TERROR MANAGEMENT AND PRO-SOCIAL VALUES:
DOES MORTALITY SALIENCE FACILITATE FORGIVING ONLY
IN-GROUP TRANSGRESSORS?

THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
YILDIRIM BEYAZIT UNIVERSITY

BY

EMİNE YÜCEL

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS
IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

NOVEMBER 2015

Approval of the Institute of Social Sciences

————————————————

Prof. Dr. Zeki Salih ZENGİN
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.

————————————————

Prof. Dr. Cem Şafak ÇUKUR
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.

————————————————

Prof. Dr. Bilal SAMBUR
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Prof. Dr. Bilal SAMBUR   (YBU, Psychology)   _____

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Emrah AKBAŞ   (YBU, Social Policy)   _____

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Özlem Dirilen GÜMÜŞ (Hacettepe Univeristy,   _____

Psychology)

I hereby declare that all information in this thesis has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work; otherwise I accept all legal responsibility.

Name, Last Name : Emine Yücel

Signature   :

ABSTRACT

TERROR MANAGEMENT AND PRO-SOCIAL VALUES: DOES MORTALITY SALIENCE FACILITATE FORGIVING ONLY IN-GROUP TRANSGRESSORS?

Yücel, Emine

M.A., Department of Psychology

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Bilal Sambur

November 2015, 85 pages

The main goal of the current research was to examine the existential motivations that underlie forgiveness and punishment in the intergroup context. The personal importance of self-transcendence and self-enhancement values and the Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) were also investigated for their potential contributions to the moral judgment process. The results of 2 (Condition: Mortality Salience, Control) x 2 (Group Affiliation of the Transgressor: Out-Group, In-Group) MANCOVA and follow-up two ANCOVAs demonstrated a main effect of group affiliation of the transgressor. Participants were less forgiving towards and harsher in sentencing the in-group offender (M.H., a Turkish citizen) than the out-group offender (M. H., with a Syrian origin). Contrary to the expectations, mortality salience did not result in the heightened tolerance for the wrongful in-grouper. Higher scores on the self-enhancement values predicted lower levels of forgiveness. Additionally, penalty toughness was negatively predicted by the self-transcendence value, and positively by the self-enhancement value. The findings were discussed for their contributions to the related literature.

Keywords: Terror Management Theory, forgiveness, values

ÖZET

DEHŞET YÖNETİMİ VE TOPLUM YANLISI DEĞERLER: ÖLÜMLÜLÜK FARKINDALIĞI YALNIZCA İÇ GRUP ÜYELERİMİZİ Mİ AFFETMEMİZİ KOLAYLAŞTIRIR?

Yücel, Emine

Yüksek Lisans, Psikoloji Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. Bilal Sambur

Kasım 2015, 85 Sayfa

Bu çalışmanın temel amacı, gruplar-arası ilişkilerde affetme ve cezalandırmanın altında yatan varoluşsal güdüleri incelemektir. Ayrıca, öz-aşkınlık ve özgenişletim değerleri ile sosyal baskınlık yöneliminin (SBY), ahlaki yargılama sürecine etkileri de ele alınmıştır. 2 (ölümlülük farkındalığı; kontrol koşulu) X 2 (failin grup kimliği: iç-grup üyesi; dış-grup üyesi) faktöriyel MANCOVA analizi ve sonrasında yürütülen iki ayrı ANCOVA analizi; failin grup aidiyetinin temel etkisini ortaya çıkarmıştır. Failin dış-grup üyesi (Suriye uyruklu M. H.) olduğu koşulla karşılaştırıldığında, katılımcılar iç-grup üyesi faile (Türk vatandaşı M. H.) karşı daha az affedici olmuşlar ve onun için daha ağır bir cezayı uygun görmüşlerdir. Beklenenin aksine, ölümlülük farkındalığı; hatalı bir iç-grup üyesine daha fazla hoşgörü gösterilmesine sebep olmamıştır. Özgenişletim puanlarının yüksekliği, daha düşük affetme puanlarını yordamıştır. Ayrıca, suçlu için uygun görülen cezanın ağırlığı, özaşkınlık puanları tarafından negatif yönde yordanırken, özgenişletim puanları tarafından pozitif yönde yordanmıştır. Bulgular, ilgili alan yazına katkıları bağlamında tartışılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Dehşet Yönetimi Kuramı, affetme, değerler

To *Shahr-e Ziba*

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

TABLE OF CONTENTS

APPENDICES

LIST OF TABLES

TABLES

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1.General Introduction

Humans are forgetful and precipitant by nature. Certainly, erring is inevitable for them. Nonetheless, each and every act of man does not necessarily grow out of such ignorance. We are, indeed, intentional, and generally attribute intention to human behavior in interpersonal and intergroup contexts. Even if those earthly souls allege their mastership in their actions, for God, human beings might not still be that much deliberate and might not have that much of control over their deeds. Perhaps this is why, as stated by Auster (2012, p. 162), "God is merciful upon human beings and slow to penalize their misdeeds". In contrast, people take human wrongdoing very seriously, and then it becomes a challenging task for them to forgive. More critically, for people, the first option which immediately comes to mind after a serious transgression is not necessarily to forgive; but, a claim to requital. Considering the role of forgiveness in an attitude change towards pro-sociality, the very act of forgiving spreads the seeds of peace in the society.

The theoretical pillars of current study rest upon Terror Management Theory (TMT). In fact, people are very systematic about what they remember and what they forget in their daily functioning, even if they are unconscious of doing so. They tightly stick to the cultural standards upon which the society has reached a spoken or unspoken consensus. TMT proposes that those societal principles evolved as an antidote to death awareness (Greenberg, Pyszczynski, & Solomon, 1986; Rosenblatt, Greenberg, Solomon, Pyszczynski, & Lyon, 1989). Hence, human beings abstain from remembering their mortality by not forgetting what is socially acceptable. By any means, the meaning and the significance attached to earthly affairs will be destroyed with the inevitable death that awaits each and every human being as the ultimate end. However, constant confrontation

with the fatality is a heavy load on human psyche. At this point, TMT suggests that death-thought accessibility results in worldview defensive behaviors to protect one's existence from vanishing into the blue.

Given the paucity of forgiveness research with respect to TMT, in this thesis, we have chiefly questioned the existential roots of a pro-social act (i.e. forgiveness) within an intergroup context. Since immortality threatens the perpetuity of social order; consistent with the worldview defensiveness in the face of death concerns, participants became more punitive against the moral offenders when were made aware of their mortality (Rosenblatt et al., 1989). However, in some cases, group affiliation of the transgressor did make a difference. Even though both persons were responsible for the same misconduct, people who contemplated their own death were more willing to forgive an in-group transgressor than an out-group transgressor (Schimel, Wohl, & Williams, 2006). Conversely, contemplating dental pain (a non-death topic); participants did not display more willingness to forgive a violent in-group offender over a violent out-group offender. Here, having a more forgiving attitude towards one's in-group member might be a worldview protective gesture in the form of restoring/ keeping alive one's group identification. Nonetheless, there are the instances of in-group dis-identification given the unfavorable in-groupers in both TMT (see Arndt, Greenberg, Schimel, Pyszczynski, & Solomon, 2002; Dechesne, Greenberg, Arndt, & Schimel, 2000) and social identity literature (Marques, Yzerbyt, & Leyens, 1998; Marques & Yzerbyt, 1988). Since those negative exemplars pose a threat to the favorability of overall group identity or one's self-esteem, the re-appraisal of the group identification might not be the most worthwhile psychological reflex in those cases. Accordingly, it seems reasonable to re-test the validity of increased forgiveness towards the negative exemplars of one's in-group in different societal settings. With this suspicion in mind, the current study mainly aimed to replicate Schimel et al.'s study (2006) by changing the social identity reference from the sports fanaticism to nationality. We would like to test whether Turkish participants would similarly increase their intention to forgive an in-group offender (Turkish citizen) versus an out-group

transgressor (with a Syrian origin) when they were made aware of their mortality. Additionally, we aimed to expand the literature on the forgiveness by examining the influence of certain values and Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) on how people judged (i.e. forgive and punish) the moral transgressors.

Before we go into the details of the main study, a brief introduction to Terror Management Theory (TMT) with a specific focus on its implications on the intergroup processes will be presented. Next, forgiveness will be defined; and, some of the psycho-social factors that are pivotal in the interpersonal and intergroup forgiveness will be examined. Values and Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) will be discussed with a specific focus on their impact on the group relations, forgiveness, and punishment. Eventually, we will be presenting the rationale behind the current study with an overview that includes the aims and hypotheses.

1.2 Terror Management Theory (TMT)

Human beings are eager to continue to live even though they are conscious of their mortality. Clashing with the human awareness of the inevitability of death, the animal instinct for survival poses a huge amount of burden on human psyche. Ernest Becker (1973), re-naming this existential dilemma as "the condition of individuality within a finitude" (p. 26), analyzed the nature of death anxiety and came up with a groundbreaking proposition that human beings were to develop cultural systems as a reflexive reaction to the terror of the death. In the childhood period (if it is not extra-ordinarily abnormal), according to Becker (1973), human beings have a belief that the entire world is out there to serve them– due to the fact that mom is always there with a continuous and secure support. Such a tendency is named as the basic narcissism, qualified with a sense of omnipotence and imagined infallibility. As loved by a very compassionate and sensitive mom, the child simultaneously develops a schema about himself as being a loveable object. That process by itself meets human beings' basic need for self-esteem – simply grants them a sense of self-worth. Becker (1973) articulates that "when you combine

natural narcissism with the basic need for self-esteem, you create a creature that has to feel himself an object of primary value" (p. 5). By the passage of time, the culture as "a symbolic action system, a structure of strategies and norms, customs and rules for behavior" (p. 4) sets out heroic standards for human beings; and, if the individual is capable enough to meet those ideals, then again s/he becomes an object of primary value and gains an imagined but socially agreed mythical stance. The process itself provides the individual with a cosmic specialness, unshakable worth, and a meaningful position on earth. The same significance story in the childhood period (being a key figure in the eye of the parents) repeats itself during adulthood; and, the individual seeks for the non-modest distinctiveness in the society as well. To Becker (1973), this type of an earthly heroism is a part of the "immortality formula" (p. 255). The certainty of death makes life unbearable for us as human beings, threatens our significance on earth and ruins the grand meanings we attach to our life styles. However, we go on our daily lives as if there is no end to it. In fact, we generally function healthily (i.e. without existential anxiety), and barely remember the death (i.e. the ultimate end) in our everyday lives. Considering such striking oblivion to one's deadliness, Becker (1973) states that "everything that man does in his symbolic world is an attempt to deny and overcome his grotesque fate" (p. 27).

At this very point, inspired by Ernest Becker's earliest writings (1973), Terror Management Theory (TMT; Greenberg et al., 1986; Rosenblatt et al., 1989) attempts to answer the questions of how people manage with the awareness of death (existential anxiety) and what characteristic adaptations they have developed to function within the equanimity. TMT puts forward a dual system of anxiety buffer: 1- the self-esteem protection, and 2- the maintenance of the cultural worldviews. The worldviews are composed of validated and well-structured moral codes which guide people in their daily functioning. Those socially accepted norms command what is appropriate to do in certain cases. And, strong adherence to the social standards supplies people with a personal sense of significance (i.e. self-esteem). Shared meaning systems, in fact, promise either literal immortality (there is no end to life, and good people will go heaven) or symbolic

immortality (long-lasting contributions that people present to the society, such as the books they have written or their well-cultivated children, which will continue to exist even after their personal death) to compensate for human beings' deadliness and finiteness.

Pyszczynski, Greenberg, and Solomon (1999; 2003) suggested two different terror management mechanisms for different levels of the consciousness. When death thoughts are highly accessible at a conscious level, people tend to actively suppress them or start to project their own death into the distant future. That is to say, the first reaction to mortality is the apparent denial of death. However, as the time goes on, the memory does not become clear of the terror of death, and the traces of previously primed mortality are still detectable in the unconsciousness – through more implicit measures. Following the active suppression as a proximal defense, the worldview defensiveness steps in as a more distal protective strategy against the unconscious death concerns.

In fact, empirical data demonstrated that death thoughts were not accessible immediately after a mortality salience procedure (Greenberg, Pyszczynski, Solomon, Simon, & Breus, 1994; 4th study). Only when the active suppression activity faded away, then the death concerns became noticeable in the unconscious. In a classical mortality salience (MS) treatment condition, the participants wrote about their own death on two open-ended questions, and the control group participants were to write about a non-death topic (television salience). The death-thought accessibility – as the main dependent variable – was assessed through a word-fragment completion task: The participants were given 20 word fragments, 6 of which could be completed as either a death-related or neutral word (for example, COFF_ _ can be ended up with as COFFIN – a death related word or COFFEE – neutral word). Completing words in a more death-related fashion meant higher death thought accessibility. Some of the participants were distracted following the MS treatment by a reading material before the assessment of critical dependent variable (MS-distraction group). The remaining MS participants, just like the TV salient participants, were directly given the measure of death thought accessibility immediately after the salience inductions (MS-no distraction & TV salience groups). The

findings validated that the cognitive accessibility of death was higher for the participants in the MS-distraction condition than in the MS-no distraction and TV salience conditions. The dynamic suppression following an MS procedure hindered the invasion of the consciousness with death-related content. However, when the participants were distracted for some time after the MS induction (a critical manipulation to interfere with the repression activity), death concerns were to become cognitively accessible.

With a similar attempt to track the unconscious traces of death reminders, Arndt, Greenberg, Solomon, Pyszczynski, and Simon (1997) conducted another experiment (1st study). Initially, participants were given an 11-digit number – after rehearsal, they had to keep it in mind until they were asked to recall it at some point during the experiment. Immediately after MS/ exam salience manipulations, some of the participants were instructed to recall that previously presented 11-digit number. On the other hand, the other half had to hold that number in the memory because they were not asked to recall it yet. Then the measures of death-thought accessibility were given to the participants. The former group of participants who were to recall the number earlier in the experimental process was named as "low cognitive load group" in the sense that they did not have to actively keep that number in mind, and took death thought accessibility measures without doing a parallel second task. Conversely, the participants in the "high cognitive load" condition did have to rehearse the formerly given number during the implementation of death thought accessibility measures (i.e., they were doing two things concurrently). According to the results, death thoughts were more accessible for the high-cognitive-load participants, compared to the low-cognitive-load ones. Because the simultaneous rehearsal task interfered with the death-thought suppression for the "high cognitive load" participants, they could not actively manage with the terror of death. If the suppression as a primary conscious reaction to mortality is distracted with another task (i.e. if participants were not given enough opportunity for the open denial), then they become open to the invasion of death concerns in their unconscious.

According to TMT, whereas people openly reject the reality of death at the conscious level, they utilize worldview defenses at the subconscious level as a reflexive reaction to deadliness. In other words, our struggle with mortality does not come to a stop even when we don't focally attend to those thoughts of death. It was asserted that more distal ways of combatting with the mortality (i.e. worldview protection) could only be observable after sometime following the MS induction, parallel to high cognitive accessibility of death thoughts in the same period. Greenberg et al. (1994, 2nd and 3rd study) demonstrated that American participants increased their support for a pro-US essayist – as a worldview defensive reaction – when there was a delay between MS and the assessment of its effect, but not immediately after MS induction.

Because the high cognitive load impeded active suppression; and, consequently heightened the accessibility of death thoughts; it was expected that people in the high cognitive load condition would use more distal defense mechanisms even immediately after an MS treatment (Arndt et al., 1997, 2nd study). The participants were asked about their attitudes related to an anti-American and pro-American essayist (intelligence, liking, and the extent of the knowledge of the author). Half of the participants in MS condition made their assessment under the cognitive load – they had to keep in mind an 11-digit number. Other participants evaluated the essayists without any parallel task in the "low cognitive load" condition. The results confirmed the hypothesis, and the participants showed intensified pro-American attitudes following the MS treatment only if they were under the impact of high cognitive load. Because their active suppression (proximal defense) was hindered by the simultaneous cognitive task, more distal protective maneuver was performed – heightened group identification as an unconscious reaction to death anxiety. On the other hand, the low cognitive load participants were to defend their worldviews not immediately after the MS treatment, but only when they were given a distractor task before they evaluated the essayist.

A cultural worldview system supplies individual with a symbolic defense against the unconscious threat of mortality, and is presumed to alleviate such unconscious death

anxiety. The terror management function of worldviews was more explicitly demonstrated by Arndt et al. (1997, 3rd study). They compared the conditions in which 1- participants after the mortality salience induction were given a distractor task, and then the chance to defend their worldview (by assessing a pro-American essayist and an anti-American essayist) (MS/ defend condition), 2- participants contemplating death were given a non-critical assessment tool after a neutral distractor task (MS/ no defend condition), 3- thinking about a non-death topic, participants were given the chance to defend one's own worldview. With the death thought accessibility as the main dependent variable, the researchers found out that the death thoughts decreased among the MS participants who were given the chance to defend their worldviews, compared to those who could not support their worldview after MS induction. As can be inferred, active support for the worldviews (strong adherence to the salient cultural ideals) in the face of mortality works as an antidote for the death awareness, and it certainly clears up the mind from the unconscious traces of deadliness.

