SE	95% CI	
Total effect	-0.152	0.056	-0.262	-0.041
Indirect effects				
condition → perceived harm → HU	-0.005	0.010	-0.032	0.010
condition → relief → HU	0.066	0.025	0.026	0.122
condition → perceived harm → relief → HU	-0.006	0.004	-0.019	-0.001

Note. Effects in bold are statistically significant at the .05 level.

Table 2b. Coefficients and 95% Confidence Intervals in Serial Mediation Model with Human Nature as Outcome Variable

	B	SE	95% CI	
Total effect	-0.208	0.060	-0.327	-0.089
Indirect effects				
condition → perceived harm → HN	-0.015	0.013	-0.050	0.002
condition → relief → HN	0.033	0.024	-0.011	0.084
condition → perceived harm → relief → HN	-0.003	0.003	-0.013	0.002

Note. Effects in bold are statistically significant at the .05 level.

intervals. First, with HU as the outcome variable, all the paths were significant except for the one from perceived harm to HU. The serial indirect effect from apology to perceived harm to relief to HU was significant and negative: Apology made participants perceive more harm done to the victim, which in turn was associated with lower relief, and through it negatively predicted HU. Also, the hypothesized positive, indirect effect of apology through relief was also observed: Apology had a direct, positive effect on relief, and on HU through it. After accounting for these two indirect influences, apology still had a negative direct effect on HU. Thus, even though apology seems to have increased the victim group's perceived Human Uniqueness by making the perpetrator group members feel more relieved (and even after accounting for the negative effect via perceived harm), there was a strong, negative effect of apology that could not be explained.

As for HN, the overall pattern was similar but weaker. The association between relief and HN was not statistically significant, nor was either of the indirect effects involving it. Importantly, the indirect effect of apology on HN as mediated by relief was not significant. After taking the indirect effects into account, apology still had a direct and negative effect on HN, same as in HU. These results indicate that apology had positive effects on perceived humanness (especially on HU, as predicted) through the felt emotion of relief, but these

were offset by negative effects that involved perceived harm, as well as even stronger direct effects that were not accounted for by any of the variables we measured. We speculate on the nature of this puzzling pattern in the Discussion.

Discussion

In the present study, we explored the effect of intergroup apology on perception of outgroup members' humanness who had been victimized by the ingroup. Based on previous research that showed reminding ingroups wrongdoing increase victim dehumanization (e.g., Castano & Giner-Sorolla, 2006) and that an official apology can alleviate negative perception of victims (e.g., Lastrego & Licata, 2010), we hypothesized that official apology given by the ingroup could decrease victim group's (animalistic) dehumanization and that this effect would be explained by increase in positive emotions and/or reduction of negative emotions regarding the past history. However, we found a puzzling pattern of results that were contrary to our expectations: Participants who were told that the ingroup apologized perceived the humanness of victim group members lower than did those who were told the ingroup did not apologize, or those who were not exposed to reminders of past ingroup wrongdoings. Similarly, they perceived less warmth and competence of victim groups. Overall, the results on these variables revealed

that an apology can *increase* negative perception of victims. However, when we looked more closely using mediation analyses, the expected positive effects of apology on Human Uniqueness emerged: After taking into account indirect effects involving perceived harm(which was higher in the Apology condition and thus had adverse effects on HU), apology increased emotions grouped as relief, and perceived Human Uniqueness increased along with felt relief. The parallel pattern for HN was similar but weaker. This result can be construed such that when the perpetrator group issues an apology for past wrongdoings, a member of the group would feel more relieved because the moral threat posed by shared responsibility is partly resolved(Nadler & Liviatan, 2006), and there would be less need to liken the victims to animals to justify ingroup's harmful behavior. Thus, it seems apology by the perpetrator group does have potentials to facilitate perceiving more uniquely human qualities in victim group members.

However, we acknowledge that this indirect, positive effects of apology on victim HU through relief was completely offset by negative effects along two routes: a direct effect of apology as well as a serial indirect effect along the apology-perceived harm-relief-HU link. While the latter effect was small, the former one was much stronger than the effect through relief, with the unstandardized coefficient more than three times larger. This effect, which we had

not expected and have no clear explanations for, more than eclipsed the positive influence of apology.

What is in ingroup apology that makes perpetrator group members further derogate the victim group members on the dimension of Human Uniqueness? Although we have no data that can elucidate the mechanism of this robust, negative effect of apology on perception of HU, several speculations can be made. First, there may be yet other emotions that we did not measure. Consider the manner in which apology was described: Participants did not voluntarily make an apology but rather read that their government offered a formal apology to the victim country. This passive, and arguably forced manner may have induced feelings such as anger, resentment, reactance, or threat(to their status or to the national pride), which may have led to derogation of victim group's mental capacities. Also, a more fine-grained measurement of emotions could have enabled elucidating how and why apology aggravates dehumanization. For example, even though we measured discomfort, it was possible participants felt discomfort for different reasons: because they felt responsible; because they did not accept the veracity of the incidents; because they did not want to apologize, etc. Such ambiguities may have interfered with identifying the key emotions involved.

