THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN COLLECTIVE GUILT AND TWO MODES OF GROUP IDENTIFICATION: INGROUP GLORIFICATION AND INGROUP ATTACHMENT

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ÖZLEM SERAP ÖZKAN

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences	
	Prof. Dr. Meliha Altunışık Director
I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements Master of Science.	s as a thesis for the degree of
	Prof. Dr. Tülin Gençöz Head of Department
This is to certify that we have read this thesis and adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree	*
	Prof. Dr. Nuray Sakallı-Uğurlu Advisor
Examining Committee Members	
Prof. Dr. Nuray Sakallı-Uğurlu (METU, PSY)	
Assist. Prof. Dr. Banu Cingöz-Ulu (METU, PSY)	
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Derya Hasta (Ankara Uni., PSY)	

presented in accordance v	vith academic rules a rules and conduct, I	document has been obtained and and ethical conduct. I also declare have fully cited and referenced all work.
	Name, Last name	: Özlem Serap Özkan
	Signature	:

ABSTRACT

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN COLLECTIVE GUILT AND TWO MODES OF GROUP IDENTIFICATION: INGROUP GLORIFICATION AND INGROUP ATTACHMENT

Özkan, Özlem Serap
M.S., Department of Psychology
Advisor: Prof. Dr. Nuray Sakallı-Uğurlu

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The aim of the present study to explore the relationship between collective guilt and two modes of group identification: group glorification and group attachment in terms of "Events o September, 6-7" and I also explore the effect of perspective of message that is used for reporting the events of September 6-7 on this relationship between collective guilt and group identification. People who identify themselves with their group in glorification level tend to reject their ingroups wrongdoings whereas people who identify themselves with their group in attachment level accept their ingroup's harmful actions and try to find ways to repair them. Therefore, it is hypothesized that there will be a negative correlation between group glorification and collective guilt while the correlation between group attachment and collective guilt will be positive. Also, it is hypothesized that people who read message about the events of September 6-

7 from the perpetrator perspective will feel more collective guilt than people who read neutral or victim perspective. Lastly, it is hypothesized that perspective of the message will moderate the relationship between group identification and collective guilt. Results of the study revealed that there is indeed a significant negtive relationship between group glorification and collective guilt. However, no significant correlation is found between group attachment and collective guilt. Also, it is found that perspective of the messages does not affect the level of collective guilt. Lastly, the results showed that perspective of messages did not moderate the relationship between two modes of group identification and collective guilt.

Keywords: Collective Guilt, Group Attachment, Group Glorification, Events of September 6-7.

KOLEKTİF SUÇLULUK DUYMA İLE İKİ TÜR GRUP KİMLİĞİ ARASINDAKİ İLİŞKİ: GRUBU YÜCELTME VE GRUBA BAĞLILIK

Özkan, Özlem Serap Yüksek Lisans, Psikoloji Bölümü Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. Nuray Sakallı-Uğurlu

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Bu çalışmanın amacı 6-7 Eylül Olayları bağlamında kolektif suçluluk duygusu ile iki tür grup kimliği (grubu yüceltme ve gruba bağlılık) arasındaki ilişkiyi incelemektir. Ayrıca, diğer bir amaç ise 6-7 Eylül olayları anlatılırken kullanılan mesajın perspektifinin kolektif suçluluk duygusu ile grup kimliği arasındaki bu ilişkiye olan etkisini incelemektir. Gruplarına yüceltme seviyesinde kendilerini tanımlayan insanların bağlı oldukları grupların yaptıkları yanlışları kabul etmeme eğilimleri varken gruplarına aidiyetleri bağlanma seviyesinde olan insan gruplarının hatalarını kabul edip bunları düzeltmek için yollar ararlar. Bu yüzden, grubu yüceltme ile kolektif suçluluk duygusu arasında olumsuz bir korelasyon olması beklenirken, gruba bağlılıkla kolektif suçluluk duygusu arasında pozitif bir korelasyon beklenmektedir. Ayrıca 6-7 Eylül olaylarını failin gözünden okuyan insanların mağdurun gözünden ve nötür bir gözden okuyan insanlara göre daha fazla suçluluk duyacağı beklenmektedir. Son olarak, mesajın perspektifinin grup kimliği ile kolektif suçluluk duygusu arasındaki ilişki üzerinde düzenleyici bir etkisi olacağı beklenmektedir. Çalışma sonuçları grubu yüceltme ile kolektif suçluluk duygusu arasında negatif bir korelasyon olduğunu ortaya

çıkarmıştır. Ancak, gruba bağlılık ile kolektif suçluluk duygusu arasında anlamlı bir ilişki bulunamamıştır. Ayrıca, analiz sonuçları mesaj perspektifinin kolektif suçluluk duygusu düzeyini etkilemediğini göstermiştir. Son olarak ise, mesaj perspektifinin iki tür grup kimliği ile kolektif suçluluk duygusu arasındaki ilişkide düzenleyici bir rolü olmadığı bulunmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kolektif Suçluluk Duygusu, Gruba Bağlılık, Grubu Yüceltme, 6-7 Eylül Olayları.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Do people feel guilty even if they did not actually commit the crime? Do people feel responsible for the immoral actions of their ancestors? If so, do Turks feel guilty about Maraş Massacre, Dersim Massacre or the horrible events of September 6-7? These and many other similar questions have been the subject of collective guilt studies for many years now.

Collective guilt is simply defined as an emotional reaction that group members may experience when they accept that their social group is responsible for immoral actions that harmed another group (Branscombe, Doosje, & McGarty, 2002). Not only accepting those actions but also reminding them and to be directly accused of harmful actions by the victims or third parties may also cause feeling of collective guilt (Wohl, Branscombe, & Klar, 2006). In order to experience collective guilt, people initially have to categorise and identify themselves as a member of the group that is perceived to be responsible for harming another group (Branscombe & Miron, 2004). Therefore, studies that examine the relationship between collective guilt and group identification have increased in recent years. However, those studies revealed very contradictory results about the effects of group identification on experience of collective guilt. While some found a negative relationship between collective guilt and group identification (Doosje, Branscombe, Spears, & Manstead, 1998), some others found a positive relationship between them (Doosje, Branscombe, Spears, & Manstead, 2004). Besides, A different study also found no relationship between group identification and collective guilt (Branscombe, Slugoski, & Kappen, 2004).

These contradictory results lead to deeper investigation on the nature of group identification and its effect on collective guilt. For instance, it is suggested that the relationship between group identification and collective guilt may depend on mode of identification: group glorification and group attachment (Roccas, Klar, & Liviatan, 2004). It is found that people who glorify their group used exonerating cognitions in order to avoid feeling of collective guilt while people who are attached their group emotionally, accept the wrongdoings of their group and experience the feeling of collective guilt (Roccas, Klar, & Livitian, 2006).

Except from the mode of group identification, there is another important factor that affects the degree of collective guilt: the way of describing the past wrongful action. The past research findings revealed that if the social inequality between two groups is presented in terms of ingroup privilege, privileged group members tend to feel collective guilt more strongly than when it is presented in terms of out-group disadvantage (Powell, Branscombe, & Schmitt, 2005). It is also found that favorability of the event has an effect on the degree of collective guilt. People feel more guilt when the historical event is presented in an unfavorable way than it is transferred in a favorable way (Doosje et al., 1998). Lastly, it is found that perspective of the message (perpetrator, neutral, victim) affects the degree of collective guilt (Imhoff, Bilewicz, & Erb, 2012). It is pointed out that when the wrongful action of the group is presented from the perspective of the perpetrator, the likelihood of experiencing collective guilt increases compared to when it is presented from the victim's perspective (Imhoff et al., 2012).

The purpose of the study to explore the relationship between collective guilt and two modes of group identification: group glorification and group attachment in terms of "Events o September, 6-7" and it is also aimed to explore the effect of perspective of message on this relationship between collective guilt and group identification. In order to achieve this purpose, the experience of collective guilt will be introduced with

worldwide examples, then self-categorization, group identification and their relationship with collective guilt will be explained in the introduction. Lastly, effects of expressing the wrongful action by using different perspective of messages on collective guilt studies will be described in the introduction section. Then, methodology and results of the present study will be given. Finally, findings of the present study will be discussed and recomendations for furter studies will be briefly proposed.

1.1. The experience of collective guilt

Definition of guilt consists of emotional feeling and beliefs about one's role in a negative event (Kugler & Jones, 1992; McGraw, 1987; Roseman, Wiest, & Swartz, 1994; Smith & Ellsworth, 1985). It is important to know that people feel guilty when these negative events are not justified and these actions are illegitimate. Besides, when people feel guilty about their wrongdoings, they do not feel bad because of other's opinion. It is a self-judgment process (Wohl et al., 2006). Because of this internal process, there is ongoing debate about whether people should feel collective guilt for actions of other people and whether they should regret for harmed actions of their group (Gilbert, 2002). Although there are ongoing debates on this issue, researches proved with many examples that people indeed feel such group based guilt.

It is claimed that collective guilt does not necessarily require performing a wrongful action personally; people who identify themselves as a member of a group that treated unjustly to another party are found to experience collective guilt even if they did not perform the action themselves (Wohl et al., 2006). For instance, collective guilt is clearly presented and distinguished from the personal guilt with the study that is conducted by Doosje et al. (1998). In that study, participants who are falsely informed that their group behaved negatively to another group in the past, reported feeling of collective guilt even if they are told that their behavior to the other group was not wrong. It is also stated that collective guilt differs from personal guilt in a certain way.

While personal guilt is experienced more in close relationships (e.g., Baumeister, Stillwell, & Heatherton, 1994), it is proposed that experience of collective guilt does not necessarily occur in close relationships (Wohl et al., 2006). In most collective guilt cases, there is usually no close contact between two groups (e.g., Germans and Jewishs during the Holocaust, White Americans and African-Americans, Australians-Aborigines, etc.).

Collective guilt is also undeniable experience/feeling likewise the feeling of the personal guilt, for most people whose group had a history with violence, discrimination and unfairness. Therefore, there are lots of events in a worldwide stage that might reveal this group based guilt. The events that had been subject to the area of the collective guilt could be divided in different fragments such as genocides (e.g., Bilali, 2013; Bilewicz & Jaworska, 2013; Vollhardt, 2013), ethno-political conflicts (e.g., Hewstone, Cairns, Voci, McLernon, Neins, & Noor, 2004; Roccas, Klar,& Liviatan, 2004); or inequeality between social groups (e.g., Iyer, Leach, & Crosby, 2003; Powell, Branscombe, & Schmitt, 2005).

Among all these events, the first thing that comes to mind and the most researched topic is the Holocaust. Rensmann (2004) described Germany as "central arena for analyzing the impact of collective guilt" (p. 169). Indeed, there are many studies that examine collective guilt that is experienced by Germans for the Holocaust. While some of these findings implicate low levels of collective guilt due to poor relation between past and present (Imhoff, Bilewicz, & Erb, 2012; Leach, Zeineddine, & Cehajic-Clancy, 2013), some of the studies manage to elicit the collective guilt with different mechanisms (Imhoff, Wohl, & Erb, 2013; Peetz, Gunn, & Wilson, 2010). For instance, participants perceived high levels of collective guilt when the ongoing consequences of negative action is emphasised by manipulating the subjective temporal distance of the Holocaust in one study (Peetz et al., 2010).

Despite the fact that Jewish genocide is the most known historical event which could evoke the feeling of collective guilt, there are also some other important examples that were being subject to the studies of collective guilt. For instance, histories of nations such as USA, Belgium, Canada, Britain, Netherlands, Portugal and Australia which are perpatrator of exploitation and enslavement of other nations are also quite adaquate examples for the collective guilt studies (Branscombe et al., 1998). In one study, it is shown that Australians strongly feel collective guilt for the wrongdoings to indigenous people in the past and they support the Indigenous Reconciliation (Halloran, 2006). Another study revealed that the Dutch also experience the collective guilt for their past colonial policies (Branscombe et al., 1998). However, some other studies show that people from some nations who have as well colonial past such as Portuguese rule out the possibility of collective guilt by focusing the positive aspects of their nation (Marques, Paez, & Sera, 1997).

As it mentioned above, ethno-politic conflicts also give us the opportunity to find out the collective guilt that is experienced by conflicted group members. The most distinctive feature of these examples is that in these circumstances both groups could feel collective guilt because both groups had wrongful actions to other groups somehow (Wohl et al., 2006). In the situation of Northern Ireland for instance, both Catholics and Protestants feel moderate levels of collective guilt (Hewstone et al., 2004). This double-sided situation is also true for other conflicted groups such as Israelis and Palestinians, Serbs and Croatians (Wohl et al., 2006). Especially, the conflict between Israelis and Palestians seems to reveal interesting results in terms of the collective guilt studies. The study conducted by Roccas et al. (2004) indicates that the climate between two groups has an effect on degree of collective guilt. In that study, it is reported that Israelis experience moderate levels of collective guilt when there is no ongoing battle between two groups. However, the level of collective guilt seems to be automatically decreasing when there is a Palestian attack to Israelis.