It is important to note that a simple belief in the importance of one's worldview is not enough to warrant immortality, but there is also a performativity aspect to all cultures (Pyszczynski et al., 2003). In a related vein and according to TMT, self-esteem is a cultural construction in the sense that the individual evaluates one's self based on his/her own capacity to live up to the standards of the cultural worldviews (Pyszczynski, Greenberg, Solomon, Arndt, & Schimel, 2004). Only those who meet or exceed culturally prescribed criteria can benefit from the terror management function of self-esteem. The contingencies of values differ from culture to culture, but what does not change is the motivation of people for living in accordance with those values. In the cultural construction of self-esteem, social validation plays a key role – when others validate your conception of reality and your status as a valuable contributor to the society, self-esteem stays at the optimum levels, and it strengthens you against the finitude. In the evolutionary development of humankind, the consciousness of one's death as an ultimate end has spawned self-esteem as a "side-effect" (Pyszczynski et al., 2004, p. 438). In fact, high

self-esteem has reduced the self-protective needs, and the individuals with high self-esteem did not react to MS with increased worldview defensiveness – did not show in-group bias (Greenberg, Solomon, & Pyszczynski, 1997). Similarly, the increase in in-group defensiveness (ethnocentric tendencies and anti-immigrant thoughts against Muslims among Austrian and German students) in the face of death was present only among the students with low self-esteem (Agroskin & Jonas, 2013). As another exemplary study, Harmon-Jones et al. (1997), both experimentally manipulating self-esteem (Study 1) and measuring it as a dispositional characteristic (Study 2), found that high self-esteem participants were free of the worldview defensive strategies in the face of death. In their 3rd study, this link was found to be explained by the facilitating effect of self-esteem on the suppression of the ideas of death.

With reference to the cultural worldviews, people continue to live comfortably in their inner worlds where the universe is conceptualized with stability, coherence, and meaning. This is why people prefer to soothe their existential anxiety by defending their worldviews. Nonetheless, such defensiveness and its crucial role in the regulation of the terror of death awareness will inevitably bring about the worldview wars in a world where many different cultures and peoples survive side by side (Pyszczynski et al., 2003; Solomon, Greenberg, & Pyszczynski, 1991; Greenberg et al., 1997). There are many ways to respond to the people who are different from us – conversion, accommodation, assimilation, and annihilation (Pyszczynski et al., 2003). If one has a minority status, s/he may choose to give up one's own worldview, and adopt the dominant ideology. This kind of a conversion may help one to maintain self-esteem at an optimal level. However, as such conversion is a very rare event, it is more likely that people will belittle or derogate the dissimilar others. Assimilation might be another strategy to manage the different others, which helps people to homogenize the worldviews around themselves, grant the support only for their own ideas, and free themselves from the threat of contrasting worldviews. An unfortunate outcome of the fight against different cultures might be the annihilation: Holy wars are indeed held in the name of the best truth; and, people with

opposing belief systems have been killed in the long world history. This kind of an existential anxiety has been found to have adverse immediate real life consequences even in an experimental setting (Rosenblatt et al., 1989). Municipal judges reminded of their mortality were found to set higher bonds for a prostitute (i.e. assigned more severe punishment) compared to the control judges. The interesting point was that even though both control and MS judgers reported to base bond setting on laws (i.e. claimed to rationally evaluate of factual information according to standard legal constitution), judgers were fiercer concerning the legal decision about a prostitute when they were threatened by the death.

Human beings do not live in isolated settings, and are in hot contact with the dissimilar others. If death awareness directs people to protect/ stick to the existing value systems, the same process might result in negative attitudes against the ideas and people that are in apparent contrast with one's worldview (out-group derogation), or might as well result in the biasing the in-group members who uphold the cherished values in a society (in-group favoritism). Since TMT provides us with the strong tools to examine all-pervading nature of intergroup conflict (Burke, Martens, & Faucher, 2010) we will continue with the MS effects on the group processes for the special purpose of current thesis.

1.2.1 Group Processes and TMT

In the focal interest of social identity theory, people are proposed to identify with their social or ethnic groups to enhance their positive self-esteem (e.g., Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Accordingly, if the reminders of death increased people's self-esteem strivings (Arndt et al., 2002), the very process of social identification is claimed to be one of the anxiety buffer mechanisms against death awareness (Castano & Dechesne, 2005). Greenberg et al. (1990), who conducted the earliest studies on the issue, imposed a group difference based on the participants' religious identification (Study 1). Christian participants in MS condition were found to be more positive in their evaluation of

Christian fellows, and oppositely, more negative in judging the Jews. This difference in their assessment of Christians and Jews was not observed among the control group participants who contemplated a non-death topic.

In another study on how the American participants perceived the undocumented immigrants, Bassett and Connelly (2011) manipulated death salience and made the participants read about either an immigrant from Canada or about an immigrant from Mexico. The Canadian immigrants were indeed considered as an in-group, whereas the Mexican immigrants were seen as a potential out-group in the American context. How the American participants evaluated those newcomers was measured through the questions such as whether such undocumented immigrants posed threats for the U.S. national security, blemished the cultural system of the United States, took jobs from the U.S. citizens, and so on. The participants did not differ in their evaluation of the Canadian immigrant (as a supposed in-group member) in the mortality salient or control conditions whereas their reactions about the status of the Mexican immigrant were more negative in the mortality salience condition than in the control condition. To similar ends, for another case of in-group favoritism, the American participants under the threat of death were found to show more willingness to donate for an American than an international charity (Jonas, Schimel, Greenberg, & Pyszczynski, 2002). As can be inferred from these studies, patriotism has been endorsed as a reaction to death concerns among the American subjects.

Other than the aforementioned studies on the attitude-level dependent variables, McGregor et al. (1998) revealed the derogatory effects of MS targeting the out-group members at the behavioral-level as well. In their 1st study, after critical mortality salience manipulation, the participants were presented a target person who either validated or disparaged their own political stance. Next, the participants were asked to allocate hot sauce to that target for a test of taste. As an indirect measure of aggression, it was assumed that the more the hot sauce was allocated, the higher implicit aggression against the target was. The results showed that the mortality salient participants, compared to the control

participants, apportioned more hot sauce to the target person who had an opposing political stance. On the other hand, there was no difference between MS and control condition in the portion of hot sauce allocated for the target that supported one's worldview. As it is inferable, attitude-level negativities about the out-group members have behavioral implications, and death salience does have the power to trigger those behavioral tendencies in real life settings.

In the terror management process, the identification source of cultural worldviews does not necessarily have to be well-established or rooted in the tradition per se. Surprisingly enough, group identification as a reflexive reaction to death salience was present even in a minimal group paradigm setting. In the process of the experiment by Harmon-Jones, Greenberg, Solomon, and Simon (1996), the participants learnt that they were assigned to Group A or Group B either randomly or according to their preference for Klee's or Kandinsky's paintings. The participants in the latter case knew that the group they were assigned to was composed of people who showed a clear aesthetic preference for one of the two painters (minimal group identity). After being reminded of the death (versus a control topic), the participants were asked to evaluate their own group members and the members of the other group on eight positive and eight negative traits. Additionally, they were asked to tell about their own attitudes on several issues and to predict the attitudes of their own experimental group and the other group on the same issues. Aesthetic preference participants under the death threat were more positive in their evaluation of their in-group members than the out-group, and rated the in-group having more similar attitudes to theirs. In contrast, these effects were not observed among the participants who were told that their assignment to Group A or Group B was random. It is clear that even the minimal group identity can function as an anxiety buffer in the face of death just like real world group identities. Death, in fact, poses a real threat for the significance of human existence to the extent that people stick to even minor things which, one way or another, offer distinctiveness to them.

The hope for heroic battles against the evil (i.e. dissimilar others whose even mere existence poses a threat to one's worldviews) might be related to the terror management efforts as well (Pyszczynski et al., 2003). In a study by Pyszczynski, Abdollahi, Solomon, Greenberg, Cohen, and Weise (2006), Iranian students in the control condition preferred the essay of the student who was against martyrdom attacks targeting America whereas mortality salient participants preferred pro-martyrdom essayist, and they also reported that they themselves wanted to partake in such activities. The same pattern was observed in the Western context as well (2nd study), and politically conservative American students (but not the liberal ones) primed with death supported extreme military interventions to solve the conflict in the Middle East even though they were aware of the fact that such an extreme military force might cause thousands of civilian deaths.

As a matter of fact, death concerns also interfere with how people normally perceive a wrongful in-group member. Even though White participants found a White person who expressed one's pride in his race more racist than a Black person who did so, as the results obtained by Greenberg, Schimel, Martens, Solomon, and Pyszczynski (2001) demonstrated, the same Whites deemed less racism to that racist White under the impact of mortality salience. That is to say, in contrast to their daily attitudes against the White racists, the mortality salient participants were more favorable about the White racists and did not find the White pride essayist more racist than the Black pride essayist. 3rd study by Greenberg et al. (2001), replicating the preceding study, arrived at the finding that while White participants were more critical of a racist employer than of a Black racist in the control condition, White participants evaluated White racist employer less negatively when it comes to manage the terror of death. For a similar account, the MS participants (compared to the control group) were more forgiving towards the wrongful player of their favorite team who caused a serious harm to the opposing team member (Schimel et al., 2006).

In the light of these studies, it can be inferred that MS usually heightens affirming reactions for the worldview-supporters and antagonistic reactions to worldview-

threatening others. However, MS does not consistently intensify the difference between one's in-group and the out-siders. The identification with some groups (or with some in-groupers) might not always guarantee positive self-regard. Or, personal or societal norms can disapprove the individuals' discriminatory attitudes. In the following two sections, the existential conditions under which people refrain from the in-group bias and out-group denigration will be presented to fully grasp the existential roots of group processes.

1.2.2 Negative Implications of the Group Identity and the Mortality Salience

If in-group identification assuages the existential anxiety through the self-esteem maximization, what happens when one's in-group has some negative qualities? In fact, a group with apparent weaknesses cannot fulfill one's ego-justification needs and might on the contrary pose a threat to one's self-esteem in the face of death. Arndt et al. (2002) tested this prediction on successive experiments. In their first study, gender was taken as a group denominator, and the dependent variable was women's perception of themselves as a prototype for women in general (as the indicator of in-group identification). Threat to gender identity was manipulated through the instructions for test exams: Half of the women were told that the test they were to take was a verbal test exam, the other half were told to take a math exam. The critical point was that after the participants learnt what kind of test they would take, all the women were asked to write their gender. Reminding women of their gender before a math exam (but not a verbal test) threatened the gender identity, contributing to a decrease in self-esteem among women. As a result, it was expected that identifying with women in general among math exam takers would show a decrease in the mortality salience condition due to the fact that such identification lowered down a woman's self-esteem. However, in the absence of self-esteem threat in identifying with one's gender, the verbal exam takers women would choose to identify themselves with the other women (i.e. they were more likely to perceive themselves as similar to women in general) to soothe death anxiety. The results, in fact, supported these hypotheses: Group identification was observed under the pressure of death. Compared to the control group, the mortality salient women who took the verbal exam perceived

themselves as more prototypical of woman in general. Nonetheless, this was not the case when negative implications of group membership were reminded. That is to say, the math-exam taker women did not identify with the women in general if they were reminded of death. It can be concluded that mortality salience does not consistently command in-group identification – sometimes group identities can disparage one's positive self-esteem, and dis-identification might as well be a viable option in the face of death.

In the second study by Arndt et al. (2002), negative (drug dealing) or positive (charity work) depiction of one's in-group (Hispanic identity) was presented, and then mortality salience (or a control) was inducted. The level of group identification was measured through the negative attitudes towards one's in-group after the presentation of negative depiction of a group member. The Hispanic participants reported their liking for the paintings by Hispanic or Anglo painters. Supporting the findings of the above-mentioned study, when negative exemplars of Hispanic people were presented, the paintings by Hispanic painters were evaluated less favorably in the mortality salience condition than in the control condition. The converse pattern was observed when positive exemplars of Hispanic people were primed; the participants were more favorable for the paintings of Hispanic painters. The evaluations of Anglo painters were not influenced by the critical mortality salience manipulation. Another case of dis-identification hypothesis examined the sports fan behavior in the face of death awareness (Dechesne, Greenberg, Arndt, & Schimel, 2000). Because mortality salience increases the need for self-enhancement (positive self-image), the participants were predicted to identify with a successful team more eagerly, and to dis-identify/ dis-connect with unsuccessful sports teams. Dutch participants were found to be more optimistic (predicted more goals/ predicted greater number of wins) about the performance of the soccer team of the Netherlands against Germany after being primed with death, compared to the condition people who contemplated TV watching (Dechesne et al., 2000). In contrast, for the second study, sports fans dis-connected with an unsuccessful team following an MS procedure, owing to the fact that worse performance threatened people's self-esteem.

Defining one's self with reference to a social group and adhering to its cultural belief systems did in fact help people to stave off their anxiety of death. Under the influence of the mortality salience, people were apt to identify with their gender, nationality, or country; and, to behave more pro-socially towards their in-group members. However, as it is obvious, in-group clinging might not be that much automatic in the face of death; and, keeping distance from one's in-group is another viable option when the group's negative qualities are obvious. There are also some higher order systems (societal or personal standards) which regulate the pace of group identification as well. Let us now see how personal and contextual primacy of certain norms modulates the classical MS effects in the intergroup context.

1.2.3 The Impact of the Norms and the Identity Focus

Jonas et al. (2008) proposed that a culture was not a homogeneous entity, and it consisted of many sub-sets of very different and even sometimes inconsistent standards. Pursuant of this line of thinking, to them, a key limitation of terror management literature is that TMT lacks the power to make specific predictions about the standards to which existentially anxious people will adhere. Given the complexity of a culture, how do people decide to be guided by what value? Cialdini, Kallgren, and Reno (1991) come up with the focus theory of normative conduct, by stating that people in general cling to the norms which exist in the spectrum of their focal attention. In other words, norms or societal principles are influential up to the extent they are cognitively accessible. Some norms can be chronically accessible for some people – as a result, those people have a dispositional tendency to adhere to certain norms more readily. Or, some situations might require people to attend more to a certain norm.

Such dispositional or situational importance of pro-social values was in fact found to intervene with the automatic in-group identification process in mortality salience studies. For example, liberal participants (more tolerant of various social groups) were not influenced by the mortality salience inductions; for them, the level of dislike of a

16

dissimilar other (i.e. an extreme conservative) did not differ between mortality salience and control conditions (Greenberg, Simon, Pyszczynski, Solomon, & Chatel, 1992). The interaction effect between the mortality salience and the similarity of the target was not present for those liberal subjects – they favored conservatives and liberals equally. However, the conservative participants in the MS condition disliked the dissimilar target (i.e. an extreme liberal) more, compared to the control condition; and, showed even greater preference for the similar targets (i.e. they became more attracted to the conservatives than to the liberals).

It is apparent that mortality salience directs people to behave in line with cultural values as a means of increasing social acceptance. People might feel the obligation to behave in line with the standards ordered by different states or situations, and if those states or situations clue for altruism or more self-transcendental values, people calibrate their attitudes or actions in accordance with those norms to buffer themselves against death anxiety. In a related vein, the contextual manipulation of the importance of tolerance by Greenberg et al. (1992, Study 2) decreased bias against an essay writer who was critical of the U.S. (which was opposite of prevalent findings about the out-group derogation in terror management studies). Priming participants with both mortality salience and the value of tolerance in an experimental setting helped them to tolerate a target person who criticized the United States; and, they did not in fact show negative reactions to that critic when the value of tolerance was highly accessible. Similarly, Schimel et al. (2006) found that even though people were more inclined to forgive an in-group transgressor than an out-group member after the mortality salience induction, MS people with high trait empathy were equally forgiving towards an in-group and an out-group member. Non-Black participants in the mortality salience condition, when reminded of egalitarian values, showed a decrease in the prejudice against the Blacks (Gailliot, Stillman, Schmeichel, Maner, & Plant, 2008). Likewise, the participants high on intrinsic religiosity (for whom religion supplies the meaning and value in life) were lower on the tendency to defend their worldviews (Jonas & Fischer, 2006). It is obvious that personal or societal

normative content preaching how one should behave towards the in-group and out-group members give shape to people's response to existential anxiety.

Considering the lack of a common criterion to determine whether the target was an in-grouper or an out-grouper, Giannakakis and Fritsche (2011) demonstrated that the same target (an English) could be subject to either derogation or in-group favoritism, depending on the participants' level of self-categorization. In their first study, social identity was manipulated through making the English students either (1) write the three things they and other English people were doing rarely, well, and badly, or (2) write the three things they and other students were doing rarely, well, and badly. The former task was for the initiation of the identity "English", and the latter was to underline the identity "student". Then mortality salience (vs. TV watching) was induced. The dependent variable was the allocation of a fund for the English universities and the Scottish universities. Mortality salience was found to increase in-group bias in resource allocation (i.e. more funding apportioned for the English universities) only when the active social identity was English rather than student. In the second study, English participants were asked to write about the English people (primary in-group category) or the Europeans (superordinate in-group category). After the mortality salience manipulation, attitudes towards the French were measured. While being English raises the difference between English and French people, being European together with France decreases the difference between the English and French. The English participants under the impact of mortality salience were found to rate French people more negatively when their salient identity was English. In contrast, when the European identity was active for the English participants, they – under the threat of death – showed less out-group derogation than the people in non-mortality salience condition.

As the identification level of a person determines how one manages with the death terror, in what ways death threatens one's self is also impactful on the reactions to mortality. Agustin (2009) probed the effect of death which posed threats to the different levels of the self (personal, social, and human identity) on the intergroup bias.

18

Experimentally manipulating the threat posed by death against diverse levels of self, he proposed that intergroup bias would show variations in those conditions (identification with, proximity to, sympathy towards categories of in-group and out-group categories). The difference in the evaluations of in-group and out-group was the least when the death turned into a threat to all humanity rather than one's personal existence or social identity. Here, we can conclude that if death threatens a superordinate social identity (i.e. if death is perceived as a common threat to all humanity), the distinction between "us" and "others" fades away more easily.

