Analysis of Emotional Responses Triggered by Video Footage from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission

Je'nine Smith
SMTJEN011
Department of Psychology
University of Cape Town
28 October 2010

Supervisor: Professor Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela

Word Count: 9988

Abstract: 146

Main Body: 9842

ABSTRACT

Affective responses to human suffering have recently become the focus of intensive scientific research, and empathy is at the core of these studies. Much of the research on empathy has been theoretical, experimental, or based purely on the scoring of responses to questionnaires. Very few studies have focused on the details of the actual process through which empathy is achieved. In this study, the emotional responses triggered in observers watching video images that depict the pain and suffering of others is described in detail. Using video clips of scenes from the public hearings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in South Africa, the study analyzed the detailed emotional responses to the TRC video footage that shows the distress of families testifying about the gross human rights violations they suffered. The analysis used qualitative methods to illuminate the complex dimensions of affective responses to human suffering.

Keywords: Affective responses; Empathy; Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), Video Footage

ANALYSIS OF EMOTIONAL RESPONSES TRIGGERED BY VIDEO FOOTAGE FROM THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION

The ways in which humans respond empathically in relation to others has been a topic of exploration for hundreds of years (Preston & de Waal, 2002). The basis for this is the acknowledgement that an important aspect of our interpersonal lives as human beings is the production, interpretation and response to emotional cues. The ability to perceive these cues enables the forming and maintaining of social bonds. This relational aspect of empathy has been a central motivation for the present research, which seeks to explore empathy in the context of the viewing of images that depict events that took place during apartheid South Africa. Empathy has been described as the ability to step into the shoes of another person, and to experience and understand what the other person feels (Decety & Lamm, 2006).

Decety and Lamm (2006) have argued that the capacity for empathic responses to others is "more than the simple yoking of perceptions of the self and the other" (p. 1152). The capacity for empathic engagement with others inspires an increased affiliation with them in a way that fosters positive relationships. Empathy has been linked to a range of pro-social behaviours, including positive interpersonal relationships and altruism (Hoffman, 1982; as cited in Decety & Lamm, 2006).

Ruby and Decety (2004) have also examined a range of other "social emotions" associated with empathy, such as guilt and shame. They found that there are situations in which the response of empathy may induce emotions such as guilt, shame, pride. Other scholars (Hoffman, 2000; Strayer & Roberts, 2004) have also added anger and resentment as part of the repertoire of emotional responses that may be evoked through empathic engagement with others. Drawing insights from these findings, in this study we were interested in exploring the range of emotions that video footage of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) would evoke in a racially diverse group of adult participants'. We were interested in exploring empathy and the "social emotions" that it may be associated with among different racial groups in the context of images from the TRC process.

Empathy has been perceived as the solution to understanding the human individual as a unique social being (Decety & Lamm, 2006). The experience of empathy often (but not always) results in sympathy (concern for another based on the apprehension or comprehension of the

other's emotional state or condition), although it also can lead to empathic over-arousal (or personal distress, an aversive, self-focused emotional reaction to the apprehension or comprehension of another's emotional state or condition).

LITERATURE REVIEW

The focus of this literature review is on the range of studies conducted on empathy in recent years. The review of the literature will attempt to show the range of areas that has been the focus of psychology research on the concept of empathy over the past few decades.

The word "empathy" originates from the German term "Einfühlung", which was coined by the aesthetician Theodor Lipps in the early twentieth century (Keen, 2006; Lipps, 2003, as cited in Preston & de Waal, 2002). "Einfühlung" referred to the process of appreciation of art and of being "moved by aesthetic perceptions" (Black, 2004, P. 583). The term was described as "feeling one's way into" an art object (Titchener, 1909; cited in Keen, 2006, p. 209). The meaning of the concept of Einfühlung was later introduced in psychology by the American experimental psychologist Edward Bremner Titchener, who translated the term into "empathy" and described empathy as feeling "into another person" (Keen, 2006, P. 209). Titchener (1915, cited in Keen, 2006, p. 209) explained: "We have a natural tendency to feel ourselves into what we perceive or imagine". He argued that when people encounter sadness, oppression, and a sense of danger in another person, there is a tendency to "feel" these emotions in the self. Since its introduction in psychology, the concept of empathy has been developed in some detail within the discipline of professional psychology. Most notably the clinical psychologists Heinz Kohut (1971, cited in Black, 2004) and Carl Rogers (Rogers, 1975) are considered to have played a pioneering role in the study of the phenomenon of empathy.

More recently, the study of empathy has been given a central place in neuro-scientific research, and the literature discussing the biological basis of the emotional expression of empathy has proliferated over the past ten years. Baron-Cohen (2005, p. 5), who is one of the leading scholars in this emerging field, describes empathy as the process of "spontaneously and naturally tuning into the other person's thoughts and feelings ...it is about reading the emotional atmosphere between people". This idea of "tuning into another" persons feelings is central in most definitions of empathy.

Neuro-scientific research has identified "mirror neurons" as central to empathic responses (Gallese, 2005a; as cited in Jones, 2005, p. 2) Vittorio Gallese proposed that "mirror neurons" form part of the many mechanisms involved in the recognition and the understanding of others, which forms the basis of empathy.

Psychological research has distinguished between cognitive and emotional aspects of empathy namely, a) that empathy consists of a cognitive element, which refers to "knowing" what the other individual is feeling and; b) that empathy has an emotional element, which involves "feeling" what the other individual is feeling (Soto & Levenson, 2009, p. 875). Psychological scholars have embroidered on the cognitive processes, for example, Ruby and Decety, (2004, p. 988) describes empathy as "perspective taking", a definition of empathy that is mainly based on the cognitive processes of empathy.

However, others have focused on the emotional aspects of the term, and describe empathy as, "an emotional reaction characterized by such feelings as compassion, tenderness, soft heartedness, and sympathy" (Decety and Lamm 2006, p. 1146). This definition is useful for understanding the emotional component of the concept, because it highlights empathy as *felt* and marries the feeling of empathy with inner qualities that come to the fore during the process. While some of the literature suggests an intertwining of the cognitive and emotional dimensions of empathy (Gallese, 2007), there are studies that have focused on investigating either one of these processes.

The majority of studies focusing on empathy have been experimental. However, empathy is a complex phenomenon and requires an in-depth exploration in order to capture the ways in which this emotion is experienced in real-life settings.

The consideration of empathy is of particular importance to the South African social and political context. South Africa is a country battling to neutralize crime and numerous injustices. Empathy, as a "social emotion," has been found to contribute to positive inter-group relations (Ruby & Decety, 2004, p. 988; Tangney & Dearing, 2002). An author who has contributed to the value of empathy within inter-group relations is Susan Keen (2006, p. 208), who shows that "empathic concern" is an essential capacity that leads to pro-social and altruistic outcomes. This is an important reflection in the context of transformation in the South African context.

I am interested in how witnessing the pain of people of a different group in the context of political conflict in South Africa will trigger empathy in participants belonging to another group. Studies have shown that there is a relationship between empathic response and similarity among group members (Hoffman, 1982; as cited in Decety and Lamm 2006; Keen, 2006). Qualitative research will therefore, enable me to capture the real life experiences of the social and political dimensions within South Africa.

METHOD OF RESEARCH

Methodological Orientation

The intention of this research was to explore the nature and range of emotional responses experienced by participants, while viewing video footage that depicts the suffering and pain of others. Due to the nature of the exploration, the research method used in this study was informed by the guidelines of qualitative research, specifically the phenomenological case study approach. The distinction made above as phenomenological research, refers to a specific type of qualitative research, with its main focus on the "experienced meaning" (Valle & Halling, 1984, p. 44).

