

Canada's History with Indigenous Peoples: Do Reminders of Ingroup Wrongs and Ingroup  
Identification Influence Collective Guilt, Moral Shame, and Reparation Intentions?

by

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## Abstract

Research suggests historical accounts of past harm committed by an ingroup toward an outgroup have elicited emotions such as collective guilt and moral shame. The present experiment examined whether an explicit account regarding abuse committed against Indigenous peoples in the residential school system elicited collective guilt, moral shame, and reparation endorsement. Ingroup identification was assessed as a potential moderator of these predicted effects. 108 non-Indigenous students from Laurentian University were randomly assigned to excerpts derived from high school history textbooks were *explicit* or *evasive* and completed self-report questionnaires. Results showed ingroup identification was a significant moderator whereby high ingroup identifiers demonstrated greater levels of guilt and monetary support for Indigenous Canadians when exposed to the explicit text. Low ingroup identifiers had greater shame when exposed to an evasive text. Therefore, ingroup identification had an important influence on the moral emotions and reparation intentions following exposure to an explicit vs. evasive account of their group's past wrongdoing. Implications are discussed in relation to promoting a sense of responsibility and intentions to repair ingroup wrongs, and how this might be facilitated in an educational context.

*Keywords:* Historical account of past harm, ingroup identification, collective guilt, moral shame, reparation, Indigenous Canadians

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# Table of Contents

Thesis Defence Committee .....	<b>Error! Bookmark not defined.</b>
Abstract .....	iii
Acknowledgments.....	iv
Table of Contents .....	v
List of Tables .....	vii
List of Figures .....	viii
List of Appendices .....	ix
Chapter 1 .....	1
1 « Introduction » .....	1
1.1 « Historical Account Salience ».....	3
1.2 « Collective Guilt ».....	5
1.3 « Moral Shame ».....	7
1.4 « Reparation ».....	9
1.5 « Moderator Ingroup Identification » .....	33
1.6 « The Present Study » .....	35
Chapter 2 .....	17
2 « Method » .....	17
2.1 « Participants » .....	17
2.2 « Materials » .....	18
2.3 « Procedure » .....	173
Chapter 3 .....	24
3 « Results » .....	24
3.1 « Descriptive Analyses » .....	24

3.2 « Descriptive Analyses » .....	25
3.3 « Exploratory Factor Analysis » .....	26
3.4 « Main Analyses » .....	28
3.5 « Exploratory Mediation Analysis » .....	243
Chapter 4.....	334
4 « Discussion » .....	334
4.1 « Limitations and Future Directions » .....	39
4.2 « Practical Implications ».....	390
Chapter 5 .....	42
5 « Conclusion » .....	42
References .....	43
Appendices .....	52

## List of Tables

Table 1: Summary of Intercorrelations, Means, Standard Deviations, and Scale Reliabilities for Scores on Historical Knowledge, Ingroup Identification, Collective Guilt, Moral Shame, and Endorsement of Psychotherapeutic Intervention.....	24
Table 2: Factor Loadings for Exploratory Factor Analysis with Oblique Rotation of Evaluation Thermometers.....	27
Table 3: Regression Model Coefficients with Historical Account Salience as the Comparison Group and Collective Guilt as the Criterion Variable.....	29
Table 4: Regression Model Coefficients with Historical Account Salience as the Comparison Group and Moral Shame as the Criterion Variable.....	30
Table 5: Regression Model Coefficients with Historical Account Salience as the Comparison Group and Monetary Support for Indigenous Canadians as the Criterion Variable.....	32

## List of Figures

Figure 1: Interaction Effects of Historical Account Salience (Explicit vs. Evasive), Ingroup Identification, and Collective Guilt.....	30
Figure 2: Interaction Effects of Historical Account Salience (Explicit vs. Evasive), Ingroup Identification, and Moral Shame.....	31
Figure 3: Interaction Effects of Historical Account Salience (Explicit vs. Evasive), Ingroup Identification, and Monetary Support for Indigenous Canadians.....	33

## List of Appendices

Appendix A: Historical Account Manipulation.....	52
Appendix B: Evaluation Thermometers.....	54
Appendix C: Endorsement of Psychotherapeutic Intervention Questionnaire.....	55

## Chapter 1

### 1 « Introduction »

During the years of Canada's residential school system, non-Indigenous Canadians believed Indigenous children should be assimilated into the "mainstream" or predominately a European "White" Canadian lifestyle. Between the years of 1831 and 1996, approximately 130 government-funded, church-run residential schools existed across Canada, and as many as 150,000 First Nation, Métis, and Inuit children between the ages of 7 and 15 were forced to attend them (Morrissette & Goodwill, 2013). According to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (2015), residential schools were not primarily designed to teach Indigenous children, but rather to sever ties between children and their Indigenous cultural heritage. Indigenous children's experiences while attending these schools took the form of verbal, physical, and sexual abuse by teachers and principals as well as being forbidden to practice their heritage language or customs (Reeves & Stewart 2014; Morrissette & Goodwill, 2013). Other forms of abuse included confinement, withholding of meals, and public humiliation. It is estimated that at least 3,200 students died while attending residential schools (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015). Although the residential schools came to a close as of 1996, the effects of the prolonged abuse and suffering that occurred during their existence are still being felt by survivors and their families to this day (Reed, Beeds, Elijah, Lickers, & McLeod, 2011).

The residential school system and its prolonged impact among Indigenous Peoples serves as an example of an intergroup conflict for which further reconciliation is needed between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Canadians. Past research has demonstrated that a viable reconciliation between groups with a history of intergroup conflict requires not only an

acknowledgment of harm done to the group that was victimized, but that the perpetrator group holds a responsibility for carrying out this harm and makes an effort toward providing reparation to the victimized group (Cehajic-Clancy, Effron, Halperin, Liberman, & Ross, 2011). As such, a report was put forth by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) in 2015 titled the “*Truth and Reconciliation Statement*.” Its purpose was to document the truths of the survivors of the residential school system. Importantly, the Statement asserts that there is a strong need for further reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Canadians. This further reconciliation starts with providing a rich history and awareness to those Canadians who are not familiar with the deep historical conflicts that occurred during the time of the residential school system. It is hoped that the Statement will bring forth and understanding of the meaning and potential for reconciliation in Canada. (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015).

In line with this, the purpose of the current research is to explore whether the nature of the account of the abuse committed within the residential school system among a sample of non-Indigenous Canadians can influence levels of guilt and shame as well as reparation endorsement towards Indigenous Canadians for the actions of their past ingroup members. Additionally, previous research indicates that individuals who strongly identify with their ingroup often deny or legitimize the wrongdoings of their ingroup members (Roccas, Klar, & Liviatan, 2004; Wohl, Branscombe & Klar, 2006; Cehajic-Clancy, Effron, Halperin, Liberman, & Ross, 2011). As such, the current study will also assess whether those who are strongly identified as being Canadian are able to experience emotions of guilt and shame towards past ingroup members and, or, endorse reparation towards Indigenous Canadians. In order to examine collective emotions (shame and guilt) as well as reparation endorsement among non-Indigenous Canadians, a further

awareness of historical facts, similar to those presented in the Truth and Reconciliation Statement, regarding past harm must first be illuminated to current generations of non-Indigenous Canadians.

## 1.1 « Historical Account Salience »

The way historical facts are conveyed to new generations can influence both the perspectives and interactions that an ingroup has with an outgroup (Leone & Sarrica, 2014). Groups who have committed wrongdoings toward another group are likely to engage in “collective forgetting” in which detailed information about the extent of victimization is either attenuated or lost completely (Leone & Sarrica, 2014; Wohl & Branscombe, 2008; Branscombe & Miron, 2004). Thus, in order to truly acknowledge the victimization endured by Indigenous Canadians, relevant historical facts regarding the residential school system must be presented to current generations of non-Indigenous Canadians who may not have been directly involved in the wrongdoings. In fact, past research has found that more “truthful” accounts that convey an honesty regarding the atrocities committed by ingroup members allow younger generations to experience emotions such as guilt and shame that could play a role in eliciting the reconciliation process (Leone & Sarrica, 2014; 2012). To illustrate, a study conducted by Leone and Sarrica (2014) presented Italian high school students with a historical reminder of the Italian Colonial Wars using excerpts from history textbooks that were either detailed regarding brutal acts committed by their ingroup toward the Ethiopians, or evasive (leaving out these brutal facts). They found that those students who read the detailed and more honest historical account (compared to those who read the evasive account) experienced more negative emotions such as anger and infuriation, but also felt less indifferent than they did prior to completing the study. The authors suggest that although students who read a more detailed and honest historical

narrative feel more negative emotions, these emotions may aid in “unfreezing” a sense of “collective forgetting,” thereby paving the way for reconciliation.