To summarize, there is apparently no easy answer to what people do as a reaction to death awareness. The negative qualities of the groups posing a threat to one's self-esteem, the identity focus of the individual (either focal or superordinate), the context-dependent salience of different values, and the dispositional tendencies of certain people can change the course in which individuals manage with their existential anxiety. As it is apparent, egoism in the form of in-group favoritism or out-group derogation is not the only solution invented as a cure to transcend death. The sorts of beliefs and cultural norms which provide people with a sense of meaning and significance are very diverse. Society might command the opposite values as to supply its members with self-esteem. In consideration of this diversity, TMT line of researchers suggest that if we bring up our children in the societies where values such as tolerance, egalitarianism, or helping are widely accepted, thereafter "perhaps they would grow into adults who could face up to their mortality without lashing out at others" (Greenberg & Kosloff, 2008, p. 1892). Presenting TMT literature with a special focus on the group processes and the positive terror management, we will continue with the second key issue for the purpose of current thesis – forgiveness. In the first place, the nature of the forgiveness will be conceptually introduced, and then some interpersonal and intergroup correlates of the forgiveness will be examined.

1.3 Forgiveness

After we have talked about TMT with a specific focus on the negative side of human nature that manifests itself in the form of in-group favoritism or out-group derogation, it would perhaps be a harder task to understand forgiveness. Or, at this very moment, we principally have to appreciate the forgiveness as a great virtue. In fact, the answers of TMT literature and of the forgiveness are related to two opposite questions. "Why do human beings have such a difficult time peacefully coexisting with other human who are different from them?" (Pyszczynski et al., 2003) is the main question TMT is built upon. However, if one is to grasp the concept of forgiveness, s/he should answer the question of "How could people maintain relatedness with other humans in spite of inevitable hurt or injury in the interpersonal context?" (Fincham, 2000, p. 2). To illuminate the process of forgiveness, Fincham (2000) takes the example of two porcupines living in a cold climate. They are in need of closure to provide each other with the life-sustaining warmth. However, when they are too close to one another, one's quills hurt the other; they consequently separate from each other. When it gets cold, there is no other way and they again cuddle together. Just like the case of porcupines, people do have to maintain their relatedness with other humans despite the occasional conflicts in their close relations. Most probably, our existence would be meaningless and insignificant without our close others. Perhaps, that is why reminding people of their valuable romantic commitment reduced their worldview defensive reactions following a mortality salience induction (Florian, Mikulincer, & Hirschberger, 2002). In the consideration of the anxiety buffer function of the intimate bonds for human beings, forgiveness plays a crucial role in the maintenance of valuable relationships to repair the psychological injury that partners inflict upon each other.

Forgiveness is considered to be the motivational change in the victim for the pro-social intentions related to the transgressor (McCullough, 2001). In the process of interpersonal forgiveness, one becomes 1) decreasingly motivated to take revenge (i.e. forgiver does not desire to get back at the offender any more), 2) decreasingly motivated

to avoid the contact with the offender (i.e. even though the severely hurt victim may choose to keep distance with the offender, forgiveness eliminates that avoidance motivation), and, 3) increasingly motivated to seek conciliatory behaviors towards the transgressor despite the hurtful event (McCullough, Worthington, & Rachal, 1997). What happens when one truthfully forgives are the following: 1) empathy for the transgressor (accepting the fallibility of him/her), 2) exaggerated optimism in attributions and judgments (seeing the forgiven offender in a positive light as more likeable, innocent, having good excuses, etc.), 3) coming to an end of rumination about the offence (McCullough, 2001). Even though the ruptured relationship turns back to the pre-transgression state following the forgiveness, it does not guarantee that the relationship will continue. It is the reconciliation (rather than forgiveness) which essentially restores the disrupted relation, brings departed partners together with a mutual goodwill of both persons (Fincham, 2000).

1.3.1 Its Interpersonal and Intergroup Correlates

Within the short history of scientific endeavor on forgiveness, a multitude of social-cognitive factors are detected in predicting the course of forgiveness. For example, empathy towards the offender seems to explain the considerable variation in people's self-reported forgiveness (Davis & Gold, 2011; McCullough et al., 1997; McCullough et al., 1998; Riek & Manis, 2011). Other social-cognitive determinants of forgiveness have been found out to be the ruminative tendencies following the offense (McCullough et al., 1998; Barber, Maltby, & Macaskill, 2005; McCullough, Bono, & Root, 2007), executive functioning capabilities which played a role in the affective down-regulation after the severe transgressions (Pronk, Karremans, Overbeek, Vermulst, & Wigboldus, 2010), stability attributions regarding the behavioral tendencies of the perpetrator (Davis & Gold, 2011), perceived intentionality (Struthers, Eaton, Santelli, Uchiyama, & Shirvani, 2008), responsibility judgments which decreased the appraised appropriateness of forgiveness (Struthers, Eaton, Mendoza, Santelli, & Shirvani, 2010).

Each and every offense has a unique profile, contributing to different levels of self-reported forgiveness following the transgressions. Obviously, the more severe the offense is perceived, the more challenging it becomes to forgive (Wade & Worthington, 2003). The presence of an apology was found to have an indirect effect on forgiveness – an apology helps the victim empathize with the offender, thereafter forgiveness becomes a viable option for the victim (McCullough et al., 1997). An apology also guides the victim in interpreting how much intentional the offender is in committing the transgression. In fact, if the victim attributes intentionality to the harm-doer beforehand, s/he reads the apology as an evidence for the offender's acceptance of his guilt; and, as a result, it takes harder for the victim to forgive (Struthers et al., 2008).

The qualities of interpersonal relationships also have the power to shape the course of forgiveness. In fact, Karremans and Aarts (2007) experimentally demonstrated that forgiving a close other did not require that much of cognitive elaboration, and it was rather an automatic process. What is more, thinking of a close other (compared to a stranger) increased the accessibility of the concept of forgiveness. Thus, the closeness of a relationship itself can create a psychological readiness for the act of forgiveness. In a similar vein, the positive qualities of a relationship (high satisfaction, commitment, closeness) facilitate forgiveness by increasing the chance for more optimistic attributions, constructive affective reactions, and emotional empathy (Fincham, Paleari, & Regalia, 2002).

Even though forgiveness is conceptualized as an interpersonal process (Fincham, 2000), different groups might be in a battle with each other, the consequences of which might be severely damaging for both the losers as a group and the individual members of the winning party. After such an intergroup conflict with especially unilaterally irrecoverable impacts (if one of the parties suffer from the crisis more heavily), the members of the injured group might feel the need for an internal balance in their feelings and thoughts against the other group and about what has happened. At this point, the option to forgive the harm-doing group or the truth itself (i.e. the evil is out there, in the

22

heart of the people) might emerge – particularly when the losing group is not strong enough to get even. The term intergroup forgiveness is defined as "I as a member of my group" forgive "them as a group" for the harm that "their group" has caused "me and/or my group" (Swarth & Hewstone, 2012, p. 445).

Increased contact with the out-group members have been found to facilitate intergroup forgiveness (Cehajic, Brown, & Castano, 2008; McGlynn, Niens, Cairns, & Hewstone, 2004; Tam et al., 2008). Additionally, an appeal to common humanity was recommended as a panacea to unite the victims and the perpetrators of historical massacres (Branscombe & Cronin, 2010). It was asserted that the concept of common humanity helped former enemies to see each other equally capable of atrocities and goodness – humans rather than a certain immoral group were seen responsible for the atrocities. In line with this consideration, Wohl and Branscombe (2005, 1st experiment) studied with the contemporary members of a historically victimized group – Jewish community. The participants read the depiction of Holocaust either as a German-Jewish intergroup conflict (increasing the discrepancy between German and Jewish) or an event which was more of a probability across human societies (appealing to common humanity). The results demonstrated that the more inclusive was the identity category that the in-group members of a victimized group identify with, the easier it was for them to forgive the out-group perpetrators, and the less they assigned collective guilt to the transgressor group. When Germans were depicted as one of the human societies rather than Germans who were against the Jewish people, the members of Jewish community were more likely to lessen the social distance with the German people and to buy German products as well (Study 3).

1.3.2 The Link between Forgiveness and TMT

Despite being a rare concern in the literature, existential anxiety as a determinant of forgiveness was also examined. Schimel et al. (2006) found that hockey fans were equally forgiving towards an out-group and in-group offender (who were held responsible

for the same immoral act in a hockey tournament) in the control condition whereas the mortality salient fans showed greater tolerance for the misdeed of their own team player (i.e. an in-group member) than that of a rival team player (i.e. an out-group member). Here, having a more forgiving attitude towards one's in-group member might function as a buffer against the existential anxiety in the form of re-appraisal of one's group identification. The study by Van Tongeren, Green, Davis, Worthington, and Reid (2013) revealed that MS resulted in less forgiveness in less committed relationships whereas it contributed to greater forgiveness of a highly-committed offender. Accordingly, it can be inferred that existential anxiety might motivate people to repair or maintain the bonds which connect them to earth. However, forgiveness towards the out-group or non-close others may not provide existential security due to the fact that those outsiders were perceived as a potential threat to the victim's worldview (see Pyszczynski et al., 2003).

1.4 Motivational Values: Group Processes and Forgiveness

Even though forgiveness was accepted as an exemplar behavior of the benevolence value (Schwartz, 1992), there is only limited number of studies which explored the link between forgiveness and the values. Concerning this paucity, the present study also aimed to scrutinize the impact of values on human behavior of forgiveness and unforgiveness (i.e. punishment). In this section, I will briefly present the value theory of Schwartz (1992), and its relation to forgiveness and punitive attitudes.

Schwartz (1992) and Schwartz, Melech, Lehmann, Burgess, and Harris (2001) defined values as the guiding principles which help people to decide on, justify or explain certain attitudes, opinions, and actions in their lives. The motivational content of the values mainly corresponds to three universal human needs: the requirements related to humans' being biological organisms, the necessity for the smooth interaction in the society, and the survival needs of the groups. With his revision, Schwartz (1992) postulated 10 universally valid value concepts which guided people in their daily functioning; namely, *self-direction* (independence of thought and action – exploring, creating, choosing, curiosity), *stimulation* (the maintenance of optimal level of activation

– exciting life, daring, novelty in life, varied life), *hedonism* (the sensuous gratification for oneself – pleasure and enjoying life), *achievement* (meeting internal standards of excellence – ambitious, capable, intelligent), *power* (the attainment of social status and prestige, and control or dominance over people and resources – authority, wealth, social power, preserving the public image, social recognition), *security* (serve for both individual and collective interests – the reciprocation of favors, sense of belonging, social order, security at the national or familial levels, health, clean), *conformity* (the inhibition of individual inclinations for betterment of group functioning – obedience, self-discipline, honoring of elderly people, politeness), *tradition* (humble, devout, respect for tradition, accepting one's portion in life, moderate), *benevolence* (welfare of close others – helpful, responsible, forgiving, loyal, mature love, true friendship, honest), and *universalism* (understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature – equality, unity with life, wisdom, world of beauty, social justice, broad-minded, a world at peace, protecting the environment).

With regard to their motivational kinship, these values were proposed to be unified under four higher order values (Schwartz, 1992; Schwartz et al., 2001). Opposing values were systematized along two bipolar dimensions (Schwartz, 2012). One dimension made use of the contrast between "*openness to change*" and "*conservation*". The conflict in this dimension is seated on the opposition between the values that emphasize individuality and readiness for change (self-direction, stimulation) and the values with a focus on order, self-control, tradition, and unwillingness to change (tradition, security, conformity). The second dimension captures the conflict between "*self-enhancement*" and "*self-transcendence*". The opposition in this dimension is between the values with a particular focus on one's self-interest and comparative success and dominance over others (power, achievement) and the values that emphasize concern for the welfare of others (universalism, benevolence). As an additional note, hedonism is assumed to be motivationally related to both openness to change and self-enhancement.

Authoritarianism, mobile phone use, change seeking, political orientation, and alcohol use can be mentioned as some of the example behaviors which were found to be meaningfully related to the values (Schwartz, 2003). Values lie beneath many pro-social tendencies (vs. ethnocentric attitudes) as well. For instance, the allowance of immigrants into country (arrival of newcomers—often with a different ethnic background—into 'their' society) was positively explained by the self-transcendence values, but negative out-group attitudes (anti-immigrant feelings; exclusionist attitudes) were explained with reference to the value of conservation (Davidov, Meuleman, Billiet, & Schmidt, 2008). Eagerness to support an organization to help a disadvantaged group was positively correlated with self-transcendence, and negatively with self-enhancement (Feather, Woodyatt, & McKee, 2012).

In the study by Strelan, Feather, and McKee (2011), forgiveness was found to be positively related to the self-transcendence dimension, due to the fact that both forgiveness and self-transcending were inclusive in nature (embracing and functioning for the welfare of the others). Conversely, self-transcending values were negatively correlated with the revenge motivation (Strelan & McKee, 2014). Self-enhancement values which were exclusively self-oriented at the expense of others were negatively correlated with forgiveness. While people who had retributive justice goals were less likely to forgive (Strelan et al., 2011), power values positively contributed to variance in revenge motivation (Strelan & McKee, 2014; McKee & Feather, 2008).

1.5 Social Dominance Orientation (SDO): Group Processes and Punishment

Favoring the maintenance of social and personal hierarchy, people high on social dominance orientation (SDO) perceive the world as a competitive jungle in which one's own group should always maintain superiority, power, and dominance over other groups (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994; Sidanus, Pratto, & Bobo, 1994). As the term calls for inequality and the correctness of powerful groups' supremacy over the weak ones, SDO was assumed to be a general proneness to prejudice as a personality

characteristic (Greenberg, Schmader, Arndt, & Landau, 2015, p. 406). Since they cannot bear lower-status groups in the power hierarchy, higher SDO participants were to have unfavorable attitudes towards the immigrants and the policies to empower the immigrants (Heaven & St. Quintin, 2003; Jackson & Esses, 2000; Pratto & Lemieux, 2001). Bassett (2011) found that mortality salience alone did not intensify prejudice against out-groups, but only when MS interacted with the social dominance orientation (SDO); following an MS induction, only high SDO participants endorsed negative attitudes towards the illegal immigrants. SDO reasonably demonstrated a positive relationship with the importance of power values, and a negative relationship with the salience of universalism and benevolence (McKee & Feather, 2008; Cohrs, Moschner, Maes, & Kielmann, 2005). As vengeance was found to be positively correlated with the self-enhancement values, but positively with the self-transcendence (Strelan & McKee, 2014); here, it can be inferred that vengeance attitudes and SDO shared a common set of values (settled at the contrast between self-enhancement versus self-transcendence). Duckitt (2009) guessed SDO to be positively related to the punitive attitudes towards the moral transgressors. In the current study, Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) would be mainly used as a control variable which was found to be impactful on group processes, especially people's relationship with low status groups such as immigrants. Besides, the role of SDO in the punishment behavior was aimed to be understood in this thesis. As a result, the definition of the concept and its effects on intergroup behavior were briefly considered in this section.

1.6 The Overview of the Current Study: Aims and Hypotheses

According to TMT findings, when people were reminded of their mortality, they were especially punitive against the moral transgressors (who were seen as potential threats for the perpetuity of moral order). Nevertheless, as Schimel et al. (2006) revealed that the group identity of the offender contributed to a difference in the judgments of immorality; and, existential anxiety was found to be directing people towards the increased forgiveness for in-group transgressors. Even though an in-group member and an out-group member were responsible for the same misconduct, mortality salient

participants were found to be lighter towards and more tolerant of an in-group offender. With a modification of the social identity reference to the nationality rather than the sports fanaticism (which was utilized in the Schimel et al.'s study, 2006), the current study would mainly be a re-test of the heightened in-group identification displaying itself in the form of forgiveness towards in-group members as a defensive reflex against the awareness of death. As we have mentioned in the sections above, mortality salience did not linearly lead people towards in-group bias. A replication study with a different identity reference (nationality in this case) was believed to help to ascertain the conditions under which people show the proneness for in-group favoritism.

The link between moral judgments (i.e. punishing and forgiving the immoral actors) and the motivational values would be the second concern of the present study. As far as to my knowledge, there are only two studies which linked the issue of forgiveness to human values in the literature (Strelan & McKee, 2014; Strelan et al., 2011). Parallel to the findings of those studies, it was hypothesized that forgiveness would be positively related to the values of benevolence and universalism; and, negatively correlated with the security, power, hedonism, and achievement values. Moreover, being a well-seated concept in the contrast between the hierarchy of enhancement values versus egalitarianism or universalism values (Duckitt, 2009), Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) would be examined with regard to punishment severity in the current study. As suggested by Duckitt (2009), SDO was predicted to be positively related to punitive attitudes towards the moral transgressors.

In order to achieve our research agenda, some psychological variables (motivational values and SDO) those were thought to be impactful on the intergroup forgiveness were measured in the first part of the study. Then, mortality salience or television salience manipulations were inducted. In the third part of the study, the participants read a hypothetical transgression scenario into which they were asked to place themselves. Either an in-group member or an out-group member was presented as the transgressor for the same offense in those texts. Then, the participants reported their

willingness to forgive the hypothetical offender and the severity of punishment they found suitable for the transgressor. Forgiveness levels and the punishment severity were the main dependent variables in the present study. According to the overview above, the hypotheses generated for the current study were as follows:

1) By controlling the personal variables (the value orientations and SDO), compared to the control group, participants in the mortality salience condition will be more forgiving towards and will be lighter in sentencing the in-group offender.

2) Forgiveness will be positively predicted by the values of self-transcendence (composed of benevolence and universalism which are inclusive in nature); and, negatively predicted by the values of self-enhancement (involving power, achievement, and hedonism which serve for the egoistic interests) and conservation (involving security, tradition and conformity which serve for the societal protection objectives).

3) Punishment severity will be positively predicted by the self-enhancement value, and SDO; and, negatively predicted by the value of self-transcendence.