The last and the most interesting collective guilt studies are the ones that examine the inequalities between social groups. They are interesting because concerns of these studies are the current privileges that advantages groups had and their levels of collective guilt because these current privileges. For instance, in one study, collective guilt of White people in the US is examined and it is found that White Americans actually report collective guilt for having privileges (e.g., house renting, job opportunities, etc.) that African-Americans do not have (Powell et al., 2005). Another study has also pointed out that self-esteem of men has been decreasing when reminded that their group is the advantageous group compared to women (Branscombe, Schiffhauer, & Valencia, 1997). It is argued in this study that this decrease in self-esteem may be resulting from the feeling of collective guilt (see also Branscombe et al., 1997).

Thus far, I review evidence regarding the experience of collective guilt in three different contexts where collective guilt is studied: genocides, ethno-politic conflicts and social inequalities. From now on, I simply try to explain antecedents of collective guilt with a focus on self-categorization process.

1.2. As an Antecedent of Collective Guilt: Self-Categorization

As it can be seen in prior examples mentioned above, collective guilt could be observed in many conflicted situation that happened in the past. Considering this wide area of collective guilt, the factors that elicit the collective guilt become more important. Wohl et al., (2006) specified the antecedents of collective guilt with four conditions as (1) self-categorization, (2) acceptance of ingroup's responsibility, (3) illegitimacy appraisal, and (4) moderate ingroup costs. According to the Wohl et al. (2006), people should self categorize themselves to the group that committed the crime in order to feel collective guilt because only self categorized group members accept the responsibility of their group's wrongful actions to another group. Because relationship between group

identification and the collective guilt is the main concern of this study, social categorization and social identity theories which are related directly to group identification will be discussed within the contex of the collective guilt in detail in the next section.

1.3. Self- Caterigosation, Social Identification and Collective Guilt

Self-Categorization Theory (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987) and Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1982; Tajfel & Turner, 1986) give us a clear understanding how people's behaviors and feelings are affected by the group to which they commit. According to Social Categorisation theory (Turner et al., 1987) people categorise themselves and others to social groups as a way of understanding the world and themselves. By categorising themselves to such groups, people experience some emotions because of actions of their groups.

Guilt is one of these emotions which people experience when other members of their group behaved against social norms and values even if they personally did not involve the wrongful action (Doosje et al., 1998). Therefore, it is argued that it is normal to feel certain levels of collective guilt among people who categorize themselves with a group while people who do not percieve group membership as an important portion of their social identity may not experience collective guilt (Roccas et al., 2006). On the other hand, people who categorise themselves to a group also feel that their group better than other groups and they tend to think that they generally deserve positive treatment than people from other groups (Turner et al., 1987). Therefore, people may try to justify the wrongful actions of their group because of the idea of superiority and the feeling of collective guilt may be suppressed.

Social Identity Theory (1982) also approaches the subject from a nearly same dilemma. As importance of the group increases, group members are more likely to feel group

based emotions. In this regard, since collective guilt is also defined as "guilt by association", it can be expected that highly identified group members may feel higher levels of collective guilt (Wohl et al., 2006). At the same time, it is also argued that people who are highly identified to their groups should defend their groups no matter what in order to maintain positive social identity (Branscombe et al., 2002). Concordantly, research found out that people tend to find ways to reject negative information about their groups in order to eliminate the threats to their groups and themselves (Mummendey, Klink, Mielke, Wenzel, & Blanz, 1999). In the notion of collective guilt, it is expected to see that highly identified group members find excuses for their fellow group members bad behaviours in order to decrease the level of collective guilt (Doosje et al., 1998).

This complicated notion of social identity also complicates the relationship between collective guilt and group identification. There are conflicting findings about the relationship between collective guilt and group identification. For instance, one study claimed that people who strongly identify themselves with their groups are more likely to create positive cognitions about their group, therefore they are tend to experience less collective guilt than people who have lower group identification (Doosje et al., 1998).

However, another research finding proves that high identifiers experience high levels of collective guilt than low identifiers (Doosje et al., 2004). It is stated in that study that it is hard to ignore negative informations for high identifiers when negative information came from one's own group. Moreover, there are studies that did not find any relationship between collective guilt and group identification (Branscombe et al., 2004; Doosje, Branscombe, Spears, & Manstead, 2006). It is important to note that unrelated condition only emerges in the situations where negative history is given by an outgroup source compared to an ingroup source (Doosje et al., 2006).

As it mentioned above, this ambiguous relationship between group identification and collective guilt appears in most collective guilt studies. Roccas et al. (2006) argue that complex nature of group identification causes these contradictory results. According to their hypothesis, past research had been missing the dual concept of group identification and tried to measure group identification with a unidimensional approach. In the next section, dual concept of group identification will be explained briefly.

1.4. Dual Concept of Group Identification: Group Attachment and Group Glorification

There are many theoretical examples in the literature which states group identification within two dimensions. These two aspects are based on two main forms: one is uncritical conformity, the other one is critical loyality (Rothi, Lyons, & Chryssochoou, 2005). Staub's (1997) blind vs. constructive patriotism distinction is also one of these dual concepts of identification. Blind patriotism is defined as an inflexible attachment to one's nation, "unquestioning positive evaluation, staunch allegiance, and intolerance of criticism"; constructive patriotism, on the contrary, is defined by critical loyalty and questioning and criticism of current group practices that are driven by a desire for positive change (Schatz, Staub, & Levine, 1999; Staub, 1997). Another example from the literature is the pseudo-patriotism vs. genuine patriotism distinction (Adorno, Frankel-Brunswik, Levinson, & Sanford, 1950). *Pseudo-patriotism* is characterized as "blind attachment to certain national cultural values, uncritical conformity with the prevailing group ways and rejection of other nations as outgroups" (p. 107); on the other hand *genuine patriotism* is characterized as "love of the country and attachment to national values based on critical understanding" (Adorno et al., 1950, p. 107). Kosterman and Fesbach (1989) made this dinstinction by differentiating patriotism and nationalism rather than defining different forms of patriotism. This time, while nationalism emphasises the superiority of the nation, patriotism is referred to feeling of attacment to one's nation. A similar distinction is also made in studies on *collectivism*. Triandis and Gelfand (1998) separated *vertical collectivism*, defined as "emphasize the integrity of the ingroup, are willing to sacrifice their personal goals for the sake of ingroup goals, and support competitions of their ingroup with outgroups" from *horizontal collectivism*, defined as seeing themselves as similar to others and emphasizing common goals, interdependence, and sociability but do not emphasizing submitting to authority" (p. 119). In the recent years, another dual concept of group identification was introduced to the field. These are group attachment and group glorification, and they are detailed in the following section.

In recent years, Roccas and her collegues (2006) proposed a new distinction for group identification: *group glorification vs. group attachment*. It is claimed that both pseudo patriotism, vertical collectivism, blind patriotism and nationalism —which are emphasizing the superiority of the nationwithout criticising- unite in one mode of identification: group glorification. This is defined as:

viewing the national in-group as superior to other groups and having a feeling of respect for the central symbols of the group such as its flag, rules, and leadership. An individual who is highly identified in this sense believes that the in-group is better and more worthy than other groups and that group members should adhere to all the group's rules and regulations and feels insulted if others do not show the utmost respect for the group's symbols (p. 700).

Group attachment, on the other hand, involves the concepts of genuine patriotism, constructive patriotism, horizontal collectivisim and patriotism. It is suggested that people who are attached to their group define themselves in terms of their group identity and their self- identification also includes group norms and values. Because people who identify themselves to their group as an attachment level are emotionally attached to their group, they want to contribute to their group and feel free to criticise their group's actions (Roccas et al., 2006).

This different notion of group attachment and group glorification has also different effects on collective guilt. Although it seems that people who are attached to their group strongly, should also glorify their group, it is possible to do otherwise. For instance, Roccas et al. (2006) claim that people may glorify their group without being attached to it and it is also possible to be attached to the group without glorifying it in every situation. This distinction has great importance for collective guilt experience of group members. Because people who are attached to their groups but not glorify them in every circumstances can criticise and accept their group's wrongful actions in order to contribute to their groups. Therefore, it is assumed that accepting the group's wrongful actions may cause feeling of collective guilt (Roccas et al., 2006).

In order to test the effect of group identification, Roccas et al. (2004) conducted a study. Collective guilt of Israelis was assessed for the harmdoings to Palestians both in the conflicted period and no-conflict period. It is found that although level of collective guilt decreased among Israelis students when there is hot battle going on, the effects of group identification remained salient. Attachment was positively related while glorification was negatively related to group-based guilt for in-group's past wrongful actions. It is suggested in the study that people who are glorify their group find excuses (exonerating cognitions) for their group's wrongful actions and in that way, they eliminate the feeling of collective guilt. However, people who are critically attached to their group does not affected by exonerating cognitions and they likely to feel collective guilt for ingroup's harmful actions (Roccas et al., 2006). The present study also tries to examine the effects of group attachment and glorification on collective guilt for Turkish sample in terms of the events of September 6-7, 1955.

So far, the relationship between collective guilt and two modes of group identification was described. It is pointed out that group attachment and group glorification may elicit different levels of feeling of collective guilt. Another purpose of this study is to explore whether this relationship between collective guilt and group identification is affected

by the perspective that is presented in the wrongful act. That is, whether the event is presented from the in-group's (perpetrator's) or the out-group's (victim's) point of view may have an effect on the link between group identification forms and experiencing collective guilt. From now on, I will try to explain the effect of perspective of the message on the level of collective guilt and the relationship between collective guilt and two modes of group identification.

1.5. Perspective of the Message

Perspective of the message could be seen as an important factor that affects the level of collective guilt in most collective guilt studies. Expressing the wrongful action with different ways may elicit different levels of collective guilt. Social inequalities or harmful actions are generally stated or framed from the outgroup members' point of view. However, it is found that framing the wrongful action in different ways may either trigger or suppress the feeling of collective guilt (Doosje et al., 1998). This different ways could be manipulating the framing (privileged vs. disadvantaged perspectives), manipulating the favorability of the message (favorable vs. unfavorable) or manipulating the perspective of the message (victim vs. perpetrator).

Effects of framing was tested in the study that is conducted by Powell et al. (2005). In that study, White American participants assessed 24 statements about racial inequality framed as either White privileges or Black disadvantages in experiment 1 and they also generated examples of White privileges or Black disadvantages in experiment 2. In both experiments, it is found out that White privilege framing caused greater collective guilt and lower racism than Black disadvantage framing condition.

In another experimental study, this time the favorability of message was examined. (Halloran, 2007). Australian participants were asked to report their collective guilt level and reconciliation views in terms of Australians' past treatment to Indigeneous

Australians. Participants were assigned to two conditions: an unfavorable message or a favorable message. In the unfavorable message manipulation, participants read a 300 – word text about how bad Australians had treated Aborigines and the forced removal and assimilation processes of Aborigines. On the other hand, participants read again 300 – word text but this time assimilation of Aborigines was stated as an unfortunate event and it is stated that after these incidents, Aborigines were quite beneficial for the workforce and progressed in the cattle, timber, gold, silver industries outweigh the assimilation of Aborigines. The results of the study show that collective guilt was higher under the unfavorable history than favorable message condition. The findings also revealed that people seem to look positively to Indigenous reconciliation under the unfavorable message condition.

Effect of favorability of the history was also examined in the Dutch sample (Doosje et al., 1998). Apart from others, another history manipulation was added for this experimental study. Participants read one of three different summaries according to their conditions about Dutch colonization of Indonesia before they reported their level of collective guilt. In unfavorable condition, participants read that Dutch killed lots of Indonesians, exploited Indonesian land and abused Indonesian labor. In the favorable condition on the other hand, it is stated that the Dutch had improved the Indonesian infrastructure, build a good educational system and provide a new legal system. In the ambiguous condition, statements from both from unfavorable and favorable conditions were included to the summary. Result of the study showed that both high group identifiers and low group identifiers show stronger collective guilt in unfavorable conditions than favorable condition. However, in the ambiguous conditions, low identifiers presented higher collective guilt than higher group identifiers.

Except from framing and favorability effects, the studies also suggest that perspective of the message while describing the past event is also important factor for the collective guilt level. In a recent study, German participants read messages about the treatments

of Germans to Jews during the time of the Holocaust (Imhoff, Bilewicz, & Erb, 2012). Two different conditions were created in order to assess the effect of perspective manipulation. In the perpetrator condition, events were described by saying that German soldiers killed lots of Jews, robbed them and operated mass executions. On the other hand, in the victim condition, they read same factual information from victim perspective. In the history description, it is stated that lots of Jews were killed, robbed and executed. Results of the study showed that Germans express higher levels of collective guilt when the historical event is cited from perpetrator perspective than it is cited from victim perspective. Focus of present study will be the effect of perspective of message (victim, neutral and perpetrator) on collective guilt and group identification.

