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**The Relation Between Empathy and Intention of Indonesians to Apologize
to Papuans via Group-Based Guilt**

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Abstract

Apologies in intergroup relationships are a means of reaffirming social norms and demonstrating fair treatment of another group. The circumstances that motivate members of the offending group to apologize have thus far, not received a lot of attention in research. Therefore, the present study aimed to examine whether and how empathy influenced non-Papuan Indonesians' intention to apologize for racial discrimination against Papuan Indonesians. We hypothesized that when induced to empathize with Papuan Indonesians, Indonesians would be more likely to apologize because of increased group-based guilt and negative meta-stereotyping. Empathy was induced in a one-factorial design by instructing 325 participants to imagine Papuans' feelings while reading an article about racial discrimination or to read objectively (control group). The study found that the manipulation of empathy was ineffective. We observed that measured empathy predicted intention to apologize via group-based guilt, which provides some support for our hypotheses. However, negative meta-stereotyping did not play a role. Interestingly, the guiltier non-Papuan Indonesians felt, the more they expected Papuan Indonesians to perceive them *positively*. In mitigating group tension, the current findings suggest the potential prosocial role of empathy in facilitating feelings of guilt amidst growing demands for an apology.

Keywords: Empathy; apology intention; group-based guilt; negative meta-stereotyping

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The Relation Between Empathy and Intention of Indonesians to Apologize to Papuans via Group-Based Guilt

Apologies have long been considered a tool for facilitating reconciliation during or after conflict. Since the nineties, scholars have described the age of the apology in politics and international relations in which politicians and public figures apologized publicly (Gibney et al., 2008). A growing number of politicians have been apologizing for historical injustices (Brooks, 1999). For example, the Dutch King apologized for acts of violence during the colonial period (Martinovic et al., 2021), the Japanese Prime Minister apologized for the discriminatory law on forced sterilization in Japan (Higuchi et al., 2019), and a university apologized in response to a survey on racist incidents (University of Dundee, 2021). Moreover, across the world, formal apologies are demanded for past crimes (e.g., slavery; Brooks, 1999).

However, an apology is not always offered. Political agendas, political actors, or the affirmation that an apology implies responsibility and blame (Iyer et al., 2004) may further hinder the act. A group may not want to be portrayed in a bad light or may fear that the victim group will demand further amends, such as monetary compensation, that will put the transgressor at a disadvantage. Globally, public efforts have been made to force societies - and their governments - to own their guilt and apologize for collective wrongdoing (Iyer et al., 2004). Although research showed that apologies do not always result in forgiveness from the victimized group (see Hornsey & Wohl, 2013, for a review), it is the first step that needs to be taken to affirm justice and fair treatment (Minow, 1998). It is an action and a sign that a transgression has been committed that has harmed or disadvantaged the victim group in some way (see Blatz & Philpot, 2010, for a review). Moreover, apologies can restore power and dignity to the victim

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(Lazare, 2005). A state apology would also restore the victim's faith in the trustworthiness of societal institutions (de Greiff, 2008) and thus facilitate reconciliation (Tavuchi, 1991).

Most psychological research on intergroup apologies has focused on the content and impact of the apology on the victimized party (e.g., Blatz & Philpot, 2010; Philpot & Hornsey, 2008). However, less is known about what motivates people to offer apologies to the victims, especially when it concerns the misconduct of their group. Given the potential positive effects of apologies, the question is how we can bring groups to apologize. One approach to achieve this might be to focus their feelings on the victims, or in other words, to direct the members of the perpetrator group to empathize with the victims. We believe that such empathy could reinforce people's feelings of guilt on behalf of their group and make them recognize that the victim group is unlikely to have a positive impression of them. To restore this perception, they may feel inclined to apologize for their group's behavior. In the current study, we will examine this.

Empathy may influence the intention to apologize

Empathy is typically considered a prosocial emotional response (Batson et al., 1997). It represents the ability and willingness to understand and perceive the experiences of others as if they were one's own (Batson, 1998). However, people show more empathy for those they classify as members of their group than members of an outgroup (Vanman, 2016). Therefore, extensive research has centered on the intrinsic nature of empathy in improving intergroup attitudes and prosocial behavior toward the stigmatized group. When individuals are made to take the perspective of the other party members rather than the facts regarding the members' situation, it elicits empathic concern (Batson et al., 1997). For instance, research by Finlay and Stephan (2000) found that White students who were instructed to imagine and empathize with

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Blacks' narratives of discrimination were less prejudiced than White students who were instructed to take an objective perspective. Empathy may make the impression that those members are a prototype of their group, and the positive feeling may generalize to the group (Batson et al., 1997). Accordingly, many anti-racism and prejudice interventions have been targeted to incorporate empathy to improve prosocial behavior and intergroup relations.

The component of empathy - perspective-taking - fostered feelings of injustice toward racial discrimination (Dovidio et al., 2004). However, the question arises whether empathy can also lead to prosocial behavior in organizational matters, such as members apologizing on behalf of a high-status group, which would benefit the outgroup. A group may not want to admit blame and responsibility by jeopardizing its status. Dovidio et al. (2008) found that among Whites who strongly identified with their group, empathy was associated with greater support for social change policies that would benefit Blacks, despite the costs incurred by the Whites. Empathy would likely drive people to recognize the unjust treatments as a violation of the egalitarian standard (Stephan & Finlay, 1999), and people may act (collectively) to support the victim group. Thus, the ability to empathize with those affected by the past or current misdeeds of one's group may be necessary for effective and sustainable reconciliation (Brown & Cehajic, 2008).

In an interpersonal study, levels of empathic concern and perspective-taking were positively related to a tendency to apologize (Howell et al., 2012). The question is whether this can also translate to an intergroup relation where one's group may be held accountable for the suffering of the other party. Based on the previous discussion, we expect it does; hence we hypothesize that members of the offending group will be inclined to apologize upon empathizing with the suffering of the offended party (H1).

How empathy leads the way to guilt

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While empathy affects how people choose to comply with the social norm by apologizing for their group's misbehavior, it should also affect their emotions beforehand. Negative effects are most likely to occur because identifying with a group makes it unlikely to ignore the group's actions (Bandura, 2002), even if the transgression is not committed by the individual (Doosje et al., 1998). Hence, when empathizing with another group, people may feel guilty about their own group's misbehavior, often referred to as "group-based guilt" (for a review, see Branscombe & Doosje, 2004). Guilt appears to be linked to a key component of cognitive empathy. It channels the ability to understand another's point of view and allows people to recognize another person's distress (Hoffman, 1982).