CHAPTER 2

METHOD

2.1 Participants

A total of 250 students (145 female, 105 male) from Yıldırım Beyazıt University (the Preparatory School and the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences) and from Gazi University (the Faculty of Education and the Faculty of Technical Education) participated in the current study. Students from various departments contributed to the study in their regular scheduled class sessions. Participants ranged from 16 to 32 in age ($M=$ 19.73, $SD=$ 1.98). All of the participants were exclusively the citizens of the Republic of Turkey. 84% of the participants defined their ethnic origin as Turkish, 7% as Kurdish, the remaining were Arabic, Circassian, Laz, Turkmen, and Zaza.

2.2 Instruments

The participants were administered an 8-page questionnaire booklet comprised of the Social Dominance Orientation Scale (SDO), short version of Portrait Values Questionnaire (PVQ-21), mortality salience manipulation (MS vs. control), a word search puzzle (distractor task), Positive and Negative Affect Scale (PANAS), a transgression scenario (the manipulation of the group affiliation of the transgressor: in-group vs. out-group), two questions to measure forgiveness and punishment severity, and a last page of post-participation evaluation form asking about some demographics (the age, sex, and ethnicity of the participants) and probing their suspicion about the experiment.

2.2.1 Social Dominance Orientation Scale (SDO)

16-item SDO scale (Pratto & Sidanius, 1999) was used in the measurement of social dominance orientation. It was adapted to Turkish twice, first by Karaçanta (2002),

and then by Akbaş (2010). The SDO scale evaluates the participants on two major sub-domains: *group-based dominance* which is the belief in the righteousness of powerful groups to dominate weaker ones (e.g., "It's probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom."), and *opposition to equality* with 8 reverse items about the desire for inequality in the society (e.g., "Group equality should be our ideal."). The Turkish version of the scale (Akbaş, 2010) can be seen in Appendix B. The items were rated on 7-point Likert scales with 1= "strongly disagree" and 7 = "strongly agree". Higher scores indicate higher levels of social dominance orientation. Cronbach's alphas for the one-factor solution were found to be ranged between .66 and .92 across 14 countries (Pratto & Sidanius, 1999). The Turkish adaptation of the scale revealed an internal reliability of $\alpha = .85$ for one-factor solution (Karaçanta, 2002); and, $\alpha = .81$ for the dimension of *group-based dominance* and $\alpha = .91$ for the factor of *opposition to equality* (Akbaş, 2010). For the current study, the internal reliability of the full scale was satisfactory with $\alpha = .83$.

2.2.2 Portrait Values Questionnaire (PVQ-21)

PVQ-21 was the brief version of earlier 40-item Portrait Values Questionnaire (Schwartz et al., 2001; Schwartz, 2005), modified for the European Social Survey (ESS). PVQ-21 is comprised of brief depictions of 21 different people (see Appendix C). The scale has 2 items for each of the values of power, achievement, hedonism, self-direction, stimulation, tradition, conformity, security, and universalism; and, 3 items for the benevolence value. As an example item, a description of a person for whom power values are important is the following: "It is important to him to be rich. He wants to have a lot of money and expensive things." For each portrait, the participants responded the question of 'How much like you is this person?' on a 6-point Likert scales ranging from '6 = very much like me' to '1 = not like me at all'. Four higher order value orientations were calculated by taking the average of the ratings of the items that indexed related value dimension. The Self-Enhancement dimension was composed of the items indexed by the

values of power, achievement, and hedonism[1]; Self-Transcendence, of the items indexed by the values of benevolence and universalism; Openness to Change, of the items indexed by the values self-direction and stimulation; and, Conservation, of the items indexed by the values of tradition, security, and conformity. Cronbach alpha reliabilities for ESS version of PVQ emerged as .72 for self-enhancement, .69 for self-transcendence, .75 for openness to change, and .73 for conservation (Schwartz, 2007). In the current study, the internal reliability of four higher order value orientations were $\alpha = .71$ for self-enhancement, $\alpha = .68$ for self-transcendence, $\alpha = .62$ for openness to change, and $\alpha = .61$ for conservation.

2.2.3 Mortality Salience Manipulation

MS manipulation was induced by asking participants to answer two open-ended questions about their own death or their experience of TV watching (as a classical mortality salience induction method, see Pyszczynski et al., 2004; Rosenblatt et al., 1989). The questionnaire was presented as "projective life attitude measure" and asked participants to "Please briefly describe the emotions that the thought of your own death (or *watching television*) arouse in you" and "Jot down, as specifically as you can, what you think will happen to you as you physically die (or *as you watch television*)". Participants were randomly assigned to mortality salience or control topic conditions. You can find mortality salience and television salience manipulations in Appendix D.

2.2.4 Word Search Puzzle

The MS effects in various forms of worldview defensiveness were observable only when there was a delay before the assessment of MS-related dependent variables (see Burke et al., 2010). As a result, in order to provide a distraction after the MS induction, all

---

[1]Schwartz (1992) proposed that hedonism could also be classified under either self-enhancement or openness to change dimensions, depending on the context. As our main interest was forgiveness as other-oriented attitude in the current study, we had preferred to place "hedonism" into the self-enhancement dimension with reference to its self-oriented nature (which shows a motivational contrast with the forgiveness).

of the participants were given a word search puzzle, developed by Doğulu (2012) for her master thesis. As can be seen in the Appendix E, the puzzle included 12 words, and the participants were asked about the difficulty of it on a 5-point Likert type scale (1 = very easy; 5 = very difficult).

2.2.5 Positive and Negative Affect Scale (PANAS)

Adapted to Turkish by Gençöz (2000), Positive and Negative Affect Scale (PANAS) was originally developed by Watson, Clark and Tellegen (1998) to evaluate people's experience frequency of 10 positive and 10 negative emotions. It was scaled between "1 = never" and "7 = always". The Turkish adaptation of the scale (see Appendix F) revealed a coefficient alpha of .86 for positive affect and a coefficient alpha of .83 for negative affect. In the present study, Cronbach alpha reliabilities for the positive affect (.82) and the negative affect (.75) were satisfactory. PANAS has been used in many TMT studies to create a time delay before the measurement of dependent variables and to ensure that the thought of death do not cause any negative emotions (Greenberg et al., 1994; Burke et al., 2010). For similar ends, our participants evaluated themselves on PANAS before they read about the moral transgression scenario.

2.2.6 The Manipulation of the Transgressor's Group Identity

Two different versions of the same transgression scenario were developed for the study purpose, and the participants were asked to imagine that they were the victim of that incident. Half of the participants read the transgression scenario in which an in-group member (a Turkish citizen named as M. H.) was accused of a theft; and, the other half read the scenario in which an out-group member (a Syrian citizen named as M. H.) was responsible for the same theft. The wordings were the same for both scenarios, except for the phrases of "Turkish citizen" and "Syrian origin" (see Appendix G for the transgression scenario).

Following the Syrian crisis in 2011, Turkey became one of the largest refugee-hosting countries in the world (UNHCR, 2014). The report of UNHCR (July, 2015) revealed that Syrian refugee population in Turkey has risen to 1.8 million. 15% of them live in the refugee camps whereas remaining 85% of Syrian refugees arrange their own individual accommodations. Consequently, Syrians living outside of the camps spread around all over the regions of Turkey; and, Turks have inevitably been experiencing daily contacts with the Syrians. Mass migration in general, on all over the world, is un-welcomed by local people; causing discomfort and xenophobia with the threat of "loss of job" (due to cheap labor supplied by refugees) or of "income decrease" (resultant of the competition induced by an increased labor supply) or of the insecurity (Erdoğan, 2014). In her analysis, Tunç (2015) concluded that the perceptions of Syrian refugees in Turkey were no different than this case.

A study on the level of social acceptance of the Syrians in Turkey (with a representative sample drawn from 18 cities of Turkey; Erdoğan, 2014) revealed that even though Turkish people accepted the entry of the Syrians into Turkey as a humanitarian obligation (due to the ongoing war in Syria), 62% of the participants agreed with the proposal that "Syrian refugees disturb the peace and cause depravity of public morals by being involved in crimes, such as violence, theft, smuggling and prostitution." 72% of the participants showed agreement with the statement "Refugees should only be sheltered in the camps." When they were asked the question "Would you be disturbed to have a Syrian as your neighbor?", half of them said "yes", mostly due to the security threat and the cultural dissimilarity. A clear refusal of the Syrians' conferment of Turkish citizenship was expressed by 81%.

With respect to the rising negativity against Syrians in Turkey and the TMT findings of increased negative attitudes against the immigrants especially following MS induction (Agroskin & Jonas, 2013; Bassett & Connelly, 2011), the Syrians were assumed to be a natural out-group for today's Turkey in the current study. Consequently, offender's

group identity was manipulated with reference to Turkish citizenship (in-group) vs. Syrian citizenship (out-group). The theft scenario utilized in the present study was as follows:

"When you arrive home from college, you find out that the door of your apartment is left ajar. Feeling frightened, you go inside your apartment. You find out that the house is in a mess, and 300 TL that you spared for your rent is stolen. The police detect the burglar by means of the records of the security camera of the building. The burglar caught by the police within 24 hours is identified to be M. H., a Turkish citizen/ *with Syrian origin*."

2.2.7 Measuring the Levels of Forgiveness and the Punishment Severity

The willingness to forgive the moral transgressor in the hypothetical case was assessed on the question that "To what extent would you be willing to forgive Turkish (or *Syrian*) citizen M. H. who has burglarized your home?" with a 7-point Likert scale (1 = I certainly would not forgive; 7 = I would completely forgive). Secondly, the participants evaluated the severity of the punishment that should be administered to that particular transgressor again on a bipolar 7-point scale, ranging from 1= very light punishment to 7 = very heavy punishment. Higher scores on the questions were indicative of the eagerness to forgive and of the harshness in the punishment deemed for the culprit.

2.3 Procedure

The study was generally administered in the regular class sessions. The participants primarily received the Informed Consent Form (see Appendix A) with the scale packet. The participants were asked to fill in an 8-page booklet of materials in the presented order, without going back to previous pages. Most of the sessions were carried out by the experimenter herself. However, for some occasions, the experimenter got the help from the course instructors or the research assistants during the data collection. It took approximately 20 minutes for the participants to complete the whole battery.

The scales of SDO and PVQ-21 were presented before the MS manipulation. The word search puzzle and PANAS were given to create a delay before the assessment of main dependent variables. The burglary scenario was presented, and then the questions were asked to assess the reactions of forgiveness and the punishment severity. Finally, given the post-participation evaluation form (see Appendix H), the participants were asked about their demographic characteristics (sex, age, academic department, and ethnic origin) and probed their suspicions about the real aim of the study on two questions. The participants were debriefed after the experimental sessions or were e-mailed about the real aim of the study.

CHAPTER 3

RESULTS

Before the conduction of any statistical procedure, the data was screened for the study variables (4 higher-order value dimensions, SDO, forgiveness, and punishment severity) regarding the missing values and the outliers. After dealing with the missing values, the data was screened for the multivariate outliers among the cases, which were identified by examining Mahalanobis score ($\chi2$ (5, $n = 250$) $= 19.24$, $p < .001$) for the major study variables (namely, SDO, self-enhancement, self-transcendence, openness to change, and conservation). Five cases with Mahalanobis score above the critical value were removed, leaving 245 participants. Examination of z scores for each variable revealed that there were no univariate outliers for the major study variables. With respect to the normality, all the variables had skewness and kurtosis values within the acceptable range, indicating that the normality assumption was in general met.

In this chapter, firstly, the descriptive statistics in combination with the gender differences for the major study variables will be presented. It will be followed by the MANCOVA analysis to examine the impact of the transgressor's group identity and MS on the levels of forgiveness and punishment (to test the 1st hypothesis). The correlations among the major study variables will be examined. Subsequently, the regression analyses on the levels of forgiveness and punishment severity will be reported in relation to the 2nd and 3rd hypotheses.

3.1 Descriptive Statistics for the Study Variables

The means for the level of forgiveness and the severity of the punishment deemed for the hypothetical culprit, the social dominance orientation (SDO), four higher-order values (namely, self-enhancement, self-transcendence, openness to change, and conservation), and the levels of positive and negative affect in the current sample were computed to obtain the descriptive information about the sample characteristics (see Table 3.1). The participants had slightly low scores on SDO ($M = 2.59$, $SD = 1.02$), which indicated that the individuals in the sample showed relatively little interest in the maintenance of the dominance of powerful groups over the weaker ones. Regarding four higher-order value dimensions, the participants respectively had high scores on the self-transcendence ($M = 5.22$, $SD = .65$), conservation ($M = 4.92$, $SD = .74$), openness to change ($M = 4.88$, $SD = .89$), and self-enhancement ($M = 4.45$, $SD = .85$). When we come to the mean score of the forgiveness intention ($M = 3.22$, $SD = 1.72$), the participants could be assumed to be relatively un-forgiving towards the hypothetical transgressor. Proportional to their level of un-forgiveness, the participants were also harsh in the penalty they assigned for the transgressor ($M = 5.09$, $SD = 1.43$). They were slightly high on the positive affect ($M = 4.93$, $SD = .96$), and very much at the middle concerning their negative affect scores ($M = 3.40$, $SD = .75$).

3.2 Gender Differences

Gender differences on the study variables (forgiveness intentions, the harshness of the penalty, SDO, 4 value dimensions, positive and negative affect) were examined through one way ANOVA at an alpha level of .05 (see Table 3.1 for the mean scores of females and males; and, the critical F values). Accordingly, the levels of forgiveness did not differ between males ($M = 3.46$, $SD = 1.87$) and females ($M = 3.24$, $SD = 1.61$), with F $(1, 243) = 1$, $p = .32$, partial $\eta2 = .004$. Similarly, the males did not deem harsher penalty for the culprit ($M = 5.15$, $SD = 1.61$) than the females ($M = 5.04$, $SD = 1.28$), with F $(1, 243) = .37$, $p = .54$, partial $\eta2 = .001$. The females and males did not show statistically

significant differences at an alpha level of .05 concerning the scores of self-enhancement (F (1, 243) = .18, p = .67, partial $\eta2$ = .001), and of openness to change (F (1, 243) = 1.08, p = .30, partial $\eta2$ = .005). However, the females (M = 5.04, SD = .70) were higher on the value conservation than the males (M = 4.77, SD = .78), with an F (1,243) = 9.21, p = .003, partial $\eta2$ = .04. The same pattern was observed for the value of self-transcendence; and, the female participants (M = 5.32, SD = .58) were higher on the value self-transcendence than the males (M = 5.08, SD = .71), with an F (1,243) = 8.97, p = .003, partial $\eta2$ = .04. The male participants (M = 2.79, SD = 1.09) scored higher than the females (M = 2.44, SD = .94) concerning SDO (F (1, 243) = 7.41, p = .007, partial $\eta2$ = .03). Even though the females (M = 3.36, SD = .71) and males (M = 3.44, SD = .80) had comparable levels of the negative affect, the males participants (M = 5.09, SD = 1.07) were higher on the positive affect than the females participants (M = 4.81, SD = .86) in the current sample, F (1,243) = 5.16, p = .02, partial $\eta2$ = .02.

Table 3.1

Descriptive Analyses on the Study Variables: Gender Differences

	TOTAL (N = 245)	FEMALE (N = 143)	MALE (N = 102)		
	M (SD)	*M (SD)*	*M (SD)*	**F**	**Eta^2**
1.Forgiveness	3.33 (*1.72*)	3.46 (*1.87*)	3.24 (*1.61*)	1.0	.004
2.Punishment	5.09 (*1.43*)	5.04 (*1.28*)	5.15 (*1.61*)	.37	.001
3.SDO	2.59 (*1.02*)	2.44 (*.94*)	2.79 (*1.09*)	7.41*	.031
4.ENH	4.45 (*.85*)	4.43 (*.84*)	4.47 (*.85*)	.18	.001
5. TRA	5.22 (*.65*)	5.32 (*.58*)	5.08 (*.71*)	8.97*	.036
6. OPEN	4.88 (*.89*)	4.83 (*.90*)	4.95 (*.85*)	1.08	.004
7.CON	4.92 (*.74*)	5.04 (*.70*)	4.75 (*.78*)	9.21*	.036
8. PA	4.93 (*.96*)	4.81 (*.86*)	5.09 (*1.07*)	5.16*	.020
9. NA	3.40 (*.75*)	3.36 (*.71*)	3.44 (*.80*)	.72	.003

Note. SDO = Social Domiance Orientation. ENH = Self- Enhancement. TRA = Self-Transcendence. OPEN = Openness to Change.   CON = Conservation. PA = Positive affect. NA = Negative affect. Higher scores on SDO indicate (rated on a 7-point Likert scale 1 = strongly disagree; 7 = strongly agree) higher levels of social dominance orientation. Higher scores on ENH, TRA, OPEN, CON (rated on a 6-point Likert scale 1 = very much like; 6 = not like me at all) indicate higher scores on the values of self-enhancement, self-transcendence, openness to change, and conservation. Higher scores on PA and NA (scaled between "1 = never" and "7 = always") indicate higher scores on positive and negative affect. *significant at $p < .05$.

3.3 The Evaluation of Negative Affect

Before testing our main hypotheses, we wanted to be sure that mortality salience manipulation did not cause any negative affect. We compared total negative affect (NA) and positive affect (PA) scores that are obtained from PANAS in the mortality salient and control conditions. To determine whether the salience manipulation engendered positive or negative affect, we conducted one way MANOVA on the positive and negative affect subsets. This analysis yielded no significant effects at either the multivariate (F (2, 242) = .10, p > .05, Wilk's Λ = .99) or univariate levels. The overall means of the PA and NA scales were 4.93 (SD = .96) and 3.40 (SD = 0.75), respectively.