Additionally, previous research with American participants examined whether providing information about past ingroup harm towards American Indigenous Peoples contributes to “collective forgetting” and experiences of guilt (Rotella & Richeson, 2013). Similar to the previous study presented above, they provided participants with an account of their ingroup members’ brutal past treatment towards Indigenous Peoples in America. They found that memory of past harm is significantly reduced when the perpetrators were described as Americans (ingroup members), rather than Europeans (outgroup members). In other words, despite the fact that historical events involving American Indigenous Peoples should be generally familiar to Americans, negative historical events are remembered less when carried out by ingroup members rather than outgroup members. This finding is suggestive that “collective forgetting” could be a motivated strategy to reduce negative emotions within one’s own ingroup. Furthermore, they found that collective guilt was experienced only among those who described themselves as low ingroup identifiers. That is, those who are less likely to consider being American as a core part of their identity.

Taken together, previous research indicates that when past historical harm is made salient, current ingroup members are likely to feel a host of negative emotions, particularly guilt and shame for the actions of their ancestors. Importantly, however, some ingroup members, particularly those who are highly identified with their ingroup, may be defensive or deny the actions carried out by ingroup members in order to avoid feeling negative emotions. It is therefore important to further examine the specific conditions that would promote greater

reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Canadians, starting with an in-depth look at collective emotions.

## 1.2 « Collective Guilt»

At the individual level, guilt can be described as a self-conscious emotion that individuals feel when there is a discrepancy between their internal standards of behaviour and how they actually behave (Doosje, Branscombe, Spears, & Manstead, 1998). As a result, feelings of guilt often heighten the tendency for individuals to make amends for their prior wrongdoing (Doosje et al, 1998). In their 1998 study, Doosje and colleagues proposed that guilt is not experienced only at an individual, but also at a group level as a consequence of the past actions of ingroup members. Thus, collective guilt can be defined as an emotional reaction felt in the same manner as on an individual level but instead as a result of membership in a group that committed a misdeed (Doosje et al, 1998; Wohl, Branscombe & Klar; 2006). Therefore, collective guilt references an ingroup's wrongful action (Giner-Sorolla, Castano, Espinosa, & Brown, 2007; Lickel, Schmader, & Barquissau, 2004).

In past research, collective guilt has been used primarily as an outcome variable to illustrate the effects of past wrongdoings by an ingroup towards an outgroup. Of particular relevance is the previously mentioned study conducted by Leone & Sarrica (2014), where young Italian students were exposed to either a parrhesiastic (brutally honest) or an evasive text depicting the war crimes that occurred during the Italian invasion of Ethiopia. The authors described a long-lasting “collective forgetting” of the past misdeeds Italians committed towards the Ethiopians involved in the Italian Colonial Wars, and therefore, many younger generations were unaware that these acts were committed by their ancestors. Their experiment demonstrated that participants who read the more honest account of the Italian colonial wars had a stronger

experience of collective guilt and other negative emotions such as anger compared to those who read the evasive text. The researchers assert experiencing and regulating collective emotions towards past ingroup misdeeds are important in stepping toward the process of reconciliation.

Other research has investigated the effects of a reminder of the Holocaust on Jewish individuals' emotional reactions towards the harmful acts their group has engaged in towards Palestinians (Wohl & Branscombe, 2008). Jewish participants in the experimental condition were exposed to a historical reminder of the Holocaust as researchers asked participants to reflect on the hardships and impacts experienced by their ingroup as a result of this past harm. They were then asked to complete measures of collective guilt, ingroup responsibility, legitimization of Israel's wrongdoings. Results of the study indicated that Jewish participants who were reminded that their group was victimized had a lower experience of collective guilt for the harm they have committed towards Palestinians compared to those who did not receive the historical reminder. These results elucidate how the ingroup's past victimization could be used to legitimize more current acts of harm carried out to another outgroup entirely.

A theoretical underpinning of collective guilt, Social Identity Theory (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) posits that feelings of guilt arise when individuals are aware that their ingroup has committed wrongdoings that are inconsistent with the norms and values of that group. Feelings of guilt also stem from the fact that individuals want their ingroup to maintain a positive standing (Doosje et al., 1998). Consequently, collective guilt is highly relevant to the willingness to make reparations for one's group's past wrongs (Klein, Licata, & Pierucci, 2011).

In fact, it has been shown that the degree of one's personal level of identification with his or her ingroup does play a role in the extent of collective guilt they experience (Wohl,

Branscombe & Klar, 2006). For instance, collective guilt can be felt when an individual categorizes him or herself as a member of a group that is responsible for the past wrongdoing, and in turn, takes on the feeling on behalf of their in-group (Wohl, Branscombe & Klar, 2006; Doosje & Branscombe, 1998, Rotella & Richeson, 2013). Importantly, it appears that collective guilt is less likely to be experienced by those individuals that are highly identified with their ingroup (Wohl, Branscombe & Klar, 2006). This is often due to individuals being in denial, or legitimizing the wrongdoings committed by their ingroup (Wohl, Branscombe & Klar, 2006; Wohl & Branscombe, 2005; Doosje et al., 1998).

Taken together, past research illuminates key factors in the experience of collective guilt such that it is most often experienced via historical reminder of past harm inflicted by one's own group toward another group. Moreover, there are various factors that may contribute to the levels of collective guilt that are felt by current ingroup members such as prior ingroup victimization as well as members' levels of ingroup identification. With regard to the present study, it was expected that individuals who read an explicit historical account of the abuse experienced within the residential school system would experience greater collective guilt than those who read the evasive account that did not include details of abuse. Research participants in this study were non-Indigenous Canadians (the ingroup) and thus, as suggested by past research, should feel a heightened sense of collective guilt as they are members of the perpetrator group with no prior victimization. In addition to collective guilt, moral shame was another relevant variable that was examined.

### 1.3 « Moral Shame »

Like the emotion of guilt, shame can be experienced at both an individual and group level. In an individual sense, shame, also a self-conscious emotion, results from feelings that one

is largely inadequate in a global sense (Allpress, Brown, Giner-Sorolla, Deonna, & Teroni, 2014; Leone, D'Ambrosio, Sessa, & Migliorisi, 2018). As a group-based emotion, shame can be thought of as a moral judgment towards one's own ingroup for the harm that they committed, or as an emotional reaction in regards to how the ingroup's past actions may have served to damage the social image of the group (Allpress et al., 2014; Leone et al., 2018). Therefore, group-based shame concerns the core essence of a group whereas guilt is focused on actions of those group members (Giner-Sorolla et al., 2007; Lickel et al., 2004).

The traditional consensus is that shame felt by those whose ancestors committed a past misdeed is associated with behaviours that serve to distance individuals from both the outgroup faced the past victimization and fellow ingroup members who have carried out this harm (Lickel, Schmader, Curtis, Scarnier, & Ames, 2005; Schmader & Lickel, 2006). On the other hand, other studies have found positive correlations that exist between group-based shame and reparation efforts (Allpress, Barlow, Brown, & Louis, 2010; Brown, Gonzalez, Zagefka, Manzi, & Cehajic, 2008; Brown & Cehajic, 2008). such that shame is thought to be a better predictor of reparation in comparison to guilt (Giner-Sorolla et al., 2007; Iyer, Schmader, & Lickel, 2007). In fact, Branscombe and colleagues have suggested that group-based shame can be felt in instance where reparation cannot be directly carried out (Branscombe, 2004; Branscombe, Slugoski, & Kappen, 2004). Nonetheless, a study examining a manipulated expression of remorse (guilt and apology) and shame in a criminal sex offender found no differences between these two emotions indicating that that participants may have been unable to distinguish between them (Proeve & Howells, 2006).

Following from these mixed research findings, it is suggested that two forms of group-based shame exist (Leone et al., 2018). Moral shame (moral judgement towards one's ingroup

actions) and social shame (an emotional reaction in regard to how the ingroup's past actions may have served to damage the social image of the group) yield entirely different outcomes (Leone et al., 2018). For instance, similar to collective guilt, moral shame was thought to be more indicative of reparative intentions and was a stronger predictor of willingness toward reparation altogether. In contrast, social (or image) shame was suggested to occur among individuals who avoid future interactions with the outgroup (Leone et al., 2018).

A recent study by Leone and colleagues (2018) examined how brutally honest facts regarding the Italian Colonial Wars served to affect the emotional reactions of young Italian high school students at three different points in time: directly observed by researchers during reading the passage, self-reported directly after reading the passage, and self-reported one week after reading the passage. Furthermore, one week after completing the study, participants were asked about whether they would acknowledge a need for reconciliation between Italians and Ethiopians. Results indicate that those who were exposed to a more brutally honest account of past harm expressed disgust as they read the historical passage and indicated that they felt moral shame one week after reading the passage. In fact, it was found that higher levels of moral shame predicted acknowledgements of the need for reconciliation between Italians and Ethiopians.

In light of the previous research findings, the present study utilized only moral shame in an exploratory sense to examine whether collective guilt and moral shame together were experienced alongside reparation endorsement after participants read an explicit and forthright account of the harm committed by their ancestors in the residential school system. The final dependent variable in the present study was endorsement of reparations.