As it is mentioned above, there are many factors that affect collective guilt experience of group members. Modes of identification and perspective of the message are the ones that I focus in the thesis. Besides, it can be found worldwide examples in the literature that tried to examine these effects on collective guilt about past wrongful events of different nations. Although Turkey has many historical events that could be easily subject of the collective guilt studies, unfortunately there are no studies that investigate the feeling of collective guilt among the Turkish. Therefore, one of my purposes in the thesis is to explore the collective guilt experience of Turkish people regarding to "Events of September, 6-7" which were organized mob attacks directed primarily at Greek, Armenian and Jewish minority in İstanbul and İzmir on 6-7 September 1955. A group of Turkish citizens assaulted minorities in İstanbul and İzmir and attacked the property of minorities during these two days. Nearly a dozen of people were killed during the events and most of the non-Muslim population immigrated from Turkey after the events of September 6-7.

1.6. Aims and Hypothesis of the Current Research

Collective guilt is a new area for social psychology. Notion of collective guilt is mostly studied within the context of self categorization and group identification theories. The relationship between different modes of group identification and collective guilt is studied in many studies. Effects of message manipulations also examined from different angles with many studies. However, there is not any collective guilt study in Turkey until now. Therefore, I want to focus on this specific topic in my thesis. The purpose of the thesis is to examine the relationship between collective guilt and two modes of group identification: group glorification and group attachment. I will also examine the effect of message perspective on this relationship between collective guilt and two modes of group identification.

In this thesis, I will mainly focus on two main points in general. First one is the relationship between 2 modes of group identification (*group glorification and group attachment*) and collective guilt. As mentioned above, the relationship between group identification and collective guilt has a very complex nature and findings of previous research also showed that complex relationship (Wohl et al., 2006). Because it is indicated that these contradictory findings found in the previous researches resulted from the uni-dimensional measurement of group identification, the present study aimed to examine this relationship by analyzing the two different modes of group identification. It is predicted that people who identify themselves to their group as group attachment level will feel higher level of collective guilt than people who identify themselves to their group as group glorification level.

The other interest of my thesis is to look at the effect of the perspective of message while wrongful action is presented. As it mentioned previously, literature findings supported that different ways of describing the harmful past events such as different framing, different favorability of message and different perspective of message affect

the collective guilt level of people. "Events of September 6-7" is described with three different messages from three different perspectives (victim, neural, perpetrator) in the present study. I preferred to present "events of September 6-7" by using different perspective messages in the thesis because it is really difficult to describe these events in a favorable way considering the devastating results for non-muslim citizens of Turkey.

Taken together, the following hypotheses were tested in the present study:

- 1. There will be a negative correlation between group glorification and collective guilt whereas the correlation between group attachment and collective guilt will be positive.
- There will be a main effect of perspective of message on collective guilt.
 Turkish participants who read messages from perpetrator perspective will feel more collective guilt compared with participants read messages from neutral and victim perspective.
- 3. Lastly, the relationship between two modes of group identification will be moderated by the perspective of message.

CHAPTER 2

METHOD

2.1. Participants

There were 289 participants in the present study. Participants were from the 3 different universities in Ankara: METU, Ankara University and Ufuk University. 87 subjects were assigned to the *perpetrator perspective* condition, 89 of them were in the *neutral perspective* condition, 88 of them were in the *victim perspective* condition. Their age range 18 to 34, 18 to 35, 18 to 24 respectively. There were 29 men and 58 women in perpetrator perspective condition, 27 men and 62 women in neutral perspective condition and lastly 25 men and 63 women in victim perspective condition. Number of participants declined to 264 because of specific reasons (see result section). Thus, this information is gathered from 264 participants. Detailed demographic information can be found in the Table 2.1.

Table 2.1. Demographic Information for the Study.

		Perpetrator Perspective	Neutral Perspective	Victim Perspective
Sex	Men	29	27	25
	Women	58	62	63
Age	M	21.01	21.18	20.58
J	SD	2.36	2.80	1.63
	Min	18	18	18
	Max	34	35	24

2.2. Instruments

A package of questionnaires were given to participants including different scales and a message which describes the events of September 6-7; demographic information sheet, group identification scale, patriotism scale, one of the messages (victim perspective, neutral perspective, perpetrator perspective), items for message check and collective guilt scales.

2.2.1. Collective Guilt Scale

Collective guilt scale of Doosje et al. (1998) was used in order to measure the collective guilt of participants. The original scale consists of 6 items which measures the feeling of the guilt.

For measuring the structure of Collective Guilt Scale exploratory factor analysis was conducted on 6 items, and varimax rotation was used. The factorability of R was satisfactory; KMO=.944, p<.001, and communalities were from .86 to .52. According to eigenvalue criteria (>1), there was only one factor. Cronbach's alpha for this scale

was .86 and explained variance was 60.49 with 3.62 eigenvalue. Cronbach alpha, eigenvalue, and explained variance of each factor and loading and item-total correlation values of each item were presented on Table 2.2.

In total, 6 items were presented to participants and they indicated their agreement with each items on a 7- point scale with ranging from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (7). (see Appendix A) Sample item for collective guilt is "I feel guilt about my group's harmful past actions toward Greeks, Jews and Armenians in events of September 6-7"

Table 2.2. Cronbach Alphas, Eigenvalues, Explained Variances, Factor Loadings, and Item-total Correlations for Two Subfactors of Collective Guilt Scale

Factor 1: Collective Guilt (α=.86; eigenvalue=3.63; explained variance=60.49%)	Loadings	Item- total
6-7 Eylül olaylarında Türklerin Rum, Ermeni ve Yahudilere yaptıkları bazı şeylerden pişmanlık duyuyorum.	.86	.77
Diğer Türklerin Rum, Ermeni ve Yahudilere karşı yaptıkları olumsuz şeyler yüzünden suçluluk duyuyorum.	.86	.76
Benim milletimin mensuplarının neden olduğu bu kötü sonuçlar için kolaylıkla suçluluk duyabilirim.	.84	.74
6-7 Eylül olaylarında Türklerin Rum, Ermeni ve Yahudilere yönelik zarar verici davranışları yüzünden suçluluk duyuyoru	.83 am.	.72
Benim milletim tarafından 6-7 Eylül'de Rum, Ermeni ve Yahudilere verilen hasarın onarılmasına katkıda bulunmam gerektiğini düşünüyorum.	.67	.55
Türk olmanın bana getirdiği faydalardan dolayı bazen suçlulu hissediyorum.	uk .52	.40

Varimax rotation

2.2.2. Group Identification Scale

In order to measure two modes of group identification group identification scale of Roccas, Klar, and Livitian (2006) was translated to Turkish for this study. Back to back translation was conducted in order to ensure the reliability of the scale. There are 16 items in original scale. 8 items measured to attachment to national group and the other 8 items measured glorification of the national group (see Appendix B). Sample items for group attachment are "Being Turkish is an important part of my identity" and "I am strongly committed to my nation". Sample items for group glorification are "Turkey is better than other nations in all respects" and "One of the important things that we have to teach children is to respect our national leaders". There were no reverse items in the scale. Participants indicated their agreement with each items on a 7- point scale with ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (7). Higher scores indicate strong attachment/glorification to the group and lower scores indicate attachment/glorification to group.

For measuring the structure of Group Identification Scale exploratory factor analysis was conducted on 16 items, and oblique rotation was used. The factorability of R was satisfactory; KMO=.935, p<.001, and communalities were from .85 to .55. According to eigenvalue criteria (>1), there were 2 factors. First factor explained 52.06 of 60.81% total explained variance. These two factors could be chosen because they explained 60.81% of total explained variance. However, item total loadings showed that there are there items (2,6,11) that loaded in both factors with a very similar loadings. Therefore, another factor analysis was conducted without these 3 items. Final analysis also showed that the factorability of R was satisfactory; KMO=.912, p<.001, and communalities were from .84 to .56. According to eigenvalue criteria (>1), there were 2 factors. First factor explained 52.20 of 62.91% total explained variance. Second factor explained 10.71% of 62.91% total variance explained.

Lastly, item-total correlations, and loading values of items were controlled for item selection. These analysis resulted in 2-dimensional, 13-item scale; Group Identification Scale (α =.92). Name, cronbach alpha, eigenvalue, and explained variance of each factor and loading and item-total correlation values of each item were presented on Table 2.3.

Table 2.3 Cronbach Alphas, Eigenvalues, Explained Variances, Factor Loadings, and Item-total Correlations for Two Subfactors of Group Identification Scale

Factor 1: Group Attachment (α=.91; eigenvalue=6.78; explained variance=52.20%)	Loadings	Item-total
Milletime hizmet etmek benim için önemlidir.	.90	.79
Milletime katkıda bulunmak benim için önemlidir.	.90	.74
Kendimi Türk olarak görmek benim için önemlidir.	.75	.81
Kendimi fazlasıyla milletime adarım.	.74	.79
Türkiye'yi seviyorum.	.74	.68
Türk olmak kimliğimin önemli bir parçasıdır.	.71	.79
Türkler hakkında konuşurken genellikle "onlar" yerine "biz" derim.	.66	.53
Factor 2: Group Glorification (α=.85; eigenvalue=1.39; explained variance=10.71%)	0.0	
İçinde yaşadığımız zamanda, ne yapmamız gerektiğini bilmenin tek yolu milletimizin liderlerine güvenmektir.	.83	.61
Milli otoritelerimizin koyduğu kural ve yönetmeliklerin arkasında genellikle iyi bir neden vardır.	.80	.71
Türklerin Türkiye'yi eleştirmesi sadakatsizliktir.	.77	.65
Türkiye her bakımdan diğer milletlerden daha iyidir.	.72	.66
Diğer milletlerle karşılaştırıldığında biz çok ahlaklı bir milletiz.	.71	.67
Çocuklarımıza öğretmek zorunda olduğumuz önemli şeylerden biri de milletimizin liderlerine saygı duymaktır.	.52	.53

Oblique Rotation

As can be seen in Table 2.2, Factor 1 which is called group attachment included 7 items. It explained 52.20% of 62.91% total explained variance with 6.78 eigenvalue. Moreover, loading range of its items was from .84 to .61. In this factor, higher scores mean individuals identify themselves with their group and being Turkish is important part of their personality (e.g. "Being Turkish is an important part of my identity"). Cronbach's alpha for this subscale was .91. Factor 2 which is named as group glorification included 6 items. It explaineded 10.71% of 62.91% total explained variance with 1.39 eigenvalue. Loading range of its items was from .77 to .56. In this factor, higher scores indicate that individuals who are identify themselves with their group, also glorify their group and they tend to think that their group superior than other groups (e.g. "Turkey is better than other nations in all respects"). Cronbach's alpha for this subscale was .85.

As it mentioned in the introduction, dual structure of the group identification is not a new concept in the literature. However, Group Identification Scale is relatively new and unknown scale. In order to test validity of the Group Identification Scale, Patriotism Scale of Staub & Schatz (1999) was added to questionnaire package (see Appendix C). There was a significant correlation between Group Identification and Patriotism Scale in total (r= . 700, p<.05).

2.2.3. Perspective of Message Manipulation

In order to test the one of the main hypothesis of present study, each participant randomly read one of three different messages which decribe the events of September 6-7 from three different perspectives (perpetrator, neutral, victim). Structures of the messages were exactly the same in each condition. There were three paragraphs in each message. First paragraph briefly described what was the event, how did it happen and how long it last. In the second paragraph, damage was reported. Number of the dead, number of the houses, churches and workplaces that were destroyed were given with

the exact statistical information. In the last paragraph the situation of the non-muslim citizens after the events was explained. Immigration after the event and quick decline of population of non-muslim citizens in Turkey was briefly mentioned (see Appendix D, E and F for all messages).

The only difference between messages was their perspective. In the perpetrator condition, events were described from the eye of a perpetrator (Turkish). Active sentences such as "we did, we killed, we hurt, etc." were used. In the neutral perspective condition, events were described from the eye of third person. Passive sentences such as "11 people were killed, a lot of people were injured, etc." were used. In the victim perspective condition, events were described from the victim perspective. Turkish people are described as the actor of the events in the story by using sentences such as: Turks did, Turks killed, Turks harmed, etc.

2.3. Procedure

There were students from "Introduction to Psychology" and "Introduction to Social Psychology" courses which are given to first or second year undergraduate students. In some classes, students gained course credits in return for their participation.

At the beginning of the experiment, informed consent forms were given to all participants (see Appendix G). Participants were allowed to withdraw the study at any time for any reason. The aim of the study was defined as "gathering information about perception of social identity" in the consent form. The aim was to prevent the prejudice of participants by introducing the term "collective guilt" at the beginning. The original aim of the study was explained in the debriefing form at the end of the study (see Appendix H).