3.4 MANCOVA Analysis on the Levels of Forgiveness and the Punishment Severity

Using SDO, different value dimensions (namely, self-enhancement, self-transcendence, openness to change, and conservation), and the positive affect as the covariates, we conducted a two-way multivariate analysis of variance (MANCOVA) to examine the impact of the group affiliation of the transgressor (2 levels: in-group vs. out-group) and of the MS manipulation (2 levels: death awareness vs. control condition) on the forgiveness intentions and the punishment severity (see Table 3.2 for the related means and the standard deviations). Since those values and SDO were found to be impactful on people's relationship with outsiders (especially with the immigrants), controlling their effect on the dependent variables (forgiveness and punishment) through the statistical instruments was considered appropriate to have clearer answers about the MS-related differences. Even though the MS induction did not result in the mood alterations either positively or negatively, the positive affect was included into the current group comparison procedure due to the fact that there was a gender difference on the positive affect in the present sample. The results of MANCOVA revealed a significant main effect of the group identity of the transgressor, Wilks' Λ = 0.94, F (2, 234) = 7. 08, p < .001, partial $\eta 2$ = .06. However, neither the main effect of MS (Wilks' Λ = .99, F (2, 234) = .75) nor the expected interaction between MS and the group affiliation of culprit (Wilks' Λ =

41

0.99, F (2, 234) = .53) came out to be significant at an alpha level of .05. Contrary to the 1st hypothesis, the participants in the MS condition were not more tolerant of an in-group offender than the participants in the control condition. Two separate ANCOVAs on the scores of forgiveness and the punishment severity were held to further understand the nature of statistically significant main effect of the culprit's group identity in the MANCOVA test. The results indicated that the group identity of the culprit was impactful on both the levels of forgiveness (F (1, 238) = 9.31, p = .003, $\eta2$ = .04) and on the punishment severity (F (1, 238) = 13.05, p = .000, $\eta2$ = .05). When controlled for SDO, four value priorities, and the positive affect, the participants were found to be less forgiving towards an in-group member (M = 3.01, SD = .15) than an out-group member (M = 3.65, SD = 1.15). Similarly, the participants were harsher in their penalty when the culprit was an in-group member (M = 5.40, SD = 1.22) than he was an out-group member (M = 4.78, SD = 1.21).

Table 3.2

The Means and the Standard Deviations for Forgiveness and Punishment in Relation to the Experimental Treatment Conditions

FORGIVENESS				PUNISHMENT			
Mortality Salience		Control		Mortality Salience		Control	
In-Group	Out-Group	In-Group	Out-Group	In- Group	Out-Group	In-Group	Out-Group
(N= 60)	(N= 63)	(N= 62)	(N = 60)	(N= 60)	(N= 63)	(N= 62)	(N= 60)
M (*SD*)	M (*SD*)	M (*SD*)	M (*SD*)	M (*SD*)	M (*SD*)	M (*SD*)	M (*SD*)
2.96 (*1.55*)	3.85 (*1.71*)	3.03 (*1.64*)	3.47 (*1.86*)	5.47 (*1.18*)	4.74 (*1.53*)	5.39 (*1.18*)	4.47 (*1.86*)

3.5 The Correlations among the Study Variables

Pearson two-tailed correlation analysis was used to examine the correlations between the major study variables. Bonferroni correction was applied; and, the alpha was held at .05/21 = .002. As expected, forgiveness was negatively correlated with the penalty harshness (r = -.62, p < .002) and the self-enhancement value (r = -.23, p < .001). That is to say, the participants who showed lower inclination for the forgiveness deemed harsher penalty for the hypothetical culprit; and, the higher scores on the self-enhancement value was found to be associated with the lower forgiveness scores. The mean harshness of the punishment was positively correlated with SDO (r = .22, p < .002). The participants who scored high on SDO were tougher in their penalty decisions for the transgressor. Additionally, SDO was negatively correlated with the value dimension of self-transcendence, with an r = -.34, p < .002. The correlations among four different value dimensions, except for the correlation between openness to change and conservation, were significant at an alpha level of .002 (for further details, see Table 3.3).

Table 3.3

The Correlations among the Major Study Variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1.Forgiveness	-	-.62*	-.16	-.23*	.05	-.08	-.08
2.Punishment		-	.22*	.15	-.17	.09	-.02
3.SDO			-	.12	-.34*	-.00	-.06
4.ENH				-	.24*	.44*	.23*
5.TRA					-	.39*	.49*
6.OPEN						-	.14
7.CON							-

Note. SDO = Social Dominance Orientation. ENH = Self- Enhancement. TRA = Self-Transcendence. OPEN = Openness to Change.   CON = Conservation. Higher scores on SDO indicates (rated on a 7-point Likert scale 1 = strongly disagree; 7 = strongly agree) higher levels of social dominance orientation. Higher scores on ENH, TRA, OPEN, CON (rated on a 6-point Likert scale 1 = very much like; 6 = not like me at all) indicate higher scores on the values of self-enhancement, self-transcendence, openness to change, and conservation.
*significant at $p < .05/ 21 = .002$.

3.6 Regression Analyses

To investigate the relation of SDO and four value dimensions to forgiveness and punishment, two different hierarchical regressions were conducted for each dependent variable. In the first step, the centered scores of self-enhancement, self-transcendence, openness to change, and conservation were entered to see whether they uniquely predicted the levels of forgiveness and punishment. In the second step, the centered scores of SDO were included. In the third step, two experimental treatment conditions, namely, group affiliation (dummy coded: 1 = in-group, 0 = out-group) and death awareness (dummy coded: 1 = MS, 0 = control) were added into the model (main effects). Finally, in the

fourth step, the two-way interaction term between the group affiliation and MS was entered. The variables of forgiveness and punishment were entered respectively as the dependent variable for each of the hierarchical regressions conducted.

The first and second steps of these regressions would provide us with an opportunity to test our 2nd and 3rd hypotheses concerning the impact of different value dimensions and SDO on the forgiveness and punishment attitudes. The addition of the experimental manipulation conditions in the 3rd and 4th steps of the regression analyses would back-up the above-reported MANCOVA analysis, and help us to see the explanatory power of all the variables for forgiveness and punishment.

3.6.1 Predicting Forgiveness

The results of the first hierarchical regression analysis showed that the first step composed of four value dimensions was statistically significant ($R^2 = .07$, F (4, 240) = 4.62, $p = .001$). Both the self-enhancement ($\beta = -.23$, t (240) = - 3.32, $p = .001$, 95% CI [-.64, -.16]) and self-transcendence ($\beta = .16$, t (240) = 2.13, $p = .03$, 95% CI [.02, .54]) values emerged as the significant predictors of forgiveness. On the other hand, neither the openness to change ($\beta = -.02$, t (240) = - .31, $p = .76$, 95% CI [-.29, -.21]) nor conservation ($\beta = -.10$, t (240) = - 1.44, $p = .15$, 95% CI [-.43, -.07]) values were significantly related to the forgiveness scores. The inclusion of SDO into the second model did not bring a significance concerning the forgiveness scores ($\Delta R^2 = .007$, ΔF (1, 239) = 1.94, $p = .16$). However, the third step was statistically significant ($R^2 = .11$, F (7, 237) = 4.38, $p < .001$); and, in support of MANCOVA analysis reported above, the group affiliation of the transgressor emerged as one of the significant predictors of the forgiveness levels, $\beta = -.19$, t (237) = -3.04, $p = .003$, 95% CI [-1.06, -.23]. It explained 4% of the total variance in the forgiveness scores, which was statistically significant at an alpha level of .05 (ΔF (2, 237) = 4.77). The value dimension of self-enhancement was still significant predictor of the forgiveness in this step, explaining the 4% of forgiveness with $p = .001$. The inclusion of the two-way interaction between MS and the offender's group affiliation did not bring

statistically significant contribution into the explanation of the variance in the forgiveness scores ($\Delta R^2 = .005$, ΔF (1, 236) = 1.27, $p = .26$). The results of the hierarchical regression which was conducted to examine the relation of the four value dimensions, SDO, MS, and the group affiliation along with the interaction term (In-Out* MS) were summarized in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4

Regression Analysis Predicting Forgiveness from the Value Dimensions, SDO, MS, and the Group Affiliation

Variable	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4		
	B	SE(B)	B	B	SE(B)	β	B	SE(B)	β	B	SE(B)	β
ENH	-.40	.12	-.23**	-.38	.12	-.22*	-.39	.12	-.23*	-.39	.12	-.23*
TRA	.28	.13	.16*	.20	.14	.12	.18	.14	.10	.19	.14	.11
OPEN	-.04	.13	-.02	-.02	.13	-.01	.00	.13	.00	-.00	.13	.00
CON	-.18	.12	-.10	-.16	.13	-.09	-.14	.12	-.08	-.15	.12	-.09
SDO				-.16	.12	-.09	-.14	.12	-.08	-.14	.12	-.08
In-Out							-.64	.21	-.19*	-.40	.30	-.12
MS							.11	.21	.03	.35	.30	.10
In-Out*MS										-.47	.42	-.12
R^2		.07			.08			.11			.12	
F for change in R^2		4.62**			1.94			4.77*			1.27	

Note. $N = 245$. Mortality salience 1 = MS; 0 = Control. Group affiliation (In-Out) coded as 1 = In-group, 0 = Out-group. SDO = Social Dominance Orientation. ENH = Self- Enhancement. TRA = Self-Transcendence. OPEN = Openness to Change. CON = Conservation. Higher scores on the SDO indicates (rated on 7-point Likert scales 1 = strongly disagree; 7 = strongly agree) higher levels of social dominance orientation. Higher scores on ENH, TRA, OPEN, and CON (rated on 6-point Likert scales 1 = very much like; 6 = not like me at all) indicate higher priority of the values of self-enhancement, self-transcendence, openness to change, and conservation. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .001$.

3.6.2 Predicting Punishment Severity

The first step of the hierarchical analysis was statistically significant in the prediction of punishment severity, $R^2 = .08$, F (4, 240) = 5.41, $p < .001$. The results revealed two main effects; the self-enhancement ($\beta = .15$, t (240) = 2.15, $p = .03$, 95% CI [.02, .41]) and self-transcendence values ($\beta = -.29$, t (240) = -3.82, $p = .00$, 95% CI [-.63, -.20]) were found to be the significant predictors of the punishment severity. Conservation ($\beta = .07$, t (240) = .98, $p = .33$, 95% CI [-.10, .30]) and openness to change ($\beta = .12$, t (240) = 1.68, $p = .09$, 95% CI [-.03, .38]) were not found to be significant in the prediction of the levels of punishment. The inclusion of SDO into the model (2nd step) introduced a marginally significant contribution with $\Delta R^2 = .01$, ΔF (1, 239) = 3.53, $p < .06$. Consequently, SDO came about to be a marginally significant predictor of the punishment severity with $\beta = .13$, t (239) = 1.88, $p = .06$, 95% CI [-.01, .37]). The third step was statistically significant, $R^2 = .14$, F (7, 237) = 5.72, $p < .001$. The group affiliation of the transgressor emerged as one of the significant predictors of the punishment levels, $\beta = .22$, t (237) = 3.62, $p < .001$, 95% CI [.28, .96]. It explained 5 more percent of the variance in the punishment severity, and this contribution was statistically significant, $\Delta R^2 = .05$, ΔF (2, 237) = 6.70. SDO (1%), the self-enhancement value (1%) and the self-transcendence value (3%) remained as the significant predictors of the punishment severity in this step. When it comes to the fourth step, the addition of the two-way interaction term (In-Out*MS) did not introduce a statistically significant contribution into the explanation of the total variance in the punishment severity ($\Delta R^2 = .001$, ΔF (1, 236) = .18, $p = .67$). The results of the hierarchical regression which was conducted on the punishment scores to examine the relation of the four value dimensions, SDO, MS, and the group affiliation along with the interaction term of experimental manipulations were summarized in Table 3.5.

Table 3.5

Regression Analysis Predicting the Penalty Severity from the Value Dimensions, SDO, MS, and the Group Affiliation

Variable	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4		
	B	$SE(B)$	B	B	$SE(B)$	B	B	$SE(B)$	β	B	$SE(B)$	β
ENH	.22	.10	.15*	.19	.10	.13†	.21	.10	.14*	.21	.10	.14*
TRA	-.42	.11	-.29**	-.33	.12	-.23*	-.32	.12	-.22*	-.32	.12	-.22*
OPEN	.18	.10	.12	.16	.10	.11	.14	.10	.10	.14	.10	.10
CON	.10	.10	.07	.08	.10	.05	.06	.10	.04	.06	.10	.04
SDO				.18	.10	.13†	.16	.09	.11†	.16	.09	.11†
In-Out							.62	.17	.22**	.55	.24	.19*
MS							.10	.17	.04	.03	.24	.01
In-Out*MS										.15	.34	.04
R^2		.08			.10			.14			.14	
F for change in R^2		5.41**			3.53†			6.70**			.18	

Note. $N = 245$. Mortality salience 1 = MS; 0 = Control. Group affiliation (In-Out) coded as 1 = In-group, 0 = Out-group. SDO = Social Dominance Orientation. ENH = Self- Enhancement. TRA = Self-Transcendence. OPEN = Openness to Change. CON = Conservation. Higher scores on SDO indicates (rated on 7-point Likert scales 1 = strongly disagree; 7 = strongly agree) higher levels of social dominance orientation. Higher scores on ENH, TRA, OPEN, CON (rated on 6-point Likert scales 1 = very much like; 6 = not like me at all) indicate higher priority of the values of self-enhancement, self-transcendence, openness to change, and conservation. $^{\dagger} < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .001$.

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

The main goal of the current research was to examine the unconscious (existential) motivations underlying the forgiveness in the intergroup context. The participants were expected to be more tolerant of in-group offenders, particularly when they were threatened by their own death. After the crucial manipulations, the forgiveness towards and the punishment severity deemed for the moral offender were addressed. Primarily, the forgiveness intentions and the punishment severity were tested between the experimental conditions. Another key concern in the present study was to determine the impact of certain values and the social dominance orientation (SDO) in guiding people in their judgments about the corruption (i.e. the intentions to forgive and to punish the moral offenders). To reach that aim, two separate hierarchical regression analyses were conducted to forecast the levels of forgiveness and the punishment severity from the values of self-enhancement, self-transcendence, openness to change, and conservation; and SDO. In this section, the overview of findings will be presented with a specific focus on the mortality salience, the impact of the group identities on the moral judgments, and the role of the motivational values and SDO in tolerating the moral transgressors. Eventually, the chapter will end up with the presentation of primary contributions and shortcomings of the current study, and the suggestions for prospective research.

4.1 Overview of the Research Findings

The results will be discussed in three subsections. Firstly, the MS-related findings will be discussed. Then, how the group affiliation of the transgressor guides people in their forgiveness and punishment attitudes will be mentioned. Lastly, the discussion on the effect of the motivational values and SDO on the moral judgment process will be held. Before delving into the discussion of the main findings, we will describe sample

characteristics in relation to the major study variables. The gender differences in the scores of forgiveness and of punishment were not observed in the present sample. Even though a meta-analytic review on gender and forgiveness revealed that females were more forgiving than the males, and the reverse is correct for the revenge motivation (Miller, Worthington, & McDaniel, 2008); possibly due to the methodological differences (measuring forgiveness towards a hypothetical transgressor on a single item), the significant relationship between gender and forgiveness was not observed in the current study. The present findings indicated that the participants attributed highest importance to the self-transcendence value, followed by the value dimensions of conservation, self-direction, and self-enhancement. This value hierarchy can be assumed to be highly compatible with the cross-cultural findings related to the value order of individuals across 13 different nations (Schwartz & Bardi, 2001). Consistent with the gender differences on the value dimensions in other studies (Schwartz & Rubel, 2005; Dirilen-Gumus & Buyuksahin-Sunal, 2012), the female participants in the current study were higher on both the self-transcendence and conservation values than the males. On the contrary, the males did not attribute more importance to the self-enhancement value than the females. The males were higher on SDO than the females, as in line with the study of Pratto, Stallworth, and Sidanius (1997). As forgiveness and punishment are motivationally opposite to each other (McCullough et al., 1997; McCullough, 2001), there was also a negative correlation between the two variables in the current study.

4.1.1 Non-Significance Concerning MS

With respect to the first hypothesis, the findings of increased tolerance for an in-group offender following an MS procedure (Schimel et al., 2006) could not be replicated in the current study. Contrary to the expectations, the MS participants did not increase their intention to forgive an in-group offender compared to their control-group counterparts. Irrespective of the MS manipulation, the participants were less forgiving and harsher towards an in-group offender (a Turkish citizen) than an out-group offender (a Syrian citizen). The social identity-related implications of this significant effect will be

discussed in the next section. Here, we will particularly aim to discuss the non-significance concerning the mortality salience manipulation.

It seems like forgiving an in-group offender (restoration of in-group identities) in the face of death did not function to soothe the existential anxiety in the current sample. The reason behind this insignificant interaction between MS and the group affiliation of the transgressor might be related to the differences between the present study and Schimel et al.'s (2006) study. The participants in the latter study were given an incident in which a player of the rival hockey team (vs. participants' favorite team) committed unsportsmanlike conduct; and, that aggressive act caused a serious injury to a player of the participants' favorite team (vs. the rival team). As can be guessed, during sporting events, those aggressive acts are generally perceived to be intentional against one's favorite team by the fans. Consequently, even though an in-group member (a player of one's favorite team) might be responsible (i.e. wrongful) for the injury of the rival team member, the heightened forgiveness towards that in-group offender in the competitive games might be related to power motivations. As a result, re-storing group identification following an MS induction (forgiving such kind of misconduct directed against a rival) can soothe the participants' existential anxiety in such a context. What is more, the target-to-be-forgiven in the Schimel et al.'s study was pro-active in harming an in-group member. Consequently, it is also plausible that the participants were to be less forgiving of such an out-group member given the intergroup aggression in a competitive sportive activity. On the contrary, the hypothetical Syrian and Turkish transgressor in the current study did not burglarize the victim's house because/ despite s/he was a Turk. We here tested the reactions of forgiveness with reference to the transgressor identity in the absence of intergroup aggression. These differences in two scenarios might be the reason behind the fact that we were not able to observe an improvement in the reactions of forgiveness towards an in-group member following an MS induction in the present experiment.