## 1.4 « Reparation»

Given the news coverage, it may be evident to some Canadians that Indigenous populations have received compensation from the Government of Canada for the historical traumas they experienced. A relevant example includes the recent payout of 750 million dollars by the Canadian government to apologize for the terror experienced by Indigenous populations during nation-wide forced adoptions also known as the Sixties Scoop (Austen, 2017). Although non-Indigenous Canadians have increasingly become more aware and culturally sensitive towards Indigenous populations since the existence of residential school systems, further improvement is still required to break down barriers between Canadians groups in such a way where positive, meaningful reparations can be made towards Indigenous populations, especially to combat the current mental health crises (Truth and Reconciliation Canada, 2015).

As previously mentioned, a report released by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada in 2015 made two specific Calls to Action to Canada's federal government that are of considerable importance to the present study. The first, Call to Action 21, mandated the Federal Government to provide appropriate funding for Indigenous healing centers, and the second, Call to Action 22, was the need for Canadian Health Care Systems to recognize the value of Indigenous healing practices and to provide opportunities for these practices to be made available at the request of Indigenous patients (Truth and Reconciliation Canada, 2015).

In direct relation to the recommendations made by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, but specifically limited to the area of mental health, a plethora of research put forth by Moodley and colleagues has investigated the integration of Indigenous traditional healing practices into Westernized psychotherapy, an evolving element of multicultural counselling and psychotherapy along with its challenges and changes (Moodley &

West, 2005; Oulanova & Moodley, 2010). More specifically, a call for this type of integration arose from contemporary “Westernized” psychological treatments that failed to capture the understanding of a holistic and spiritual approach to health. Consequently, Indigenous populations are underrepresented and do not successfully complete treatment, despite a high need for services (Oulanova & Moodley, 2010).

Although many studies to date do not give an adequate reflection of the nature of the integration between Westernized psychological treatments and Indigenous traditional healing practices, it does require collaboration between mental health service providers and Indigenous healers (Oulanova & Moodley, 2010). Examples of traditional healing practices that are often substituted by Indigenous Canadians for more contemporary forms of treatment include talking circles, sharing circles, smudging, and Medicine Wheel teachings (Oulanova & Moodley, 2010).

In addition to integrative psychotherapeutic treatments as a novel approach to reparation, other studies have investigated more typical approaches such as endorsement for compensation such as monetary support, and apology, and favourable government policies made by ingroup members towards victimized outgroups (Brown et al., 2008; Graton & Ric, 2017; Doosje et al., 1998). A study by Leone and Sarrica (2012) asked participants to distribute resources to outgroup members and they found that those who read a detailed text regarding harm committed towards this group by ingroup members were willing to distribute a larger amount of resources (e.g., improving healthcare and education) towards the victimized group. Furthermore, another study by Cehajic-Clancy and colleagues (2011) found that increased levels of acknowledgement of ingroup responsibility increased feelings of guilt which in turn increased support for government policies in favour of the victimized outgroup. The previous studies elucidate that

greater endorsement for reparation towards the outgroup often occurs in the presence of a reminder of past harm and the presence of group-based emotions.

The present study aimed to address the extent to which individuals endorsed the type of integration described above, namely between Indigenous traditional healing practices and Western contemporary psychotherapeutic approaches to address the current mental health crisis experienced by many Indigenous Canadians. Additionally, the present study examined endorsement for other forms of reparation such as monetary compensation, tax exemptions, and public apologies that have already been carried out from non-Indigenous Canadians towards Indigenous Canadians for past injustices. These other forms of reparation were included to develop an understanding of the various types reparation that may be supported by non-Indigenous Canadians in hopes that they may continue to be carried out in order to put forth reconciliation efforts towards Indigenous Canadians. Therefore, the present research investigated the effects of an explicit vs. evasive historical account on collective guilt, moral shame, and reparation endorsement. As suggested by previous research, the potential moderating effects of ingroup identification were also assessed.

### 1.5 « Moderator Ingroup Identification »

As briefly mentioned above, the way in which individuals feel collective guilt and moral shame, may be reflected in the extent to which they identify with their ingroup. Ingroup identification refers to the process by which individuals attach a part of their self-concept, value and emotional significance to the membership of their social group (Tajfel, 1998; Cameron, 2004). Past research suggests that compared to those who possess low ingroup identification, those who are highly identified with their ingroup are likely to deny or legitimize the wrongdoings carried out by their past ingroup members (Rotella & Richeson, 2013; Wohl,

Branscombe & Klar, 2006; Doosje & Branscombe, 1998). Denying and or legitimizing wrongdoings is considered to be a defensive reaction in response to a reminder of an ingroup's past wrongdoing to an outgroup, and are likely to result in lower levels of collective guilt and moral shame as well as reparation efforts made towards the victimized outgroup (Rotella & Richeson, 2013; Wohl, Branscombe & Klar, 2006; Doosje & Branscombe, 1998; Leone et al., 2018).

A study by Cameron (2004) proposed a three-factor model by which to understand ingroup identity. Importantly, this model was used as the basis upon which ingroup identity was measured and understood in the present study. The first factor, centrality or salience refers to how much one's ingroup is subjectively important to how they define themselves. More specifically, salience captures the extent to which being a member is often present in the thoughts of an individual (Gurin & Markus, 1989; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992; Cameron, 2004). In addition, the factor of ingroup affect captures the important role of emotional valence that exists when belonging to a group (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfelt & Turner 1979; Cameron, 2004) as items refer to specific emotions inherent with ingroup membership such as being glad or regretful to be a member of a specific group. Lastly, the third factor, ingroup ties refers to the attachment or sense of belonging one has with their ingroup (Cameron, 2004). Taken together, these factors represent an individual's overall level of ingroup identification. In the present study, I will be examining participant's overall level of ingroup identification with a composite score of all three factors of identity, rather than examining the factors separately.

In the context of the present study, it was expected that high identifiers (those with high levels of ingroup identification) of non-Indigenous Canadian culture may disregard or attempt to legitimize the actions of their ancestors thus downplaying the wrongdoings committed towards

Indigenous populations (Roccas, Klar, & Liviatan, 2004; Wohl, Branscombe & Klar, 2006). Conversely, it was expected that low-identifiers (those with low levels of ingroup identification) would recognize that their ingroup (non-Indigenous Canadians) has done wrong. In doing so, these individuals are likely to experience negative collective emotions including collective guilt and moral shame for the harm their group has committed towards Indigenous populations in Canada.

## 1.6 « The Present Study»

The present study adopts a similar paradigm to past research by manipulating the salience of a historical account of past harm, and examining collective guilt, moral shame and reparation endorsement as outcome variables, and ingroup identification as a moderating variable (Leone et al., 2018; Leone & Sarrica; 2014; Wohl, Branscombe, & Klar, 2006; Wohl & Branscombe, 2005; Roccas & Klar, 2006; Roccas, Klar, & Livatian, 2004). It differs from past research in its focus was on the Canadian context specifically with regard to the residential school system. With respect to reparation efforts, the current study goes further to explore a novel form of reparation endorsement – psychotherapeutic interventions that integrate Indigenous traditional healing practices with contemporary techniques. As previously mentioned, integrative treatments designed for Indigenous Canadians was a specific recommendation made in the Truth and Reconciliation Statement put forth by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Canada (2015). Thus, this study will aid in gathering insight as to how non-Indigenous Canadians feel about endorsing this recommendation.

The postsecondary institution where the research was conducted was an ideal location for the research. The current Indigenous student population is at 11.5%, and there is a particular

focus on Indigenous culture and Indigenous studies and the integration of Indigenous context in the broader curriculum.

There are important and immediate practical implications of the present research. The historical account of past harm that was used in the manipulation was based on a textbook excerpt and it reflects the inclusive curriculum in Ontario, which was recently been cut out of the education budget for Ontario. Specifically, results of the study may demonstrate the importance of detailed historical accounts as they may elicit stronger willingness to endorse reparation. This would strengthen the rationale for the re-adoption of the new inclusive curriculum for high school youth.

Therefore, the present research aimed to address the following questions: First, will participants experience higher levels of collective guilt and moral shame after being exposed to an explicit vs evasive historical account of past harm reminding them about the past wrongdoings committed against Indigenous populations in the residential school system? Second, after being exposed to an explicit vs evasive historical account of past harm reminding them about the same past wrong-doings committed against Indigenous populations, will participants endorse treatments that integrate traditional healing practices into psychotherapy? Third, does one's degree of ingroup identification influence the effect of type of historical account (explicit or evasive) on collective guilt, moral shame, and reparation endorsement (including integrative treatment)?

It is hypothesized that participants who read an explicit historical account reminding them of the past harm committed toward Indigenous populations will experience higher levels of collective guilt and moral shame than those who read the vague or control texts. It is also

hypothesized that participants who read the explicit text (rather than evasive) will endorse higher levels of agreement with the integration of traditional healing practices into psychotherapeutic treatment, and other forms of reparation. Lastly, it is hypothesized that individuals who read the explicit historical account and exhibit a low degree of in-group identification will experience higher levels of collective guilt, moral, and social shame as well as endorse higher agreement with integrative psychotherapeutic treatment.