In the study, participants were assigned to three different perspective manipulation

conditions. After signing the inform consent forms, each participant randomly received a package of questionnaire which consists of one of three manipulation message in it. First, participants filled out their demographic information then they completed Group Identification Scale and Patriotism Scale. Before measuring the collective guilt, participants' level of knowledge about events of September 6-7 were assessed with a single item with asking "How much they know about the events of September 6-7?" Participants indicated their response with a 5- point scale with ranging from "I don't have any knowledge at all" (1) to "I completely know" (5). Then, participants read one of three different messages which described the events. After the perspective manipulation, participants answered the true/false questions to test whether they really read the manipulation text or not (see Appendix I). After completing message check questions, participants filled the collective guilt questionnaire. At the end of the questionnaire, participants were given the option to voice their own opinions about this issue.

CHAPTER 3

RESULTS

Normality and linearity assumptions were checked before conducting main analyses. Missing values were replaced by item mean scores since the numbers of missing values were less than %5 of total sample.

Two of the participants were left the study; one stated the reason is religious and the other stated that the questionnaires are not consistent with his political ideology. Since the aim of the study to see the collective guilt of Turkish people, 22 non-Turkish (Kurdish, Christian, Jewish, etc.) participant were excluded from the study. Lastly, one participant was excluded from the analysis because he/she was both a univariate and a multivariate outlier. Thus, analysis was conducted with the remaining 264 participants.

3.1. Correlations among Study Variables

The first hypothesis was that the correlation between group attachment and collective guilt is positive whereas there is a negative correlation between group glorification and collective guilt. To test the hypothesis, Pearson Correlation Coefficient r was calculated. Table 3.1. shows correlations among variables. Correlation analysis pointed out that there was a statistically significant correlation between overall group identification and collective guilt (r = -.16, p < .05). Stronger group identification was associated with lower collective guilt. However, it can be seen that the correlation between group attachment and collective guilt was not statistically significant (r = -.11, p>.05). There was no association between attachment and collective guilt. On the other hand, the correlation between group glorification and collective guilt was negative and

statistically significant (r = -.19, p < .01), though quite low. Stronger group glorification was associated with lower collective guilt. Age had no significant relationship with collective guilt (r = .01, p > .05).

For further information, correlations among present study variables can be seen from Table 3.1.

Table 3.1 Correlations among study variables						
	1	2	3	4		
1.Sex	-					
2.Age	.20**	-				
3.Attachment	16**	-0.03	-			
4.Glorification	18**	0.01	.67**	-		
5.Collective Guilt	0.01	0.01	-0.11	19**		

^{**.} Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

3.2. Effect of Perspective of Messages

The second hypothesis was that there is an effect of perspective of messages on collective guilt. It was expected that people felt more collective guilt when they read the message in perpetrator perspective compared to other perspectives(neutral and victim). To test this hypothesis, a one way ANOVA was carried out.

One way ANOVA was conducted to compare the effects of perspective of messages on collective guilt in perpetrator, neutral and victim condition. The results revealed that the effect of perspective of message on collective guilt was not statistically significant (F(2,260)=1.74, p=.18). It means that feelings of collective guilt did not change

depending on messages people read. Collective guilt was similar across all message perspectives. Collective guilt for perpetrator message (M=4.15, SD=1.23) was not different from collective guilt for victim message (M=3.82, SD=1.27) and for neutral message (M=3.84, SD=1.41) . Mean collective guilt scores across perspective of messages can be seen in Figure 3.1

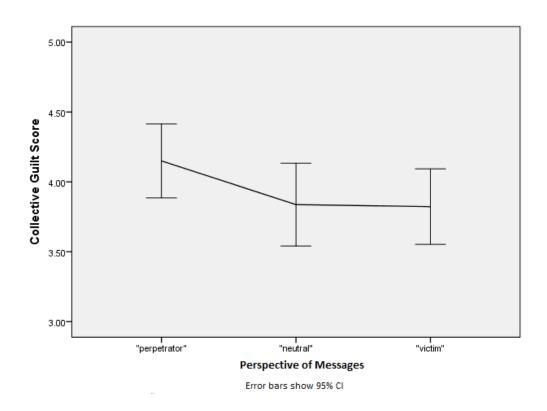


Figure 3.1. Mean Collective Scores across Perspective of Messages

3.3. Moderation Analysis Regarding the Research Questions

Third hypothesis is that perspective of messages will moderate the relationship between two modes of group identification and collective guilt. To test the hypothesis, a hierarchical multiple regression analysis was conducted. Before the analysis was carried out, categorical moderator variable which was perspective of message was coded into a series of dummy variable (seen in Table 3.2.). The reason was to introduce moderator variable as categorical variable not continuous variable to SPSS.

Table 3.2.Codii Three Categorie	•	Moderator Variable Including
Message Type	Perpetrator vs Victim	Perpetrator vs Neutral
Perpetrator	0	0
Neutral	0	1
Victim	1	0

A multiple regression analysis was carried out to test whether perpetrator perspective as comparison group moderates the relationship between group attachment and collective guilt. In the first step, three variables were included: two kinds of perspective comparison (perpetrator vs victim, perpetrator vs neutral) and group attachment. The overall model was not statistically significant (R=.14, adjusted R^2 =.009, F(3,259)=1.79, p=.15). To avoid potentially problematic high multicollinearity with the interaction term, the variable of attachment were centered and two interaction terms for each perspective comparison and attachment. Next, the interaction terms were added to the regression model (seen in Table 3.3.). However, the new model was also not statistically significant (R=.15, adjusted R²=.004, F(3,259)=1.21, p=.31). Attachment did not have significant effect on collective guilt (p>.05). The effect of each perspective comparison was not statistically significant (p>.05). Both interaction effects were not statistically significant (p>.05). It means that perspectives of messages did not differ in prediction of collective guilt by attachment.

Table 3.3. Moderation effect of perspective of message (perpetrator as comparison group) on the relationship between attachment and collective guilt

CI 95% for b							
	b	lower	upper	β	t	р	r
first comparison (perpetrator vs victim) (moderator)	035	434	.365	012	170	.865	060
second comparison (perpetrator vs neutral) (moderator)	.245	158	.649	.088	1.197	.232	.106
attachment (IV) (centered)	009	270	.253	008	065	.948	109
first comparison X attachment	141	486	.204	076	806	.421	079
second comparison X attachment	104	427	.220	067	631	.528	087

A multiple regression analysis was carried out to test whether perpetrator perspective as comparison group moderates the relationship between glorification and collective guilt. In the first step, three variables were included: two kinds of perspective comparison (perpetrator vs victim, perpetrator vs neutral) and group glorification. The overall model was statistically significant (R=.21, adjusted R^2 =.033, F(3,259)=4.03, p=.008). Glorification had significant effect on collective guilt (b=-.19, SE_b =.06, t=-3.01, p=.003). On the other hand, the other effects were not statistically significant (p>.05). Next, the interaction terms were added to the regression model (seen in Table 3.4.). The new model was statistically significant (R=.21, adjusted R^2 =.027, R(3,259)=2.46, R=.033). However, the effect of each perspective comparison was not statistically significant (R=.05). Both interaction effects were not statistically significant (R=.05). It means that perspective of message did not differ in prediction of collective guilt by glorification.

Table 3.4. Moderation effect of perspective of message (perpetrator as comparison group) on the relationship between glorification and collective guilt

CI95% for b

CD3 /0 101 b							
	b	lower	upper	β	t	р	r
first comparison (perpetrator vs victim) (moderator)	055	442	.331	020	283	.778	060
second comparison (perpetrator vs neutral) (moderator)	.244	144	.631	.088	1.238	.217	.106
glorification (IV) (centered)	143	362	.076	141	-1.289	.199	187
first comparison X glorification	087	393	.219	049	558	.577	127
second comparison X glorification	039	338	.259	023	260	.795	114

The results showed that perspective of messages did not moderate the relationship between two modes of group identification and collective guilt.

A multiple regression analysis was carried out to test whether attachment moderates the relationship between glorification and collective guilt. In the first step, two variables were included: group attachment and group glorification. The overall model was statistically significant (R=.19, adjusted R^2 =.03, F(2,260)=4.77, p=.009). Glorification had significant effect on collective guilt (b=-.19, SE_b =.08, t=-2.52, p=.012). On the other hand, the effect of attachment on collective guilt was not statistically significant (p>.05). Next, the interaction terms were added to the regression model (seen in Table 3.5.). The new model was also statistically significant (R=.23, adjusted R^2 =.04, F(3,259)=4.59, P=.004). Glorification did not have significant effect on collective guilt (P>.05). The effect of attachment was not

statistically significant (p>.05). The interaction effect was statistically significant (p<.05). It means that attachment significantly moderated the relationship between collective guilt and glorification.

Table 3.5 Moderation effect of attachment on the relationship between glorification and collective guilt

CI95% for b							
	b	lower	upper	β	t	р	r
Glorification (IV) (centered)	11	30	.07	11	-1.19	.23	19
Attachment (Moderator)(centered)	10	31	.11	10	97	.33	11
Interaction	12	24	.00	16	-2.03	.04	12

Figure 3.2 shows the relationship between collective guilt and glorification moderated by attachment. It can be seen that the relationship between glorification and collective guilt did not change when attachment was low. However, increase in attachment score influence the relationship between glorification and collective guilt. When attachment and glorification were high, the feeling of collective guilt was low.

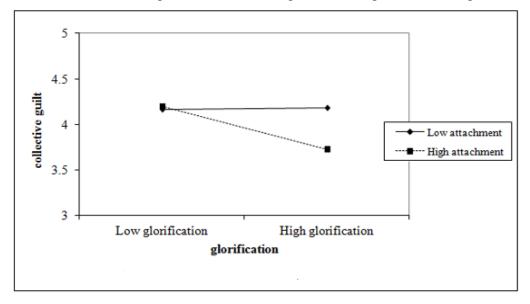


Figure 3.2 The relationship between group glorification and collective guilt moderated by group attachment.

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

The aim of the present study to explore the relationship between collective guilt and two modes of group identification: group glorification and group attachment in terms of "Events o September, 6-7" and it is also aimed to explore the effect of perspective of message on this relationship between collective guilt and group identification.

It was predicted that there will be a negative correlation between group glorification and collective guilt whereas the correlation between group attachment and collective guilt will be positive. In order to test this hypothesis a correlation analysis was conducted. Moreover, it is predicted that there will be a main effect of perspective of message on collective guilt. Thus, participants who read messages from perpetrator perspective were expected to feel more collective guilt compared with participants read messages from neutral and victim perspective. In order to test this hypothesis an ANOVA analysis was conducted on SPSS and nothing was found. Lastly, it was predicted that the relationship between two modes of group identification will be moderated by the perspective of message. In order to see this moderation effect, hierarchical multiple regression analysis was conducted. In this section, the findings of these analyses, and their relations with literature will be discussed. After this discussion, contributions, limitations, and possible implications of thesis will be presented.

4.1. General Evaluations of the Research Findings

4.1.1. Relationship Between Two Modes of Group Identification and Collective Guilt among Study Variables

Present study findings revealed that overall people with high level of group identification show less collective guilt than people with low level of group identification. When we analyzed these relationship in terms of two modes of group identification, findings change somehow. It is revealed that people who highly glorify to their group had also less collective guilt feeling than people who lowly glorify to their group. However, present study findings could not find any significant correlation between group attachment and collective guilt. These findings only partially meet the literature's expectations. Doosje et al. (1998) found that high group identifiers experience more collective guilt than low group identifiers.

But, in the present study main concern is the relationship between two modes (group attachment and group glorification) of group identification and collective guilt. In this regard, literature findings indicated that two modes of identification had opposite relationships with collective guilt. It is found that group glorification was negatively related to collective guilt whereas group attachment was positively related to collective guilt (Roccas et al., 2006). It is indicated that high glorifiers reject any criticism towards their group and justify their group wrongdoings. Therefore, high glorifiers feel less collective guilt than low glorifiers. In terms of present study, first part of the prediction is consistent with the literature expectation: group glorification negatively correlated with collective guilt. However, the positive relationship between group attachment and collective guilt was not found in the present study. It can be explained with a number of factors. Roccas et al. (2006) mentioned in their study that group glorification may suppress the relationship between attachment and collective guilt due to the positive correlation between group attachment and group glorification. Although, they claimed there is contrast relationship with collective guilt and two modes of group identification, they also admit that group glorification and group attachment partly overlap. Therefore, these complicated relationships may have suppressed the positive correlation between group attachment and feeling of collective guilt in the present study. Also, group identification scale was only used in order to measure identification of Israeli people. Therefore, attachment and glorification criteria may be change among different nations.

4.1.2. Effects of Perspective of Message

Findings of present study pointed out that perspective of the message (perpetrator, neutral, or victim) does not affect the level of collective guilt. It was expected that people felt more collective guilt when they read the message in perpetrator perspective compared to other perspectives (neutral and victim perspective). To test this hypothesis, one way ANOVA was carried out. Result of the analysis reflected that collective guilt was similar across both perspectives (perpetrator, neutral, victim).