It is also reasonable to assert that the non-significant findings in the present study may be one of many other MS insignificant effects that have been observed in several

53

published or unpublished previous studies on TMT. As Burke, Martens, and Faucher (2010) reported in their meta-analysis, the TMT findings yielded only a moderate degree of effect size, with an $r = .35$. To them, the reasons for that kind of variations might be related to the cultural differences wherein the TMT studies were held. Burke et al. (2010) suggested that the idea of death might be more integrated into worldviews in non-American context such as Europe, Asia or so. Confronting with the death in a more mature manner and having the awareness of mortality on daily basis, those people coming from the non-American cultures might not be using those distal defense mechanisms as much as the Americans do.

Another factor contributing to the insignificance in the present study might be related to the nature of forgiveness as a dependent variable. Given the fact that forgiveness is a complex pro-social change which is highly influential on the process of healing and reconciliation, it was perhaps not a suitable method to measure forgiveness on a single or two items (Swarth & Hewstone, 2012). Nevertheless, an aim to unveil such a grant alteration that stirs the heart of the forgiver does seem somehow unrealistic, if not impossible to do so. Actually, in this study, what we had evaluated was not the forgiveness as a kind of transformation, but as a social judgment. If we are to qualify a concept with the terms of "positive" or "negative" (truthfully the transformation during the process of forgiveness neutralizes negativities, if not brings about the optimism), there must be an emotional/ affective dimension to it. As revealed in the review by Burke et al. (2010), MS was significantly more influential on the attitudes towards people (e.g., attitudes towards an essayist, or reporting in favor of a particular politician or leader) than other attitudes (judgments about an essay only, a sports team, or a country) or affect. In fact, the TMT studies in which the affect-related dependent variables were assessed were found to have the least effect size. Then similarly, forgiveness as an affectively-loaded concept might not be potent enough to exhibit significant terror management effects in the current experiment. However, even though forgiveness might be an affectively-loaded concept, the only dependent variable in the current study was not the "forgiveness". The

main effect of MS or its interaction with the offender's group affiliation was not also evidential for the dependent variable "punishment severity".

Alternatively, there is another motivational perspective related to the worldview defensiveness in the face of death awareness: uncertainty management (van den Bos, 2004). Death is not only about the annihilation of one's corporal existence; but, it is at the same time related to the uncertainties (one does not know when he or his beloved others will die, or what will happen to people after death). Indeed, in a study by Yavuz and van den Bos (2009), some of the participants reported thinking about uncertainty issues during the classical mortality salience manipulation (20.8 %). Making people more directly contemplate uncertainty (uncertainty salience condition), Yavuz and van den Bos (2009) reached the finding that both uncertainty salient and mortality salient participants responded with stronger negative affective reactions against an essay critical of their cultural worldview, compared to control group participants. In comparison of mortality salience with uncertainty salience, the worldview defensiveness in the uncertainty condition duplicated the classical MS effects. The authors concluded that uncertainty salience might explain worldview defensive actions better than death salience hypothesis in the cultures highly avoidant of uncertainty. Given the importance of the stability attributions for interpersonal forgiveness (attributing dispositional wickedness to a transgressor; Davis & Gold, 2011), of the group malleability for intergroup forgiveness (the belief about whether groups can change one day for the better; Wohl et al., 2015), and of the trust (Van Tongeren et al., 2014); being uncertain of whether the offender will hurt the victim again if one forgives the wrongful act indeed poses a great impediment for the release of resentment and forgiveness. In a related vein, perhaps uncertainty issues rather than mortality might play a more prominent role in understanding forgiveness with reference to existential anxiety.

If it is not the existential terror but the existential uncertainty; then, perhaps people who have an idea about what will happen to them in the afterlife might show classical MS effects by no means. Participants in the mortality salience condition increased their group-

identification (national identification with America as a cultural institution) only when they were uncertain about afterlife; and, this incremental tendency in in-group identification was not observed among the participants who did not believe in afterlife or who had a belief in an afterlife (Hohman & Hogg, 2011). In supportive of this line of findings, Dechesne et al. (2003) also found that mortality salience increased the need for self-esteem (augmented the perceived positivity of personal feedback) and the striving for value defense (harshness in the punishment for a moral transgressor) for the participants who read an essay against the existence of afterlife; however, this pattern was not observed for those participants who read about the existence of afterlife (some form of literal immortality). In the light of these findings, we suspected that the participants in the current study might be clearer about the afterlife. When we turned back to the data sheets on which our mortality salient participants had written about their own death for the purpose of the current study, we in fact faced with fact that 60% of our participants mentioned their afterlife beliefs in their answers. While pondering their mortality/ transience, the participants in the present study mentioned "the day of judgment, Heaven and Hell, the fear of not being able to account for one's deeds, the fear of one's sins, the coming of Azrael (the Angel of Death), the questioning by Munkar and Nakir (the Angels of questioning), the chastisement in the grave; resurrection in the afterlife, peace, the happiness of being granted the grace of Allah, and the afterlife as the ultimate truth, as a brand new beginning or as the beginning of eternal life." As believers, some of the participants did have a highly confident tone in proposing the statements like "Islam tells us everything. The afterlife is the ultimate truth following death and we are definitely sure that we will meet the Beloved", "Death is the rule/order of Allah", "I will account for my deeds and will be judged there according to how I live in this world", "If I already have good deeds, an endless world and happiness will be awaiting for me in the afterlife", or "We will be resurrected on the day of judgment as either good or bad people, based on what kind of deeds we commit in this world." In the consideration of these common themes, the certainty about the afterlife in the current sample might have helped the

participants to soothe their existential uncertainty; accordingly, it is reasonable that they did not show the classical MS effects.

Religious coping style might be another possible reason behind the non-significant MS findings as well. The participants high on the intrinsic religiosity (for whom religion supplies the meaning and value in life) were found to be lower in the tendency to defend their worldviews (Jonas & Fischer, 2006). What is more, the death-thought accessibility among the intrinsically religious participants was lower after the MS induction. However, writing about one's own death increased the death-thought accessibility for the low intrinsic and non-religious participants. Here, it can be concluded that religiosity did not in fact contribute to the better management of the death-thoughts following MS; but it mainly diminished the accessibility of the death-related thoughts. With regard to the effective role of religions to control the anxiety in the face of death awareness (Vail, Rothschild, Weise, Solomon, Pyszczynski, & Greenberg, 2010), the religious profile of the participants in the current study might have acted as an antidote to existential anxiety, as a result of which we could not be successful enough to prime them with the mortality issues. However, as there was no concrete information about whether or not the participants in the present sample were high on the intrinsic religiosity, one should be careful before reaching firm conclusions.

4.1.2 Differences in Relation to Offender's Group Affiliation

The results of the present experiment showed that the participants were not more tolerant of their in-group members, not even when they were threatened by their own death. For them, it was harder to forgive an in-group member than an out-group member. Parallel to it, the participants were harsher in sentencing an in-group member than an out-group member, even though both offenders were responsible for the same misconduct. As a return to social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), the misconduct committed by an in-group member might be causing a threat to one's self-esteem in the current study. Consequently, the participants were to choose to dis-connect themselves from that wrong-

doer (i.e. decreased their forgiveness intentions and deemed harsher punishment for that specific in-group offender). In fact, such in-group devaluation has been assumed to serve for the maintenance of a positive self-evaluation. It is clear that the inclusion of those wicked members into one's in-group category disrupts the group's capacity to be a source of positive self-regard. Optimally, a committed member desires to see one's in-group in the most favorable light possible.

As the black-sheep hypothesis proclaimed, the judgments about the unlikeable in-group members would be more extreme than those for the unlikeable out-group members (Marques et al., 1998; Marques & Yzerbyt, 1988). This strategy has served to keep the group's overall positivity. In favor of the black-sheep hypothesis, Belgian participants were more positive about a likeable in-group member (likeable Belgian) than a likeable out-group member (likeable North African); on the contrary, an unlikeable in-grouper was rated more negatively than an unlikeable out-grouper. An incompetent in-group member (i.e. a White applicant living in US) was similarly rated more negatively than an incompetent out-group member (Santuzzi & Ruscher, 2006). Attitude polarization (either favorably or unfavorably) was obvious for the in-group members in comparison with the out-group members. Those unlikeable in-group members have negative social identity implications. In line with the black sheep hypothesis, the explicit in-group derogation in the current study might also be related to the need for the psychological cast-out of the unfavorable in-group member to protect overall positivity of group identity.

In-group denigration was speculated to be moderated by the perceived entitativity of the groups. As groups differ according to the degree they are perceived as unified entity ("entitativity"), participants derogated an in-group member for highly entitative groups but not for lowly entitative groups (Lewis & Sherman, 2010). Besides, to the extent that participants were highly identified with their in-groups, they degraded the negative in-group members more readily ((Branscombe, Wann, Noel, & Coleman, 1993). Considering these moderators of in-group derogation, the perceived entitativity of the Turkish nationality for our participants or the centrality of national identities for them might be the

reason behind the apparent negative attitude polarization concerning the unfavorable in-group members. Relative intolerance about the in-group offenders in the current study might be related to the aim of purifying the positivity of Turkish nationality as a source of identification from negative exemplars.

How the Syrians were perceived in the current sample might also account for the higher tolerance towards the Syrian offender (compared to the Turkish offender). The Syrian perception of the Turkish people has not been tested against the warmth and competence dimensions of stereotype content model (SCM). SCM (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002) has declared that the status predicts high competence, and the competition predicts low warmth. Accordingly, the images of the Arab immigrants were found to be low on competence and average on warmth in America (Lee & Fiske, 2006). Perhaps, the Syrian immigrants might be perceived as low on competence and as in the middle (or high) on warmth in Turkey as well. Corresponding to the probable paternalistic (but not envious) stereotypes about the Syrians, the Turkish participants might be feeling pity, compassion, sympathy, or tenderness towards the Syrian immigrants. Even though there is no empirical evidence for the stereotype content related to the Syrians in Turkey, whether the critical stereotype content determines how people make moral judgments seems like an intriguing question. Re-testing the same research question for the groups that are perceived to be highly competent and competitive by the Turks (envious stereotypes) might reverse the current findings.

4.1.3 The Motivational Values and SDO as the Predictors

In the hierarchical regression analyses which were conducted to unearth the impact of the values and SDO on the forgiveness and punishment intentions (to test 2nd and 3rd hypotheses), forgiveness was found to be positively predicted by the self-transcendence (consists of the sub-values of the benevolence and universalism), and negatively predicted by the self-enhancement values (consisting of hedonism, power, and achievement). On the other hand, because punishment intentions could be considered to be motivationally

opposite of forgiveness, punishment severity was found to be negatively predicted by self-transcendence; and, positively by self-enhancement and SDO. These findings were pretty much in line with the previous literature. Just like the transgression-specific forgiveness (Strelan & McKee, 2014) and the dispositional forgiveness (Strelan et al., 2011), forgiveness towards a hypothetical offender in the present study was also found to be linked with the bipolar value dimension of self-transcendence and self-enhancement. In other words, despite the methodological differences, the current findings also provided the evidence for the impact of the motivational values on the forgiveness intentions. On the contrary, we could not observe the expected relationship between the conservation value (composed of the sub-values of tradition, security, and conformity) and the forgiveness. Here, it can be speculated that the sub-dimensions of conservation such as the security might be more directly related to the forgiveness towards a burglar. Consequently, the calculation of separate sub-dimensions under the name of conservation could be concealing the significant relationship between the forgiveness and the security value.

Even though the punishment of the crimes was predicted to be positively related to SDO (2009), the literature has not properly backed-up this proposition with the empirical data yet. Given this paucity, despite the marginal significance, the current study can be assumed to empirically support the positive connection between SDO and the punishment severity. The present negative correlation between SDO and the self-transcendence value is also revealing about the motivational background of the social dominance orientation. Despite its motivational kinship with the values, SDO explained the variance in the punishment severity by itself over and beyond the values (self-transcendence and self-enhancement). As the term calls for the righteousness of dominance of the powerful over the weak, SDO seems to play a critical role in judging immorality, which needs consideration in advance. As people high on SDO give vital importance to power, dominance, hierarchy, and inequality, it is reasonable to explain their punitive attitudes with reference to the maintenance of the power relations and the hierarchy in the society. Due to the fact that they perceive the social world as a competitive jungle (dog-eat-dog),

high-SDO persons lack the empathic concern (Duckitt, 2009), which has been a pre-requisite for forgiveness (Davis & Gold, 2011). Their tough-mindedness, apathetic stance, and lack of compassion for others might result in favoring the harsh punishment for the offenders. Before concluding about these speculations, one should hold mediational analyses to further understand the nature of the link between SDO and the punitive attitudes.

4.2 Main Contributions of the Current Study

This thesis aimed to address the unconscious worldview defense mechanisms by manipulating the group affiliation of the target, with forgiveness and punishment as the dependent variables. Because we have studied forgiveness particularly in relation to the intergroup functioning (which has been a relatively recent area of interest for social psychologists) and put the forgiveness question into the center of a hot topic for the Turkish context (Syrian crisis), the findings of the current study do have a value for both global and Turkish psychology literature. Given the empirical fact that the Turkish participants were more forgiving towards and lighter in punishing the Syrian offender than the Turkish offender, the predictions about how Turkish people perceive the Syrian immigrants can inspire the researchers for the novel questions.

The dependent variables in TMT studies have been mostly linked to the people-related attitudes rather than to the affects per se. Studying forgiveness which is the replacement of the negative affect with more positive feelings in the heart of the forgiver is a novelty for the terror management literature. Despite the non-significant findings, because forgiveness has been rarely studied in TMT studies, this thesis has also been a valuable effort to decipher the existential motives of forgiveness. Additionally, the current work is promising enough to overcome the scientific paucity on the link between the motivational values and the forgiveness. The underexplored association between SDO and the punishment intentions found an empirical support with the present study as well.

4.3 Limitations and Future Directions

Although some of the findings were of critical importance, we should acknowledge that some practical limitations might depress the power of conclusions that can be drawn resting upon these findings. One drawback in the current study was that it did not take place in a purely experimental setting. Instead of the conduction of the research in regular class sessions, it would have been more appropriate to invite the participants into the small cubicles for the experiment to increase the control during the administration. In the consideration of the generalizability of the findings, the participants of the present study were university students, continuing their education in Ankara. Replicating the current study in the provinces where hotter contact with the Syrians has being experienced (such as Hatay, Adana, Gaziantep, or Şanlıurfa) might bring about a reverse picture. Since the Syrians were thought to take the job opportunities off the local people particularly in those regions, or the large number of refugees were believed to cause the disruptions in receiving the social services, especially health care (Erdoğan, 2014), the moral judgments concerning the Syrian culprits might be more unfavorable for the local people living in those provinces.

Even though there were many control variables in the current study (motivational values and SDO), as we have mentioned above, the religiosity or the belief in symbolic or literal immortality might directly moderate the impact of MS on in-group bias or out-group derogation. Thus, the control over such variables can increase the power of MS-related analysis on the reactions of in-group or out-group forgiveness for prospective studies. Even though the regression analyses predicting forgiveness and punishment were statistically significant, only the small percent of variance in the critical dependent variables were found to be explained by the current independent variables. To understand the process of moral judgments more properly, in addition to the variables in the current study, it can be a better idea to consider other psychological constructs (such as empathy, altruism, parenting styles or so) which might be connected to the issue more strongly.

Besides, certain mediational pathways could also be tested to unveil the psychic course of the moral judging.

While Turkish-ness as a superordinate identity category embraces many sub-identities (different ethnicities such as Kurds, Zazas, Circassians, Arabs, Turkmen etc. and different religious or sectarian affiliations such as Alevis, Jews, Christians etc.), we did not properly address the effects of such sub-identities on in-group or out-group forgiveness. Further studies will get more precise answers if they compare the forgiveness reactions of diverse ethnicities living in Turkey on larger and more comparable samples. People of various ethnic origins might make use of Turkish identity to soothe their existential anxiety. Or, it is equally possible that their authentic ethnicities might function better than the broad Turkish identity as an anxiety buffer. The identity primacy of those sub-ethnicities in the face of death can also be revealing about how much they are happy to live with Turkish people.

Other than the Syrians, there are also many other peoples of Turkey those are candidate to be perceived as the out-groups. Even though the participants were less forgiving towards an in-group offender when the nationality was chosen as an in-group denominator, Turkish participants might be more eager to forgive an in-group member over an out-group member considering the other identification sources in Turkey. For example, Turkey's values research (Esmer, 2011) disclosed that Turkish people were reluctant to live next door to the homosexuals, AIDS patients, atheists, and the unmarried couples. Replicating the present study with the other potential out-groups of Turkey and with other identity references might be fruitful to catch the significant effects of independent variables (transgressor's group affiliation, values, and mortality salience) on forgiveness.

In the consideration of the uncertainty management model, experimentally manipulating uncertainty and death salience can also be a good alternative to analyze the underlying existential motivations of intergroup forgiveness. If forgiveness is conceptually

defined as a change towards pro-sociality, future research should make use of more observational means to better understand the phenomenon. With a special emphasis on the real life survivors of intergroup aggression, the behavioral tendencies of a victimized group towards a harm-doer group will both illuminate us about the nature of intergroup forgiveness and also increase the external validity of scientific findings. As a final point to note, the hypothetical transgressor of the current study indeed did not pose a real threat to the participants targeting their in-group identities. To make the scenario more convincing in the prospective studies, perhaps it might be a better idea to depict the immoral behavior of the transgressor as intentionally targeting an in-group member or the prospective reader as a member of a certain group.