This approach therefore, endeavours to capture the lived experiences from a subjective perspective and focuses on how individuals attribute meaning to these lived experiences. Marshall & Rossman, (2011, p.91) assert that "human actions cannot be understood unless the meanings that humans assign to them is understood." Therefore, a key distinguishing feature of the phenomenological research approach is that the researcher attempts to gain an understanding by occupying the frame of reference of the participant (Cresswell, 1998; Silverman, 1997). As a result, the participant is given greater authority and privileged as the research focus.

Understanding the range of emotional responses to the pain and suffering of others, and the meaning participants' attribute to their responses, requires a methodological approach that will yield rich descriptive data. The focus of the phenomenological case study approach on the subjective experience of research participants is suited to the topic of my study.

Aims

The aim of this study is to explore the affective dimension of responses, in particular the empathic responses experienced by a racially diverse adult population as they viewed and reflected upon footage depicting the pain and suffering of victims who appeared before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) of South Africa. The study will explore three questions:

- 1. What is the range of emotions experienced by participants in response to TRC video images depicting the suffering and pain of others?
- 2. Are there any qualitative differences in the way in which black, white and coloured participants respond to the TRC video material?
- 3. What are the "embodied" aspects of participants' emotional responses to the video clips, and how might these insights be applied to explore new avenues of inquiry to deepen understanding of how the phenomenon of empathy is experienced?

Research Design

This research explores a diverse group of adults' experiences of empathy in response to the TRC video material. In order to capture individuals' experiences necessitates a qualitative approach. Using a qualitative approach of semi-structured questionnaire interviews as a main method of data collection enabled this process of exploration. This qualitative design facilitated the production of knowledge of the participants' unique lived experiences and provided an unhindered methodological guide to explore the psychological phenomena of empathy in relation to other emotions (Willig, 2008).

The focus on the selection of participants' was purposive because I was interested in data that would address the questions I have posed in this study, particularly participants' who provided the best descriptions of the emotional experiences related to empathy. Marshall, (1996, p. 523) asserts that qualitative researchers' often have to "recognize that some informants are 'richer' than others and that these people are more likely to provide insight and understanding for the researcher." This method of sampling is consistent with the phenomenological approach that seeks to deepen understanding of the experience of a particular phenomenon.

Because I am interested in participants' first- hand accounts of their emotional responses to TRC video footage and the meanings constructed regarding these responses I utilized a phenomenological interpretive case study approach to formulate my understanding of the participants' experiences from their own perspective. In addition, this approach to analysis enabled me to take into account the different contexts from which these meanings are constructed. According to Willig, (2008, p. 57) the interpretive approach to analysis in this way captures "the quality and texture of individual experience."

Selection of Participants

The process of selection occurred at two levels relevant to the two phases of the study. The first phase of selection of participants was based on recruitment through advertisement in a local newspaper for the Southern Suburbs. Thirty- eight participants were recruited for Phase 1 of the study, in which participants were required to complete qualitative questionnaires. Participants for Phase 2 of the study were selected more purposively, because this phase of the data collection involved an in-depth examination of themes that emerged from participants' responses in Phase 1. A detailed description of the phases of data collection is presented in the next section.

Participants: Phase 1

Phase 1 of the selection process involved the placing of an advertisement (see Appendix A) in a local newspaper called the *Southern Suburbs Tatler*. We targeted a mature group of people in order to identify those who had experienced apartheid; therefore the advertisement required prospective male and female participants' over the age of 25 to respond. The advertisement informed the participants' of the nature of the research study, the venue and the approximate one and a half hour time commitment necessary from each participant. The advertisement was placed in an English newspaper, and therefore attracted English-speaking participants'.

Prospective participants' were also informed of the ninety-rand gratuity (R90) for their time, transport and inconvenience. Once the researcher received email responses to the advertisement, a reply email (see Appendix B) was sent to the respondents', which provided available time slots. We expected that people who would respond via email to be of a certain educational level or at least have some education and would therefore be able to read and write, which was required for participation in the current study. Thirty-eight of the sixty-one respondents to the recruitment advertisement were selected for Phase 1 of the study. The only criteria for selection in this phase of the study were people who are twenty-five years of age or older, and a willingness to participate in the study. Only thirty-eight of those who responded fulfilled these criteria. The age criterion was important for identifying adult participants'. Selecting adults for the study was important because the content of the video clips that were used for the study was emotionally demanding. We were also interested in participants' who were drawn from the generation of South Africans who were likely to have either experienced the apartheid period, or had some familiarity with the philosophy underlying apartheid-era policies.

Although I did not apply any exclusion criteria, I am cognisant of the fact that the approach taken to select participants' in this study excludes a large majority of South Africans. This in itself is an exclusionary factor that was unintended; however, as an Honours project, the study is exploratory in nature, and a more rigorous approach to selecting participants was important at the next stage of the research.

Participants: Phase 2

The participants' were purposively selected to proceed to the second interviewing phase of the study. During the first phase of the study, participants' were invited to indicate a willingness to be interviewed. The participants' were selected based on their willingness and on providing responses in the previous written semi-structured questionnaire that best reflect the phenomenon that I am interested in. For example, among the 38 participants who completed the semi-structured questionnaire, there were participants who gave in-depth descriptions about their responses to the video material.

One of the questions I focused on for selection was:

What moment in the video clip, or what aspects of the video clip, evoked the strongest emotions in you? Describe your emotional reaction to this particular moment or moments in the video in detail.

As far as this question is concerned, I was looking for responses by participants' that provided an elaborate description of their experience of the video material.

Race

Because one of my questions had to with the racial dimension, I was interested in exploring the racial differences regarding their affective experiences. I therefore, selected the participants' based on their race and divided them up into three race groups, namely white, black and coloured. Moreover, the video footage is based on the racial injustices that took place in apartheid South Africa. I initially selected five participants from each of the three race groups.

Gender

While selecting the five participants' from each race group, I simultaneously considered the issue of gender. I needed to obtain a gender representation relative to the amount of males and females that participated in the written questionnaire phase of the study. There was a 70:30 ratio

who participated in the semi-structured questionnaire phase of the study. 70 % representing females and 30% representing males. The initial purposive selection for the interview phase of the study therefore, comprised of the selection of two male participants and three female participants from the three (white, black and coloured) race groups respectively.

Final Step in the Selection Process

I looked at the responses of the fifteen participants' and based on their rich, meaningful expressions and the themes that emerged, I selected three participants' from each race group. Three participants' from each race group seem small, but this is an exploratory study aimed at capturing in-depth experiences. I further selected the participants' according to gender in the following way: One male and two females.

This gave me nine participants' representing the three main race groups in South Africa. I was also able to achieve a gender representation close to the 70:30 gender ratio described above.

The selection of the nine participants was based on the following themes:

- The detailed expressions of the range of emotions experienced.
- The expressions of "embodiment" of emotions/lack thereof.
- Participants' links of viewing footage to personal events/experiences.
- The relevance of race to their responses.

Materials

Video Footage. The present study's use of film footage to evoke emotion is not new or unique (Britton, Taylor, Berridge, Liberzon, & Mikkels, 2006; Christie & Friedman, 2004; Sherman, Haidt, & Coan, 2007) For example, the Britton et al. (2006) study used comedy scenes from popular movies starring *Robin Williams* to induce joy and bereavement scenes from certain popular dramas, such as *The Champ* to induce sadness.

However, the video footage used in this study differs in that it has ecological value and is based on real-life film footage. The distinction is that the video footage used in my study is footage that depicts real-life settings in contrast to footage that depicts situations that were created. It is not the first time that real life testimonies have been used in order to evoke emotional responses. Laub (2002) conducted one of the most highly reputable of these studies at Yale University by using the testimonies derived from Holocaust survivors in his study of

genocidal trauma in a post Holocaust setting. I drew insights from the ways in which Laub (2002) used the footage of testimonies as research material.