Findings of the present study is not consistent with the literature. Imhoff et al. (2012) found that people who are exposed the wrongful actions of their ancestors from perpetrator perspective will feel higher levels of collective guilt than people who hear them from victim perspective. They made this distinction because they claimed in their study that collective guilt is a self-focused emotion unlike other-focused emotions such as regret or shame therefore people feel more collective guilt when information about wrongful action came from their ingroup than another outgroup.

There may be some factors that could explain why the effect of perspective message was not seen on collective guilt in the present study. Firstly, Imhoff et al. (2012) used only perpetrator and victim perspective in their study. However, in the present study, neutral perspective was also added in order to find a median line between perpetrator and victim perspective. Adding the third perspective message may decrease the effect of all perspective messages on collective guilt. Moreover, in the literature, there is only one example which examines the effect of perspective of the messages on collective guilt (Imhoff et al., 2012). Past wrongful action of the ingroup mostly is given either by manipulating the favorability of the message (Halloran, 2007) or by

manipulating framing of the message (e.g. black disadvantage, white privilege) (Powell et al., 2005). In the present study, manipulation of the perspective of message was chosen specifically, because it is thought that describing the Events of September 6-7 in a favorable way was not possible at all. Also, as it mentioned above because of the self-focused structure of collective guilt it is believed that people who read perpetrator perspective message will have higher levels of collective guilt that the other perspective message condition. For further studies, favorability of the message or framing of the message should be also taken into the consideration.

Although, there is not any finding in the literature about the moderation effect of perspective of messages on collective guilt yet, in this theses, moderation analysis was conducted to see the effect of perspective of messages on relationship between two modes of group identification and collective guilt. Findings of the present study revealed that perspective of the messages did not moderate the relationship between two modes of group identification and collective guilt. As it mentioned, there is not proper literature finding about the effect of perspective of message on this relationship however, research findings revealed some other factors that affect the relationship between group identification and collective guilt. For instance, main argument of Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1982) was that people make excuses for wrongdoings of their group in order to maintain positive social identity. In terms of Events of September 6-7, these excuses may be cognition such as "Greeks betrayed us before, they also killed Turks, events are exaggerated, etc." These prejudiced cognitions may have also decreased the effect of perspective of messages on relationship between group identification and collective guilt. Besides, some other variables such as political identity, releigion level or degree of knowledge about the events, may affect the relationsip between collective guilt on group identification. These variables may also decrease the effect of perspective of messages.

4.2. Main Contributions, and Conclusions of the Thesis

As it mentioned throughout the thesis, collective guilt is a new topic on the area of social psychology. This new topic became the one of the most popular studied

subject of social psychology at last decade. Before collective guilt studies, emotion of guilt was only considered at the personal level as any other emotion. Considering guilt as in collective level may help us to understand emotional base of wrongful actions of the nations' past. Meanwhile, it also may help people to understand the damages that had done and may create see the ways of repairing those damages. Moreover, it is seen with the examples of the literature that strategies that help people to maintain their positive social identity can be destroyed when they face with the wrongful actions of their group and they experience the feeling of collective guilt. Collective guilt studies and specifically this thesis contribute to the social psychology literature in terms of understanding the complex structure of social identity.

With this thesis, I aimed to contribute to the social psychology literature, and Turkish society in some ways. First of all, this is the first research that studies the collective guilt of Turkish people. Results of the study are a significant contribution to the Turkish literature in terms of starting the collective guilt studies.

Secondly, there are only few studies that explore the relationship between two modes of group identification (group attachment and group glorification) and collective guilt in the literature. Therefore, the thesis also will be helpful for further research that seeks to analyze this relationship. It is hoped that it will make a significant contribution to the scientific field which is related to collective guilt and group identification.

Lastly, it is also the first study that examines the moderation effect of the perspective messages on the relationship between two modes of identification and collective guilt. Although no significant effect could be found, it is believed that results of the present study will be helpful guidance for further studies.

This thesis shows that complex structure of group identification is an important factor on the level of collective guilt. Moreover, significant negative correlation between group glorification and collective guilt note to some possible dangers of

group identification. It is cleared out that high levels of glorification with the national group prevents the criticizing group decisions and wrongful actions of the group. Therefore, it also prevents feel some certain emotions such as collective guilt toward the victimized nation.

Lastly, thesis proved that the way of the expressing the wrongful action do not affect collective guilt level of people. Harmful events are given by either perpetrator perspective, neutral perspective or victim perspective, changes in the perspective of the message did not affect the level of collective guilt.

4.3. Limitations, and Suggestion for Future Researches

There are also some limitations of this thesis, and they also should take into the consideration. First of all, the sample of study can be questioned. Research was conducted in 3 different universities of Ankara in order to reach different participant profiles. However, there were no other participants other than the university students therefore generalization of findings are limited with the university students.

The most important limitation of the study was the participants' lack of knowledge about the events of the September 6-7. There were many comments of participants at the end of the questionnaire package about their lack of knowledge about the events. Some of participants declined that they did not want to answer the questions about the collective guilt simply because they do not know anything about the events therefore they were not sure how to feel about the wrongful actions of Turks. This problem may also be solved with increasing the sample of the study. If the age range of the participants is extended, knowledge about the events of September 6-7 may increase.

For future studies, it is recommended that effect of the perspective of the message should be explored in a separate study with different participants. This way, the most appropriate perspective message should be chosen easily. Then, with a second study, the relationship between two modes of group identification and collective guilt could

be analyzed in more detail with one perspective message only. Because, participant comments also revealed that some of participants had some doubts about the accuracy of messages even if their contents were exactly the same. Using messages with different perspective may create false interpretations among participants.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: COLLECTIVE GUILT SCALE

Aşağıdaki soruları 6-7 Eylül olaylarını düşünerek cevaplamanız gerekmektedir. İfadelerin doğru veya yanlış cevabı yoktur. Lütfen her bir ifadeye ne kadar katıldığınızı verilen ölçekteki rakamlardan size göre en uygun olanı, ifadenin yanındaki boşluğa yazarak belirtiniz.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Katılmıyorum	Biraz katılmıyorum	Ne katılıyorum ne katılmıyorum	Biraz katılıyoru m	Katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyoru m

1) 6-7 Eylül olaylarında Türklerin Rum, Ermeni ve Yahudilere yönelik zarar verici davranışları yüzünden suçluluk duyuyorum.
2) Benim milletimin mensuplarının neden olduğu bu kötü sonuçlar için kolaylıkla suçluluk duyabilirim.
3) Benim milletim tarafından 6-7 Eylül'de Rum, Ermeni ve Yahudilere verilen hasarın onarılmasına katkıda bulunmam gerektiğini düşünüyorum.
4) 6-7 Eylül olaylarında Türklerin Rum, Ermeni ve Yahudilere yaptıkları bazı şeylerden pişmanlık duyuyorum.
5) Türk olmanın bana getirdiği faydalardan dolayı bazen suçluluk hissediyorum.
6) Diğer Türklerin Rum, Ermeni ve Yahudilere karşı yaptıkları olumsuz şeyler yüzünden suçluluk duyuyorum.

APPENDIX B: GROUP IDENTIFICATION SCALE

Değerli katılımcı, bu bölümde aşağıdaki düşüncelere ne ölçüde katıldığınızı belirtmeniz istenmektedir. İfadelerin doğru veya yanlış cevabı yoktur. Lütfen her bir ifadeye ne kadar katıldığınızı verilen ölçekteki rakamlardan size göre en uygun olanı, ifadenin yanındaki boşluğa yazarak belirtiniz.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kesinlikle katılmıyor um	Katılmıyorum	Biraz katılmıyorum	Ne katılıyorum ne katılmıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Katılıyoru m	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

1) Türkiye'yi seviyorum.
2) Diğer milletler bizden çok şey öğrenebilir.
3) Türk olmak kimliğimin önemli bir parçasıdır.
4) İçinde yaşadığımız zamanda, ne yapmamız gerektiğini bilmenin tek yolu milletimizin liderlerine güvenmektir.
5) Milletime katkıda bulunmak benim için önemlidir.
6) Milletimin değerleri diğer milletlerin değerlerinden daha üstündür.
7) Kendimi Türk olarak görmek benim için önemlidir.
8) Çocuklarımıza öğretmek zorunda olduğumuz önemli şeylerden biri de milletimizin liderlerine saygı duymaktır.
9) Kendimi fazlasıyla milletime adarım.
10) Diğer milletlerle karşılaştırıldığında biz çok ahlaklı bir milletiz.
11) Herkesin beni Türk olarak görmesi benim için önemlidir.
12) Türklerin Türkiye'yi eleştirmesi sadakatsızlıktır.
13) Milletime hizmet etmek benim için önemlidir.
14) Türkiye her bakımdan diğer milletlerden daha iyidir.
15) Türkler hakkında konuşurken genellikle "onlar" yerine "biz" derim.
16) Milli otoritelerimizin koyduğu kural ve yönetmeliklerin arkasında genellikle iyi bir neden vardır.

APPENDIX C: PATRIOTOSM SCALE

Değerli katılımcı, bu bölümde aşağıdaki ifadelere ne ölçüde katıldığınızı belirtmeniz istenmektedir. İfadelerin doğru veya yanlış cevabı yoktur. Lütfen her bir ifadeye ne kadar katıldığınızı verilen ölçekteki rakamlardan size göre en uygun olanı, ifadenin yanındaki boşluğa yazarak belirtiniz.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Katılmıyorum	Biraz katılmıyoru m	Ne katılıyorum ne katılmıyorum	Biraz katılıyor um	Katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

15) Ulusal kararları sorgulamak Türkiye'nin gerilemesine neden olur.
16) Onaylamadığım halde Türkiye'nin icraatlarını kolayca kabul etmek ulusum
için zararlıdır.
17) Türkiye'nin güçlü bir ulus olmayı sürdürmesinin tek koşulu, bizim vatandaşlar
olarak onun arkasında birleşmemizdir.
18) Ulusal kararlardan hoşnut olmadığını ifade etmek iyi bir vatandaşın görevidir.
19) Uluslararası meseleler söz konusu olduğunda Türkiye hemen hemen her
zaman haklıdır.
20) Bütün vatandaşlar, ulusal statükoya karşı olsa bile, fikirlerini dile getirmelidir.
21) Güçlü bir millet olmak için vatandaşlar olarak biz, ulusal liderlerimizin
rehberliğini süphe duymadan kabul etmeliyiz

APPENDIX D: PERPETRATOR PERSPECTIVE MESSAGE

Tarihe "6-7 Eylül Olayları" olarak geçen, 6-7 Eylül 1955 tarihinde Türkiye'de yaşayan Rumların, Ermenilerin ve Yahudilerin etkilendiği olaylar hakkında ne kadar bilgiye sahipsiniz? (Lütfen uygun olan rakamı yuvarlak içine alınız)

1	2	3	4	5
Hiç bir bilgim	Çok az bilgiye	Ortalama	Yeterli bilgim	Tamamiyle
yok	sahibim	bilgiye sahibim	var	biliyorum

Lütfen yukarıdaki soruyu cevapladıktan sonra aşağıdaki metni okuyunuz.

6-7 EYLÜL OLAYLARI

Bundan 58 yıl önce, biz Türkler, İstanbul ve İzmir'in Rum, Ermeni ve Yahudilerin yoğun olarak yaşadığı semtlerine yönelik, çeşitli şehirlerden toplanarak bir saldırı ve yağmalama hareketi gerçekleştirdik. "6-7 Eylül olayları" olarak anılan bu olaylar, istihbaratçı bir Türk genci olduğu daha sonra anlaşılan birinin Atatürk'ün Selanik'teki evine bomba atmasıyla başladı. Bombalama olayı üzerine İstanbul Express gazetesi "Atamızın Evine Bomba Atıldı!" manşetiyle çıktı ve yaygın bir biçimde dağıtıldı. Gazetenin haberinden sonra Kıbrıs Türktür Derneği'nin protesto çağrısıyla 6 Eylül akşamı başlattığımız ve iki gün süren saldırı ve yağmalamalarımızda azınlıkların ev, işyeri ve kurumlarını hedef aldık.

İstanbul'daki olaylarda; 74 kilise, 1 havra, 8 ayazma, 3 manastır, 26 okul; 3584'ü Rumlar'a geri kalanı Ermeni ve Yahudilere ait 5583 ev ve işyerinin bir kısmına zarar verirken önemli bir kısmını da tamamen tahrip ettik. İzmir'de ise 14 ev, 6 dükkan, 1 pansiyon, Katolik Kilisesi ve İngiliz Kültür Evi'ne zarar verdik. Zarar gören mülklerin yanı sıra olaylar boyunca 11 ila 15 gayrimüslim öldü, 300'ü de yaralandı. Ayrıca çok sayıda kadın tecavüze uğradı. İstanbul'da ve İzmir'de olaylardan hemen sonra sıkıyönetim ilan edildi.