## Chapter 2

### 2 « Method »

#### 2.1 « Participants »

One hundred and eight undergraduate students from Laurentian University were recruited through Laurentian University's Participant Pool in exchange for course credit. Participants reported an average age of 22.9. Eighty-two percent of the sample reported being female, while 15% reported being male, and 1% identified their gender as "other." In terms of culture and ethnicity, 81% of participants identified as White/Caucasian, 6% identified as Black/African, 6% identified themselves as falling into the "other" category, 4% identified as South Asian, and 3% identified themselves as Chinese. Indigenous students were able to complete the study, but their results were excluded from the analyses as the target sample was non-Indigenous participants. Altogether 15 Indigenous participants were excluded from the overall sample. Given that non-Indigenous Canadians were the intended ingroup in the study, an important characteristic of participants was Canadian citizenship. In the present study, 87% of participants reported being Canadian citizens and 11% permanent residents of Canada, and 2% international students. A one-way ANOVA indicated a significant difference between permanent residents, Canadian citizens and international students  $F(2,104) = 6.22, p = .003$ . As such, permanent residents ( $M = 5.81, SD = .57$ ) and Canadian citizens ( $M = 5.14, SD = .79$ ) shared similar levels of ingroup identification, whereas the international student participant had a significantly lower level of ingroup identification<sup>1</sup> ( $M = 3.58, SD = .67$ ).

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<sup>1</sup> The international student was retained in the current sample as the removal of this participant did not substantially impact the results.

Participants were randomly assigned to an explicit (experimental) condition ( $n = 56$ ), or an evasive (control) condition ( $n = 52$ ) of the manipulated independent variable, which, in this case is the historical account salience. In terms of data screening, four participants were removed, with as 2 were removed for incomplete information, and 2 were removed for scoring low on the attention check questions. The study received ethical clearance from the Laurentian University Research Ethics Board, and all participants completed informed consent prior to the following materials.

## 2.2 « Materials »

**Historical Knowledge** (Leone et al., 2018) was measured first by asking participants if they had of any previous knowledge of the events that occurred in the residential school system. If they indicated yes, they were asked to describe the events they remembered learning about in an open-ended question. Participants also rated on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*very often*) how often they have encountered information related to the residential school system from teachers, family, friends, personal inquiries, films, book, and fiction asked as separate questions. Participants' previous historical knowledge was used for descriptive purposes.

**Ingroup Identification** (Cameron, 2004) was utilized to measure how individuals identify with being Canadian. This scale is comprised of 12 items rated on a 6-point rating scale from 1 *strongly disagree* to 6 *strongly agree* and demonstrates good internal consistency at .85. Sample items include "I have a lot in common with other intergroup members," and, "I often think of the fact that I am Canadian." Although there are three factors that make up this scale, the current study will assess an overall level of ingroup identification including all three factors together. Mean scores were computed for the overall scale, with higher scores representing greater ingroup identification.

**Historical Account Saliency** (Leone & Sarrica, 2012; 2014; Leone et al., 2018) was a historical account of past harm non-Indigenous Canadians faced during their time in the residential schools that was manipulated in the present study. Following the logic of past research by Leone and colleagues (2012; 2014; 2018) who found that a more brutally honest text was effective at eliciting collective emotions and reparation efforts, a similar manipulation was created based on the Canadian context. The historical account of past harm differed between groups where one passage was more explicit about the abuse committed by the ingroup (non-Indigenous Canadians), and the other was more evasive leaving out specific details regarding the harm committed by the ingroup. The text for each condition can be found in Appendix A. Each excerpt was derived from a Canadian high school history textbook in order to reflect the current curriculum up until changes were made in June of 2018 by the Conservative Provincial government. Specifically, the government cancelled an update to the current curriculum that was set to address Indigenous issues such as the residential school system in line with the call to actions made by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (Crawley, 2018). Previous to these changes, Canadian history textbooks have increasingly shed a more positive light on Indigenous populations in Canada (Clark, 2008) Despite the recent changes that may affect the future learning of young Canadians, it is likely that much of Indigenous history was not taught in the past to the extent it is was recently planned to do so. It is therefore likely that many Canadians who attended high school previous to the changes that were planned for Ontario secondary schools in late 2018, may not fully understand the truths about the trauma experienced by Indigenous groups through time and in residential schools specifically compared to those who were currently attending high school at the time these changes were set to be made. As a result, an important piece of this study is the utilization of excerpts from high school textbooks that

were being used with the expected curriculum change to illustrate a more honest account of past harm towards Indigenous groups specifically within the residential school system to participants who had not received these teachings as are currently undergraduate students. Texts were controlled for length, and wording was slightly revised to cater to the research participants' demographic group, university students.

**Attention Check.** Similar to the manipulation check used in a recent study by Leone and colleagues in 2018, each condition included three true or false attention check questions in the form of single sentences derived from the contents of each passage. The sentences were different for each condition and observed the extent to which participants recalled pertinent content of the passage they read. For instance, participants who read the explicit historical account were presented with sentences such as “Punishment was the main means of control used in the residential schools, and unfortunately, it was often very harsh and cruel,” and for those who read the evasive historical account “The way the schools were run expressed the beliefs and values of European worldviews.”

**Manipulation Check.** Each condition (explicit and evasive accounts) received the same 4 questions rated on a scale from 1 (*Not at all*) to 5 (*Extremely*) to test whether the manipulation (historical account salience) made the abuse inflicted during residential schools more salient. Items include, “To what extent do you feel you have an accurate picture of childrens' experiences in the residential schools?” Next, “After reading the text, to what extent do you feel the residential school system was harmful for the children who attended them?” Also, “After reading the text, to what extent do you feel that the teachers and principals committed serious crimes?” Lastly, “After reading the text, to what extent do you feel that Indigenous children were severely victimized?” Since the first question deals with the clarity of participants'

understandings of the residential school experience and the other three questions refer to the severity of this experience, these questions were analyzed separately.

**Collective Guilt.** The current measure by Branscombe and colleagues (2004) consists of 4 items used to assess collective guilt. The items are “I feel guilty about the harm done to Indigenous peoples during the conflict,” “I feel guilty about the bad things that have happened to Indigenous peoples during the conflict,” “I feel guilty about my group’s role in the conflict,” and “I feel guilty for my group’s behaviour toward Indigenous peoples.” Participants rated these items on a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) with higher scores indicating higher levels of guilt. This measure has demonstrated strong reliability in past research and in the current study at .95. This measure was adapted to reflect a Canadian context. In its original form, the measure used Palestinians as the outgroup.

**Moral Shame.** This questionnaire consists of 3 items originally reported in Brown and colleagues in 2008 but is specifically adapted from Leone and colleagues’ recent (2018) study. The measure was rated on a seven-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree) For moral shame, 3 items measured are “I feel ashamed because Canada’s actions with regard to the Indigenous peoples have been immoral,” “I feel ashamed to be Canadian for the way we have treated Indigenous peoples,” and “I feel ashamed for the damage done to Indigenous peoples by non-Indigenous Canadians.” Although a shorter measure, moral shame still yields a strong alpha reliability at .83. Given that the original version of this was used in the Italian context, the measure was adapted to reflect a Canadian context.

**Reparation Endorsement.** Support for various forms of reparation were measured using evaluation thermometers (Esses, Haddock, & Zana, 1993). Participants will indicate the degree

(0 to 100 degrees) of warmth they feel towards specific forms of reparation including “Justin Trudeau’s apology to the residential school survivors,” and “A recent payout of \$750 million by the Federal Government to Indigenous Canadians as restitution for forced adoptions.” A complete list of items can be found in Appendix B. Furthermore, an 8-item measure was developed specifically for the present study as it was used to examine the extent to which participants endorsed treatment approaches that integrate Indigenous traditional healing practices with contemporary psychotherapeutic techniques such as “The integrative approach described above will be helpful for Indigenous Canadians,” and “Indigenous Canadians deserve treatment approaches that include their own beliefs and traditional practices.” Participants responded on 7-point Likert scales from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). A complete list of items can be found in Appendix B.

**Demographics Questionnaire.** This questionnaire requested participants to state their age, gender, year in university, ethnicity, and citizenship status. This questionnaire came at the end of the study as not to potentially prime participants about its true nature.

### 2.3 « Procedure »

Participants completed the current study online through Qualtrics software. After providing informed consent, participants completed measures of historical knowledge, ingroup identification, and social dominance orientation. Then, participants were directed to a short passage and asked to read it carefully. Based on the condition to which participants were randomly assigned by the software program, they were exposed to either the explicit or evasive passage. After reading the passage, participants were then asked to complete the attention check and manipulation check questions. Next, participants were presented with measures of collective guilt and moral shame. After this, participants were given various

evaluation thermometers in which they indicated how they felt about reparations Canada has already made and the endorsement of new acts of reparation (integrative treatment approaches). Participants were then asked to complete demographic information such as their ethnicity, gender and age. Next, participants were presented with a suspicion probe where they were given a chance to guess what they felt the hypotheses of the study were. They were also given an opportunity to provide comments on the study. Lastly participants were brought to a page that indicated to them that they have completed the study and that contained the debriefing form with resources in the community to contact if they felt any distress from completing the current study.