The video footage of testimonies from hearings was derived from the TRC public hearings process, called the "Long Nights Journey into Day" (2000). The TRC was set up to assist South Africans deal with what happened under the apartheid regime. The specific video footage the participants viewed were of the amnesty application in the case of the covert operation in which seven young men from Gugulethu Township were killed.

The amnesty applicants depicted in the video footage were a black and a white police officer. The white police officer, Bellingan, was the commander of the covert operation. The black applicant, Mbelo, was a police collaborator who infiltrated the township pretending to be an anti-apartheid activist and who was used to lure the seven young men to the deaths. The TRC public hearing of Bellingan and Mbelo's amnesty application was the first time in ten years that the mothers' of the seven victims of the 'Gugulethu Seven' heard the truth about what happened to their sons. Participants' viewed a clip of approximately 12 minutes, which depicts the perpetrators, the victims and their families; as well as their interaction and painful expressions.

Semi-structured Questionnaire (see Appendix C)

In true qualitative style, the research questions used were designed to be open-ended. The questions developed aimed to evoke answers that would provide detailed explanations and descriptions of the phenomenon of reacting to the pain of another. The questionnaire explored why the video footage elicited specific emotions from the participants' as well as the meanings the participants attached to experiencing these emotions. Enough space was provided for participants to provide as detailed descriptions and expressions as possible.

Semi-structured Interviews (see Appendix D)

Willig (2008, p. 23), considers semi-structured interviews as "the most widely used method of data collection in qualitative research". This method was compatible with my method of analysis and useful in exploring the meaningful experiences of the participants'. The interview questionnaire was designed to explore some of the themes that emerged from the data from the semi-structured questionnaire. The themes were explored through a question and answer, conversation like interchange between myself and the participants'. The semi-structured interview allowed the participants' to convey how they experienced the video clips from their

own perspective and in their own words. The mode of interviewing was face to face. The interviews were recorded with the use of a digital recorder (Gibson & Brown, 2009).

Data Collection Procedure

Data for the study was collected in two phases. The first set of data was generated using open-ended qualitative questionnaires (Krosnick & Presser, 2009). A total of thirty-eight qualitative responses to an interview protocol were collected. A comprehensive discussion of the process of data analysis at this stage is the subject for another study. In this study, I will focus on the collection of a different data set that was drawn from the results of the open-ended questionnaire. From this data, participants who would be candidates for case study interviews were identified through reading the responses to the questionnaire and selecting responses that addressed the questions set out in the study. In this sense then, the participants' for the interviews were purposively selected based on the richness of responses they gave in the questionnaires regarding their experiences of the TRC video footage. Two other criteria guided the selection of candidates for the case study interviews, and these were race and gender.

A quiet office, appropriate for recording the interview provided a frame for the interviewing process. The office consisted of a comfortable couch and the calm atmosphere of the office was conducive to making the participant feel comfortable. After the completion of consent forms (see Appendix E), the participants' were seated in a comfortable chair alongside the researcher. Once the conditions were appropriate for the interview, I proceeded with the interview. The digital recorder was placed within reach of the participant so that the participant was able to stop it at any stage during the interview process.

The interviews ranged from 25 minutes to 40 minutes in duration. The researcher applied a case study approach to these interviews.

Data Analysis

To explore the questions set out in the aims of this study, I took a two phase approach to the process of analysis of data, phenomenological case study approach and aspects of thematic analysis. Thematic analysis can be described as a method used to identify, analyze and report themes within data (Braune & Clarke, 2006). This form of analysis has been characterized as a tool to use across all methods in qualitative research because of its flexibility. Moreover,

thematic analysis enables the researcher to organize and describe the participants' responses in rich detail.

The goal of phenomenological case study method is to gain an in-depth understanding of participants' experiences of a particular phenomenon (Cresswell, 2007). The case study approach allows for the exploration of different subjectivities, meanings, perspectives, and reflections of participants regarding the phenomenon being investigated (Willig, 2008). In case study research, a phenomenon may be explored either through a single case, or a cluster of cases that form a unit in the context of a circumscribed research setting (Cresswell et al., 2007; Edwards, 1998). The phenomenological approach of single case study has often been used in clinical psychological research (Edwards, 1998), and represents research using one individual for an in-depth understanding of a specific phenomenon. A multiple case study approach makes use of more than one individual in order to provide insights into the phenomena under investigation. In this study, the focus is on the experiences of a group of participants drawn from three racial groups. My approach to the phenomenological case study method therefore is based on multiple case studies combined as a unit, in order to explore their experiences of emotions and to further provide in-depth insights into the complex phenomenon of empathy.

Interpretation Method

According to Willig (2008, p. 57), interpretive phenomenological analysis "works with transcripts of semi-structured interviews". The specific procedure I adopted for the purposes of the second phase of the study was based on Kruger's (1988) interpretive phenomenological method of analysis, which I suited to the aims of this study.

Sense of the whole

To obtain a sense of the whole, I had to read and re-read all the participants' transcripts several times in order to form a holistic and intuitive grasp of the participants' responses (Hayes, 2000; Kruger, 1988). This was an inductive process that necessitated open-mindedness (Hayes, 2000).

Meaningful Themes

Once a sense of the whole was established, it was necessary to look at each participant's transcripts individually in order to draw out meaningful themes. Kruger (1988, p. 153) referred to this process as "breaking down" each response into what are referred to as "natural meaning

units". These are essentially themes that would be understandable and coherent if they were to be considered in isolation (Giorgi, 1985).

Transformation

This stage involved an attempt to explain the themes in as basic language as possible (Kruger, 1988). This is where my interpretation became explicit. I attempted to *describe* what the participants' were saying in psychological terms (Hayes 2000). Although I interpreted the participants' responses in my own words, the phenomenological framework dictates that I endeavour to express as closely as possible the original intended meaning of the participant.

Synthesis and Description

Kruger (1988) suggests that this last stage of the analysis be approached in a two-fold process. This stage involves piecing together the varying experiences gathered, *synthesizing* these and presenting it in such a way that it makes sense to the reader-*description*. During this phase, the interpretations reached were reflected against the original descriptions obtained by the participants' in order to determine whether they remained as true to the meanings as possible. Hayes, (2000, p. 191) refers to this process as ascertaining whether the researchers "...insights really are appropriate".

The kind of analysis undertaken in this study aimed to investigate the underlying experiences that frame the participants' responses in order to understand the complexity of the emotions experienced.

REFLEXIVITY

Position of the Researcher

Reflexivity is almost a taken for granted part of the process of doing qualitative research (Guilleman & Gillam, 2004). The approach of 'writing yourself in' as the researcher is totally opposite to the approach which says that a researcher should be taking a disengaged, objective role in the research process. I therefore, recognize that I have impacted on the research process and I realize the need to examine how I have impacted and to be transparent about this process.

According to Keen (1975, p. 33) the researcher is in a similar position to those whom he/she is studying. The researcher therefore, is tasked with being immersed into the inner world of other individuals until the meaning being formed by the other individuals becomes apparent.

In order to do this, I needed to suspend my understandings of certain experiences and views of the world in order to give preference to the descriptions emanating from the participants. This was a challenge because I noticed that I was being influenced by my own preconceived ideas about the research topic at times and this had the potential of clouding judgment when conducting the research. More specifically, I was deeply affected when I personally viewed the video footage used to evoke the participants' emotions and during the research process. I found myself particularly attuned to participants who had similar emotional expressions to what I had experienced and took a less attuned stance toward those who were less expressive. I was able to reflect on this process when making daily entries into my research reflective journal throughout the research process and this reflection helped me to be more aware of my responses during the research process. It also assisted me to bracket my thoughts, ideas and understandings surrounding the phenomenon under exploration in order to, "transcend the limits of [my] perspective" (Keen, 1975, p. 35).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

It is of great importance to remind the reader that it was not the intention of this research study to explain all the emotions related to empathy and to convey all the emotional experiences related to empathy through generalization. To the contrary, the intention was to open the door to the experiences of the nine participants and to gain an understanding of the phenomenon of empathy in relation to other emotions from their subjective perspective.