Another possible reason is that participants in the Apology condition may have perceived a

higher magnitude of 'wrongfulness' in their ingroup's past behavior, which could have led to stronger need for justification and thus to dehumanization. Because the perceived harm that we measured was an assessment of damage from the victims' perspective, wrongfulness of the behavior itself may have played a distinct role in dehumanization-increasing effect of apology.

Also, participants in the Apology condition may have felt the apology was too much for what had happened. The massacres were described to have happened in the distant past (in 1970s) while the apology was more recent (issued in 2000s). Therefore, the young participants in this study, mostly in their twenties, could have related more to the time apology was issued than to when the original incidents happened. This difference in psychological distance between the two events may have caused differences in the importance or weight of those events, and in turn may have made the apology feel as if much more than necessary. Again, we measured the necessity of apology but did not look at whether participants thought it was less or more than what the victims deserved. Future studies should consider these possibilities to tease out the myriad ways that apology can influence perceptions of the victim group members, both positively and negatively.

Future studies may address the imbalance of information from our manipulation. Participants in the Control condition were not given

descriptions about the Vietnam War and the massacres. If another control condition is added where participants are provided with the descriptions but no mentioning of apology(or lack of it), it would provide another reference point against which the effects of apology or no apology could be compared. Also, participants in this study were college students, most of whom would not be very knowledgeable about the Vietnam War and Korea's involvement in it. It is possible that people of older generations who had firsthand experience of the war would evaluate Vietnamese and react to ingroup apology differently. To devise the most effective strategy to ameliorate intergroup relations, the subtle ways that group members' different knowledge or opinions can affect outcomes should be adequately considered.

Intergroup conflicts, especially those rooted in collective memory(Hanke et al., 2013), are complex and not easy to resolve. The current study offers practical implications as well as a cautionary message about intergroup relations in that it showed a counterintuitive negative effect of the effort to resolve a historical discord. The results of this study imply the need for a more careful examination of the means to lower tensions between groups. Because dehumanization of outgroup members can result in further negative consequence such as less willingness to help(Cuddy, Rock, & Norton, 2007), more aggressive behavior(Bandura, Underwood, & Fromson, 1975; Greitemeyer & McLatchie, 2011,

Viki, Osgood, & Phillips, 2013), well-meaning but hasty strategies would be poisonous to settlement of intergroup conflicts. To avoid these negative impacts and rebuild better relationship between groups, further research putting importance on outgroup dehumanization is needed.

References

- 김혜숙, 고재홍, 안미영, 안상수, 이선이, 최인철 (2003). 다수 집단과 소수 집단에 대한 고정관념의 내용: 유능성과 따뜻함의 차원에서의 분석. *한국심리학회지: 사회및성격*, 17(3), 121-143.
- Bandura, A. (1990). Selective activation and disengagement of moral control. *Journal of Social Issues*, 46(1), 27-46. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.1990.tb00270.x>
- Bandura, A., Underwood, B., & Fromson, M. E. (1975). Disinhibition of aggression through diffusion of responsibility and dehumanization of victims. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 9(4), 253-269. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0092-6566\(75\)90001-X](https://doi.org/10.1016/0092-6566(75)90001-X)
- Bastian, B., & Haslam, N. (2010). Excluded from humanity: The dehumanizing effects of social ostracism. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 46(1), 107-113. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2009.06.022>
- Besley, T., & Reynal-Querol, M. (2014). The legacy of historical conflict: Evidence from Africa. *American Political Science Review*, 108(02), 319-336. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055414000161>
- Blatz, C. W., & Philpot, C. (2010). On the outcomes of intergroup apologies: A review. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, 4(11), 995-1007. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1751-9004.2010.00318.x>
- Blatz, C. W., Schumann, K., & Ross, M. (2009). Government apologies for historical injustices. *Political Psychology*, 30(2), 219-241. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9221.2008.00689.x>
- Hayes, Andrew F. (2013). *Introduction to mediation, moderation, and conditional process analysis: A regression-based approach*. New York, NY: The Guilford Press.
- Brown, R., & Cehajic, S. (2008). Dealing with the past and facing the future: Mediators of the effects of collective guilt and shame in Bosnia and Herzegovina. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 38(4), 669-684. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.466>
- Brown, R. P., Wohl, M. J. A., & Exline, J. J. (2008). Taking up offenses: Secondhand forgiveness and group identification. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 34(10), 1406-1419. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167208321538>
- Castano, E., & Giner-Sorolla, R. (2006). Not quite human: Infrahumanization in response to collective responsibility for intergroup killing. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 90(5), 804-818. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.90.5.804>
- Čehajić, S., Brown, R., & González, R. (2009). What do I care? Perceived ingroup