## Chapter 3

### 3 « Results »

#### 3.1 « Descriptive Analyses »

First, descriptive analyses and histograms were conducted on each variable to determine if the variables were normally distributed. All variables appeared to be normally distributed with the exception of collective guilt that was slightly skewed. Moreover, scale reliabilities were conducted to both assess and replicate the utility of each of the measures (as shown in Table 1). It appears that the lowest alpha reliability is for the historical knowledge questionnaire (.73), and the highest for the Collective Guilt (.95).

**Table 1: Summary of Intercorrelations, Means, Standard Deviations, and Scale Reliabilities for Scores on Historical Knowledge, Ingroup Identification, Collective Guilt, Moral Shame, and Endorsement of Psychotherapeutic Intervention**

Measure	1	2	3	4	5	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	$\alpha$
1. Historical Knowledge	---	-.02	.18	.09	.03	2.26	.66	.73
2. Ingroup Identification		---	.11	-.03	.18	5.20	.80	.85
3. Collective Guilt			---	.65*	.35*	5.15	1.77	.95
4. Moral Shame				---	.28*	5.16	1.34	.83
5. Endorsement of Psycho- therapeutic Intervention					---	5.25	.91	.79

Note: \*  $p < .01$

Further preliminary analyses included *t*-tests to compare the control (evasive historical account) and experimental (explicit historical account) on the individual difference measures of historical knowledge and ingroup identification. Results of the *t*-tests revealed no significant differences between the groups. This suggests that the randomly assigned groups can be treated as equivalent, at least with respect to these individual differences.

### 3.2 « Manipulation and Attention Checks »

A *t*-test was conducted for each of the four questions to compare the groups on the manipulation check effectiveness, which assessed participants' perceptions of the residential school experience. Results indicated that overall the manipulation was effective as the explicit condition scored higher on each of the four questions compared to the evasive condition. For the first question (“To what extent do you feel you have an accurate picture of childrens’ experiences in the residential schools?”), those in the explicit condition ( $M = 3.61, SD = 1.00$ ) scored higher compared to those in the evasive condition  $t(106) = -3.68, p = .001, M = 2.85, SD = 1.14$ . In regard to the second question (“After reading the text, to what extent do you feel the residential school system was harmful for the children who attended them?”), those in the explicit condition ( $M = 4.82, SD = .54$ ) scored higher compared to those in the evasive condition  $t(106) = -4.70, p = .001, M = 3.88, SD = 1.33$ . Next, for the third question (“After reading the text, to what extent do you feel that the teachers and principals committed serious crimes?”), those in the explicit condition ( $M = 4.77, SD = .71$ ) scored higher compared to those in the evasive condition  $t(106) = -5.45, p = .001, M = 3.50, SD = 1.52$ . Lastly, for the fourth question (“After reading the text, to what extent do you feel that Indigenous children were severely victimized?”), those in the explicit condition ( $M = 4.86, SD = .58$ ) scored higher compared to those in the evasive condition  $t(106) = -4.39, p = .001, M = 3.92, SD = 1.42$ .

In order to evaluate participants' performance on the attention check, total scores on this check were computed and participants who scored lower than a 2 out of the 3 questions was excluded. Indeed 2 participants from the evasive group were excluded.

An important consideration to the study is that of participants' pre-existing knowledge of Canada's history with Indigenous Peoples. Descriptive statistics revealed the mean and standard deviation of historical knowledge ( $M = 2.26$ ,  $SD = .66$ ) as well as the scale reliability (see Table 1). It was found that 80.5% of participants had previous knowledge of the residential school system. Self-reported degree of knowledge was limited, which was expected based on how high school historical courses have traditionally dealt with the subject of residential schools. Thirty-two percent of participants indicated they had some knowledge and only 3% stated they had a lot of knowledge. The most common source information about the residential school system indeed came from education as 31% of participants indicated that they often received information about the residential school system from teachers. This underscores the importance of the history curriculum with respect to this subject.

### 3.3 « Exploratory Factor Analysis »

After descriptive and comparative analyses were conducted, an exploratory factor analysis with oblique rotation was conducted to determine if the various types of reparation endorsement fall into similar categories (this excluded the psychotherapeutic intervention as only the evaluation thermometers were included). In fact, two separate factors emerged (See Table 2) of equality between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Canadians (Factor 1) monetary support for Indigenous Canadians (Factor 2). Due to low factor loadings for both "Justin Trudeau's apology", and "Payout by the Federal Government for forced adoptions" were not included in either of the factors and removed entirely from the rest of the data analysis. Next, scale reliability

analyses were conducted on each factor. For Factor 1 (equalizing Indigenous and non-Indigenous Canadians), the alpha reliability was .87, and for Factor 2 (monetary support) it was .74.

Throughout the rest of the analyses, both factors were used as outcome variables, rather than each of the forms of reparation (evaluation thermometer items) to represent reparation endorsement along with the psychotherapeutic intervention questionnaire (EPIQ).

**Table 2: Factor Loadings for Exploratory Factor Analysis with Oblique Rotation of Evaluation Thermometers**

Evaluation Thermometers	Equalizing Indigenous	Monetary
	Non-Indigenous Canadians	Support
1. Peaceful relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Canadians	<b>.58</b>	----
2. Indigenous Sharing and Learning Centre at Laurentian University	----	<b>.69</b>
3. Indigenous Canadians' improved access to healthcare	<b>.79</b>	.12
4. Indigenous Canadians' improved access to employment	<b>.94</b>	----
5. Indigenous Canadians' improved access to education	<b>.74</b>	.23
6. Tax exemptions for Indigenous Canadians	----	<b>.73</b>
7. Lawsuit against Federal Government for segregated hospitals	.14	<b>.68</b>

*Note.* Factor loadings > .30 are in boldface.

### 3.4 « Main Analyses»

The present study was a between-subjects experimental design that utilized a categorical (historical account salience) predictor variable to determine the criterion variables of collective guilt, moral shame, and reparation endorsement. In addition, an individual difference moderating variable (ingroup identification) was used to explore the nature of the potential relation between the predictor variable and criterion variables.

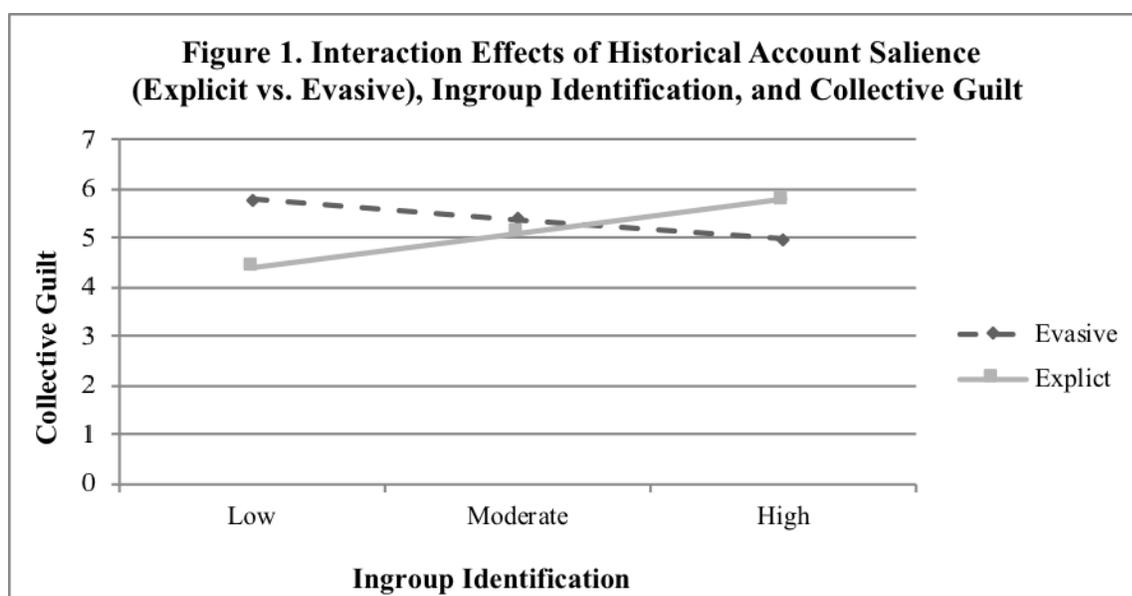
To test the hypotheses, moderated multiple regression analyses were conducted using Model 1 of Hayes' Process Macro on SPSS (2013). In order to examine whether ingroup identification serves to moderate the way historical account salience relates to outcome variables of collective guilt, moral shame, and reparation endorsement (psychotherapeutic integrative treatment, monetary support and equalizing Indigenous and non-Indigenous Canadians), historical account salience (explicit vs. evasive) combined with ingroup identification and tested against collective guilt, moral shame, monetary support, and equalizing Indigenous and non-Indigenous Canadians. Results suggested the emergence of three significant interactions. The corresponding regression analyses are summarized in Tables 3, 4, and 5.