REFERENCES

Agroskin, D., & Jonas, E. (2013). Controlling death by defending ingroups: Mediational insights into terror management and control restoration. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 49,* 1144–1158.

Agustin, E. E. (2009). Effects of mortality salience aroused by threats against human identity on intergroup bias. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 39*(5), 862–867.

Akbaş, G. (2010). *Social identity and intergroup relations: The case of Alevis and Sunnis in Amasya* (Unpublished master's thesis). Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey.

Arndt, J., Greenberg, J., Schimel, J., Pyszczynski, T., & Solomon, S. (2002). To belong or not to belong, that is the question: Terror management and identification with gender and ethnicity. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 83*(1), 26–43.

Arndt, J., Greenberg, J., Solomon, S., Pyszczynski, T., & Simon, L. (1997). Suppression, accessibility of death-related thoughts, and cultural worldview defense: Exploring the psychodynamics of terror management. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 73,* 5–18.

Auster, P. (2012). *Yalnızlığın keşfi* (8th ed.). (İ. Özdemir, Trans.). İstanbul: Can Yayınları. (Original work published 1987).

Barber, L., Maltby, J., & Macaskill, A. (2005). Angry memories and thoughts of revenge: The relationship between forgiveness and anger rumination. *Personality and Individual Differences, 39*, 253–262.

Bassett, J. (2010). The effects of mortality salience and social dominance orientation on attitudes toward illegal immigrants. *Social Psychology, 41*, 52–55.

Bassett, J. F., & Connelly, J. N. (2011). Terror management and reactions to undocumented immigrants: Mortality salience increases aversion to culturally dissimilar others. *Journal of Social Psychology, 151*(2), 117–120.

Becker, E. (1973). *The denial of death*. New York, NY: Free Press.

Branscombe, N. R., & Cronin, T. (2010). Confronting the past to create a better future. In A. E. Azzi, X. Chryssochoou, B. Klandermans, & B. Simon (Eds*.), Identity and participation in culturally diverse societies* (pp. 338–358). Oxford, UK: Wiley-Blackwell. doi: 10.1002/9781444328158.

Branscombe, N. R., Wann, D. L., Noel, J. G., & Coleman, J. (1993). In-group or out-group extremity: Importance of the threatened social identity. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *19*, 381–388.

Burke, B. L., Martens, A., & Faucher, E. H. (2010) Two decades of terror management theory: A meta-analysis of mortality salience research. *Personality and Social Psychology Review, 14*(2), 155–195.

Castano, E., & Dechesne, M. (2005). On defeating death: Group reification and social identification as immortality strategies. *European Review of Social Psychology, 16,* 221–255.

Cehajic, S., Brown, R., & Castano, E. (2008). Forgive and forget? Antecedents and consequences of intergroup forgiveness in Bosnia and Herzegovina. *Political Psychology, 29*, 351–367.

Cialdini, R. B., Kallgren, C. A., & Reno, R. R. (1991). A focus theory of normative conduct: A theoretical refinement and reevaluation of the role of norms in human behavior. In M. P. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 24, pp. 201–234). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

Cohrs, J. C., Moschner, B., Maes, J., & Kielmann, S. (2005) Personal values and attitudes toward war. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology, 11*(3), 293–312.

Davidov, E., Meuleman, M., Billiet, J., & Schmidt, P. (2008). Values and support for immigration: A cross-country comparison. *European Sociological Review, 24,* 583–599.

Davis, J. R., & Gold, G. J. (2011). An examination of emotional empathy, attributions of stability, and the link between perceived remorse and forgiveness. *Personality and Individual Differences, 50*, 392–397.

Dechesne, M., Greenberg, J., Arndt, J., & Schimel, J. (2000) Terror management and the vicissitudes of sports fan affiliation: The effects of mortality salience on fan identification and optimism. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 30,* 813–835.

Dechesne, M., Pyszczynski, T., Arndt, J., Ransom, S., Sheldon, K. M, Knippenberg, A. D., & Janssen, J. (2003). Literal and symbolic immortality: The effect of evidence of literal immortality on self-esteem striving in response to mortality salience. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 84*(4), 722–737.

Dirilen-Gumus, O. & Buyuksahin-Sunal, A. (2012). Gender differences in Turkish undergraduate students' values. *Sex Roles, 67*, 559–570.

Doğulu, C. (2012). *System justification and terror management: Mortality salience as a moderator of system-justifying tendencies in gender context* (Unpublished master's thesis). Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey.

Duckitt, J. (2009). Punishment attitudes: Their social and psychological bases. In S. Bieneck, M. E. Oswald, & J. Hupfeld-Heinemann (Eds.), *Social psychology of punishment of crime* (pp. 75–92). Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Erdoğan, M. M. (2014). *Türkiye'deki Suriyeliler: Toplumsal kabul ve uyum araştırması*. Hacettepe Üniversitesi Göç ve Siyaset Araştırmaları Merkezi, Ankara.

Esmer, Y. (2011). In *Türkiye değerler araştırması*. Retrieved from http://www.connectedvivaki.com/2011-turkiye-degerler-arastirmasi/

Feather, N. T., Woodyatt, L., & McKee, I. R. (2012). Predicting support for social action: How values, justice-related variables, discrete emotions, and outcome expectations influence support for the Stolen Generations. *Motivation and Emotion, 36*, 516–528.

Fincham, F. D. (2000). The kiss of the porcupines: From attributing responsibility to forgiving. *Personal Relationships, 7*, 1–23.

Fincham, F. D., Paleari, F. G., & Regalia, C. (2002). Forgiveness in marriage: The role of relationship quality, attributions, and empathy. *Personal Relationships, 9,* 27–37.

Fiske, S. T., Cuddy, A. J. C., Glick, P., & Xu, J. (2002). A model of (often mixed) stereotype content: Competence and warmth respectively follow from perceived status and competition. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 82*, 878–902.

Florian, V., Mikulincer, M., & Hirschberger, G. (2002). The anxiety-buffering function of close relationships: Evidence that relationship commitment acts as a terror

management mechanism. *Interpersonal Relations and Group Processes, 82*, 527–542.

Gailliot, M. T., Stillman, T. F., Schmeichel, B. J., Maner, J. K., & Plant, E. A. (2008). Mortality salience increases adherence to salient norms and values. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 34,* 993–1003.

Gençöz, T. (2000). Positive and Negative Affect Schedule: A study of validity and reliability. [Pozitif ve negatif duygu durumu ölçeği: geçerlilik güvenilirlik çalışması]. *Turkish Journal of Psychology, 15,* 19–26.

Giannakakis, A. E., & Fritsche, I. (2011). Social identities, group norms, and threat: On the malleability of ingroup bias. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 37*(1), 82–93. doi: 10.1177/0146167210386120.

Greenberg, J., & Kosloff, S. (2008). Terror management theory: Implications for understanding prejudice, stereotyping, intergroup conflict, and political attitudes. *Social and Personality Compass, 2*, 1881–1894.

Greenberg, J., Pyszczynski, T., & Solomon, S. (1986). The causes and consequences of a need for self-esteem: a terror management theory. In R. F. Baumeister (Ed.), *Public self and private self* (pp. 189–212). New York, NY: Springer-Verlag.

Greenberg, J., Pyszczynski, T., Solomon, S., Rosenblatt, A., Veeder, M., Kirkland, S., & Lyon, D. (1990). Evidence for terror management II: The effects of mortality salience on reactions to those who threaten or bolster the cultural worldview. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 58,* 308–318.

Greenberg, J., Pyszczynski, T., Solomon, S., Simon, L., & Breus, M. (1994). Role of consciousness and accessibility of death-related thoughts in mortality salience effects. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 67,* 627–637.

Greenberg, J., Schimel, J., Martens, A., Solomon, S., & Pyszcznyski, T. (2001). Sympathy for the devil: Evidence that reminding Whites of their mortality promotes more favorable reactions to White racists. *Motivation and Emotion, 25*, 113–133.

Greenberg, J., Schmader, T., Arndt, J., & Landau, M. (2015). Responding to and reducing prejudice. In *Social psychology: The science of everyday life* (pp. 389–423). New York, NY: Worth Publishers.

Greenberg, J., Simon, L., Pyszczynski, T., Solomon, S., & Chatel, D. (1992). Terror management and tolerance: Does mortality salience always intensify negative reactions to others who threaten one's worldview? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 63,* 212–220.

Greenberg, J., Solomon, S., & Pyszczynski, T. (1997). Terror management theory of self-esteem and social behavior: Empirical assessments and conceptual refinements. In M. P. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 29, pp. 61–139). New York: Academic Press.

Harmon-Jones, E., Greenberg, J., Solomon, S., & Simon, L. (1996). The effects of mortality salience on intergroup bias between minimal groups. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 25,* 781–785.

Harmon-Jones, E., Simon, L., Greenberg, J., Pyszczynski, T., Solomon, S., & McGregor, H. (1997). Terror management theory and self-esteem: Evidence that increased self-esteem reduces mortality salience effects. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *72*, 24–36.

Heaven, P. C., & St. Quintin, D. (2003). Personality factors predict racial prejudice. *Personality and Individual Differences*, *34*, 625–634.

Hohman, Z. P. & Hogg, M. A. (2011). Fear and uncertainty in the face of death: The role of life after death in group identification. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 41,* 751–760.

Jackson, L. M., & Esses, V. M. (2000). Effects of perceived economic competition on people's willingness to help empower immigrants. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, *3*, 419–435.

Jonas, E. & Fischer, P. (2006). Terror management and religion: Evidence that intrinsic religiousness mitigates worldview defense following mortality salience. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 91,* 553–567.

Jonas, E. & Fischer, P. (2006). Terror management and religion: Evidence that intrinsic religiousness mitigates worldview defense following mortality salience. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 91,* 553–567.

Jonas, E., Martens, A., Niesta Kayser, D., Fritsche, I., Sullivan, D., & Greenberg, J. (2008). Focus theory of normative conduct and terror-management theory: The

interactive impact of mortality salience and norm salience on social judgment. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 95*(6), 1239–51.

Jonas, E., Schimel, J., Greenberg, J., & Pyszczynski, T. (2002). The Scrooge effect: Evidence that mortality salience increases prosocial attitudes and behavior. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *28*, 1342–1353.

Karaçanta, H. (2002). *Üniversite öğrencilerinin sosyal baskınlık yönelimi ve başka bazı değişkenler açısından karşılaştırılması* (Doctoral dissertation). Ankara University, Ankara, Turkey.

Karremans, J. C., & Aarts, H. (2007). The role of automaticity in determining the inclination to forgive close others. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 43,* 902–917.

Lee, T. L. & Fiske, S. T. (2006). Not an outgroup, not yet an ingroup: Immigrants in the Stereotype Content Model. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 30,* 751–768.

Lewis, A. C. & Sherman, S. J. (2010). Perceived entitativity and the Black-Sheep Effect: When will we denigrate negative ingroup members? *Journal of Social Psychology, 150*, 211–225.

Marques, J. M. & Yzerbyt, V. Y. (1988). The black sheep effect: Judgmental extremity towards ingroup members in inter- and intra-group situations. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 18*, 287–292.

Marques, J. M., Yzerbyt, V. Y., & Leyens, J. P. (1989). The "Black Sheep Effect": Extremity of judgments towards ingroup members as function of group identification. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *18*, 1–16.

McCullough, M. E. (2001). Forgiveness: Who does it and how do they do it? *Current Directions in Psychological Sciences, 10*, 194–197.

McCullough, M. E., Bono, G., & Root, L. M. (2007). Rumination, emotion, and forgiveness: Three longitudinal studies. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 92*, 490–505.

McCullough, M. E., Rachal, K. C., Sandage, S. J., Worthington, E. L., Jr., Brown, S. W., & Hight, T. L. (1998). Interpersonal forgiving in close relationships: II. Theoretical elaboration and measurement. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 75*, 1586–1603.

McCullough, M. E., Worthington, E. L., & Rachal, K. C. (1997). Interpersonal forgiving in close relationships. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 73,* 321–336.

McGlynn, C., Niens, U., Cairns, E., & Hewstone, M. (2004). Moving out of conflict: The contribution of integrated schools in Northern Ireland to identity, attitudes, forgiveness, and reconciliation. *Journal of Peace Education, 1*, 147–163.

McGregor, H. A., Lieberman, J. D., Greenberg, J., Solomon, S., Arndt, J., Simon, L., & Pyszczynski, T. (1998). Terror management and aggression: Evidence that mortality salience motivates aggression against worldview threatening others. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 74*, 590–605.

McKee, I. R. & Feather, N. T. (2008). Revenge, retribution, and values: Social attitudes and punitive sentencing. *Social Justice Research, 21*, 138–163.

Miller, A. J., Worthington, E. L., & McDaniel, M. A. (2008). Gender and forgiveness: A meta–analytic review and research agenda. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology, 27,* 843–876.

Pratto, F., & Lemieux, A. F. (2001). The psychological ambiguity of immigration and its implications for promoting immigration policy. *Journal of Social Issues*, *57*, 413–431.

Pratto, F., Sidanus, J., Stallworth, L. M., & Malle, B. F. (1994). Social dominance orientation: A personality variable predicting social and political attitudes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 67*, 741–763.

Pratto, F., Stallworth, L. M., & Sidanius, J. (1997). The gender gap: Differences in political attitudes and social dominance orientation. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 36*, 49 – 68.

Pronks, T. M., Karremans, J. C., Overbeek, G., Vermulst, A. A., & Wigboldus, D. H. J. (2010). What it takes to forgive: When and why executive functioning facilitates forgiveness. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 98*(1), 119–131.

Pyszczynski, T., Abdollahi, A., Solomon, S., Greenberg, J., Cohen, F., & Weise, D. (2006). Mortality salience, martyrdom, and military might: The Great Satan versus the Axis of Evil. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 32,* 525–537.

Pyszczynski, T., Greenberg, J., & Solomon, S. (1999). A dual-process model of defense against conscious and unconscious death-related thoughts: An extension of terror management theory. *Psychological Review, 106,* 835–845.

Pyszczynski, T., Greenberg, J., Solomon, S., Arndt, J., & Schimel, J. (2004). Why do people need self-esteem?: A theoretical and empirical review. *Psychological Bulletin, 130,* 435–468.

Pyszczynski, T., Solomon, S., & Greenberg, J. (2003). *In the wake of 9/11: The psychology of terror*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Riek, B. M., & Manis, E. W. (2012). The antecedents and consequences of interpersonal forgiveness: A meta-analytic review. *Personal Relationships, 19*, 304–325.

Rosenblatt, A., Greenberg, J., Solomon, S., Pyszczynski, T., & Lyon, D. (1989). Evidence for terror management theory I: The effects of mortality salience on reactions to those who violate or uphold cultural values. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 57*, 681–690.

Santuzzi, A. M. & Ruscher, J. B. (2006). Distancing from incompetent ingroup members: Evidence for the black sheep effect in ethnicity and nationality. *Race, Gender & Class, 13*, 87–95.

Schimel, J., Wohl, M. J. A., & Williams, T. (2006). Terror management and trait empathy: Evidence that mortality salience promotes reactions of forgiveness among people with high (vs. low) trait empathy. *Motivation & Emotion, 30*, 217–227. doi: 10.1007/s11031-006-9040-y

Schwartz, S. H. & Bardi, A. (2001). Value hierarchies across cultures: Taking a similarities perspective. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 32*, 268–290.

Schwartz, S. H. & Rubel, T. (2005). Sex differences in value priorities: Cross-cultural and multimethod studies. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 89*(6), 1010–1028.

Schwartz, S. H. (1992). Universals in the content and structure of values: Theory and empirical tests in 20 countries. In M. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 25, pp. 1–65). New York: Academic Press.

Schwartz, S. H. (2003). A proposal for measuring value orientations across nations. In the *Questionnaire Development Package of the European Social Survey* (Chapter 7). Website: www.Europeansocialsurvey.org.

Schwartz, S. H. (2005). Basic human values: Their content and structure across countries. In A. Tamayo & J. B. Porto (Eds.), *Valores e comportamento nas organizações* [Values and behavior in organizations] (pp. 21–55). Petrópolis, Brazil: Vozes.

Schwartz, S. H. (2007). Value orientations – Measurement, antecedents and consequences across nations. In R. Jowell (Ed.), *Measuring attitudes cross-nationally. Lessons from the European Social Survey* (pp. 169–204). Los Angeles: Sage

Schwartz, S. H. (2012). An overview of the Schwartz theory of basic values. *Online Readings in Psychology and Culture, 2,* 1–20.

Schwartz, S. H., Melech, G., Lehmann, A., Burgess, S., & Harris, M. (2001). Extending the cross-cultural validity of the theory of basic human values with a different method of measurement. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 32,* 519–542.

Sidanius, J., & Pratto, F. (1999). The psychology of group dominance: Social Dominance Orientation. In J. Sidanus and F. Pratto (Authors), *Social dominance: An intergroup theory of social hierarchy and oppression*. (pp. 61–102). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Sidanus, J., Pratto, F., & Bobo, L. (1994). Social dominance orientation and political psychology of gender: A case of invariance? *Interpersonal Relations and Group Processes, 67*, 998–1011.

Solomon, S., Greenberg, J., & Pyszczynski, T. (1991). A terror management theory of social behavior: The psychological functions of self-esteem and cultural worldviews. In M. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 24, pp. 91–159). Orlando, FL: Academic Press.

Strelan, P., & Mckee, I. (2014). Inclusive justice beliefs and forgiveness: Commonality through self-transcending values. *Personality and Individual Differences, 68*, 77–92.