- responsibility and dehumanization as predictors of empathy felt for the victim group. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 12(6), 715-729. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430209347727>
- Cortes, B. P., Demoulin, S., Rodriguez, R. T., Rodriguez, A. P., & Leyens, J.-P. (2005). Infrahumanization or Familiarity? Attribution of uniquely human emotions to the self, the ingroup, and the outgroup. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 31(2), 243-253. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167204271421>
- Cuddy, A. J. C., Rock, M. S., & Norton, M. I. (2007). Aid in the aftermath of hurricane Katrina: Inferences of secondary emotions and intergroup helping. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 10(1), 107-118. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430207071344>
- De Greiff, P. (Ed.). (2006). *The handbook of reparations*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.
- Exline, J. J., Deshea, L., & Holeman, V. T. (2007). Is apology worth the risk? Predictors, outcomes, and ways to avoid regret. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, 26(4), 479-504. <https://doi.org/10.1521/jscp.2007.26.4.479>
- Fiske, S. T., Cuddy, A. J. C., Glick, P., & Xu, J. (2002). A model of (often mixed) stereotype content: Competence and warmth respectively follow from perceived status and competition. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 82(6), 878-902. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.82.6.878>
- Goff, P. A., Eberhardt, J. L., Williams, M. J., & Jackson, M. C. (2008). Not yet human: Implicit knowledge, historical dehumanization, and contemporary consequences. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 94(2), 292-306. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.94.2.292>
- Greitemeyer, T., & McLatchie, N. (2011). Denying humanness to others: A newly discovered mechanism by which violent video games increase aggressive behavior. *Psychological Science*, 22(5), 659-665. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0956797611403320>
- Griffiths, J. (2018, 2, 24). The “forgotten” My Lai: South Korea’s Vietnam War massacres. CNN. Retrieved from <https://edition.cnn.com/2018/02/23/asia/south-korea-vietnam-massacre-in-tl/index.html>
- Hanke, K., Liu, J. H., Hilton, D. J., Bilewicz, M., Garber, I., Huang, L.-L., ... Wang, F. (2013). When the past haunts the present: Intergroup forgiveness and historical closure in post World War II societies in Asia and in Europe. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 37(3), 287-301. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2012.05.003>
- Haslam, N. (2006). Dehumanization: An integrative review. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 10(3), 252-264. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327957pspr1003_4
- Haslam, N., & Bain, P. (2007). Humanizing the self: Moderators of the attribution of lesser humanness to others. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 33(1), 57-68. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167206293191>
- Haslam, N., Bain, P., Douge, L., Lee, M., & Bastian, B. (2005). More human than you: Attributing humanness to self and others. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 89(6), 937-950. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3>

- 514.89.6.937
- Kteily, N., Bruneau, E., Waytz, A., & Cotterill, S. (2015). The ascent of man: Theoretical and empirical evidence for blatant dehumanization. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 109(5), 901-931. <https://doi.org/10.1037/pspp0000048>
- Lastrego, S., & Licata, L. (2010). "Should a country's leaders apologize for its past misdeeds?" An analysis of the effects of both public apologies from a Belgian official and perception of Congolese victims' continued suffering on Belgians' representations of colonial action, support for reparation, and attitudes towards the Congolese. *Revista de Psicología Social*, 25(1), 61-72. <https://doi.org/10.1174/021347410790193432>
- Leidner, B., Castano, E., Zaiser, E., & Giner-Sorolla, R. (2010). Ingroup glorification, moral disengagement, and justice in the context of collective violence. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 36(8), 1115-1129. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167210376391>
- Leonard, D. J., Mackie, D. M., & Smith, E. R. (2011). Emotional responses to intergroup apology mediate intergroup forgiveness and retribution. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 47(6), 1198-1206. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2011.05.002>
- Leyens, J.-P., Paladino, P. M., Rodriguez-Torres, R., Vaes, J., Demoulin, S., Rodriguez-Perez, A., & Gaunt, R. (2000). The emotional side of prejudice: The attribution of secondary emotions to ingroups and outgroups. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 4(2), 186-197. https://doi.org/10.1207/S15327957PSPR0402_06
- MacInnis, C. C., & Hodson, G. (2012). Intergroup bias toward "Group X": Evidence of prejudice, dehumanization, avoidance, and discrimination against asexuals. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 15(6), 725-743. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430212442419>
- Nadler, A., & Liviatan, I. (2006). Intergroup reconciliation: Effects of adversary's expressions of empathy, responsibility, and recipients' trust. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 32(4), 459-470. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167205276431>
- Okimoto, T. G., Wenzel, M., & Hornsey, M. J. (2015). Apologies demanded yet devalued: Normative dilution in the age of apology. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 60, 133-136. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2015.05.008>
- Peetz, J., Gunn, G. R., & Wilson, A. E. (2010). Crimes of the past: Defensive temporal distancing in the face of past In-group wrongdoing. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 36(5), 598-611. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167210364850>
- Philpot, C. R., & Hornsey, M. J. (2008). What happens when groups say sorry: The effect of intergroup apologies on their recipients. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 34(4), 474-487. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167207311283>
- Roccas, S., Klar, Y., & Liviatan, I. (2006). The paradox of group-based guilt: Modes of national identification, conflict vehemence, and