First, there was an interaction between historical account salience condition and ingroup identification on collective guilt  $F(3, 104) = 4.37, p = .001, R^2 = .112$ , as shown in Figure 1. This interaction was probed using simple slopes analyses to indicate the nature of the interaction. The simple slope of ingroup identification was significant for those in the explicit condition only ( $p = .002$ ). This finding indicates that among those who read the explicit historical text, collective guilt was higher for those who are highly identified with their ingroup compared to low ingroup identifiers.

**Table 3: Regression Model Coefficients with Historical Account Salience as the Comparison Group and Collective Guilt as the Criterion Variable**

Predictor	Coefficient (se)	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Intercept	5.39 (0.24)	22.47	.00
II	-0.50 (0.29)	-1.68	.09
HAS (Explicit vs. Evasive)	-0.31 (0.33)	-0.95	.34
II x HAS	1.37 (0.41)	3.32	.00
Model R <sup>2</sup>	0.11	<i>F</i> = 4.37	.00

*Note.* All coefficients are unstandardized. II: ingroup identification. HAS: historical account salience.



**Figure 1.** Moderated multiple regression model where collective is measured on a 7-point scale as a function of ingroup identification (low, moderate, high), and historical account salience (explicit vs. evasive) condition.

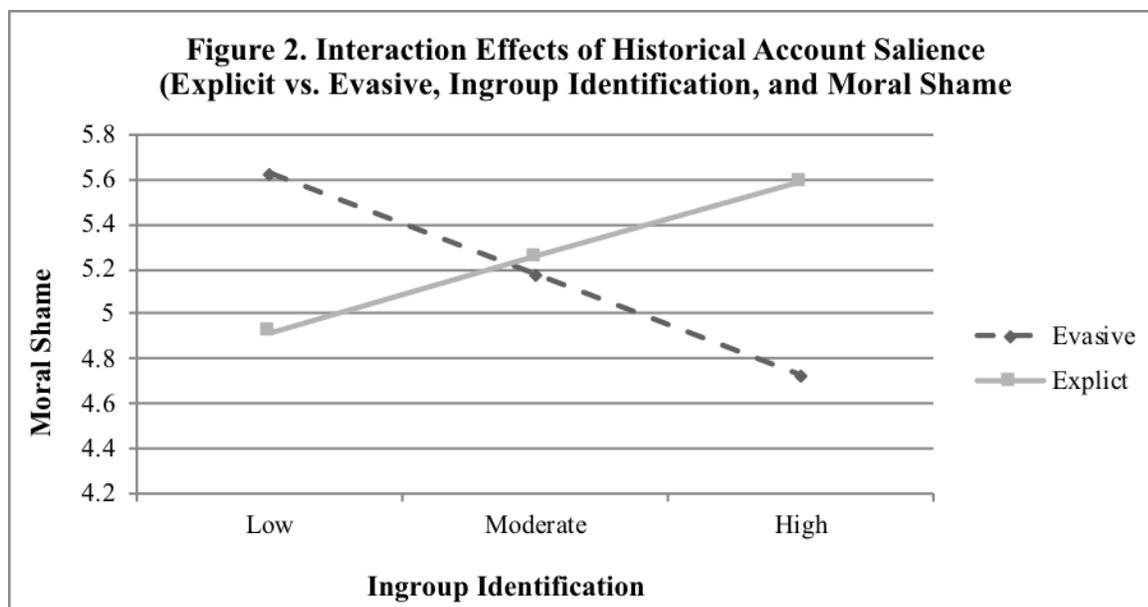
There was also a significant interaction between historical account salience and ingroup identification on moral shame  $F(3, 104) = 3.24, p = .002, R^2 = .08$ , as shown in Figure 2. Again,

this interaction was examined further using simple slopes analyses. Contrary to the previous interaction, the simple slope of ingroup identification was significant for those in the evasive condition ( $p = .017$ ). It is worth noting, however, the simple slope of ingroup identification for the explicit condition was marginally significant ( $p = .057$ ). This means that among those who read the historical evasive text, moral shame was higher for those who are low ingroup identifiers compared to high ingroup identifiers. Although only marginally significant, among those participants who read the explicit historical text, moral shame was higher for those who are high ingroup identifiers compared to low ingroup identifiers.

**Table 4: Regression Model Coefficients with Historical Account Salience as the Comparison Group and Moral Shame as the Criterion Variable**

Predictor	Coefficient (se)	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Intercept	5.19 (0.18)	28.12	.00
II	-0.55 (0.23)	-2.42	.01
HAS	0.04 (0.25)	0.18	.85
II x HAS	0.97 (0.31)	3.08	.00
Model $R^2$	0.08	$F = 3.24$	.02

*Note.* All coefficients are unstandardized. II: ingroup identification. HAS: historical account salience.



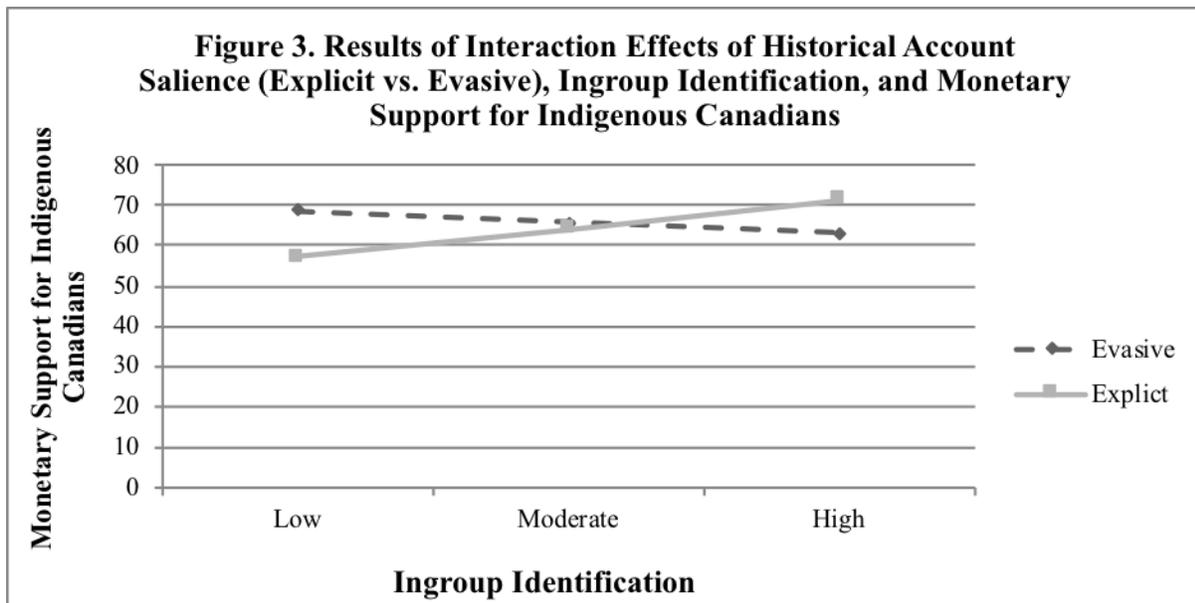
**Figure 2.** Moderated multiple regression analyses where moral shame is measured on a 7-point scale as a function of ingroup identification (low, moderate, high) and historical account salience (explicit vs. evasive condition).

Lastly, results indicated the presence of a significant interaction between historical salience and ingroup identification, on monetary support for Indigenous Canadians  $F(3, 101) = 1.91, p = .038, R^2 = .05$ , as shown in See Figure 3. To further capture the nature of the interaction between historical account salience and ingroup identification on monetary support for Indigenous Canadians, simple slopes analyses were conducted. Results suggest that the simple slope of ingroup identification was significant for those in the explicit condition ( $p = .029$ ). This finding indicates that among those who read the explicit historical text, monetary support for Indigenous Canadians is higher for those who are highly identified with their ingroup compared to those who are low ingroup identifiers.

**Table 5: Regression Model Coefficients with Historical Account Salience as the Comparison Group and Monetary Support for Indigenous Canadians as the Criterion Variable**

Predictor	Coefficient (se)	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Intercept	66.02 (3.37)	19.54	.00
II	-3.35 (4.21)	-.79	.42
HAS (Explicit vs. Evasive)	-2.10 (4.72)	-.44	.65
II x HAS	12.18 (5.81)	2.09	.03
Model R <sup>2</sup>	0.05	<i>F</i> = 1.91	.13

*Note.* All coefficients are unstandardized. II: ingroup identification. HAS: historical account salience.



**Figure 3.** Moderated multiple regression analyses where monetary support for Indigenous Canadians is measured on a scale from 0 to 100 as a function of ingroup identification (low, moderate, high), and historical account salience (explicit vs. evasive) condition.

Results of the present study suggest that the main effect hypotheses were not supported. The first main effect hypothesis stated that those who read an explicit historical account reminding them of the past harm committed by their ancestors towards Indigenous populations would experience higher levels of collective guilt and moral shame compared to those who read the evasive. Regression analyses revealed that historical account salience (explicit versus evasive text) was not a significant predictor of collective guilt and moral shame. Moreover, the second main effect hypothesis stated that those who read the explicit historical account would endorse higher levels of agreement with the integration of traditional healing practices into psychotherapeutic treatment, and other forms of reparation. Again, regression analyses showed that historical account salience did not predict levels of endorsement for both integrative psychological treatment approaches as well as other forms of reparation endorsement (monetary support and equalizing Indigenous and non-Indigenous Canadians).