I used the phenomenological case study method to analyze the data. In employing this method I studied each of the nine cases individually to establish the themes that emerged in each case. I then did a cross case analysis. These comparisons across case studies form the basis of analysis.

In addition, I used the questions raised in this study as a guide to establish themes. Firstly, in practice the process by which these themes were brought to light involved immersing myself in the responses of the nine participants individually in order to identify themes within the tresponses given by the nine participants. This was done through repetitive reading of the participants' responses. This enabled me to identify natural meaning elements, which in turn enabled me to recognize themes that are present in the accounts of the participants' individual experiences. Thereafter, a description of what the individual participants' were saying in relation

to the research questions became explicit and was followed by an interpretation of what the participant experienced in relation to the phenomenon of empathy. Once this was done, it was necessary to summarize the responses and experiences of each participant in a way that reflected the original meaning that the participant intended to represent. Excerpts from the participants' texts were used in the description in order to enable the reader to scrutinize these understandings against the original meaning presented by the participants'.

Secondly, I looked across the nine participants' responses to see whether there were commonalities.

The following themes emerged:

- Sadness
- Anger
- Shame
- Embodiment of emotions

These were not the only themes that emerged, however these are the emergent dominant themes that were guided by the main aims of the study. For example, these themes address the first question regarding the nature of emotional responses raised in this study namely:

What is the range of emotions experienced by participants' in response to TRC video images depicting the suffering and pain of others?

Although these themes were common across all cases studied, distinct differences were found in the way these emotions were experienced in the three racial groups considered. In my discussion and results presented below, I will deal with the first question which establishes the range of emotions experienced by the participants as well as the second question that seeks to establish the race difference in the way the emotions were experienced.

Sadness

By virtue of the nature of the real-life video footage that was used to evoke the experience of emotions in this study, it was expected that most participants would experience the emotion distinguished as sadness. The experience of sadness in this context refers to the emotional state of the participants' while they watched the video footage of the TRC hearings. Although there is no single definition of sadness, a common understanding is that sadness refers to an emotion

characterized by feelings of sorrow, helplessness, an unhappy state, and can be viewed as a temporary lowering of mood. According to the literature sadness is a basic emotion and to experience sadness, the consequences to the self must be considered (Tangney & Fischer, 1995). Because participants themselves were not hurt in anyway and therefore cannot experience a consequence as a result of being hurt personally, I point out to the reader that participants' descriptions of sadness is therefore, as a result of putting themselves in the sad shoes of another (one or more characters depicted in the video footage).

The video footage depicted the mothers' expressions of pain and real-life footage of the victims' dead bodies. Within this context, it was important to consider whether participants were generating emotional states of comparable intensities. In other words, it was important to determine whether participants' were feeling sad during the sad depictions portrayed in the video footage. For example, when the mothers were crying out in agony and when the photographs of the victims and their children were shown, I explored whether the participants' responses and experience of sadness was in harmony with what they were viewing. If this were true, then it would support the theory of empathy in relation to the emotion of sadness, in that the participants' experiences would be "congruent with the suffering persons' feelings and reflect concern for the welfare of that person" (De Vignemont & Singer, 2006; Vitaglione & Barnett, 2003, p.302).

All nine participants described sadness as the strongest emotion experienced. For example, P2¹ said:

"The time they were showing the bodies of the dead males, and the outburst of their mothers'. I was feeling sad for the mother's of the dead ones. Um I felt sad, you know. Especially the way like they were talking because some of the victims like the guys who were passed away there they were the breadwinners in their homes. So it was very sad story that I hear them speaking about this incident."

This participant linked her feelings of sadness to seeing "the bodies of the dead males" and to "the outburst of the mothers'". P2's experience of feeling sad is therefore consistent with the sad portrayals depicted in the video footage. Even when participants' did not name the

¹ The participants are referred to as P (for participant) and are identified by a number corresponding to the sequence of analysis.

emotion as sadness, it was evident that they were feeling sad or sorrow for the pain that they were witnessing as experienced by the other.

For example P5 said:

"The clip about the mothers' outburst. Seeing all those young men lying around brutally murdered is just wrong and so evil. What really got to me in a very emotional way was the reaction of the mothers in the room. When the first mother was escorted out it really brought tears in my eyes and the subsequent outburst of the other mother made it worse as I could feel her pain"

P5 does not name the emotion as sadness. Yet the participant refers to feeling, 'her pain' after witnessing the atrocities experienced by the victims and this painful feeling is a feeling that is consistent with the painful emotions experienced by the characters in the video footage. Reading the manner in which P5 articulated the emotion experienced and considering the moments in the video footage P5 links this emotion to, suggests the experience of sadness.

There were no differences in the ways in which the different race groups experienced sadness. All the participants' expressed experiencing sadness for the mothers' of the victims, for the tragic loss of lives and for the lack of humanness on the part of the perpetrators'.

Anger

Anger is a frequent human experience that can either be classified as disturbed or healthy (Di Giuseppe, 1999). Some scholars have focused on the negative relation between anger and empathy because in many cases anger has been found to neutralize empathic sensitivities and to declare empathy defunct (Potegal & Knutson, 1994). However, the manner in which anger was experienced by the participants' in this study enhanced their experience of empathy.

The literature refers to this experience as, "empathic anger" in that the participants' felt anger because of someone else's suffering (Vitaglione & Barnett, 2003). This highlights the complex nature of the experience of empathy in relation to other emotions. In harmony with this explanation, Stephen and Finlay (1999) assert that, "Empathy can be induced in several ways, take a variety of forms and influence different aspects of intergroup relations... it is likely that different factors mediate these influences." The above-mentioned assertion is evidenced by the

ways in which participants' experienced the emotion of anger in relation to the real-life characters portrayed in the video footage.

All the participants' interviewed experienced anger. However, only a consideration of the marked differences between races will be discussed below.

Anger vs Concern

The participants consistently expressed feeling anger toward the perpetrators depicted in the video footage. They were angry at the ways in which the perpetrators responded to the questions asked at the TRC hearings, angry at their lack of remorse and angry at the perpetrators audacity to apply for amnesty. Both male and female participants expressed anger directed toward the perpetrators. However, there were marked differences in the ways in which black participants' and white participants' experienced anger in relation to who they directed their angry responses toward.

White Participants'

All the white participants directed their anger toward the white police officer (Bellingan), who clearly showed a lack of remorse.

Participant P6 expressed experiencing anger in this way:

"I felt extremely angry at the white officer; I mean he was so arrogant. He insisted on answering the questions in Afrikaans even though they were questioning him in English. It was insulting to the people there and I feel he was being deliberate in that he wanted to maintain some kind of a barrier. He didn't have an ounce of remorse and just the sight of his remorseless attitude angered me! I must say, of the two perpetrators, I don't feel angry at Mbelo, to me he was vulnerable and trapped in a terrible situation you know, ja."

When asked about the experience of anger, another white participant (P7) responded:

"Bellingan showed no remorse and this angered me. He sat up there with all his airs and graces and to me was less of a human than those whom he looked down upon. He and the rest like him is the reason poor Mbelo was in this situation in the first place, but yes, Bellingan's lack of remorse and inhumanness is what made me angry to even look at him."