- reactions to the in-group's moral violations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 91(4), 698-711. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.91.4.698>
- Shnabel, N., & Nadler, A. (2008). A needs-based model of reconciliation: Satisfying the differential emotional needs of victim and perpetrator as a key to promoting reconciliation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 94(1), 116-132. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.94.1.116>
- Singer, P. (2011). *The expanding circle: Ethics, evolution, and moral progress*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In W. G. Austin, & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations* (pp. 33-37). Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole.
- Viki, G. T., Fullerton, I., Raggett, H., Tait, F., & Wiltshire, S. (2012). The role of dehumanization in attitudes toward the social exclusion and rehabilitation of sex offenders: Dehumanization and sex offenders. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 42(10), 2349-2367. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1559-1816.2012.00944.x>
- Viki, G. T., Osgood, D., & Phillips, S. (2013). Dehumanization and self-reported proclivity to torture prisoners of war. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 49(3), 325-328. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2012.11.006>
- Wohl, M. J. A., & Branscombe, N. R. (2005). Forgiveness and collective guilt assignment to historical perpetrator groups depend on level of social category inclusiveness. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 88(2), 288-303. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.88.2.288>
- Wohl, M. J. A., Branscombe, N. R., & Klar, Y. (2006). Collective guilt: Emotional reactions when one's group has done wrong or been wronged. *European Review of Social Psychology*, 17(1), 1-37. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10463280600574815>
- Yang, W., Jin, S., He, S., Fan, Q., & Zhu, Y. (2015). The impact of power on humanity: Self-dehumanization in powerlessness. *PLOS ONE*, 10(5), e0125721. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0125721>

논문 투고일 : 2018. 11. 26
1 차 심사일 : 2018. 11. 28
게재 확정일 : 2019. 02. 22

과거 잘못에 대한 집단 간 사과의 역설적 효과: 외집단 비인간화를 중심으로

김 현 정

박 상 희

충북대학교 심리학과

사과는 집단 간 갈등 후 집단의 손상된 관계를 개선하기 위해 빈번히 사용된다. 과거 연구들은 가해 집단의 구성원들이 내집단의 가해 사실과 연관된 죄책감과 책임감에 대처하기 위해 피해자 집단 구성원들을 비인간화한다는 것을 밝혔다. 본 연구에서는 피해 집단에 사과를 했을 때 가해 집단 구성원이 과거 가해사실로 인해 느끼는 도덕적 위협이 줄어들고 그러므로 피해 집단 구성원에 대한 비인간화도 줄어들 것이라는 가설을 세웠다. 본 연구는 과거 한국군의 베트남전 참전 당시의 베트남 민간인 학살 사건의 맥락을 사용하여 실행되었다. 한국인 참가자들은 한국 정부의 공식적인 사과 여부가 조작된 기사를 읽고 사건에 대한 생각과 베트남 사람들에 대한 비인간화 등 베트남 사람들을 어떻게 생각하는지에 대해 보고했다. 연구 결과, 사과가 안도감을 높임으로서 비인간화의 감소를 일으키는 매개 효과가 관찰되었지만, 전체적으로는 가설과 반대로 사과가 오히려 베트남 사람들에 대한 비인간화를 강화시켰다. 본 연구는 집단 간 사과의 역설적인 효과를 밝혀냈으며 집단 간 긴장을 누그러뜨리기 위한 전략으로써 사과를 고려하기 전에 사과의 결과에 대한 세밀한 검증이 필요하다는 사실을 밝혔다는 점에서 의의가 있다.

주요어 : 사과, 비인간화, 마음 지각, 집단 간 관계, 집단 간 갈등