### 3.5 « Exploratory Mediation Analysis»

To follow from past research that implicates collective emotions (collective guilt and moral shame) as predictors of reparation endorsement, the present study sought to investigate the relationship between the variables further. Using model 4 of Haye's Process Macro (2013), simple mediation analyses were conducted to investigate whether historical account salience predicted monetary support for Indigenous Canadians through the indirect path of collective guilt and moral shame. No significant evidence of mediation was observed.

## Chapter 4

### 4 « Discussion »

Levels of ingroup identification had an important influence on the extent to which historical account salience elicited collective guilt, moral shame, and reparation endorsement. This was consistent with the hypothesis that ingroup identification would moderate the results of an explicit vs evasive account of residential schools on the outcome variables. Specifically, ingroup identification was significant for those who read the explicit historical account (rather than those who read the evasive account) on both collective guilt and monetary support. Indeed, those who read the explicit historical text experienced higher levels of collective guilt when they were highly identified with being a non-Indigenous Canadian compared those who demonstrated low identification as a non-Indigenous Canadian. This is inconsistent with past research that suggests those who are highly identified with their ingroup are most threatened by the acknowledgement of a past wrongdoing and as such they partake in defensive strategies such as legitimizing the wrongdoings past ingroup members have committed in order to protect the identity of their ingroup (Doosje et al., 1998; Klein, Licata, & Pierucci, 2011; Constabile & Austin, 2017; Goto & Karasawa, 2011; Branscombe, 2004; Sahdra & Ross, 2007). Nonetheless, among those who read the evasive historical account, it was the low ingroup identifiers that had higher levels of collective guilt which is in line with the past research presented above. Overall, it could be that the explicit historical account detailing the abuse was effective at reducing the defensive strategies, typically put forth by high identifiers, and led them to feel a high level of collective guilt for the wrongdoings committed by their ancestors toward Indigenous Canadians in the residential school system.

In terms of monetary support, those read the explicit historical account endorsed higher levels of monetary support if they were highly identified with being Canadian. Similar to collective guilt, this finding is not consistent with past research such that those who are high identifiers tend to ignore or legitimize the wrongdoings their ingroup committed in order to protect the social image of their ingroup as well as the image through which they attribute to themselves (Klein, Licata, & Pierucci, 2011). Therefore, individuals are often less motivated to engage in reparation strategies as they feel that their ingroup does not have wrongs to “make right” (Doosje et al., 1998). Similar to the finding with collective guilt, however, monetary support was higher among low-identifiers who read the evasive historical account. This finding does align with previous research in that those who have low ingroup identification are less threatened by the past harm that has been committed by their fellow ingroup members (Doosje et al., 1998; Klein, Licata, & Pierucci, 2011; Rotella & Richeson, 2013; Goto, & Karasawa, 2011). As a result, they are willing to admit their ingroup’s faults, allow themselves to feel adverse emotional reactions such as guilt and shame, and are more motivated to make amends for their group’s wrongdoings (Doosje et al., 1998; Klein, Licata, & Pierucci, 2011; Rotella & Richeson, 2013; Goto, & Karasawa, 2011). Parallel to the previous finding, results suggest the explicit historical account is effective at inducing high-identifiers’ motivation to endorse high levels of monetary support for Indigenous Canadians.

Furthermore, the results of ingroup identity as it pertains to historical account salience and moral shame indicate that low ingroup identifiers in the evasive condition experienced higher levels of moral shame compared to those who are high identifiers. This finding is consistent with past research that demonstrates the ability of those who have low ingroup identification to not only accept their ingroups wrongdoing but experience adverse emotions

such as guilt and shame compared to those who are highly identified with their ingroup (Doosje et al., 1998; Klein, Licata, & Pierucci, 2011; Rotella & Richeson, 2013; Goto, & Karasawa, 2011). Conversely, high identifiers who read the explicit text also exhibit high levels of moral shame, although these results are marginal. Even though the latter result is marginal, it continues to speak to the strength of the historical account salience task at effectively targeting those who are highly identified to their ingroup to potentially acknowledge their ingroup's responsibility for past wrongdoings and to motivate them towards reparation efforts that are considered to be the building blocks for potential reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Canadians.

There were no significant main effects of historical account salience on the outcome variables of interest. This was contrary to hypotheses. These null results are unexpected, given research suggesting that being reminded of a groups' wrongdoing in the past evokes emotions such as collective guilt and shame among current members of the group (Doosje et al., 1998; Miron, Branscombe, & Schmitt, 2006). Despite this previous research, there has been a mix of findings in the literature that questions the direct effect of exposure to a historical reminder to the experience of collective emotions. On one hand, the Leone and Sarrica (2014) study found that collective guilt was experienced by participants who read a brutally honest rather than an evasive text regarding the Italian colonial wars regardless of their levels of ingroup identification. The results of the present research, on the other hand, are divergent from Leone & Sarrica's (2014) study as historical account salience only had effects on collective guilt and other outcomes, when the moderating role of ingroup identification was taken into account. These results could differ as many past studies from Leone and colleagues (2012; 2014; 2018) examine ingroup identification as an outcome variable rather than a moderating variable. Similarly, other studies suggest that collective guilt can occur as a result of wrongdoings committed by members in the

past, but is contingent on the presence of other variables such as ingroup identity, self-categorization, and ingroup victimization (Klein, Licata, & Pierucci, 2011; Zyllic, & Poleszak, 2005; Wohl & Branscombe, 2008). A further study claimed that collective guilt is rarely experienced as a direct result of exposure to a past injustice committed by their fellow ingroup members towards an outgroup (Gunn & Wilson, 2011). It appears as though the current study's findings are in line with the latter studies that also show no direct relation of past harm on to the experience of collective guilt or moral shame in participants that are members of various ingroups. As such, in the current study, exposure to an explicit historical account of past harm regarding the residential school system alone did not evoke a sense collective guilt or moral shame among participants.

To continue from the main analyses, the potential indirect effect of collective emotions with respect to historical account salience and reparation was explored through mediation analyses. Numerous studies to date have demonstrated the role of past harm and collective emotions on reparation efforts between ingroups and outgroups. As such, Social Identity Theory posits that groups are motivated to maintain a positive social standing, and that such threats to this standing can motivate individuals to relieve these threats by engaging in prosocial behaviour (Tajfel & Turner, 1989). In this case, the present study examined the indirect effects of collective guilt and moral shame in the existing relation between historical account salience and monetary support for Indigenous Canadians. No direct effects were found among either collective guilt or moral shame thus suggesting their suitability as outcome variables instead. The consistency of this finding with past research is mixed. A study by Doosje and colleagues in 1998 did find that collective guilt mediated the relation between past harm and reparation. Moreover, a number of studies have strictly examined collective guilt and moral shame as outcome variables similar to

what this study aimed to do (Gunn & Wilson, 2011; Costabile & Austin, 2017; Goto & Karasawa). Although the current study did not find a significant direct effect of collective emotions between historical account salience and reparation endorsement, it could be that using ingroup identification as a potential moderator in a moderated mediation model may expose collective emotions to be an indirect predictor of reparation endorsement. As ingroup identification influenced the relation between historical account salience and reparation endorsement, it may be that ingroup identification can influence collective emotions as mediator variables as well.

Historical knowledge was used in the study for descriptive purposes in regard to the amount of knowledge the participants had prior to completing the historical account salience task. It was found that the majority of participants in the study had prior knowledge of the residential school system before participating in the study and they most often received this information from teachers at school. The *measure* of historical knowledge was integrated into this study on the basis of a study by Leone and Sarrica (2012) in which their results stated that there was relatively no prior knowledge passed down to adolescents of Italy the Italian Colonial Wars where members of the ingroup invaded Ethiopia. In contrast, the current study did find evidence that young adults in Canada are aware of the atrocious acts committed towards Indigenous Canadians at the time residential schools existed. This finding shows that an awareness among Canadians does exist regarding the acts that their ancestors committed towards Indigenous Canadians. However, this knowledge may be limited, and the present results suggest the potential importance of the nature of the historical accounts to which young people are exposed.

## 4.1 « Limitation and Future Directions»

Various limitations exist in the present study that could illuminate potential directions for future research within the context of intergroup relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Canadians. First, the generalizability of the results can be in question as the participants in this study were undergraduates from a small university in Ontario where there exists a large presence of Indigenous Canadians. That being said, future research should examine the variables presented in this study using a more representative sample such as individuals who are older, younger, as well as those who live in different parts of Canada. It would also be informative to study these processes in other cultural contexts, as moderation by ingroup identity may be more likely in certain contexts whereas direct effects of historical account salience may be more likely in others.

Moreover, the current study had a relatively modest sample size. Consequently, there were a few results that were approaching significance that seem to be promising with a larger sample of participants. Future studies should examine the study's variables using a greater sample size in order to explore potential and or additional results.