The ways in which the white participants' experienced anger is consistent with the empathic regard they displayed for the mothers' as victims. They felt angry because they recognized the perpetrators' malicious acts as the cause of the victims' pain and suffering. It is precisely because the white participants' felt concern for the victims that they were able to experience anger toward those who harmed and caused pain to the victims'. The white participants' did not feel angry with the black police officer; instead they also showed concern for him and regarded him as a victim, who was as P6 said, "...trapped in a terrible situation".

Black Participants'

In contrast, the black participants' responses differed markedly in that they were angrier at the black officer (Mbelo). Therefore, although black participants' also directed their anger toward the white police officer (Bellingan), they were angry with him as the other and spoke of him as if cruelty can be expected of him, being white. It was as if this almost natural expectation made them feel less anger toward Bellingan and made them direct most of their anger toward Mbelo. They saw Mbelo as one of their own. They felt betrayed by Mbelo as one of their own and this made the black participants angrier with Mbelo. All the black participants' experienced anger in the same manner in relation to the two perpetrators. An extract of an interview with P2 elucidates this further:

Interviewer: You also described feeling an overall feeling of anger. Can you tell me more about why you felt angry?

Participant: Because at first I remember there was a guy there that was asked "why did you do that?" and when he answered he said, "I was forced" and I was asking myself how can you be forced to do something like that to his own people and he said that there was someone who was giving him instructions so it was not a matter of choice. At that point, I felt very angry because I couldn't understand how come you kill innocent people and you, you said you were forced to do something like that because that was very terrible, you know.

Interviewer: Yes, I see.

Participant: And if I, I remember even that guy the time he was explaining himself he even said after he did that he didn't feel anything at that point in time, he used to go to the Shebeen and they used to drink with friends and as if nothing happened.

Interviewer: And that made you angry.

Participant: Y...e...s. Of course, because, it was like, hey, it was like a big thing to me, you know. I didn't realise that a person can do such things like that to their own people and like after that they will act as if nothing happened, go to the Shebeen and get some beers and forget about what happened. I didn't realise that something like that can happen. Yes

This black participant did not empathise with Mbelo and felt that he had a choice. This is consistent with the explanation of how anger can potentially inhibit empathy (Vitaglione & Barnett, 2003). However, it is exactly because the black participants' are able to experience empathy for the victims that they are not able to empathize with the black perpetrator (Mbelo). In this instance, the participants are responding emotionally to the plight of the victims while simultaneously rejecting the perpetrators', but especially the black officer in this instance because of the level of betrayal as one of their own; who acted against their own.

Bear in mind that the black participants' responses were based on the same video footage viewed by the white participants'. As established, the white participants' responded with concern for black officer. However, the black participants' expressed their anger toward the black officer (Mbelo), which is further expounded, by the following expressions made by the following black participant (P4):

"In most clips that had Mbelo, at first I felt anger, betrayal and shame especially when he said that killing was like fulfilling his job description. He appeared as a coward as he says that one was given orders and expected to carry them out, I feel that one can always refuse to kill, though I think that this was at the expense of his own death."

Another black participant (P5) said:

"Also anger at the black man who wanted to be sincere after he has been so cruel and being so malice towards his own race. I think that the black man is not sorry for what he did, but had to ask for forgiveness in order for his own life and that of his own family to be saved."

How are we to understand these differences? Well it appears as if black participants felt a sense of betrayal. They are attuned to the black perpetrator as one of their own and feel betrayed

by his actions against his very own kind. However, with regard to the white participants', it could be speculated that their identification with the black perpetrator, as the forgiven person in the video footage is out of a need themselves to be forgiven because they see themselves as a part of the Apartheid system. The white participants identify less with what the black police officer has done than with the process of forgiveness that they are able to witness by watching the video footage.

All the participants' experience of anger in this context, therefore does not stifle their experience of empathy, but instead adds another layer to the experience of empathy. The anger experienced by the participants' was justified by their ability to enter into the lives of the victims, experience their hurt and feel the same anger the victims felt for the deeds that were perpetrated against them.

Shame

Shame and empathy are considered to play central roles in moral development (Tangney &Dearing, 2002). Other emotions have also been linked to morality, such as anger discussed above as well as disgust and contempt. However, the latter emotions are directed toward others' moral transgressions, whereas shame is an emotion that focuses on the sources of an individual's moral motivation (Morrison, 1998). All nine of the participants' described experiencing extreme feelings of shame. Considering that this is a highly personal emotion one may question why participants' felt this way especially since they themselves were not to blame for the atrocious deeds committed neither were they personally affected in any way. The expressions of the participants' experience of shame may shed some light on this.

For example, P5 said:

"I feel shame to know how the Apartheid system exploited people and ruined peoples' lives forever. To think that one human can do this to another human being. Aye, I mean, people are responsible for all the hurt and pain I saw and that is shameful"

This participant felt shame based on the effects of the political and social climate of the time and particularly how this system preyed on the vulnerabilities of the majority of South Africans. This participant's shame is, therefore based on empathic regard for the other. This expression is inconsistent with explanations of how shame operates in conjunction with empathy (Tangney & Dearing, 2002). Shame in relation to empathy normally involves a marked self-

focus which is incompatible with other-orientated empathic reactions. According to Tangney and Dearing (2002), as soon as shame is experienced, the focus is too ego-centric and self-oriented, that the empathic individual's focus remains on the needs and experiences of him or herself. This self-oriented empathy, in turn is further linked to the experience of personal distress. The literature shows that as a sub-set of empathy, personal distress is strongly associated with vulnerability, fearfulness and uncertainty (Eisenberg, 2000). Thus, personal distress potentially inhibits the ability to empathize.

However, in this context it can be speculated that the participants' experience of shame is not a self oriented shame, but a collective shame (Lickel, Schmader & Barquissau, 2004). Collective shame takes into consideration the interpersonal aspects of shame and the specific "motivational responses" (p. 36) peculiar to the context of experiencing shame. Moreover, collective shame can include general agreement of moral violation experienced by a group of people (Lickel et al., 2004). It can, therefore be speculated that all the participants' relate to the injustices experienced by the victims and therefore have the ability to feel the shame that is associated with the vulnerability and injustices that the victims were forced to endure. It is a shame experienced from one human being to another fellow human being.

P6 concurred with the latter by saying,

"I felt shame as a human being to witness both sides to such a tragedy, it evokes sadness in me, I mean just to think that people are capable of things like that makes me feel shame for humans in general."

Just contemplating the evil deeds perpetrated by these other humans made this participant express a sense of humanity and a collective shame. Although all of the participants' experienced shame, definite differences in how the different races experienced the emotion of shame emerged.

White Participants'

White participants felt personal shame. They experienced shame by linking their white identity to the deeds of the white perpetrator. The focus on the self is consistent with the self-orientated component of shame that the literature describes (Tangney & Dearing, 2002).

For example, P6 experienced shame in this way:

"Watching the video I felt ashamed to be white. I felt ashamed to be linked to a race who did all those evil things. I didn't have anything to do with all of that rubbish, but I felt shamed by sharing a common kinship with Bellingan."

This was consistent with another white participant's (P7) response:

"Yes, shame because of the deliberate exploitation by the white police and the Apartheid system, I also felt shame of Mbelo's vulnerability, in terms of fearing to be killed if he refused; or fearing that his family will be attacked. Shame that Mbelo was manipulated and brainwashed into co-operation and ended up violating the trust by his people. I feel more shame and guilt of living in the company of the Bellingans', you know I benefit everyday being white."

The white participants' in this study have experienced their shame by focusing on themselves, their identity. This is unlike the collective shame experienced because of the general agreement of a violation of morals such as was discussed above. It is however, merging the feeling of shame with the self-concept. The white participants' feel shame because they have identified an aspect of themselves in relation to the perpetrator. They feel shame because identifying with the perpetrator would mean that they have to consider themselves in the same light in which the perpetrator is considered (negatively).