Saldırılarımızdan sonra birçok Rum, Ermeni ve Yahudi artık yaşama imkanı kalmadığı için, evlerini ve yurdunu terk ederek göç etmek zorunda kaldılar. Bu gelişmeler sonucunda İstanbul'un gayrimüslim nüfusunu önemli oranda azaltmış olduk. Ülkesini terk etmek zorunda kalan bu azınlıklar malvarlıklarını arkalarında bırakarak gitmek zorunda kaldılar. Bu mallarına da daha sonra biz el koyduk.

APPENDIX E: NEUTRAL PERSPECTIVE MESSAGE

Tarihe "6-7 Eylül Olayları" olarak geçen, 6-7 Eylül 1955 tarihinde Türkiye'de yaşayan Rumların, Ermenilerin ve Yahudilerin etkilendiği olaylar hakkında ne kadar bilgiye sahipsiniz? (Lütfen uygun olan rakamı yuvarlak içine alınız)

1	2	3	4	5
Hiç bir bilgim yok	Çok az bilgiye sahibim	Ortalama bilgiye sahibim	Yeterli bilgim var	Tamamiyle biliyorum

Lütfen yukarıdaki soruyu cevapladıktan sonra aşağıdaki metni okuvunuz.

6-7 EYLÜL OLAYLARI

Bundan 58 yıl önce İstanbul ve İzmir'in Rum, Ermeni ve Yahudilerin yoğun olarak yaşadığı semtlerine, büyük bir saldırı ve yağmalama hareketi gerçekleşti. "6-7 Eylül olayları" olarak anılan bu olaylar, istihbaratçı bir Türk genci olduğu daha sonra anlaşılan birinin Atatürk'ün Selanik'teki evine bomba atmasıyla başladı. Bombalama olayı üzerine İstanbul Express gazetesi "Atamızın Evine Bomba Atıldı!" manşetiyle çıktı ve yaygın bir biçimde dağıtıldı. Gazetenin haberinden sonra gayrimüslimlerin ev, işyeri ve kurumları, Kıbrıs Türktür Derneği'nin protesto çağrısıyla 6 Eylül akşamı başlayan ve iki gün süren saldırı ve yağmalamaların hedefi oldu.

İstanbul'daki olaylarda; gayrimüslimlere ait 74 kilise, 1 havra, 8 ayazma, 3 manastır, 26 okul; 3584'ü Rumlar'a geri kalanı Ermeni ve Yahudilere ait 5583 ev ve işyerinin bir kısmı zarar görürken önemli bir kısmı da tamamen tahrip oldu. İzmir'de ise gayrümüslim azınlıkların 14 ev, 6 dükkan, 1 pansiyonu ile birlikte bir Katolik Kilisesi ve İngiliz Kültür Evi de zarar gördü. Zarar gören mülklerin yanı sıra olaylar boyunca 11 ila 15 gayrimüslim can verdi, 300'ü de yaralandı. Ayrıca çok sayıda kadın tecavüze uğradı. İstanbul'da ve İzmir'de olaylardan hemen sonra sıkıyönetim ilan edildi.

Saldırılar sonrası birçok Rum, Ermeni ve Yahudi artık yaşama imkanı kalmadığı için, evlerini ve yurdunu terk ederek göç etmek zorunda kaldı. Bu gelişmeler sonucunda İstanbul'un gayrimüslim nüfusu önemli oranda azalmış oldu. Ülkesini terk etmek zorunda kalan bu azınlıklar malvarlıklarını arkalarında bırakarak gitmek zorunda kaldılar. Bu mallarına Türkler tarafından el konuldu.

APPENDIX F: VICTIM PERSPECTIVE MESSAGE

Tarihe "6-7 Eylül Olayları" olarak geçen, 6-7 Eylül 1955 tarihinde Türkiye'de yaşayan Rumların, Ermenilerin ve Yahudilerin etkilendiği olaylar hakkında ne kadar bilgiye sahipsiniz? (Lütfen uygun olan rakamı yuvarlak içine alınız)

1	2	3	4	5
Hiç bir bilgim yok	Çok az bilgiye sahibim	Ortalama bilgiye	Yeterli bilgim var	Tamamiyle biliyorum
		sahibim		

Lütfen yukarıdaki soruyu cevapladıktan sonra aşağıdaki metni okuyunuz. 6-7 EYLÜL OLAYLARI

Bundan 58 yıl önce, İstanbul ve İzmir'in biz Rum, Ermeni ve Yahudilerin yoğun olarak yaşadığı semtlerine yönelik, çeşitli şehirlerden toplanan Türk göstericiler büyük bir saldırı ve yağmalama hareketi gerçekleştirdi. "6-7 Eylül olayları" olarak anılan bu olaylar, istihbaratçı bir Türk genci olduğu daha sonra anlaşılan birinin Atatürk'ün Selanik'teki evine bomba atmasıyla başladı. Bombalama olayı üzerine İstanbul Express gazetesi "Atamızın Evine Bomba Atıldı!" manşetiyle çıktı ve yaygın bir biçimde dağıtıldı. Gazetenin haberinden sonra evlerimiz, işyerlerimiz ve ibadet yerlerimiz, Kıbrıs Türk'tür Derneği'nin protesto çağrısıyla 6 Eylül akşamı başlayan ve iki gün süren saldırı ve yağmalamaların hedefi oldu.

İstanbul'daki olaylarda; 74 kilisemiz, 1 havramız, 8 ayazmamız, 3 manastırımız, 26 okulumuz; 3584'ü Rumlara geri kalanı Ermeni ve Yahudilere ait 5583 ev ve işyerimizin bir kısmı zarar görürken önemli bir kısmı da Türk göstericiler tarafından tamamen tahrip edildi. İzmir'de ise 14 ev, 6 dükkan, 1 pansiyonumuz ile birlikte bir Katolik Kilisesi ve İngiliz Kültür Evi'ne de göstericiler zarar verdi. Olaylar sırasında Türkler sadece mallarımıza zarar vermekle kalmadı, 11 ila 15 arasında Rum, Ermeni, Yahudi yaşamını yitirdi. 300 kişi yaralandı. Ayrıca göstericiler çok sayıda Rum, Ermeni ve Yahudi kadınına tecavüz etti. İstanbul ve İzmir'de olaylardan sonra sıkıyönetim ilan edildi.

Saldırılar sonrası bir çoğumuz artık orada yaşama imkanı kalmadığı için, evlerimizi ve yurdumuzu terk ederek göç etmek zorunda kaldık. Bu gelişmeler sonucunda İstanbul'daki nüfusumuz önemli oranda azaldı. Ülkesini terk etmek zorunda kalan bizler bütün malvarlıklarımızı da arkalamızda bırakarak gitmek zorunda kaldık. Bu mallarımıza da Türkler tarafından el konuldu.

APPENDIX G: INFORM CONSENT

Gönülü Katılım Formu

Bu çalışma, Nuray Sakallı-Uğurlu danışmanlığında Özlem Serap Özkan tarafından yürütülen yüksek lisans tezi kapsamında, sosyal psikoloji alanında yapılan bir çalışmadır. Çalışmanın amacı, katılımcıların sosyal kimlik algısı ile ilgili bilgi toplamaktır. Çalışmaya katılım tamamıyla gönüllülük temelinde olmalıdır. Ankette, sizden kimlik belirleyici hiçbir bilgi istenmemektedir. Cevaplarınız tamamıyla gizli tutulacak ve sadece araştırmacılar tarafından değerlendirilecektir; elde edilecek bilgiler bilimsel yayımlarda kullanılacaktır.

Anket, genel olarak kişisel rahatsızlık verecek soruları içermemektedir. Ancak, katılım sırasında sorulardan ya da herhangi başka bir nedenden ötürü kendinizi rahatsız hissederseniz cevaplama işini yarıda bırakıp çıkmakta serbestsiniz. Böyle bir durumda anketi uygulayan kişiye, anketi tamamlamadığınızı söylemek yeterli olacaktır. Anketi ilk sayfadan başlayıp, yönergelere uyarak sırayla ve sayfa atlamadan yapmanız çok önemlidir. Anket sonunda, bu çalışmayla ilgili sorularınız cevaplanacaktır. Bu çalışmaya katıldığınız için şimdiden teşekkür ederiz. Çalışma hakkında daha fazla bilgi almak için Ortadoğu Teknik Üniversitesi Psikoloji bölümü öğrencilerinden Özlem Serap Özkan (E-posta: ozkan.ozlem@metu.edu.tr) ile iletişim kurabilirsiniz.

Bu çalışmaya tamamen gönüllü olarak katılıyorum ve istediğim zaman yarıda kesip çıkabileceğimi biliyorum. Verdiğim bilgilerin bilimsel amaçlı yayımlarda kullanılmasını kabul ediyorum. (Formu doldurup imzaladıktan sonra uygulayıcıya geri veriniz).

İsim Soyad	Tarih	İmza
	/	

APPENDIX H: DEBRIEFING FORM

KATILIM SONRASI BİLGİ FORMU

Bu çalışma daha önce de belirtildiği gibi ODTÜ Psikoloji Bölümü öğretim

üyelerinden. Prof. Dr. Nuray Sakallı-Uğurlu danışmanlığında Özlem Serap Özkan

tarafından yürütülen yüksek lisans tezi kapsamında, sosyal psikoloji alanında

yapılan bir çalışmadır.

Calısmanın esas amacı toplumsal suçluluk duygusu ile 2 faklı Türklük algısı

arasındaki ilişkiyi incelemektedir. Toplumsal suçluluk duygusu literatürde bir gruba

bağlı insanların başka bir sosyal gruba karşı kendi grupları tarafından geçmişte

yapılan hatalı davranışlar yüzünden hissettikleri suçluluk duygusu olarak

tanımlanır. Bu çalışmada toplumsal suçluluk duygusu, 6-7 Eylül 1955 olaylarını 3

farklı hikaye biçimiyle anlatarak ölçülmeye çalışılmıştır. Aynı zamanda, farklı

hikaye şekillerinin suçluluk duygusuna etkisi de ölçülmeye çalışılmıştır. Çalışmanın

başında katılımcıların ilk etapta "toplumsal suçluluk duygusu" terimi nedeniyle

çalışmaya negatif bir tutumla yaklaşmalarını engellemek için çalışmanın sadece

sosyal kimlik algısıyla ilgili bir çalışma olduğu belirtilmiştir.

Bu çalışmadan alınacak ilk verilerin Şubat 2014 sonunda elde edilmesi

amaçlanmaktadır. Elde edilen bilgiler sadece bilimsel araştırma ve yazılarda

kullanılacaktır. Çalışmanın sonuçlarını öğrenmek ya da bu araştırma hakkında daha

fazla bilgi almak için aşağıdaki isimlere başvurabilirsiniz. Bu araştırmaya

katıldığınız için tekrar çok teşekkür ederiz.

Prof. Dr. Nuray Sakallı-Uğurlu (E-posta: nurays@metu.edu.tr)

Özlem Serap Özkan (E-posta: ozkan.ozlem@metu.edu.tr)

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APPENDIX I: MESSAGE CHECK ITEMS

Bir önceki sayfada okuduğunuz metne göre alttaki 3 soruya cevap veriniz 6-7 Eylül'de neler olmuştur? Doğru (D) ya da Yanlış (Y) olarak yanıtlayın				
	1) İstanbul ve İzmir'deki Rum, Ermeni ve Yahudilere saldırılmıştır.			
	2) Rum, Ermeni ve Yahudiler İstanbul'da Türklere saldırmışlardır.			
	3) Birçok Rum, Ermeni ve Yahudi maddi ve manevi zarara uğramışlar ve			
	Türkiye'yi terk etmek zorunda kalmışlardır			

APPENDIX J: TÜRKÇE ÖZET

KOLLEKTİF SUÇLULUK DUYMA İLE İKİ TÜR GRUP KİMLİĞİ ARASINDAKİ İLİŞKİ: GRUBU YÜCELTME VE GRUBA BAĞLILIK

Kolektif suçluluk duygusu basitçe bir gruba bağlı insanların, kendi gruplarının başka bir gruba zarar veren ahlakdışı davranışlar yaptığını kabul etmesi durumunda hissettikleri duygusal tepki olarak tanımlanır (Branscombe, Doosje, & McGarty, 2002). Sadece bu zarar verici davranışları kabul etmek değil, aynı zamanda bu davranışların mağdurlar ve üçüncü kişiler tarafından hatırlatılması ve bu davranışlar yüzünden grup üyelerinin direk olarak suçlu bulunması da kolektif suçluluk duygusu yaratır (Wohl, Branscombe, & Klar, 2006). Kolektif suçluluk duygusunun hissedilmesi için ilk olarak insanların yanlış davranışlarda bulunan grup içinde kendini sınıflandırması ve kendini o gruba ait hissetmesi gerekir (Branscombe & Miron, 2004). Grup aidiyeti ve kolektif suçluluk arasındaki ilişki çok önemli olduğu için son yıllarda bu ilişkiyi inceleyen çok sayıda çalışma yapılmıştır. Ancak, bu çalışmalar çok çelişkili bulgular ortaya çıkarmıştır. Bazı araştırmalar kolektif suçluluk duygusu ile grup aidiyeti arasında olumsuz bir ilişki bulurken (Doosje, Branscombe, Spears, & Manstead, 1998), bazı araştırmalar olumlu bir ilişki bulmuştur (Doosje, Branscombe, Spears, & Manstead, 2004). Bunun yanında kolektif suçluluk duygusu ile grup aidiyeti arasında hiç bir ilişki bulunamayan bir çalışma daha bulunmaktadır (Branscombe, Slugoski, & Kappen, 2004). Bu çelişkili bulgular grup aidiyetinin doğası ve kolektif suçluluk duygusuna etkisi üzerine daha derin araştormalara neden olmuştur. Örneğin, kolektif suçluluk duygusu ile group aidiyeti arasındaki ilişkinin grup aidiyetinin iki moduna bağlı olarak değişebileceği öne sürülmüştür (Roccas, Klar, & Liviatan, 2004). Grup aidiyeti grubu yüceltme boyutunda olanların az kolektif suçluluk duygusu hissettiği, bunun yanı sıra grup aidiyeti gruba bağlılık boyutunda olanların kolektif suçluluk duygusunun daha fazla olduğu tespit edilmiştir.