Furthermore, the materials of the study including various types of reparation endorsement were presented in self-report form. Safeguards such as the manipulation and attention check questions were built in to the study specifically after the historical account salience to determine if participants were actually participating in reading the passage. Additionally, it is worth noting that past research does show that even self-reported reparation endorsement can be a strong predictor of actual behaviour (Leach, Iyer, & Pederson; Gunn & Wilson, 2011). Despite this finding, future research should seek to measure actual efforts to engage in reparation towards Indigenous Canadians especially for their current day mental health adversities.

Additionally, future research could further examine the use of integrative psychotherapy techniques specifically to provide treatment to Indigenous populations in Canada. Specifically, this integrative approach was a specific Call to Action within the Truth and Reconciliation Statement. It would be interesting to examine this idea over a more generalizable sample to see its potential endorsement as well as its potential endorsement by mental health professionals who could aid in facilitating and offering this type of treatment to Indigenous populations in Canada to not only improve relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Canadians, but to potentially disrupt the harmful intergenerational trauma cycle.

Lastly, future research should consider the use of social or image shame (an emotional reaction in regard to how the ingroup's past actions may have served to damage the social image of the group) alongside collective guilt and moral shame. It would be interesting to examine which of the three could be most predictive of reparation endorsement, as well as the potential outcome that social shame yields within the context of intergroup relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Canadians.

## 4.2 « Practical Implications »

It is apparent from the results of the current study that reminding individuals about the abuse committed towards Indigenous Canadians in the residential school system has effects on reparation endorsement, particularly among those who feel strongly about being non-Indigenous Canadians. This is a novel finding as past research has found that high ingroup identifiers tend to be to be defensive towards the actions of past harm committed by ingroup members. Thus, the present research has important and practical applications that may aid reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Canadians. First and foremost, the findings of the current study strongly suggest the necessity to resume revisions to Ontario curricula that incorporate teachings

regarding the inclusion and history of Indigenous Peoples in Canada. Just as participants (who were highly identified with their ingroup) read passages about the abuse prevalent in the residential school system and endorsed reparation for Indigenous Canadians, it may be that children who read and learn honest facts regarding the residential school system will be more apt to endorse reparation as well, making for a hopeful future for relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Canadians.

Furthermore, specific interventions may be informed by the current findings. The main results of the study that suggest that even those who are strongly attached to being Canadian, are capable of feeling guilt, shame, and making reparation towards Indigenous Canadians. Therefore, it may be effective for history teachings (particularly Indigenous history) to take place soon after the national anthem is sung each morning. As the national anthem is an important, and perhaps a more implicit reminder of Canadian identity, Indigenous history teachings could be even more impactful among high ingroup identifiers.

Lastly, results of the present research speak to the importance of disseminating historical knowledge about the truths in order to create further awareness regarding the wrongdoings committed by non-Indigenous Canadians. As demonstrated by the historical account salience manipulation, awareness regarding wrongdoings can be beneficial in bringing forth support for reparation towards Indigenous Canadians, especially among those who strongly identify with being non-Indigenous Canadians. Therefore, further awareness could be highly impactful at strengthening reparation towards Indigenous Canadians and moving towards reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Canadians.

## Chapter 5

### 5 « Conclusion »

The current research serves to improve our understanding of how historical account salience regarding past harm committed to Indigenous Canadians combined with one's level of ingroup identification may serve to elicit adverse collective emotions as well as potentially motivate one to endorse positive forms of reparation such as monetary support and equality between Indigenous and other Canadians. The findings of the study underscore the importance of making past harm more salient to as it appeared to effectively evoke adverse collective emotions (guilt and shame) among individuals who demonstrate strong identification with being non-Indigenous Canadians. Past research has found that highly identified individuals typically do not feel guilt or shame as they take a defensive approach to events that shed a negative light on their group and as a result often legitimize past harm committed to outgroup members. It is therefore particularly striking that the results of the present study indicate that among those highly identified with their group, explicit historical accounts of past harm have the potential to influence the extent to which they experience guilt and shame as well as their endorsement of reparation toward the victimized group. Explicit accounts of history, though potentially troubling for a group's positive image, may be necessary to evoke unpleasant emotions related to past transgressions and a willingness to make amends, particularly among those who attach importance to their group membership.

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## Appendices

### **Appendix A: Historical Account Manipulation**

#### Level 1 – Explicit

“From the moment they arrived at a residential school, Indigenous youth followed a much-regimented routine designed to re-socialize them to the customs and values of mainstream Canada. Boys and girls were presented with a conventional uniform and their hair was cut short. Indigenous children were forbidden to speak their first language and, in most cases, they were severely punished if they uttered a word of it. Not only were children expected to learn English or French but they also had to adopt Canadian ways of life.

The removal from their families, poor living conditions, and low standards of instruction in the residential schools were all dreadful enough, but what really scarred many of the children who attended these residential schools was the abuse they endured at the hands of non-Indigenous Canadian teachers, principles, staff, and other students. Punishment was the main means of control used in the residential schools, and unfortunately, it was often very harsh and cruel, such as the withholding of meals, confinement, strapping, and public humiliation. Abuse was not limited to physical punishment and emotional ridicule. Tragically, for many students the abuse was also sexual.

The immediate impacts such as loneliness, humiliation, hunger, fear, and pain affected the residential school students during their time in the system. Unfortunately, as a result of the abuse and severe conditions of the residential schools, many students died and remaining survivors, their families and communities are still feeling the long-term impacts to this day.”

(Reed, Beeds, Elijah, Lickers, & McLeod, 2011)

## Level 2 – Evasive

“After World War II, as part of Canada’s post-war expansion in the north, additional schools opened on Inuit homelands. In 1954, the newly formed Sub-Committee on Eskimo education of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources recommended that the residential school system be introduced throughout the North.

Following through with this recommendation, Indigenous children arrived at residential schools across the country, Indigenous children followed a much-regimented routine designed to re-socialize them to the customs and values of mainstream Canada. Boys and girls either attended separate schools or lived in separate buildings within a school. Boys and girls were given clothing and their hair was cut short.

Not only were children expected to learn English or French, but they also had to adopt non-Indigenous Canadian ways of life and specifically, the religious teachings of the church that ran the school. The days began and ended with prayers, and there were mass services on Sundays and Christian holidays. The way the schools were run expressed the beliefs and values of European worldviews.

In addition to reading, writing, and basic mathematical skills, children were taught gender-specific subjects or trades. Boys learned about agriculture, carpentry, shoe-making and blacksmithing; while girls were taught sewing, knitting, cooking, dairying, and ironing. By the end of the 1920s, there were 80 residential schools in Canada.”

(Reed, Beeds, Elijah, Lickers, & McLeod, 2011)

## **Appendix B: Evaluation Thermometers**

Please rate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statements:

1. Peaceful relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Canadians
2. Justin Trudeau's apology to the residential school survivors
3. A recent payout of \$750 million by the Federal Government to Indigenous Canadians as restitution for forced adoptions
4. The Indigenous Sharing Learning Centre on Laurentian campus dedicating to promoting full access, participation, and success for Indigenous students
5. Indigenous Canadians' full access and equal opportunity to the Canadian Healthcare System
6. Indigenous Canadians' full access and equal opportunity to employment
7. Indigenous Canadians' full access and equal opportunity to Canadian education systems
8. Tax exemptions for Indigenous Canadians
9. A current lawsuit against the Federal Government for \$1.1 billion for segregated hospitals (similar to residential schools)

### Appendix C: Endorsement of Psychotherapeutic Intervention Questionnaire

Research conducted by Moodley and colleagues investigated and critiqued a multicultural counselling approach that serves to integrate Canadian Indigenous traditional healing practices with contemporary “Westernized” psychotherapy in attempts to mitigate the current mental health crisis faced by many Indigenous populations in Canada (Moodley & West, 2005; Oulanova & Moodley, 2010). Please indicate the extent to which you agree with the following statements from (1 *strongly disagree*) to (7 *strongly agree*).

#### Positively worded statements

1. The integrative approach described above will be helpful for Indigenous Canadians.
2. It’s important for non-Indigenous Canadians to be investigating this integrative treatment at the benefit of Indigenous Canadians.
3. Indigenous Canadians deserve treatment approaches that include their own beliefs and traditional practices.
4. I hope to see this integrative treatment approach evolve into a mainstream service provided to Indigenous Canadians someday.
5. This integrative treatment approach is a good thing as it will aid in promoting peaceful relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Canadians.

#### Negatively worded statements

1. The integrative approach described above will be helpful for Indigenous Canadians.
2. It’s important for non-Indigenous Canadians to be investigating this integrative treatment at the benefit of Indigenous Canadians.
3. Indigenous Canadians deserve treatment approaches that include their own beliefs and traditional practices.
4. I hope to see this integrative treatment approach evolve into a mainstream service provided to Indigenous Canadians someday.
5. This integrative treatment approach is a good thing as it will aid in promoting peaceful relations between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Canadians.

**Note: Positively and negatively worded items were interspersed and are separated here only for ease of presentation.**