A number of interpersonal studies have been linking empathy and guilt (e.g., Howell et al., 2012; Leith & Baumeister, 1998). A similar relationship has also been observed in intergroup research. In two studies across cultures of indigenous and non-indigenous Chileans and Bosnian and Herzegovinians, Čehajić et al. (2009) found that empathy was increased by reminding the groups of their responsibilities for their past conflicts. The reverse relationship may also be in effect. In their experimental study, Zebel et al. (2009) found that perspective-taking not only increased Dutch participants' group-based guilt but also predicted compassion for group members as well their perceived accountability regarding the harm caused by the ingroup. Reminding a group of its culpability implies a violation of social norms. Members of offending group may become concern about the responsibility for the (harsh) treatment of another group (McGarty et al., 2005), and perspective-taking for the negative consequences for the group would lead to feelings of guilt. Hence, we hypothesize that increased empathy will increase feelings of group-based guilt (H2).

Empathy cues for negative meta-stereotyping

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It is likely inevitable that individuals will think about the relationships between the group when interacting with an outgroup. We might begin to think about how they view us. Hence, when engaging with an outgroup, people typically rely not only on how they stereotype the outgroup but also on how they think the outgroup stereotypically views their ingroup; this is referred to as “meta-stereotyping” (Vorauer et al., 1998; Vorauer et al., 2000). Meta-stereotyping is therefore often used as a tool for understanding and predicting how people see themselves and think about others (e.g., Vorauer et al., 1998). Extensive research has shown how people's beliefs about what others think about their group are a major determinant for how they think, feel and behave concerning the outgroup. Meta-stereotyping that is perceived as negative may make a person feel anxious (Finchilescu, 2010) and lead to a decrease in self-esteem (Gordijn, 2010), which itself may result in people distancing themselves from the outgroup (Kamans et al., 2009).

A certain amount of ‘perspective-taking’ seems to be required to activate and use these meta-stereotypes (Vorauer et al., 2000). Even an imagined interaction could lead individuals to imagine how they would be evaluated. Previous findings showed that when White Canadians empathized with a First Nation Canadian during an imagined interaction, they exhibited negative meta-stereotypes about how First Nation Canadians viewed White Canadians (e.g., prejudiced, cruel, unfair, selfish). In contrast, these negative meta-stereotypes did not occur when White Canadian participants empathized with other White Canadians (Vorauer, 1998). The positive nature of empathy appeared to interfere with their meta-stereotyping. Given the egocentric nature of people (Zuckerman et al., 1983), they are motivated to know and control whether they will be accepted or rejected by others (Leary & Downs, 1995). People taking the perspective of the outgroup may lead them to perceive what their ingroup has done to the outgroup and, accordingly, expect the outgroup to stereotype the ingroup negatively (Oldenhuis, 2007). Hence,

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we expect that increased empathy will increase negative meta-stereotyping in the offending group (H3).

How can empathy affect apology intention? The role of group-based guilt and negative meta-stereotyping

Given that empathy may lead to feelings of guilt during intergroup disputes, guilt can also become a factor in reflecting upon one's behavior and considering the impact on others. (e.g., Tangney, 1995). When it comes to past or ongoing misconduct, group-based guilt may facilitate prosocial behavior (Leith & Baumeister, 1998; McGarty et al., 2005). Several studies have found that group-based guilt predicted anti-discrimination action (Stewart et al., 2010), support for reparations related to the historical mistreatment of indigenous people (Branscombe & Doosje, 2004; Brown et al., 2008), and financial compensation on behalf of their group (Doosje et al., 2006), including personal monetary compensation (Zimmerman et al., 2011). Esses and Dovidio (2002) found that focusing on the offended group's feelings towards racial discrimination motivated people to engage in interracial contact, mediated by emotion. This affective reaction (e.g., anger and annoyance) was associated with a stronger perception of injustice (Dovidio et al., 2004). Thus, given that guilt about one's own group's misbehavior and the consequence for others is an inherently painful emotion, we may seek positive affects to alleviate it (Lewis, 1971). In addition, group-based guilt was a predictor of support for a public apology by non-Indigenous Australians for the harsh historical treatment of Indigenous Australians (McGarty et al., 2005). By inducing the offended group to empathize, group-based guilt appears to be an important agent through which empathy can be expressed into collective action, leading individuals to support mistreated groups (Zebel et al., 2009).

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Moreover, Oldenhuis (2007) found that the level of guilt was related to the way members of an ingroup judge other parties (i.e., the level of prejudice). Less prejudiced Dutch experienced high levels of group-based guilt, which influenced their expectation that their group would be viewed negatively by the outgroup (i.e., Moroccan Dutch and Indonesians). This group-based guilt would also lead one to think about how the group's transgression has affected the other party.

Following the same argument, these activated negative meta-stereotyping, which may occur due to empathy (Vorauer, 1998), can also lead people to behave prosocially. Negative meta-stereotypes can threaten one's group identity, as they are usually undesirable social traits, and members of the group may consider how to restore their group's image (Leith & Baumeister, 1998). Therefore, to be seen positively, group members would want to challenge the negative trait (Klein & Azzi, 2001) by mitigating the perception of their group. For example, three studies showed that Scots who believed an outgroup perceived them as anti-social (e.g., mean) were motivated to counter this with positive characteristics (e.g., being generous) and positive behaviors in which they helped the outgroup members (Hopkins et al., 2007). To some extent, empathy has an intrinsic character and a self-interest character (mainly in perspective-taking). The individuals may refute the negative meta stereotypes by engaging more in behaviors that are beneficial to them.

Empathy could therefore enhance people's awareness of feeling a negative emotion (e.g., guilt) and perceptions (e.g., meta-stereotyping) to a greater extent. People would want to acknowledge responsibility for the transgressions committed and change the identity threat of negative group perception. In addition, people would want to improve intergroup relations. To cope with this situation, people might use various strategies, such as showing that they act

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according to the prosocial nature of empathy and social norm by ultimately apologizing for the transgressions they have committed or are committing individually or collectively. Hence, we expected that the relation between empathy and intention to apologize is mediated by group-based and negative meta-stereotyping (H4).

Current study

The killing of George Floyd by the police in the summer of 2020 and the global protests and discussions it sparked have convinced millions of people in America and worldwide that racism and racial discrimination are still a major problem (e.g., Apata, 2020). Mistreatment of ethnic minority groups also occurs in Indonesia, where racial discrimination towards a minority group, Papuans, is still frequent. Papuans, who have a distinct physical appearance than most Indonesians, are frequently ridiculed. They face discrimination at the organizational level (e.g., Papuan students have been denied housing in some dormitories), unlawful treatment such as racial profiling by law enforcement, and restricted access to the media (Amnesty International, 2020). To date, there is no state apology issued for any wrongdoing.