Farklı grup aidiyetleri dışında kolektif suçluluk duygusu seviyesini etkiliyen diğer bir önemli faktör bulunmaktadır : geçmişte yapılan zarar verici davranışın tanımlanış şekli. Geçmiş araştırmalar sosyal eşitsizliklerin sunuluşunda grup dışındakilerin avantajsız konumunun yansıtılması yerine grup içindekilerin avantajlı konumunun yansıtılmasının kolektif suçluluk duygusunu arttırdığını ortaya çıkarmıştır (Powell, Branscombe, & Schmitt, 2005). Bunun yanısıra, geçmişte yapılmış hatalı davranış olumsuz bir dille aktarıldığında kolektif suçluluk duygusunun arttığı gözlemlenmiştir (Doosje ve ark., 1998). Son olarak da hatalı davranış failin gözünden anlatıldığında, mağdurun gözünden anlatıldığı durumdan daha çok kolektif suçluluk duygusu hissedildiği gözlemlenmiştir (Imhoff, Bilewicz, & Erb, 2012).

Bu çalışmanın amacı 6-7 Eylül Olayları kapsamında kolektif suçluluk duygusu ile iki tür grup aidiyeti arasındaki ilişkiyi incelemektir : grubu yüceltme ve gruba bağlılık. Bu ilişki incelenirken ayrıca geçmişte yapılan hatalı davranışların sunuluş şeklinin (fail perspektifi, nötr perspektif ve mağdur perspektifi) kolektif suçluluk duygusu ile grup aidiyeti arasındaki ilişkiye olan etkisinin de incelenmesi amaçlanmıştır.

Kolektif Suçluluk Duygusu Deneyimi

İnsanların kendilerinin bizzat sorumlu olmadıkları hatalı davranışlar yüzünden suçluluk duyması gerekip gerekmediği tartışmaları hala sürse de (Gilbert, 2002) kolektif suçluluk duygusunun gerçekten hissedildiğine dair çok sayıda çalışma bulunmaktadır. Örneğin bir çalışmada yapılan davranışın kendi suçları olmadığı açıkça belirtildiği halde hatalı davranışta bulunan gruba bağlı üyelerin kolektif suçluluk duygusu hissettiği görülmüştür (Doosje ve ark., 1998). Ayrıca yapılan

çalışmalar kolektif suçluluk duygusunun bireysel olarak hissedilen suçluluk duygusundan tamamiyle farklı olduğunu ortaya çıkarmıştır. Bireysel olarak hissedilen suçluluk duygusu genellikle yakın ilişkilerde görülürken, kolektif suçluluk duygusunun hissedildiği çoğu durumda iki grup arasında yakın bir ilişki söz konusu olmayabilir (Wohl ve ark., 2006). Yıllar önce Nazilerin Yahudilere uyguladığı soykırım nedeniyle günümüzde Almanların, Yahudilerle yakın bir ilişki içinde olmasalar da kolektif suçluluk duygusu hissetmesi bu duruma örnek teşkil edebilir.

Kolektif suçluluk duygusu çalışmaları 3 ana başlık altında incelenebilir : soykırımlar, etnik-politik çatışmalar ve sosyal gruplar arasındaki eşitsizlikler. Soykırım çalışmaları arasında kolektif suçluluk duygusu incelemelerinde en çok araştırılan konu Yahudi Soykırımı'dır. Süregelen araştırmalar Yahudi Soykırımı konusunda Almanların değişik boyutlarda kolektif suçluluk duygusu hissettiğini göstermiştir. Örneğin bazı çalışmalar Almanların geçmişle günümüz arasına net bir ayrım koymalarının kolektif suçluluk duygusu hissetmelerine engel olduğunu göstermiştir (Imhoff, Bilewicz, & Erb, 2012; Leach, Zeineddine, & Cehajic-Clancy, 2013). Bazı çalışmalarda ise soykırımın günümüzdeki olumsuz etkilerine vurgu yapıldığında kolektif suçluluk duygusunun yükseldiği görülmüştür (Imhoff, Wohl, & Erb, 2013; Peetz, Gunn, & Wilson, 2010). Yahudi Soykırımı dışında tarihinde bu çeşit olaylar yaşamış/yaşatmış Avustralya, Hollanda, Portekiz gibi milletler üzerinde de yapılan bir çok kolektif suçluluk duygusu çalışması bulunmaktadır (Branscombe ve ark., 1998). Kolektif suçluluk duygusunun etnikpolitik çatışmalar açısından incelenmesinin en önemli sebebi, bu durumlarda gruplardan ikisinin de suçluluk duygusu hissedebilir halde olmasıdır. Çünkü, iki grupta tarihin bir döneminde diğer gruba zarar verici davranışta bulunmuştur. Örneğin bir çalışma Kuzey İrlanda çatışmasında hem Katoliklerin hem de Protestanların ortalama düzeyle suçluluk duygusu hissettiğini göstermiştir (Hewstone, Cairns, Voci, McLernon, Neins, & Noor, 2004). Kolektif suçluluk duygusunu sosyal eşitsizlikler bağlamında inceleyen çalışmaların en önemli özelliği ise sadece geçmişte yapılan hatalı davranışları değil aynı zamanda günümüzdeki yanlışlıkları da inceleyebilmesidir (ör., kadın- erkek arası eşitsizlikler)

Kendini Sınıflandırma, Sosyal Kimlik ve Kolektif Suçluluk Duygusu

Kişinin kolektif suçluluk duygusu hissedebilmesi için öncelikle kendini hatalı davranışı yapan grubun üyesi olarak sınıflandırması ve kendini o gruba ait hissetmesi gerekir. Sosyal Kimlik Teorisi (Tajfel, 1982; Tajfel & Turner, 1986)'ne göre, kişinin bağlı bulunduğu gruba atfettiği önem arttıkça, gruba bağlı hissettikleri duygularında da artış görülür. Kolektif suçluluk duygusu da gruba bağlı bir duygu olduğuna için bu teoriye göre gruba olan aidiyet arttıkça kolektif suçluluk duygusunun artması gerekir (Wohl ve ark., 2006). Sosyal Kimlik Teorisi aynı zamanda insanların var olan olumlu kimliklerini devam ettirebilmeleri için gruplarına yöneltilen bütün eleştirileri görmezden gelebileceklerini ve kendi grupları her koşulda savunacaklarını iddia eder. Bu durumda ise insanların kolektif suçluluk duygusu hissetmemek için grup üyelerinin geçmişte yaptıkları hatalı davranışlar için bahaneler bulucağı iddia edilir (Doosje ve ark., 1998).

Sosyal kimliğin bu karışık yapısı grup kolektif suçluluk duygusu ile grup aidiyeti arasındaki ilişkiyi de karmaşıklaştırmıştır. Gruba aidiyeti arttıkça kolektif suçluluk duygusunun arttığı gözlemlenen çalışmalar olduğu gibi (Doosje ve ark., 2004), grup aidiyetiyle suçluluk duygusu arasında olumsuz ilişkinin bulunduğu çalışmalar da vardır (Doosje ve ark., 1998). Bu ikisi arasında hiç bir ilişkinin gözlemlenmediği çalışmalar da bulunmaktadır (Branscombe, 2004).

Grup Aidiyetinin İkili Yapısı: Grubu Yüceltme ve Gruba Bağlılık

Roccas ve ark. (2006) bu çelişkili bulguların grup aidiyetinin karmaşık yapısından kaynaklandığını iddia etmektedir. Geçmiş çalışmalar grup aidiyetini tek boyutlu olarak incelediği için kolektif suçluluk duygusu arasındaki ilişkinin farklı sonuçlar göstermesinin normal olduğu iddia edilmektedir. Oysaki Roccas ve ark. (2006) grup aidiyetinin iki farklı boyutu olduğunu öne sürmektedir : grubu yüceltme ve gruba bağlılık. Üyesi oldukları gruba yüceltme boyutunda aidiyet hisseden insanların kendi gruplarını diğer bütün gruplardan daha üstün gördükleri, grubun değerlerine ve sembollerine çok önem verdikleri ve grup kararlarını koşulsuz şartsız uydukları belirtilirken, üyesi oldukları gruba bağlılık boyutunda aidiyet hisseden insanlar gruplarına çok önem vermekle birlikte gruplarına katkı yapmak istedikleri ve grubun iyiliği için onu eleştirebilme hakkına sahip olduklarını düşünürler (Roccas ve ark., 2006). Kolektif suçluluk duygusu bağlamında baktığımızda grublarına bağlılık boyutunda aidiyet hisseden ancak gruplarını yüceltmeyecen insanların gruplarının iyiliği için geçmişte yapılan hatalı davranışları kabul edecekleri ve bu davranışlar için sorumluluk hissedeceği iddia edilmektedir, bu durumda kolektif suçluluk duygusunun artmasına sebep olacaktır (Roccas ve ark., 2006). Roccas ve ark. (2004)'nın yaptığı çalışma da bu iddiaları desteklemiştir. İsrail- Filistin çatışmaları sebebiyle İsrailli insanların hissettiği kolektif suçluluk duygusu ölçüldüğünde gruplarına bağlılık boyutunda ait olan insanların daha fazla kolektif suçluluk duygusu hissettiği gözlemlenirken, gruplarını yücelten insanların kolektif suçluluk duygusunun düşük olduğu gözlemlenmiştir. Bu çalışmada da grubu yüceltme ve gruba bağlılık ile Türklerin hissettiği kolektif suçluluk duygusu arasındaki ilişki 6-7 Eylül Olayları bağlamında incelenecektir.

Mesajın Perspektifi

Kolektif suçluluk duygusunu etkileyen faktörlerden biri de geçmişte yapılmış hatalı davranışların veriliş şeklidir. Yapılan çalışmalar grupların sorumlu oldukları hatalı davranışların grup üyelerine farklı şekillerde anlatılmasının kolektif suçluluk duygusunu ya bastıracağını ya da tetikleyeceğini göstermiştir (Doosje ve ark., 1998). Yapılan bir çalışmada Nazilerin Yahudilere uyguladığı Soykırım iki farklı perspektiften (fail perspektifi ve mağdur perspektifi) anlatılmıştır (Imhoff, Bilewicz, & Erb, 2012). Çalışmanın bulguları geçmişte yaşanan olayları suçu işleyenin gözünden (fail perspektifi) okuyanların şuça maruz kalanların gözünden (mağdur perspektifi) okuyanlardan daha çok kolektif suçluluk duygusu hissettiğini göstermiştir. Bu çalışmanın ana amaçlarından birisi de farklı perspektiflerin kolektif suçluluk duygusu ile grup aidiyeti arasındaki ilişkiye olan etkisini ortaya çıkarmaktır.

Daha önce de belirtildiği gibi literatürde çok sayıda kolektif suçluluk duygusu çalışması vardır. Ancak bu duygunun Türkler tarafından hissedilip hissedilmediği konusunda yapılmış bir çalışma henüz bulunmamaktadır. Ayrıca iki boyutlu grup aidiyeti (grubu yüceltme ve gruba bağlılık) ve kolektif suçluluk duygusu arasındaki ilişkiyi inceleyen yalnızca bir çalışma vardır. Bu tezin bir diğer amacı ise bu ilişkinin daha detaylı bir şekilde incelenmesini sağlamaktır. Bu bilgiler ışığında çalışmanın hipotezleri şu şekilde sıralanabilir:

- 1. Grubu yüceltme ile kolektif suçluluk duygusu arasına olumsuz bir korelasyon olacakken, gruba bağlılık ile kolektif suçluluk duygusu arasında olumlu bir korelasyon olacaktır.
- 2. Mesajın perspektifinin kolektif suçluluk duygusu üzerinde anlamlı bir etkisi olacaktır. Mesajı failin perspektifinden okuyan katılımcılar, mesajı nötr ya

- da mağdur perspektifinden okuyan katılımcılara göre daha fazla kolektüf suçluluk duygusu hissedectir.
- **3.** Son olarak, mesajın perspektifinin iki çeşit grup aidiyeti ile kolektif suçluluk duygusu arasındaki ilişki üzerinde düzenleyici bir etkisi olacaktır.