Furthermore, it can be speculated that the white participants' experience of shame is in acknowledgement of being beneficiaries of the privileges of the Apartheid system. These same participants expressed feelings of sadness and empathy toward the victims and now they have identified a commonality in the perpetrator that they can link back to themselves. This in turn induces the emotion of shame in relation to empathic regard for the victims.

Black Participants'

The black participants differed markedly in that their feelings of shame were based on cultural values and norms that were ignored. They felt shame for the families because their dead loved ones were left lying in the dirt, on the ground. Their shame was based on the break of traditional cultural norms and values.

For example, P2 said,

"I feel shame, shame because for those families, they had their boys lying like dogs in the road, it is a shame for the dead to be treated like that, it is really bad."

This participant, who based her experience of shame on the break of traditional norms, lost her brother in a violent way. It can be speculated that if she identifies with the bodies as her own dead loved one, that she would indeed feel a sense of shame. This manner or state in which she views these bodies, "like dogs" is a state that would be extremely humiliating for her. It seems as if she feels the sense of humiliation by identifying with these bodies as her own loved one. This feeling of humiliation would be felt by anyone whose loved one is left to lie like a dog in the street.

Another black participant (P4) said:

"In our culture it is very important to respect the dead. It is a shame for the family of those dead ones that they have to know that their family was lying in the dirt for a time. Also the way those boys died, hey, it's very bad for the family cos they can't bring the body into the house the day before the funeral. Cos, that is our culture. If they bring the body into the house of the family it is believed that the family will suffer the same fate as those dead boys".

Coloured Participants'

Coloured participants felt a more general shame. They linked their shame to humanity, to the inhumanness that was evident. They described their shame in terms of shameful acts of humanity.

For example, P9 said,

"I felt shame because of; well this gives us insights on humanity and how bad it was in South Africa. I mean how can people treat other humans like that. And to think that there are people out there who are like that, but I can't understand how people can be so cruel"

It seems as if this participant is directing his shame outward in the sense that he recognizes that the deeds were perpetrated by the other and is therefore shameful. The participant refers to the perpetrators as "people" and therefore separates the transgressor from the himself.

This is in stark contrast to the white participants' who linked the emotion of shame to their own identities.

Another participant (P8) said:

"I just don't understand how human beings can be so evil and hurt other humans like that. What has happened to 'love you neighbor'? I mean that one young man was surrendering and they still shot him. What kind of a person is that?

The experiences of shame for these participants' were not self orientated (Tangney & Dearing, 2002), but were collective in nature in that the participants' felt shame based on the moral violation by fellow humans.

Embodiment of Emotions

By embodiment, I mean the bodily states that arise when experiencing an emotion. Research has consistently shown that we feel emotions such as sadness and anger in our bodies (Niedenhal, Barsalou, Ric, & Krauth-Gruber, 2005). There are various bodily reactions that can be measured such as a racing heartbeat, teary eyes, sweaty palms, and tingling sensations. Most of the latter visceral reactions are explicit in that they have outward manifestations. For example, a tearful person would evidently have tears well up in their eyes. However, there are other bodily states that are difficult to measure and observe. These bodily states include feelings experienced within the body such as, a lump in the throat, a pit in the stomach, and an aching chest. These feelings are more implicit in that you would not be able to determine whether the person is experiencing these bodily responses by looking at them. These implicit bodily reactions have been researched qualitatively and have been described through self-reports (Finlay, 2005). In the present study, participants were asked to describe the ways in which their bodies reacted to what they were viewing.

Participant P4 described experiencing bodily reactions in the following manner:

"I experienced a tearful moment and chills down my spine, I felt as if my hair was being electrocuted when I saw the dead bodies lying on the road..."

Participant (P7) gave the following description:

'I felt tightness in my throat and I had to ask for water. There was a tightness in the solar plexus and I felt very raw, exposed. I was tearful throughout the viewing of the footage. I

felt a pressure in my head. I remembered that my body got hot because I had to take off my scarf.'

And, participant (P6) provided the following portrayal:

"There was a closing of the throat and I needed to breath more heavily, this went further to a light tingling sensation that went down my arms and gave me a cold shiver. My eyes also became slightly tearful. This was during the photos of the victims."

A wide variety of bodily reactions were described by participants. The descriptions ranged from explicit visceral reactions to the more implicit bodily reactions. The experience of sadness was associated with feelings in the throat, chest and stomach area. The experience of anger was associated with an increased heart rate and pressure in the head.

All three races considered in this study described feeling emotions of sadness, empathy, anger and shame throughout viewing the video footage. There were no differences in the ways in which the participants experienced sadness. All the different race groups could feel the embodiment of pain and hurt that the mothers' expressed.

However, the participants' experienced different levels of intensity of the embodiment of emotions. For example, when the participants' described the experience of sadness, there were participants' who physically wept. These were blatant embodied reactions. Others described having experienced intense feelings of hurt deep within the stomach area of their bodies. When asked about the experience of these intense, bodily reactions all of the participants' associated these bodily reactions with sadness.

For example, participant P8 said,

"I felt a choking feeling in my throat and an uneasy feeling in my chest because it really hurt me to see the pain that the mothers' were going through. Because that scene, where the mothers cried out, that was really intense for me."

Another participant (P7) gave this description:

"I was feeling a tightening of my stomach area, of the solar plexus and thinking back it was because I was relating to the pain of the mothers"

The participants did not recall the bodily reactions associated with anger. This is perhaps because the participants remembered the most dominant or strongest emotion experienced to be sadness and so one could conclude that they would remember the bodily reactions associated with the experience of sadness over the experience of anger. Moreover, the literature describes anger as a more transient emotion when compared to other emotions such as shame, sadness and guilt (Tangney & Dearing, 2002). Therefore, it is possible that participants' could not remember the experience of the embodiment of anger.

Overall, there were no differences in the descriptions of embodiment given by the three race groups. All of the participants indicated that these bodily reactions did not continue after the viewing of the video footage.

CONCLUSION

One of the limitations of this research is that it cannot be generalized. Nonetheless, this was not the intention of this study. The intention was exploratory and aimed to deepen understanding of how empathy is experienced in relation to other emotions.

One of the questions this study aimed to explore was how insights might be applied to explore new avenues of inquiry to deepen understanding of how the phenomenon of empathy is experienced? I was able to establish a few possible angles of further discussion.

One of the interesting insights revealed concerned the emotion of shame. The qualitative approach to this study enabled me to deepen understanding according to contextual similarities experienced by the participants' however; the content was also different depending on the participants' racial experiences during Apartheid. Most of the white participants were not adults during the years of Apartheid, and yet they felt shame. They did not have a part in reinforcing Apartheid ideals as they were far too young to vote. Even so, this study revealed that they felt shame by association. This is an indication that people will still feel shame even though they were not involved in (or had not experienced) Apartheid themselves. Issues relating to shame and guilt experienced by second and third generation Germans' have been found in the literature (Dresler-Hawke & Liu, 2006). It is possible that in South Africa, although this group under consideration supposed to be free of shame, this study shows that they still experience this emotion ominously. This area begs further investigation.

A second issue that this research has raised has to do with the anger that the black people felt. They are still angry today. An interesting research avenue might be the question of how the anger about the past manifests itself in social contexts and what the consequences are.

Finally, this research opens up further exploration into the embodiment of the emotions experienced by the participants. The issue of physiological concomitants of emotional responses has been confined only to a description of aspects of sweating, increased heartbeat, trembling/shaking and muscle tension. However, embodiment in this sense is much broader and has not been extensively covered in relation to this work.