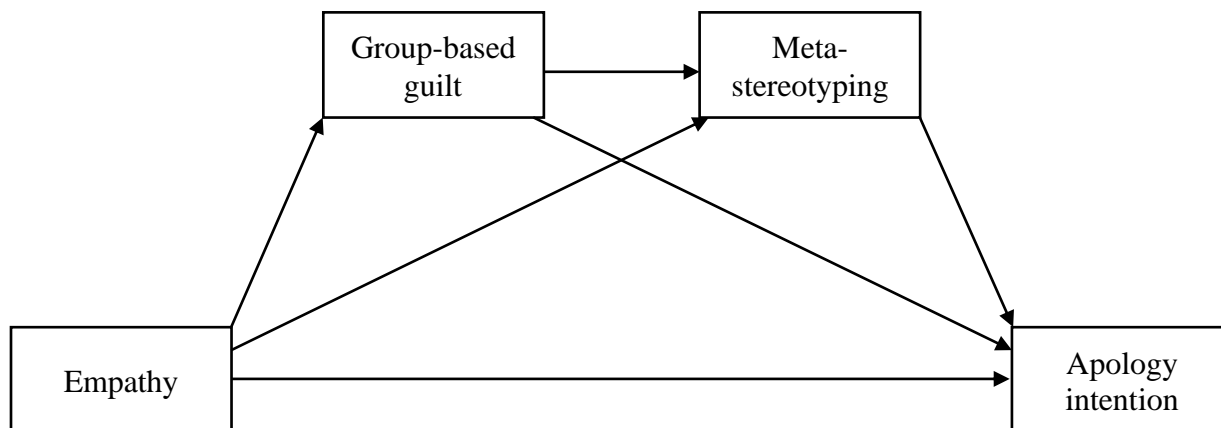
In the current study, we used this context to examine our hypotheses. That is, we examined how non-Papuan Indonesians react to discrimination of Papuans by their group and how this is influenced by inducing them to empathize with Papuans. As discussed before, it can be hypothesized that empathy predicts Indonesians' intention to apologize to Papuans compared to when empathy is absent (*Hypothesis 1*). We expected that under empathetic conditions, Indonesians would feel guilty for what their group has been doing to Papuans (*Hypothesis 2*). Empathy would also lead Indonesians to negative meta-stereotyping: concern about how their group is negatively stereotyped by Papuans (*Hypothesis 3*). All in all, we expected a mediation

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model where induced empathy, and hence group-based guilt, will result in a negative meta-stereotyping, which then leads to the intention to apologize (*Hypothesis 4*; see Figure 1)¹.

Figure 1

Serial Mediation Analysis of Hypothesis 4



Note. Hayes' (2017) serial mediation Model 6.

Method

Participants and experimental design

In the current study, a total of 726 Indonesian participants were recruited. A series of preregistered inclusion/exclusion procedures were conducted (https://aspredicted.org/2N5_4LN). The inclusion criteria included Indonesians who were a minimum of 18 years of age, and neither self-identified as ethnically Papuan nor racially Melanesian². Thus, excluding 16 participants who did not meet age requirements, 48 participants who failed the self-identification as non-

Footnotes

¹ In addition, we measured ingroup identification and prejudice as predictors to examine their influence. For example, identification with one's group was negatively related to support for public apologies (e.g., McGarty et al., 2005) and the level of prejudice affected the relationship between guilt meta-stereotypes (e.g., Oldenhuis, 2007).

² Melanesian are indigenous people from several islands in eastern Indonesia (e.g., the Indonesian provinces of Papua and Maluku).

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Papuan, and 32 participants who failed the self-identification as non-Melanesian, resulted in 630 participants.

Based on our exclusion criteria, we further excluded 184 participants who completed less than 50% of the dependent variables, 107 participants who failed at least two of three attention check items, and 12 participants who showed flat-lining. Two participants who spent less than four minutes finishing the study were excluded. Together, this resulted in a final number of 325 participants (51.1% were 24 - 26 years old; 40.9% male, 57.8% female, 0.6% others, 0.3% missing; 68% lived inside and 32% lived outside Indonesia for most of the past six months).

À priori power analysis was used to estimate the sample size using the online tool Monte Carlo Power Analysis for Indirect Effects (Schoemann et al., 2017). To have a power of .80 and detect at least $r = .25$ between all variables (small correlation in social sciences) in the analysis of two mediators in a serial mediation model, the highest cut-off sample size indicated that 304 participants were required. Thus, the final sample size of 325 participants satisfied these requirements.

The participants were randomly assigned to either the group with induced empathy or the group without induced empathy [for simplicity, ‘empathy group’ ($N = 156$) and ‘control group’ ($N = 169$), respectively]³.

Procedure and independent variable

The current study was conducted via the online survey software Qualtrics (<https://rug.eu.qualtrics.com>). Except for the prejudice measures, which used slider scales

³ Preregistered criteria aimed to exclude participants who took less than two minutes to complete the manipulation texts. However, this would allow only 84 participants to be included in the study. Therefore, it was decided to conduct further analyses with 325 participants (the shortest duration to complete the study was 4.65 minutes).

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ranging from 0 to 100, participants indicated their level of agreement on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (“not at all applicable”) to 7 (“very applicable”). All materials were translated into Indonesian and the questionnaires can be found in Appendix A.

Participants were first presented with information about the current research and the informed consent form. The participants could continue only if they agreed to the contents of the consent form; else, they were directed to the end of the study. The greeting words were then displayed on the screen. Participants were instructed to read the questions carefully and press the red arrow button in the lower right corner to advance with the study; participants could not return to the previous questionnaire. The first questionnaires to be completed were demographic information. Demographic items included age, gender, self-identification as Papuan, self-identification as Melanesian, and primary country of residence in the last six months (i.e., whether in Indonesia or outside Indonesia). Participants who failed to meet the inclusion criteria (i.e., be at least 18 years of age, self-identify as non-Papuan and non-Melanesian) were referred to the end of the study.

Next, participants completed the ingroup-identification and prejudice questionnaires for explorative reasons and to make their identity as Indonesians and the fact that there are different ethnic groups in Indonesia salient. Four items were adapted from Doosje et al. (1995) to measure self-identification, adjusted to the Indonesian context. The items were presented in the following order: “I identify with other Indonesians”, “I see myself as an Indonesian”, “I am glad to be an Indonesian”, “I feel strong ties with Indonesians” ($M = 6.03$, $SD = .99$, Cronbach's $\alpha = .82$). We measured *prejudice* using a commonly used feeling thermometer, a bounded-continuous scale. Participants indicated their feelings toward the item “how do you feel about Papuans?” by moving a slider from negative (0) to positive (100), which was then re-coded (i.e., higher score

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indicates greater prejudice; $M = 24.62$, $SD = 16.09$). Although only one item was of interest, we included filler items to hide the target item, i.e., we asked about the feelings toward five other Indonesian ethnic groups (i.e., Javanese, Batak, Dayak, Balinese, and Chinese Indonesian).