Yöntem

Araştırmaya ODTÜ, Ankara Üniversitesi ve Ufuk Üniversitesi'nden toplam 264 (81 erkek, 183 kız) öğrenci katılmıştır. Veri toplama aracı olarak kullanılan anket, demografik değişkenlerin ölçüldüğü form, Gruba Aidiyet Ölçeği (Roccas, Klar, & Livitian, 2006), Vatanseverlik Ölçeği (Staub & Schatz,1999), 6-7 Eylül olaylarının anlatıldığı 3 farklı perspektif mesajlarından biri, mesaj kontrol maddeleri ve Kolektif Suçluluk Duygusu Ölçeği'nden (Doosje ve ark., 1998) oluşmaktadır.

Demografik değişkenlerin olduğu formda yaş, cinsiyet, öğrenim durumu, etnik köken, etnik kökene bağlılık derecesi, din, dine olan bağlılık derecesi, politik tutum gibi değişkenler yer almaktadır.

Kolektif suçluluk duygusu 7'li ölçek kullanılarak ölçülmüştür (1 = kesinlikle katılmıyorum, 7 = kesinlikle katılıyorum).Ölçek 6 maddeden ve tek faktörden oluşmuştur. Ölçeğin güvenilirlik katsayısı .86 olarak belirlenmiştir.

Grup aidiyeti 2 faktör ve 16 maddeden oluşan Gruba Aidiyet Ölçeği ile ölçülmüştür. Maddelerden 8'i *grubu yüceltme*'yi ölçerken diğer 8'i ise *gruba bağlılığı* ölçmektedir. Gruba aidiyet 7'li ölçek kullanılarak ölçülmüştür (1 = kesinlikle katılmıyorum, 7 = kesinlikle katılıyorum). Gruba bağlılık faktörünün güvenilirlik katsayısı .91, grubu yüceltme faktörünün güvenilirlik katsayısı .85 olarak belirlenmiştir. Ölçeğin tamamının güvenilirlik katsayısı ise .92 olarak

belirlenmiştir. Gruba Aidiyet Ölçeği'nin geçerliliğini test etmek için 22 maddelik Vatanseverlik ölçeği anket paketine eklenmiştir.

Farklı perspektifteki mesajların kolektif suçluluk duygusuna etkisini ölçmek için 6-7 Eylül Olaylarını anlatan 3 farklı mesaj hazırlanmıştır. Her bir mesajda ilk olarak Olayları kısaca açıklanmış, ne zaman ve nasıl gerçekleştiğinden 6-7 Evlül bahsedilmiş, daha sonra olaylar sırasında ne zararlar meydana geldiği, kaç ölü, kaç yaralı olduğu belirtilmiş, son olarak da 6-7 Eylül Olayları'ndan sonra gayrümüslim vatandaşların başına gelenlerden kısaca bahsedilmiştir. Mesajlardaki tek fark bu olayların anlatılış seklidir. Olayların fail perspektifinden anlatıldığı mesaida Türkler 6-7 Eylül Olayları'nın faili olarak gösterilmiş ve aktif cümleler kullanılarak bu etki arttırılmaya çalışılmıştır. Nötr perspektifin yansıtıldığı mesajda olaylar 3. bir kişinin bakış açısıyla, daha çok pasif cümleler kullanılarak aktarılmıştır. Mağdur perspektifinde ise olaylar gayrimüslimlerin gözünden, olayın zarar gören tarafı olduklarını yansıttıkları bir biçimde aktarılmıştır. Katılımcılardan, farklı perspektifteki mesajlardan birini okuduktan hemen sonra, mesajlari gerçekten okuyup okumadıklarını kontrol etmek için olayların içeriği hakkında sorulan 3 tane soruyu cevaplandırmaları istenmiştir.

Demografik değişkenlerin yer aldığı form ve ana ölçeklerin oluşturduğu anket formu, ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından gerekli onay alındıktan sonra öğrencilere ulaştırılmıştır. Verilerin tamamı öğrencilerin anket formunu sınıf ortamında doldurması ile elde edilmiştir.

Bulgular

Araştırmanın verileri korelasyon ve hiyerarşik regresyon analizleri ile incelenmiştir. Öncelikle iki farklı grup aidiyeti ile kolektif suçluluk duygusu arasındaki korelasyona bakılmış, daha sonra farklı perspektif mesajlarının bu ilişkiye olan düzenleyici etkisini incelemek için hiyerarşik regresyon analizi yapılmıştır.

Çalışmanın değişkenleri arasındaki ilişkileri daha detaylı olarak anlamak amacıyla korelasyon sonuçları incelenmiştir. Grubu yüceltme ile kolektif suçluluk duygusu arasında anlamlı bir ilişki olduğu gözlemlenmiştir (r = -.19, p<.01). Grubu yüceltme derecesi arttıkça kolektif suçluluk duygusu azalırken, grubu yüceltme derecesi düştükçe kolektik suçluluk duygusunun azaldığı görülmüştür. Ancak, kolektif suçluluk duygusu ile gruba bağlılık arasında anlamlı bir korelasyon bulunamamıştır. Tüm değişkenler arasındaki korelasyonlar Tablo 3.1'de detaylı olarak incelenebilir.

3 farklı mesaj perspektifinin (fail, nötr, mağdur) kolektif suçluluk duygusuna olan etkisi incelendiğinde anlamlı bir etki bulunamamıştır (F(2,260)=1.74, p=.18). Olayların farklı mesaj perspektiflerinden okunmasının katılımcıların kolektif suçluluk duygularında değişiklik yaratmadığı görülmüştür. Mesajın perspektifinin iki farklı grup aidiyeti ve kolektif suçluluk duygusu arasındaki ilişkide düzenleyici rol oynayıp oynamadığını görmek için hiyerarşik regresyon analizi yapılmıştır. Gruba bağlılık ile kolektif suçluluk duygusu arasındaki ilişkide mesajın perspektifinin bir etkisi olmadığı gözlemlenmiştir (R=.15, F(3,259)=1.21, p=.31). Grubu yüceltme ile kolektif suçluluk duygusu arasındaki ilişkide mesajın perspektifinin etkisi incelendiğinde, grubu yüceltme ile kolektif suçluluk duygusu arasındaki anlamlı bir ilişki çıksa da (b=-.19, $SE_b=.06$, t=-3.01, t=-3.01, p=.003), modelin

tamamına bakıldığında farklı mesaj türlerinin bu ilişkiye anlamlı bir etkisi olmadığı gözlemlenmiştir (p>.05).

Tartışma

İki farklı grup aidiyeti ile kolektif suçluluk duygusu arasındaki ilişkinin incelenmesi için uygulanan korelasyon analizi grubu yüceltme ile kolektif suçluluk duygusu arasında olumsuz anlamlı bir ilişki olduğunu gösterirken, gruba bağlılık ile kolektif suçluluk duygusu arasında anlamlı bir ilişki bulunamamıştır. İnsanların üyesi olduklara gruplara yüceltme biçiminde aidiyetleri arttıkça hissettikleri kolektif suçluluk duygusunun azaldığı görülmüştür. Tersi şekilde, grubu yüceltme durumu azaldıkça kolektif suçluluk duygusunun arttığı gözlemlenmiştir. Literatürde de, kolektif suçluluk duygusu ile grubu yüceltme arasında olumsuz bir ilişki olduğu çalışmalarla kanıtlanmıştır (Roccas ve ark., 2006) ancak bu çalışmalar aynı zamanda gruba bağlılık ile kolektif suçluluk duygusu arasında olumlu ilişkiyi de ortaya çıkarmıştır. Bu çalışmada bu olumlu ilişkinin gözlemlenememesinin çeşitli sebepleri olabilir. Bu sebeplerden en önemlisi Roccas ve ark.'nın (2006) da belirttiği gibi iki farklı grup aidiyeti (grubu yüceltme ve gruba bağlılık) arasındaki yüksek olumlu korelasyonun, gruba bağlılık ile kolektif suçluluk arasındaki olumlu ilişkiyi bastırıyor olma ihtimalidir.

Ayrıca çalışma bulguları, farklı perspektifteki mesajların kolektif suçluluk duygusu derecesine bir etkisi olmadığını göstermiştir. Oysaki literatürdeki çalışmalar, bir gruba bağlı insanların, gruplarının geçmişte yaptığı hatalı davranışları failin gözünden gördüklerinde, mağdurun gözünden gördükleri duruma göre daha fazla kolektif suçluluk duygusu hissedeceklerini göstermiştir (Imhoff ve ark., 2012). Ancak, geçmiş çalışmalarda hatalı davranışlar aktarılırken yalnızca fail ve mağdur perspektifleri kullanılmıştır. Oysaki bu çalışmada, nötr perspektif üçüncü bir

aktarılma biçimi olarak kullanılmıştır. Bu 3. perspektifi eklemek farklı perspektiflerin kolektif suçluluk duygusu üzerindeki anlamlı etkisini azaltmış olabilir. Ayrıca gelecek çalışmalarda, hatalı davranış aktarılırken farklı perspektiflerin etkisi dışında, "olumlu- olumsuz" biçimde aktarılış ya da "grup içi avantajlar- grup-dışı dezavantajlar" şeklindeki ayrımların etkisi de göz önüne alınabilir.

Bu çalışmanın diğer bir amacı ise mesaj perspektifinin kolektif suçluluk duygusu ile iki farklı grup aidiyeti arasındaki ilişkideki düzenleyici etkisini incelemekti. Çalışma bulguları herhangi bir düzenleyici etkisi olmadığını göstermiştir. Literatürde, farklı mesaj biçimlerinin kolektif suçluluk duygusu ile iki farklı grup aidiyeti arasındaki ilişkiye olan etkisine dair herhangi bir çalışma olmadığı için bu konu hakkında detaylı bir çıkarım yapmak zordur. Ancak, kolektif suçluluk duygusu ile grup aidiyeti arasındaki ilişkiyi etkileyebilecek diğer değişkenlerin (politik tutum, dine bağlılık, 6-7 Eylül Olayları hakkında bilgi derecesi) etkisi, mesaj perspektifinin var olan düzenleyici etkisini azalmış olabilir. Gelecek çalışmalarda, diğer değişkenler de göz önünde bulundurulmalıdır.

Literatürde, Türklerin kolektif suçluluk duygusu hissedip hissetmediği konusu daha önce hiç bir çalışmada araştırılmamıştır. Bu anlamda bu araştırma, kolektif suçluluk duygusu çalışmalarına yeni bir örneklemle katkı sunması açısından önem taşımaktadır. Ayrıca literatürde iki farklı grup aidiyetiyle kolektif suçluluk duygusu arasındaki ilişkinin incelendiği çalışmalar da çok sınırlı sayıdadır. Bu açıdan da bu çalışmanın, literatüre önemli bir katkı sağlayacağı öngörülmektedir. Son olarak ise, mesaj perspektifinin kolektif suçluluk duygusu ile grup aidiyeti arasındaki ilişkiye etkisi de daha önce incelenmiş bir ilişki olmadığı için, bu etkinin incelenmesi gelecek çalışmalara yol gösterici nitelik taşımaktadır.

Katılımcıların sadece üniversite öğrencileri olmaları ve bu öğrencilerin yalnızca 3 farklı üniversitede okuyor olmaları, araştırmanın en büyük kısıtlamasıdır. Ayrıca, yaş aralığının üniversite öğrencileriyle sınırlı kalması diğer bir kısıtlamadır. Yaş ortalamasının düşük olması beraberinde 6-7 Eylül Olayları hakkındaki farkındalık seviyesini de düşük olmasına yol açmış, bu durum da kolektif suçluluk duygusunun hissedilip hissedilmemesinde çok önemli bir yer tutmuştur.

APPENDIX K: TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

<u>ENSTİTÜ</u>
Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü
Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü X
Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü
Enformatik Enstitüsü
Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü
YAZARIN
Soyadı : Özkan Adı : Özlem Serap Bölümü : Psikoloji
TEZİN ADI (İngilizce) : THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN COLLECTIVE GUILT AND TWO MODES OF GROUP IDENTIFICATION: INGROUP GLORIFICATION AND INGROUP ATTACHMENT
TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans X Doktora
Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
Tezimden bir bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz.

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ:

1.

2.

3.