REFERENCES

- Baron-Cohen, S. (2005). Autism-'autos': literally a focus on the self. In Feinberg, T. E., & Keenan, J. P. (Eds.), *The Lost Self: Pathologies of the Brain and Identity*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Black, D. M. (2004). Sympathy reconfigured: Some reflections on sympathy, empathy and the discovery of values. *The International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 85, 579-596.
- Braune, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research* in *Psychology*, 3, 77-101.
- Britton, J. C., Taylor, S. F., Berridge, K. C., Liberzon, I., & Mikkels, J.A. (2006). Differential subjective and psychophysiological responses to socially and nonsocially generated emotional stimuli. *Emotion*, *1*, 150-155.
- Christie, I. C., & Friedman, B. H. (2004). Autonomic specificity of discrete emotion and dimensions of affective space: a multivariate approach. *International Journal of Psychophysiology*, *51*, 143-153.
- Cresswell, J. W. (1998). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing amongst five traditions*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Cresswell, J. W., Hanson, W. E. Clark Plano, V. L. & Morales, A. (2007). Qualitative Research designs: selection and implementation. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 35, 236-265.
- Decety, J., & Lamm, C. (2006). Human empathy through the lens of social neuroscience. *The Scientific World Journal*, 2006, 1146-1163.
- De Vignemont, F., & Singer, T. (2006). The empathic brain: How, when and why? *Trends in Cognitive Sciences*, 10, 435-441.
- Di Giuseppe, R. (1999). End piece: Reflections on the treatment of anger. *Psychotherapy in practice*, 55, 365-379.
- Dresler-Hawke, E., & Liu, J. H. (2006). Collective shame and the positioning of German national identity, Psychology and Politics, 32, 131-153.
- Edwards, D. J. A. (1998). Types of case study work: A conceptual framework for case-based research. *Journal of Humanistic Psychology*, *38*, 36-70.
- Eisenberg, N. (2000). Emotion regulation, and moral development. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 51, 665-697.
- Finlay, L. (2005). "Reflexive embodied empathy": a phenomenology of participant-researcher intersubjectivity. *The Humanistic Psychologist*, *33*, 271-292.
- Gallese, V. (2007). Commentary on "Toward a neuroscience of empathy: intergrating Affective and cognitive perspectives". *An Interdisciplinary Journal for Psychoanalysis*, 9, 146-151.

- Gibson, W. J., & Brown, A. (2009). Working with qualitative data. London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Giorgi, A. (1985). *Phenomenology and psychological research*. Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press.
- Guillemin, M., & Gillam, L. (2004). Ethics, reflexivity and "ethically important moments" in research. *Qualitative Psychology*, 10, 261-280.
- Hayes, N. (2000). Doing psychological research. Philidelphia: Open University Press.
- Hoffman, M. L. (2000). Empathy and moral development. United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.
- Jones, S. (2005). The Role of Mirror Neurons in Imitation: A commentary on V. Gallese. In Hurley, S., & Chapter, N. (Eds). Perspectives on imitation: From neuroscience to social Science: Mechanisms of imitation and imitation in animals. Cambridge, MA, US: MIT Press.
- Keen, E. (1975). *A primer in phenomenological psychology*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston. Inc.
- Keen, S. (2006). A theory of narrative empathy. Narrative, 14, 207-236.
- Krosnick, J. A. & Presser, S. (2009). Question and questionnaire design. In J. D. Wright & P. V. Marsden (Eds.), *Handbook of Survey Research*. San Diego, CA: Elsevier.
- Kruger, D. (1988). *An introduction to phenomenological psychology*. Cape Town: Juta & Co Ltd.
- Laub, D. (2002). Testimonies in the treatment of genocidal trauma. *Journal of Applied Psychanalytic Studies*, 4, 63-87.
- Lickel, B., Schmader, T., & Barquissau, M. (2004). The evocation of moral emotions in intergroup contexts: The distinction between collective guilt and collective shame. In N. R. Branscombe & B. Doosje (Eds.), *Collective Guilt: International Perspectives*. United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.
- Marshall, M. N. (1996). Sampling for qualitative research. Family Practice, 13, 522-525.
- Marshall, C & Rossman, G. B. (2011). Designing qualitative research. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Inc.
- Matsumoto, D. (1993). Ethnic differences in affect intensity, emotion judgments, display rule attitudes, and self-reported emotional expression in an American sample. *Motivation and Emotion*, *17*, 107-123.
- Merleau-Ponty, M. (1962). Phenomenology of perception. London: The Humanities Press.

- Merleau-Ponty, M. (1968). *The visible and the invisible*. Evanston,IL: Northwestern University Press.
- Miles, M. B. & Huberman. A. M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: an expanded sourcebook*. London: Sage Publications.
- Morrison, A. P. (1998). The culture of shame. New Jersey: Jason Aronson Inc.
- Niedenthal, P. M., Barsalou, L, Ric, F. Krauth-Gruber, J. (2005). Embodiment in the acquisition and use of emotion knowledge. *In Emotion and Consciousness* (Eds.). Barret, L. F., Niedenthal, P. M., Winkielman, P. New York: The Guilford Press.
- Potegal, M., & Knutson, J. F. (1994). *The dynamics of aggression: Biological and social processes in dyads and groups.* New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Inc.
- Preston, S. D., & de Waal, F. B. M. (2002). Empathy: Its ultimate and proximate bases. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, 25, 1-72.
- Raingruber, B., & Kent, M. (2003). Attending to embodied responses: a way to identify practice-based and human meanings associated with secondary trauma. *Qualitative Health Research*, 13, 449-468.
- Rice, P., & Ezzy, D. (1999). *Qualitative research methods: A health focus*. Melbourne, Australia: Oxford University Press.
- Rime, B., Philippot, P., Boca, S. & Mesquita, B. (1992). Long-lasting cognitive and social consequences of emotion: Social sharing and rumination. In W. Stroebe & M. Hewstone (Eds.), European review of social psychology, 3, 225-258. Chichester: Wiley.
- Rogers, C. (1975). Empathic: an unappreciated way of being. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 5, 2-10.
- Ruby, P., & Decety, J. (2004). How would you feel versus how do you think she would feel? A neuroimaging study of perspective taking with social emotions. *Journal of Cognitive Neuroscience*, 19, 988–999.
- Sherman, G. D., Haid, J. & Coan, J. A. (2007). Psychophysiology of moral disgust. Masters Thesis. University of Virginia. Retrieved May 21, 2010, from University of Virginia Digital Theses.
- Silverman, H. J. (1997). *Inscriptions: After phenomenology and structuralism*. Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press.
- Soto, J. A., & Levenson, R. W. (2009). Emotion recognition across cultures: the influence of ethnicity on empathic accuracy and physiological linkage. *Emotion*, *9*, 874-884.
- Stephan, W. G. & Finlay, K. (1999). The role of empathy in improving intergroup relations. *Journal of Social Issues*, 55, 729-743.

- Strayer, J. & Roberts, W. (2004). Empathy and observed anger and aggression in five year olds. *Social Development, 13*, 1-13.
- Tangney, J. P., & Dearing, R. L. (2002). *Shame and Guilt: Emotions and social behaviour*. New York: Guilford Press.
- Tangney, J. P., & Fischer, K. W. (1995). Self-conscious emotions: The psychology of shame, guilt, embarrassment, and pride. NewYork: Guilford Press.
- Valle, R. S. & Halling, S. (1989). Existential phenomenological perspectives in psychology. New York: Plenum Press.
- Vitaglione, G. D. & Barnett, M. A. (2003). Assessing a new dimension of empathy: Empathic anger as a predictor of helping and punishing desires. Motivation and Emotion, 27, 301-325.
- Willig, C. (2008). *Introducing qualitative research in psychology*. England: Open University Press

APPENDIX A

Participants for a Research Project Wanted

Seeking male and female adults who are 25 years of age or older to participate in a study conducted by the Psychology Department at the University of Cape Town. The study involves watching video footage of a story of pain and suffering that ends with an expression of forgiveness. Participants will respond to questions about their emotional responses to the video footage by completing an electronic questionnaire. The study will take place at the University of Cape Town, Upper Campus, from 1 July. The process will take approximately 1½ hours. Participants will be paid R90 as compensation for their time, transport and inconvenience. If you are interested in participating, please contact _______ by email ---- or send an sms text message to ---- with the words: *UCT Study Interest* and we will call you back immediately.

APPENDIX B

Appointment letter

Your Appointment for your Participation in UCT Research.

Session for the following volunteers: SK; FA: You have been assigned the session on Wednesday July 14, at 11h00 -- 12h00. Please confirm this time by responding to this email and provide a cell phone number where you can be reached. Once your session time has been confirmed you will be sent more detailed information concerning the research.

Kind Regards, Stephen Keggie Coordinator, UCT Study

APPENDIX C

Questionnaire Outlines	: TRC Video	Tape Res	ponse Form
-------------------------------	-------------	----------	------------

Participant's Code

4. Your nationality: ____

O	0		
Participant's Backs	ground Information	ı	
1. Your gender: M	$\Gamma_{\rm F}$		
2. Your age: 25-30	31-35 🔲 36-40 🗀	☐ ₄₀₊ ☐	
3. Your ethnicity:			

Responses to Video: Please provide as much detail as possible.

- 4. What word/s would best describe your overall feeling after watching the video clip?
- 5. What moment in the video clip, or what aspects of the video clip, evoked the strongest emotions in you? Describe your emotional reaction to this particular moment or moments in the video in detail.
- 6. The video clip may have triggered a visceral reaction, such as a sharp pain in the stomach, a sharp pain in the head, a choking feeling in your throat, tears, etc. If your response to the video clip triggered a reaction expressed **through your body**, give a detailed description of this reaction.
- 7. Was there any point in the video clip when you experienced uncomfortable feelings (such as guilt or shame)? What do you understand as the reason for these uncomfortable feelings?
- 8. Did you experience feelings of anger when you were watching the video clip? If your answer is yes, describe the moment in the video when you experienced anger, and explain your understanding of the reason for these feelings.
- 9. Do the events in the video trigger any particular memory or memories in your own personal life? Please provide details.
- 10. You may have felt a strong **emotional detachment** from one or more of the people in the video. If you felt a strong emotional detachment from any person in the video clip, please describe the relevant moment in the video that led to this feeling of detachment.

- 11. You may have found yourself connecting or identifying with one or more of the people in the video. If you felt a strong emotional connection with any person in the video clip, please describe the relevant moment in the video that led to this feeling of emotional connection, and describe the emotions you experienced in detail.
- 12. As you come to the end of this questionnaire, describe how you feel now compared to how you felt when you watched the video material. If your reaction to the video clips included a visceral reaction, please specify whether you still feel the bodily reaction triggered by the video clips.
- 13. Have you had experience/s of psychological trauma in your adult life, such as physical or sexual abuse, or witnessing extreme violence?

<u>Circle one</u> : YES NO				
14. Has this experience affected you? If yes, can you de	escribe in what ways you were affected?			
PSYCHOLOGICAL COUNSELLING:				
If you need psychological counselling, we will arr	ange an appointment for you with a			
professional counsellor at the Student Wellness Centre.				
YES, I NEED PROFESSIONAL COUNSELLING				
NO, I DO NOT NEED COUNSELLING				

AGREE

STRONGLY DISAGREE

I AM WILLING \square NOT WILLING \square	TO BE CONTACTED TO PARTICIPATE
IN A 1-HOUR INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW.	

	3
APPE	NDIX D
Partic	ipant 00 August 2010
Slot_	
•	Explain process of the interview
Demo	graphic information
•	Where were you born and raised?
•	How long have you been living in SA?
Remir	nder: Offer Psychological Counselling
•	Thank you so much for agreeing to participate in the study. I will be asking you some questions focusing on your experience of watching the TRC footage.
1)	Go back to the time when you watched the footage of the TRC hearing. I want to understand your response, your feelings at the time. You described yourself as feeling intense emotions on three occasions. You specifically link your emotions to Tell me more about why you felt emotional at these stages in the video clip.
2)	You also described yourself as feeling Can you tell me why you felt that way? Do you still feel this way?
3)	W.R.T. Bodily reactions linked to the emotions you experienced. For example, you said that you Can you share with me what was going on in your mind when your body reacted in these ways? How long did these bodily reactions last?
4)	You describe yourself as feeling Shame. What is this shame? Can you tell me more about how and why you experienced shame? Where you aware of what was happening during this time?

At this point, I would welcome anything you would like to add.

I greatly appreciate your time.

5) You linked watching the video footage to______. Please tell me more

6) Lastly, what do you think have become of the mothers'? What do you think should

about this and what in particular triggered this memory for you?

happen for their lives to change for the better?

APPENDIX E

Participant's Code	0	0	

Informed Consent Form for Honours Research Project NB: Please Quote the Code Above On All Research Documents

Title of Study: Exploring the Phenomenon of Empathy: A Dialogue between Psychoanalysis and Neuroscience.

Principal Investigator: Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela

Other Investigators: Mark Solms; Dan Stein; Dave Edwards; Melike Fourie; Jenine Smith; Simon Locher; Lisa Barenblatt.

Department & Institution: Department of Psychology, University of Cape Town

Introduction

This is one of the Honours research projects in the Psychology Department. You are one of 60 participants selected for this study either through the Psychology Department's SRPP programme or through a newspaper advertisement. Please read the information that follows below carefully.

Participation and Withdrawal

Your participation in this study is voluntary; however, if at any stage of the study you feel you are unable to continue, you are free to withdraw from it at any stage.

Purpose of this Research Study

This study will examine the different patterns of emotional responses that are evoked by watching aspects of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) process. We want to assess the multifaceted ways in which emotions are expressed by different participants in the study.

Procedures

If you volunteer in this study, you will be shown a short video clip from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) process. You will then be required to respond to specific questions that concern the various emotions you experienced when you watched the TRC video material.

Possible Risks or Benefits

Some of the stories recounted at the TRC involved witnesses expressing their pain and the suffering they endured in the past. Watching these kinds of stories may lead to feelings of distress in some participants. Arrangements have been made to deal with this outcome. Firstly,

two group meetings will be scheduled for those participants who wish to be part of a group to share their experiences of the video clips. The Principal Investigator, Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela and a second clinician will co-facilitate these group meetings. Secondly, for participants who are students at UCT who wish to be seen individually for professional counselling, arrangements will be made for them to be seen by a counsellor at the Student Wellness Centre.

Confidentiality

Your identity in this study will be protected. You are not required to disclose your name in any of the questionnaires. The responses you give to specific questions may be seen by the Psychology Department's Ethics Review Committee and may be published in journal articles and elsewhere without giving your name or disclosing your identity.

Available Sources of Information

If you have any further questions you may contact the Principal Investigator (Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela), at 021 650 3427, and fax 086 6896912.

AUTHORISATION

I have read and understand this consent form, and I would like to participate in this research study.

Participant's Name:	
Signature :	
Date:	
The researcher may contact you on:	
Name of Principal Investigator, Co-Investigator, or Rese	earcher :
Signature:	
Date:	
The participant may contact the researcher on:	

PLAGIARISM

This means that you present substantial portions or elements of another's work, ideas or data as your own, even if the original author is cited occasionally.

PLAGIARISM DECLARATION

- 1. I know that plagiarism is wrong. Plagiarism is to use another's work and pretend that it is one's own.
- 2. I have used the APA convention for citation and referencing. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this assignment from the work(s) of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.
- 3. This assignment is my own work.
- 4. I have not allowed, and will not allow, anyone to copy my work with the intention of passing it off as his or her own work.

Signature		
Signature		