After this, Qualtrics randomly assigned participants to either the *empathy* or *control* condition. Either an empathy or a non-empathy instruction was presented based on a manipulation created by Batson et al. (2002). In the empathy group, the instruction read “Can you imagine how they feel?” and participants were instructed, “while you are reading the article, try to imagine how the Papuan students feel about what has happened and how it has affected their lives. Try to feel the full impact of what they have been through and how they feel as a result”. In the control group, the instruction read, “An interview with Papuan students” and participants were instructed “while you are reading the article, try to take an objective perspective toward what is said”. The instruction was presented on a single page and repeated at the top of the article's first page.

After this manipulation, all participants had to read an article about four Papuan students' experiences of racial discrimination, titled “Racism: It's hard to be a Papuan in Indonesia” (adapted from news articles Rumkabu, 2019; Ghaliya and “Fadli”, 2019). The article was created and designed as if written by a real online news portal Narasi (www.narasi.tv). The article covered nearly two A4 pages and was presented in two parts. Additionally, we included an image (i.e., I'm not Monkey; Baskoro, 2019). The article started with the difficulties of being a Papuan in Indonesia, such as racist and judicial abuse (after Rumkabu, 2019; Ghaliya and “Fadli”, 2019). It proceeded with the interview allegedly conducted by the news portal Narasi about four Papuans studying in different Javanese cities. In reality, the researcher conducted the interviews with three Papuan students whose details were altered. The Papuan students raised

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several issues, including racially discriminatory treatment by the institution and housing provider and bullying by classmates based on stereotypes such as being less intelligent. The article concluded that denigration and racial discrimination against Papuans were widespread in the country (adapted from online article Purwaningsih, 2020). Reading time tracking was activated to monitor how long participants read the article. In addition, information about participants' first click, last click, and the total clicks on the page was recorded (see Appendix B). The manipulation was checked at the end of the study using two items adapted from (Vorauer & Sasaki, 2009). The items were "while reading the article, to what extent did you concentrate on the being objective of the Papuan students?" and "while reading the article, to what extent did you concentrate on the feelings of the Papuan students?".

After this, the dependent measures were taken. All participants completed the same measures in the following order: empathy, group-related guilt, meta-stereotyping, apology intention, stereotyping⁴, group-based emotions⁵, and lastly, the empathy manipulation check. Three attentional check items were incorporated in the measures of apology intention, group-based guilt, and group-based emotions (i.e., 'please choose 6 as the answer, this is an attention check question').

Finally, participants were debriefed on the actual purpose of the current study and that the article was created for current research. However, we also mentioned that the cases described in the interviews still occur and that Papuans still face many injustices in various domains today. We referenced a report by Amnesty International (Amnesty International, 2020). Participants

^{4,5} Stereotyping and group-based emotion were measured for exploratory purposes only and were therefore not included in the present study's analysis.

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were then thanked for their participation in the study, which was expected to last approximately 10 to 15 minutes.

Dependent Measures

Empathy. The measure was adapted from (de Vos et al., 2018), which consisted of eight items, four of which were affective empathy and four of which were perspective-taking (i.e., cognitive empathy; $M = 5.98$, $SD = .76$, Cronbach's $\alpha = .80$). Examples of the affective empathy item were “I empathize with the Papuan students who were interviewed in the article” and for perspective-taking, “I am able to take the perspective of Papuan students who were interviewed in the article”. One item was re-coded (i.e., I could not care less for Papuan students who were interviewed in the article).

Group-based guilt. The five items of this scale were adapted from (Zebel et al., 2009) and the Collective Guilt Acceptance (Ferguson & Branscombe, 2014). The items were made relevant to the Indonesian context ($M = 5.17$, $SD = 1.43$, Cronbach's $\alpha = .92$).

Meta-stereotyping. We created a meta-stereotyping scale by including three general traits referring to warmth, morality, and competence based on Fiske et al.'s (2002) content model; this included two items for each trait, namely *honest*, *competent*, *warm*, *friendly*, *trustworthy*, and *intelligent*. For each item, participants were asked the following question: “In general, I think Papuans think other Indonesians are” A lower score indicated more negative meta-stereotyping ($M = 4.46$, $SD = 1.14$, Cronbach's $\alpha = .89$).

Apology intention. We measured apology intention by adapting three items from an interpersonal study (Howell et al., 2012), addressing apologies at the individual level (e.g., “I would be likely to apologize to Papuans about this situation”). In addition, we added three items of apology intention at the group level and perceived actual behavior during perceived contact

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(e.g., “I would support a public apology to the Papuans about this situation”; $M = 5.42$, $SD = 1.23$; Cronbach's $\alpha = .89$).

Stereotyping. To explore, stereotyping toward Papuans was measured using the same traits as in the meta-stereotyping measure, which in this case, participants had to answer for each trait whether they agreed with the following statement: “In general, I think Papuans are ... *honest, competent, warm, friendly, trustworthy, and intelligent*”. A lower score indicated more negative stereotyping ($M = 5.56$, $SD = .90$; Cronbach's $\alpha = .91$).

Group-based emotions. To explore possible emotions besides group-based guilt, we selected four different emotions, each with two items administered to the following statement: “I feel ... about the negative things other Indonesians people have been doing to Papuan”. The emotions were presented in the following order: *anger, depressed, anxious, optimistic, happy, outrage, sad, and afraid*. ($M = 5.22$, $SD = .89$, Cronbach's $\alpha = .72$), where optimistic and happy items were re-coded.

Results

Empathy manipulation check

We tested the empathy manipulation with a one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) on the two manipulation control items. There was no significant difference found between the empathy group ($M = 5.77$, $SD = .99$) compared to participants in the control group ($M = 5.75$, $SD = 1.09$) in the extent to which they concentrated on the feelings of Papuan students when reading the article, $F(1,320) = .038$, $p = .845$, $\eta^2 = .0001$. Similarly, participants in the control group ($M = 5.61$, $SD = 1.12$) did not differ from the empathy group ($M = 5.44$, $SD = 1.18$) in their report of

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reading the article objectively, $F(1,320) = 1.66, p = .198, \eta^2 = .005$. This implies that the manipulation of empathy failed⁶.

Testing the hypotheses

Despite the lack of a difference on the manipulation check of empathy between the two groups, we analyzed the first three hypotheses using ANOVA. We found that participants in the empathy group ($M = 5.20, SD = 1.40$) did not differ significantly in their *group-based guilt* from the control group ($M = 5.14, SD = 1.45$), $F(1, 323) = .13, p = .721, \eta_p^2 = .0004$. Thus, the current study does not support the hypothesis that induced empathy predicts greater group-based guilt. A significant difference was also not found in the effect of empathy on the *negative-meta-stereotyping* between the empathy group ($M = 4.40, SD = 1.15$) and the control group ($M = 4.52, SD = 1.14$); $F(1, 323) = .97, p = .323, \eta_p^2 = .003$. Participants in the empathy group did not exhibit negative meta-stereotyping more than the control group. Similarly, the hypothesis of empathy predicting *intention to apologize* was not observed, that is the empathy group ($M = 5.49, SD = 1.22$) was not more or less likely to apologize than the control group ($M = 5.35, SD = 1.24$); $F(1, 323) = 1.06, p = .304, \eta_p^2 = .0003$.

Next, we analyzed hypothesis 4 by means of sequential mediation using PROCESS macro v4.0 regression path analysis (Model 6, Hayes, 2017). In line with the ANOVAs, the direct effects of empathy were non-significant; that is direct effect of empathy on group-based guilt ($b = -.06, SE = .16, p = .721$), on meta-stereotyping ($b = .13, SE = .13, p = .295$), as well on

⁶ We further examined the ineffectiveness of empathy manipulation. For instance, by analysing attrition, as those who would benefit most from the manipulation might withdraw from the study. However, the sample comparison was highly disproportionate. In addition, testing for manipulation by including the excluded participants (e.g., those who failed the attention tests) did not yield significant results ($ps > .05$).

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the intention to apologize ($b = .11$, $SE = .10$, $p = .305$). There was a significant direct relation between group-based guilt and meta-stereotyping, but unexpectedly, it was positive rather than negative ($b = .12$, $SE = .04$, $p = .005$). This suggests that participants who felt more group-based guilt were more likely to feel positively (rather than negatively) stereotyped. Further, group-based guilt was found to have a direct relation with the intention to apologize ($b = .56$, $SE = .04$, $p < .001$), suggesting that greater guilt evoked higher intentions to apologize. However, the direct relation between meta-stereotyping and apology intention was not found ($b = -.01$, $SE = .05$, $p = .774$).

Further, concerning the test of the indirect path from empathy via guilt and meta stereotyping to apology, we found no support. That is, the CIs contained zero, meaning that the indirect path between empathy and intention to apologize through group-based guilt and meta-stereotyping was not significant. Hence, we found no support for hypothesis 4, likely due to the failure to induce empathy.

Exploring the model with measured empathy

Given that the empathy manipulation has not taken effect, we decided to explore the results by testing our hypotheses again, but this time with the measure of empathy that was included right after the manipulation. Before testing the hypotheses, we first checked whether empathy manipulation influenced this measure of empathy. Similar to the other measures, no effect was found on the empathy measure; participants in the empathy group did not report to empathize differently ($M = 5.98$, $SD = .79$) compared to those in the control group ($M = 5.98$, $SD = .74$), $F(1,323) = .001$, $p = .981$, $\eta^2 = .000002$. We further explored the possibility of

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differential effects between cognitive empathy and affective empathy⁷. The results revealed neither a significant effect on cognitive empathy [$F(1,323) = .01, p = .922, \eta^2 = .00003$] nor on affective empathy [$F(1,323) = .016, p = .876, \eta^2 = .00007$] between the two groups. Hence, we decided to proceed using the measure of empathy (instead of manipulated empathy) to test our hypotheses.

First, we examined the correlations between measured empathy and the variables of the hypotheses. There was indeed a positive relationship between measured empathy and intention to apologize ($r = .65, p < .001$). Measured empathy was also positively correlated with greater group-based guilt ($r = .37, p < .001$), which was found to be the case for both cognitive empathy ($r = .25, p < .001$), and affective empathy ($r = .40, p < .001$). Though the measured empathy was not significantly correlated with meta-stereotyping ($r = .02, p = .780$), these results indicate a certain degree of support for the current research hypothesis that there is a relationship between Indonesians' level of empathy, their group-based feelings of guilt and tendency to apologize to Papuans.

We also examined the correlation between our measures and the two explorative predictor variables, which indicated that participants who strongly identified as Indonesian scored higher in empathy with Papuans ($r = .17, p = .003$), were more likely to experience group-based guilt, had less negative meta-stereotypes, and were more likely to apologize. In contrast,

⁷ To explore subscales, factor analysis was performed using the principal components. Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin's measure of sampling adequacy indicated that the sample was adequate ($KMO = .84$). It was found that all four affective empathy items and two of the cognitive empathy items loaded on factor 1 and the other two cognitive empathy items loaded on factor 2. Nevertheless, the theoretical difference between cognitive and affective empathy was taken into account in generating the subscale in the current study (e.g., de Vos et al., 2018; see Table 3)

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participants who were prejudiced against Papuans scored lower in empathy with Papuans ($r = -.29, p < .001$) and were less likely to experience group-based guilt, had more negative meta-stereotypes and were less likely to apologize. Prejudice and identification correlate negatively with each other ($r = -.28, p < .001$).

Table 1*Descriptive Statistics and Correlations for Study Variables*

Variable	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Ingroup Identification	325	6.03	.99	-					
2. Prejudice	323	24.62	16.09	-.28**	-				
3. Empathy	325	5.98	.76	.17*	-.29**	-			
4. Group-based guilt	325	5.17	1.43	.27**	-.19**	.37**	-		
5. Meta-stereotyping	325	4.46	1.14	.29**	-.23**	.02	.15**	-	
6. Apology intention	325	5.42	1.23	.21**	-.27**	.47**	.65**	.09	-

Note. ** $p < .001$, * $p < .05$.

Next, we tested the sequential mediation model hypothesis using the Process regression tool (Hayes, 2017; Model 6). The direct relation between measured empathy and group-based guilt ($b = .69, SE = .10, p < .001$) and intention to apologize ($b = .43, SE = .07, p < .001$) showed to be statistically significant. However, the predicted sequential mediation model, according to which measured empathy predicts a higher apology intention via group-based guilt and meta-stereotyping was not found [IE = $-.0004, SE = .01, 95\% CI = (-.01, .01)$]. Yet, measured empathy

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did predict higher apology intentions through group-based guilt [IE = .33, SE = .06, 95% CI = (.22, .44)], (see Table 2 and Figure 2)⁸

⁸ We also preregistered to explore Hayes' (2017) moderated mediation Model 85 (i.e., two separate analyses) with prejudice and group identification as moderators on all paths. Since manipulated empathy was absent, this was not investigated further.

Table 2

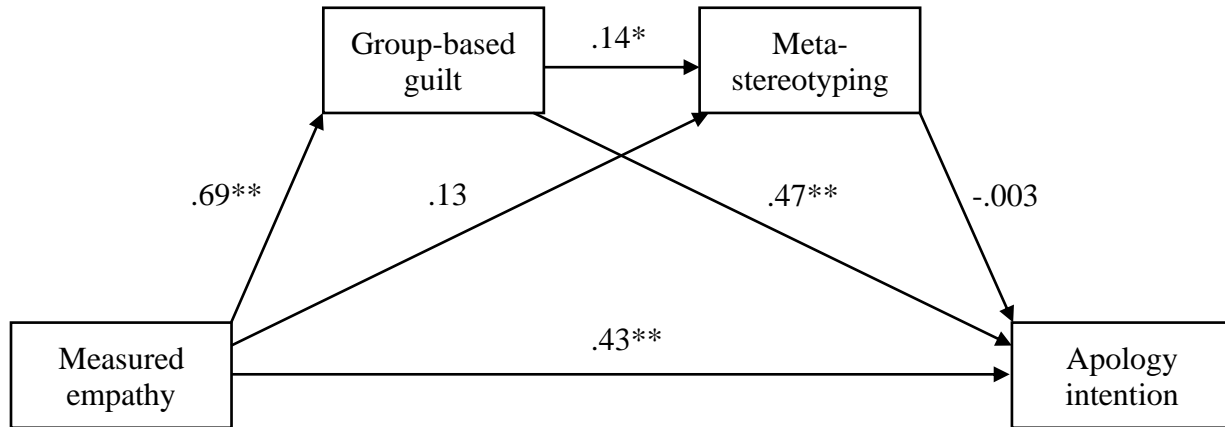
Results of serial mediation model 6

	<u>to group-based guilt</u>		<u>to meta-stereotyping</u>		<u>to apology intention</u>		Effect	BootSE	Bootstrap 95% CI
	β (SE)	Bootstrapping 95% CI	β (SE)	Bootstrapping 95% CI	β (SE)	Bootstrapping 95% CI			
<u>Direct effect</u>									
Measured empathy	.69 (.10)	[.50, .88]***	-.07 (.09)	[-.25, .10]	.43 (.07)	[.29, .56]***			
Group-based guilt			.14 (.05)	[.04, .23]**	.47 (.04)	[.40, .55]***			
Meta-stereotyping					-.004 (.04)	[-.09, .08]			
<u>Indirect effect</u>									
Total							.33	.06	[.22, .44]
X -> M1 -> Y							.33	.06	[.22, .44]*
X -> M2 -> Y							.003	.01	[-.01, .01]
X -> M1 -> M2 -> Y							-.0004	.01	[-.01, .01]

Note. *** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * p is unknown.

Figure 2

Explored Serial Mediation Analysis



Note. Hayes' (2017) serial mediation model 6. Association between the measured empathy and the apology intention through group-based guilt and meta-stereotyping as mediators. ** $p < .001$, * $p < .05$.

Discussion

The purpose of the present study was to examine the circumstances under which Indonesians, as members of a perpetrator group, may decide to apologize to Papuan Indonesians for the offenses committed by their group. We expected that empathizing with the victim group's suffering might lead ingroup members to feel guilty and believe that the outgroup is likely to have negative stereotypes about them and eventually be willing to apologize.

Empathy was induced by instructing Indonesians to imagine how the Papuan victim group felt about their experience of racial discrimination and compared this to a condition in which people were instructed to stay objective (based on Batson et al., 2002; Vorauer & Sasaki, 2009). However, the manipulation did not increase empathy as intended. Likewise, no effects of the manipulation were found on guilt about the ingroup's behavior, meta-stereotyping, and intention to apologize as we predicted. In other words, we found no support for our prediction that imagining the victim group's feelings would lead them to feel some degree of accountability

for what their group did to the victim group, perceived to be viewed negatively and hence act prosocially by intending to apologize.

As we had a good measure of empathy, we decided to explore whether our predictions would be supported when looking at measured empathy rather than induced empathy. Some evidence was found to support our predictions. Higher reported empathy was correlated with higher intention to apologize and higher group-based guilt. Higher group-based guilt was also found to correlate with the intention to apologize. Hence, regarding the hypothesized sequential mediation model, a simple mediation model of the measured empathy to intention to apologize pathway via group-based guilt was revealed. This evidence suggested that empathy was related to prosocial behavior in offering an apology for the racial discrimination that other Indonesians had perpetrated against Papuans, facilitated by heightened feelings of guilt. Contrary to our prediction, a direct effect from mediation model analysis and correlation also showed that group-based guilt was associated with positive rather than negative meta-stereotyping. Only a relationship between our measure of empathy and meta-stereotyping and the relationship between meta-stereotyping and intention to apologize was not found, which may indicate why negative meta-stereotyping did not mediate the relationship between measured empathy and intention to apologize.

Theoretical and practical implications

Together our research obtained some interesting findings, although they should be met with caution given that our manipulation did not work, and we had to rely on measured empathy.

First, the relations that we found are consistent with previous research and extend this as well. That is, the relation between group-based guilt and intention to apologize is consistent with previous interpersonal research (Howell et al., 2012). This means that perpetrators themselves

who feel empathy for their victims can feel guilty and hence apologize and people who are members of a group who did not personally commit the transgression (e.g., Doosje et al., 1998). Second, the relation between group-based guilt and apology also extends previous research, where not only guilt is related to support for a state apology (Martinovic et al., 2021; McGarty et al., 2005; Zebel et al., 2009) but also an individual's proclivity to apologize. To some extent, it seems that guilt is a cognitive dissonance that could be remediated by offering an apology (Páez, 2010). Apology hence may not only be a self-regulatory response to feelings of guilt (Howell et al., 2012) but is also a social norm that guilt means an offense has been committed. Therefore, individuals may believe that reparations should be made (McGarty et al., 2005). Third, the positive relationship between empathy and intention to apologize also extends the earlier intergroup research (van Assche et al., 2021; Brown et al., 2008). Empathy seems to make members of the offending group focus on the offense and its consequences, including the damaged relationship they wish to restore. Finally, the relationship between empathy and apology through group-based guilt is consistent with previous research. That is, the perspective-taking aspect of empathy affected members of the transgressing group to support reparations (including personal and state apologies), which was mediated by increases in group-based guilt (Zebel et al., 2009⁹). It appears that empathy as other-oriented prosocial behavior leads members of offending groups to acknowledge the wrong committed (Stephan & Finlay, 1999), which, via the increasing guilt, encourages individuals intending to support the victim group by apologizing.

⁹ It is noteworthy that the analysis was a serial mediation analysis. In the first study, the mediation was the interaction between perspective-taking and group identification to reparative support via group-based guilt. Whereas the second study observed the influence between perspective-taking and reparative support via ingroup responsibility and group-based guilt.

Interestingly, we did not obtain the predicted relations of meta-stereotyping with empathy and intention to apologize. Regarding the former, perhaps we did not find this because the participants may have been less likely to adopt the perspective of an outgroup as they belong to a dominant or a powerful group (Galinsky et al., 2006). According to Lammers et al. (2008), this may have motivated them less to form an accurate picture of others, hence lowering the chance of negative meta-stereotyping even if they stated that they empathize with Papuans.

We also did not find a relation between meta-stereotyping and apology. Indonesians who thought they were seen negatively by Papuans did not always intend to apologize. Perhaps some people with negative meta-stereotypes felt offended by these negative expectations rather than feeling inclined to try to change this image. This suggests that there might be a moderator. For example, negative meta-stereotyping might pose a group image threat but not convince those who do not want to change the status quo by apologizing, especially for members of a dominant group (Mifune et al., 2019). Future research could investigate further relation between negative meta-stereotyping and offering an apology distinguishing those who feel offended and those who feel they need to repair their image by offering an apology.

Interestingly group-based guilt was not related to the expectation to be seen negatively by the outgroup. Instead, we found the opposite, inconsistent with previous research (Oldenhuis, 2007). However, Figueiredo et al. (2010) found something similar as we did. They found that a positive meta-perception of Dutch participants predicted lower levels of group-based guilt towards Indonesians. The question is why. Figueiredo et al. (2010) argued in line with Baumeister et al. (1994) that guilt is most common in positive relationships, which may be the case in the social setting of the current research. That is, the negative correlation found in the current study between prejudice and guilt suggests that those who feel guilty are more likely to

feel positive about Papuans (Stewart et al., 2010; Moyer-Guse et al., 2019). Less prejudiced individuals may oppose the negative meta-stereotypes because they see them as “not true” compared to their expectations (Oldenhuis, 2007). Hence, less prejudiced Indonesians seem to expect that their positive perception of Papuans is reciprocated, as they have more positive meta-stereotypes (e.g., Gordijn et al., 2008). In other words, those who felt more positive about Papuans were also feeling guiltier and expected to be seen more positively. Future research could further explore the relation between empathy, guilt, and meta-stereotyping and understand when the relationship between guilt and negative meta-stereotyping is positive or negative as a function of empathy and liking of the outgroup.

In addition, those who strongly identified with Indonesian reported higher empathy, higher group-based guilt (consistent with Zebel et al., 2009 findings), but lower negative meta-stereotyping (consistent with Klein & Azzi, 2001 findings), and higher intention to apologize (inconsistent with Zebel et al., 2009 and Martinovic et al., 2021 findings). It is possible that high identifying Indonesians indeed see a positive relationship with Papuans and have positive attitudes toward them; hence identification is negatively correlated with prejudice and negative meta-stereotyping. Therefore, a high identifier would be more likely to apologize to maintain a positive relationship.

The current findings suggested several practical implications that could contribute to the understanding of intergroup relations. One important finding is that empathy increases the likelihood of feeling guilty and apology intention. This could be of use to, for example, policymakers, who can use the potential positive influence of empathy to mitigate transgressions. This may likewise improve trust in institutions and reliability. Furthermore, the media can adopt

the perspective of the wronged group in order to establish societal norms that encourage collective action.

Limitations and future directions

There are certain limitations of the current study that could be addressed in future studies. First, we had to exclude many participants based on our preregistered criteria. This may have left us with participants who already had high empathy levels. As a result, inducing even more empathy may have been difficult, leading to the failure of this manipulation. Hence, participants in the control group continued to empathize even though we instructed them to be objective. Combined with this, we may not be highlighting the control group enough in terms of repetition and length to read the article “objectively”. However, we would not initially want them to be objective, as Vorauer and Sasaki (2009) have done, but relatively neutral, as we did not want our effects to be caused by objectivity but by empathy. Perhaps findings in the literature were not caused by empathy but rather by objectivity inductions. Therefore, future empathy studies should further consider the relation between neutral, empathy, and objectivity inductions. The fact that we had to rely on measured empathy rather than on manipulated empathy prevents us from inferring causality from the current study. Future studies should investigate this further in an experimental study.

Further, the fact that we did not obtain evidence for our predictions concerning meta-stereotyping may have been caused by our measurement of meta-stereotyping. Perhaps the traits that we used to measure how Indonesians think about Papuans and stereotype them were too general. These general traits were based on the stereotype content model by Fiske et al. (2002). We did not conduct a pilot study to determine Indonesians' specific meta stereotypes about

Papuans. Therefore, future studies should first conduct a pilot study to identify the specific traits that are relevant.

Conclusion

The present study aimed to study conditions under which a perpetrator group acts prosocially. More specifically, we examined the role of empathy in the intention to apologize for one's group's behavior. There has been extensive research on empathy but limited research on the dynamics relating to the relation between empathy and apology in an intergroup setting. We found some evidence that Indonesians who empathize with Papuan Indonesians, a group that is often discriminated against, are more likely to feel group-based guilt and intend to support an apology on behalf of their group. Unexpectedly, they were not more likely to also exhibit negative meta-stereotyping, that is, perceiving that they are viewed negatively by Papuans. Rather the guiltier they felt, the more they expected to be seen in a positive light by Papuans.

Overall, current findings suggest that empathy plays a role in feelings of guilt and therefore deciding to apologize for the group's behavior. This could be of interest to policymakers and politicians, given the growing number of voices calling for an apology.

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Table 3*Factor Analysis of the Empathy Measure*

Empathy item	Factor loading	
	1	2
Factor 1: Cognitive Empathy		
2. I am able to take the perspective of Papuan students who were interviewed in the article	.75	.25
3. I completely understand the reaction of Papuan students who were interviewed in the article	.73	.17
6. I can easily place myself in the shoes of Papuan students who were interviewed in the article	.35	.56
8. I don't find it difficult in this case to take the perspective of Papuan students who were interviewed in the article	.11	.81
Factor 2: Affective Empathy		
1. I empathize with the Papuan students who were interviewed in the article.	.86	-.12
4. I feel compassion for Papuan students who were interviewed in the article.	.88	.05
5. I feel sorry for Papuan students who were interviewed in the article.	.71	.16
7. I could not care less for Papuan students who were interviewed in the article (R)	.64	-.49

Note. $N = 325$. The number preceding empathy items corresponds to the order in which they were presented in the questionnaire.

The extraction method was principal component with an oblique rotation (Direct Oblimin with Kaiser Normalization) based on an Eigenvalue greater than one. Reverse-scores items are denoted with an (R). Factor loadings above .30 are in bold.

Appendix A
List of questionnaires

Item	Questions
Ingroup Identification 1	I identify with other Indonesians
Ingroup Identification 2	I see myself as an Indonesian
Ingroup Identification 3	I am glad to be an Indonesian
Ingroup Identification 4	I feel strong ties with Indonesians
Prejudice 1	How do you feel about the Javanese people?
Prejudice 2	How do you feel about the Batak people?
Prejudice 3	How do you feel about the Dayak people?
Prejudice 4	How do you feel about the Papuan?
Prejudice 5	How do you feel about the Balinese people?
Prejudice 6	How do you feel about the Chinese-Indonesian?
Empathy 1	I empathize with the Papuan students who were interviewed in the article.
Empathy 2	I am able to take the perspective of Papuan students who were interviewed in the article
Empathy 3	I completely understand the reaction of Papuan students who were interviewed in the article
Empathy 4	I feel compassion for Papuan students who were interviewed in the article.
Empathy 5	I feel sorry for Papuan students who were interviewed in the article.
Empathy 6	I can easily place myself in the shoes of Papuan students who were interviewed in the article
Empathy 7	I could not care less for Papuan students who were interviewed in the article
Empathy 8	I don't find it difficult in this case to take the perspective of Papuan students who were interviewed in the article
Group-based guilt 1	I feel guilty about the negative things other Indonesians people have been doing to Papuans

Group-based guilt 2	I believe that I should repair the damage caused to Papuan by other Indonesians
Group-based guilt 3	I can easily feel guilty for the bad outcomes brought about by other Indonesians to Papuans
Group-based guilt 4	The behavior of the other Indonesian toward Papuan makes me easily feel guilty
Group-based guilt 5	I feel guilty when I am confronted with the negative things the other Indonesians have done to Papuan
Meta-stereotyping 1	In general, I think that Papuans think that other Indonesians are honest
Meta-stereotyping 2	In general, I think that Papuans think that other Indonesians are competent
Meta-stereotyping 3	In general, I think that Papuans think that other Indonesians are warm
Meta-stereotyping 4	In general, I think that Papuans think that other Indonesians are kind
Meta-stereotyping 5	In general, I think that Papuans think that other Indonesians are trustworthy
Meta-stereotyping 6	In general, I think that Papuans think that other Indonesians are intelligent
Intention to apologize 1	I would be likely to apologize to Papuan about this situation
Intention to apologize 2	I personally think that Indonesia should apologize to Papuan in this situation
Intention to apologize 3	I would feel better if I were to apologize to Papuan about this situation
Intention to apologize 4	I would support a public apology to the Papuans about this situation
Intention to apologize 5	It would be important to apologize to Papuan about this situation
Intention to apologize 6	If there was a chance in meeting group of Papuan Indonesians, I would want to apologize on behalf of the other Indonesians.
Stereotyping 1	In general, I think that Papuans are honest
Stereotyping 2	In general, I think that Papuans are competent
Stereotyping 3	In general, I think that Papuans are warm

Stereotyping 4	In general, I think that Papuans are kind
Stereotyping 5	In general, I think that Papuans are trustworthy
Stereotyping 6	In general, I think that Papuans are intelligent
Group-based emotion 1	I feel anger about the negative things other Indonesians people have been doing to Papuans
Group-based emotion 2	I feel depressed about the negative things other Indonesians people have been doing to Papuans
Group-based emotion 3	I feel anxious about the negative things other Indonesians people have been doing to Papuans
Group-based emotion 4	I feel optimistic about the negative things other Indonesians people have been doing to Papuans
Group-based emotion 5	I feel happy about the negative things other Indonesians people have been doing to Papuans
Group-based emotion 6	I feel outrage about the negative things other Indonesians people have been doing to Papuans
Group-based emotion 7	I feel sad about the negative things other Indonesians people have been doing to Papuans
Group-based emotion 8	I feel afraid about the negative things other Indonesians people have been doing to Papuans
Empathy manipulation check 1	While reading the article, to what extent did you concentrate on being objective?
Empathy manipulation check 2	While reading the article, to what extent did you concentrate on the feelings of the Papuan students

Note. Untranslated English version of the questionnaire.

Even Gloria Rumagesan, 28 from Kaimana, who is half Javanese, faced unpleasant and sometimes even hostile racist treatment. "Because my skin is a bit whiter than most Papuans, I was at one point told, 'Why are you whiter? Why are you beautiful?' I can't imagine how Indonesian beauty standards affect Papuans, especially girls. In my part-time job in a restaurant, my employer told me that his friend said, 'Are you sure you want to hire a Papuan?' She might interrupt the customer and cause problems.' I also overheard a customer talking about me coming from eastern Indonesia.

Another student from Papua also shared her experience of life in Jakarta. Olivia Heremba, a 20-year-old from Timika, is studying pharmacy at a prestigious university. "In high school, my curly hair got unwanted attention. And my friend from Jayapura was asked if there was no air conditioning in Papua because her skin was so dark. I don't remember the exact event, but I think this accumulation of ridicule and bullying made my friend drop out of school. While I was at university, unfortunately, the discrimination still continued. My professor asked me how I got into the university as a Papuan student. The stigma that Papuans are stupid can really hurt you. I also remember that after the Papuan demonstration in 2019 in Surabaya ago. I was advised to be careful when I go out of the house. I remember that many Papuan students even moved to a new accommodation where they felt safer."

Matus Mulait, a 23 years old student from Puncak Jaya and in his final year of studying architecture at a private university in Surabaya, also has experiences with prejudice, sometimes expressed in subtle but hostile ways. He told us how he was turned away when he was looking for an apartment. "It was frustrating that in the call they said there was a room available, but when I got there and they saw me in person, I was rejected and they said there was a miscommunication and the room was not available. This kind of thing happens a lot with Papuan students. I also remember a Papuan friend walking by a group of kids that said, 'Hi monkey, where are you going' That was not okay at all. I really hope this kind of racism will stop. .

The term "monkey" may be considered a common swear word, but the word "monkey" is often used with Papuans and has become similar to the N-word for blacks in the United States. "I am not a monkey" became one of the common signs at the protest after the Surabaya incident.

The above stories are not new to the Papuan community. This prejudice and racial discrimination often impacts Papuans' self-esteem and confidence when interacting with the non-Papuan community. Sadly, because many incidents often do not make the headlines, there is little discussion or state intervention to address this issue.



Note. Untranslated English version of the article.