Strelan, P., Feather, N. T., & McKee, I. (2011). Retributive and inclusive justice goals and forgiveness: The influence of motivational values. *Social Justice Research, 24*, 126–142.

Struthers, C. W., Eaton, J., Mendoza, R., Santelli, A., & Shirvani, N. (2010). Interrelationship among injured parties' attributions of responsibility, appraisal of appropriateness to forgive the transgressor, forgiveness, and repentance. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 40*, 970–1002.

Struthers, C. W., Eaton, J., Santelli, A. G., Uchiyama, M., & Shirvani, N. (2008). The effects of attributions of intent and apology on forgiveness: When saying sorry may not help the story. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 44*, 983–992.

Swart, H., & Hewstone, M. (2011). Intergroup forgiveness. In D.J. Christie (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of peace psychology* (pp. 445–449). Boston, MA: Wiley-Blackwell. doi: 10.1002/9780470672532.wbepp112

Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1986). The social identity theory of intergroup behaviour. In S. Warchel & W. G. Austin (Eds.), *Psychology of Intergroup Relations* (pp. 7–24). Chicago, IL: Nelson-Hall.

Tam, T., Hewstone, M., Kenworthy, J. B., Cairns, E., Marinetti, C., Geddes, L., & Parkinson, B. (2008). Postconflict reconciliation: Intergroup forgiveness and implicit biases in Northern Ireland. *Journal of Social Issues, 64*, 303–320.

Tunç, A. Ş. (2015). Mülteci davranışı ve toplumsal etkileri: Türkiye'deki Suriyelilere ilişkin bir değerlendirme. *Turkish Journal of TESAM Academy, 2*(2), 29 – 63.

UNHCR. (2014). *Global trends, mid-year trends report*. Retrived from http://unhcr.org/540091d89.html

UNHCR. (2015). *Turkey - External Update.* Retrieved from http://www.unhcr.org.tr/uploads/root/july_external_update_2015-2.pdf

Vail, K. E., Rothschild, Z. K., Weise, D. R., Solomon, S., Pyszczynski, T., & Greenberg, J. (2010). A terror management analysis of the psychological functions of religion. *Personality and Social Psychology Review, 14*(1), 84–94.

Van den Bos, K. (2004). An existentialist approach to the social psychology of fairness: The influence of mortality and uncertainty salience on reactions to fair and unfair events. In. J. Greenberg, S.L. Koole & T. Pyszczynski (Eds.), *Handbook of experimental existential psychology* (pp. 167–181). New York: Guilford Press.

Van Tongeren, D. R., Burnette, J. L., O' Boyle, E., Worthington, E. L., & Forsyth, D. (2014). A meta-analysis of intergroup forgiveness. *Journal of Positive Psychology, 9,* 81–95.

Van Tongeren, D. R., Green, J. D., Davis, D. E., Worthington, E. L. Jr., & Reid, C. A. (2013). Till death do us part: Terror management and forgiveness in close relationships. *Personal Relationships, 20,* 755–768.

Wade, N. G., & Worthington, E. L. (2003). Overcoming interpersonal offenses: Is forgiveness the only way to deal with unforgiveness? *Journal of Counseling & Development, 81*, 343–353.

Watson, D., Clark. L. A., & Tellegen, A. (1998). Development and validation of brief measure of positive and negative affect: The PANAS scales. *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology, 54,* 1063–1070.

Wohl, M. J. A., Cohen-Chen, S., Halperin, E., Caouette, J., Hayes, N., & Hornsey, M.J. (2015). Belief in the malleability of groups strengthens the tenuous link between a collective apology and intergroup forgiveness. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 41*, 714–725.

Wohl, M.J. A., & Branscombe, N. R. (2005). Forgiveness and collective guilt assignment to historical perpetrator groups depend on level of social category inclusiveness. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 88*, 288–303.

Yavuz, H., & Van den Bos, K. (2009). Effects of uncertainty and mortality salience on worldview defense reactions in Turkey. *Social Justice Research, 22*(4), 384–398.

APPENDIX A. INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Bu çalışmanın amacı çeşitli tutum ve davranışlarınızla ilgili bilgi toplamaktır. Çalışma sırasında kimi olası deneyimlerin (örneğin ölümünüzü düşünmenin) sizde uyandırdığı duygu ve düşünceleri yazmanız istenecek ve çeşitli durumlarda vereceğiniz kararlar hakkında sorular sorulacaktır. 15 dakikanızı alacak bu araştırmaya katılım tamamen gönüllülük esasına dayanmaktadır. Çalışmanın hiçbir aşamasında sizden kimlik belirleyici bir bilgi istenmeyecektir. Elde edilen bilgiler yalnızca araştırmacı tarafından değerlendirildikten sonra bilimsel maksatlı (tez çalışmasında) kullanılacaktır.

Çalışma sırasında uygulanacak testler ve yanıtlamanız gereken sorular, genel olarak kişisel rahatsızlık verecek nitelikte değildir. Ancak, katılım sırasında sorulardan ya da herhangi başka bir nedenden ötürü kendinizi rahatsız hissederseniz cevaplama işini yarıda bırakıp çıkmakta serbestsiniz. **Anketi ilk sayfadan başlayıp, yönergelere uyarak sırayla ve sayfa atlamadan yapmanız çok önemlidir.** Çalışmanın veri toplama aşamasının sonunda, bu çalışmayla ilgili sorularınız cevaplanacaktır. Çalışma hakkında daha ayrıntılı bilgi almak isterseniz Yıldırım Beyazıt Üniversitesi Psikoloji Bölümü Arş. Gör. Emine Yücel (ey.emineyucel@hotmail.com) ile iletişim kurabilirsiniz.

Çalışmaya olan katkılarınızdan dolayı teşekkür ederiz.

Bu çalışmaya tamamen gönüllü olarak katılıyorum ve istediğim zaman yarıda kesip çıkabileceğimi biliyorum. Verdiğim bilgilerin bilimsel amaçlı yayımlarda kullanılmasını kabul ediyorum.

İmza:

APPENDIX B. SOCIAL DOMINANCE ORIENTATION SCALE

1. Bazı gruplar diğerlerinden daha üstündür.
2. İstediğinizi elde etmek için bazen diğer gruplara karşı güç kullanmak gerekir.
3. Bazı grupların hayatta diğerlerinden daha fazla şansa sahip olması kabul edilebilir bir şeydir.
4. Hayatta öne geçmek için, bazen diğer grupların üstüne basmak gereklidir.
5. Eğer belirli gruplar yerlerini bilselerdi, daha az sorunumuz olurdu.
6. Belirli grupların üstte, diğer grupların ise altta olması muhtemelen iyi bir şeydir.
7. Daha alttaki gruplar yerlerini bilmelidir.
8. Bazen diğer gruplara hadleri bildirilmelidir.
9. Tüm gruplar eşit olabilseydi, iyi olurdu.*
10. Grupların eşitliği idealimiz olmalıdır.*
11. Tüm gruplara hayatta eşit şans verilmelidir.*
12. Farklı grupların koşullarını eşitlemek için elimizden geleni yapmalıyız.*
13. Toplumda gruplar arası eşitliği arttırmalıyız.*
14. Eğer farklı gruplara daha eşit davransaydık daha az sorunumuz olurdu.*
15. Gelirleri olabildiğince eşit hale getirmek için çabalamalıyız.*
16. Toplumda hiçbir grup baskın olmamalıdır.*

---

* Reverse-coded items

APPENDIX C. PORTRAIT VALUES QUESTIONAIRE (PVQ-21)

1. Yeni fikirler bulmak ve yaratıcı olmak onun için önemlidir. İşleri kendine özgü yollarla yapmayı sever. (self-direction)

2. Onun için zengin olmak önemlidir. Çok paraya ve pahalı şeylere sahip olmak ister. (power)

3. Dünyadaki herkese eşit davranılmasının önemli olduğunu düşünür. Herkesin hayatta eşit fırsatlara sahip olması gerektiğine inanır. (universalism)

4. Onun için yeteneklerini göstermek önemlidir. İnsanların, onun yaptıklarına hayran olmasını ister. (achievement)

5. Onun için güvenli bir çevrede yaşamak önemlidir. Güvenliğini tehlikeye atacak her şeyden kaçınır. (security)

6. Sürprizlerden hoşlanır ve her zaman yapacak yeni şeyler arar. Hayatta birçok farklı şey yapmanın önemli olduğunu düşünür. (stimulation)

7. İnsanların, söylenenleri yapması gerektiğine inanır. İnsanların, kimse izlemezken bile, kurallara uyması gerektiğini düşünür. (conformity)

8. Kendisinden farklı insanları dinlemek onun için önemlidir. Onların düşüncelerine katılmadığı zamanlarda bile, onları anlamak ister. (universalism)

9. Onun için alçakgönüllü ve mütevazı olmak önemlidir. Dikkati kendisine çekmemeye çalışır. (tradition)

10. İyi vakit geçirmek onun için önemlidir. Kendisine iyi davranmayı sever. (hedonism)

11. Onun için, yaptıklarıyla ilgili olarak kendi kararlarını almak önemlidir. Özgür olmaktan ve başkalarına bağımlı olmamaktan hoşlanır. (self-direction)

12. Onun için çevresindeki insanlara yardım etmek çok önemlidir. Onların refahını sağlamak için aktif olarak çaba göstermek ister. (benevolence)

13. Onun için çok başarılı olmak önemlidir. İnsanların onun başarılarını farkına varacağını umar. (achievement)

14. Hükümetin her türlü tehlikeye karşı onun güvenliğini sağlaması, onun için önemlidir. Devletin, vatandaşlarını savunabilecek şekilde güçlü olmasını ister. (security)

15. O, macera arar ve risk almayı sever. Heyecan verici bir yaşam sürmek ister. (stimulation)

16. Onun için, her zaman uygun şekilde davranmak önemlidir. İnsanların yanlış olduğunu düşüneceği şeyleri yapmaktan çekinir. (conformity)

17. Onun için başkalarından saygı görmek önemlidir. İnsanların, onun söylediklerini yapmalarını ister. (power)

18. Onun için arkadaşlarına sadık olmak önemlidir. Kendisini, yakınlarına adamak ister. (benevolence)

19. İnsanların kesinlikle doğaya özen göstermeleri gerektiğini düşünür. Doğayı ve çevreyi gözetmek onun için önemlidir. (universalism)

20. Onun için gelenekler önemlidir. Ailesinden ve dininden gelen adetleri (gelenek ve görenekleri) takip etmeye çalışır. (tradition)

21. Eğlenmek için her fırsatı yakalamaya çalışır. Kendisine zevk verecek şeyleri yapmak onun için önemlidir. (hedonism)

APPENDIX D: MORTALITY SALIENCE MANIPULATION

Aşağıda iki tane açık uçlu soru yer almaktadır. <u>Aklınıza ilk gelenleri</u> yansıtacak şekilde ve <u>en az 6'şar cümle kullanarak</u> bu iki soruyu yanıtlayınız.

PROJEKTİF YAŞAM TUTUMLARI DEĞERLENDİRMESİ

Aşağıdaki iki madde, yakın zamanda geliştirilen yenilikçi bir kişilik değerlendirme aracı olarak oluşturulmuştur. Yapılan araştırmalar, yaşama dair duygu ve düşüncelerin kişilik hakkında çok önemli miktarda bilgi sağladığını göstermektedir. Aşağıdaki sorulara vereceğiniz yanıtlar, kişiliğinizin bazı boyutlarını değerlendirmek için analiz edilecektir. Lütfen, söz konusu maddeleri tam olarak cevaplayınız.

1. **Lütfen, kendi ölümünüzü düşünmenin sizde uyandırdığı duyguları kısaca açıklayınız.**

_____
_____
_____
_____

2. **Lütfen, fiziksel olarak ölmekte olduğunuzda ve fiziksel olarak artık ölü olduğunuzda size ne olacağı konusundaki düşündüklerinizi olabildiğince açık bir biçimde yazınız.**

_____
_____
_____
_____

Aşağıda iki tane açık uçlu soru yer almaktadır. <u>Aklınıza ilk gelenleri</u> yansıtacak şekilde ve <u>en az 6'şar cümle kullanarak</u> bu iki soruyu yanıtlayınız.

PROJEKTİF YAŞAM TUTUMLARI DEĞERLENDİRMESİ

Aşağıdaki iki madde, yakın zamanda geliştirilen yenilikçi bir kişilik değerlendirme aracı olarak oluşturulmuştur. Yapılan araştırmalar, yaşama dair duygu ve düşüncelerin kişilik hakkında çok önemli miktarda bilgi sağladığını göstermektedir. Aşağıdaki sorulara vereceğiniz yanıtlar, kişiliğinizin bazı boyutlarını değerlendirmek için analiz edilecektir. Lütfen, söz konusu maddeleri tam olarak cevaplayınız.

1. **Lütfen, televizyon seyrettiğinizi düşünmenin sizde uyandırdığı duyguları kısaca açıklayınız.**

_____
_____
_____
_____

2. Lütfen, televizyon izlediğinizde size fiziksel olarak ne olacağı konusundaki düşündüklerinizi olabildiğince açık bir biçimde yazınız.

_____
_____
_____
_____

APPENDIX E: WORD SEARCH PUZZLE (DELAY TASK)

Aşağıda bulunan 12x12'lik tabloda, kutuda listelenmiş olan 12 kelime gizlenmiştir. Lütfen bu 12 kelimeyi bulup işaretleyiniz.

Kitap	Bilgisayar	Telefon	Tren	Okul	Bira
Masa	Film	Kağıt	Müzik	Çim	Aktör

A	S	F	K	E	Ö	R	P	T	İ	S	R
Y	Ş	İ	V	T	Ğ	E	O	E	S	A	Ö
T	E	L	E	F	O	N	T	K	Y	R	T
O	B	M	Y	Ö	C	A	B	A	U	Z	K
K	Ç	Z	O	T	S	A	S	Ğ	R	L	A
N	A	İ	R	A	Z	İ	T	I	K	U	N
I	F	O	M	E	G	S	O	T	K	E	T
E	C	A	U	L	R	A	Ğ	E	R	S	İ
M	Ü	Z	İ	K	E	K	İ	T	A	P	E
Ü	H	B	Ş	E	S	U	P	O	R	O	S
S	L	A	M	R	V	F	Ö	L	İ	R	İ
A	D	U	J	P	A	Ç	S	U	B	A	N

APPENDIX F: POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE AFFECT SCALE (PANAS)

Aşağıda bir takım duygu ifadeleri bulunmaktadır. Lütfen her bir duyguyu genelde yaşama sıklığınızı, yan taraftaki dereceleme ölçeğinde işaretleyiniz.

	Asla	Çok Nadir	Nadiren	Bazen	Sıkça	Çoğunlukla	Daima
İlgili	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Sıkıntılı	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Heyecanlı	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Mutsuz	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Güçlü	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Suçlu	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Ürkmüş	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Düşmanca	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Hevesli	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Gururlu	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Asabi	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Uyanık (dikkati açık)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Utanmış	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
İlhamlı (yaratıcı düşüncelerle dolu)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Sinirli	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kararlı	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Dikkatli	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Tedirgin	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Aktif	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Korkmuş	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

APPENDIX G. TRANSGRESSION SCENARIO
(MANIPULATION OF THE OFFENDER'S GROUP IDENTITY)

Şimdi lütfen aşağıda bahsedilen olayın başınızdan geçtiğini hayal etmeye çalışın. Bu olay sırasında hissedebileceğiniz duygular ve aklınızdan geçen düşünceler neler olurdu? İçinizden neler yapmak geçerdi? Hayal ederken bu sorulara odaklanmanız kendinizi böyle bir olayın içine yerleştirmenizi kolaylaştıracaktır. Sonraki sayfada şimdi okuyacağınız metin hakkında sorular sorulacaktır, dolayısıyla metni dikkatle okumanız ve olaya odaklanmanız gerekmektedir.

Okul çıkışı eve vardığınızda dairenizin kapısını açık buluyorsunuz ve korku ile içeri giriyorsunuz. Etrafın dağıldığını ve kira için ayırdığınız 300 TL'nin sakladığınız yerde olmadığını fark ediyorsunuz. Polis, apartmanınızın güvenlik kamerası kayıtları sayesinde hırsızın eşkâlini belirliyor. 24 saat içinde polis tarafından yakalanan hırsızın Türk vatandaşı (Suriye uyruklu) M. H. olduğu tespit ediliyor.

APPENDIX H. POST-PARTICIPATION EVALUATION FORM

Deney Tarihi: ………………………………….

Doğum Tarihiniz: ……………………………

Cinsiyetiniz: K……. E…….

Bölümünüz: ……………………………

Etnik grubunuzu belirtiniz.

Arap ☐   Çerkez ☐   Ermeni ☐   Kürt ☐   Laz ☐   Nusayri ☐

Türk ☐   Türkmen ☐   Zaza☐   Diğer (lütfen belirtiniz) ☐.........................

1-Sizce bu çalışmanın amacı neydi? Bu deneyi yürüten biri neyi anlamaya çalışıyor olabilir?

_____
_____
_____
_____

2-Yaptığınız testler ve cevap verdiğiniz sorular birbiri ile ilişkili miydi? Eğer öyleyse bunların ne şekilde ilgili olduğunu düşündünüz?

_____
_____
_____
_____

APPENDIX I. THESIS PHOTOCOPYING PERMISSION FORM

TEZ FOTOKOPİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü [X]

YAZARIN

Soyadı : YÜCEL
Adı : EMİNE
Bölümü : PSİKOLOJİ

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce) : TERROR MANAGEMENT AND PRO-SOCIAL VALUES: DOES MORTALITY SALIENCE FACILITATE FORGIVING ONLY IN-GROUP TRANSGRESSORS?

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans [X] Doktora [ ]

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. [X]

2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. [X]

3. Tezimden bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz. [ ]

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ: