

IDENTITY, MEMORY OF THE CIVIL WAR, AND SUPPORT FOR REPARATIONS IN  
GUATEMALA

By

Sara Estrada-Villalta

Submitted to the graduate degree program in Psychology and the Graduate Faculty of the  
University of Kansas in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of  
Philosophy.

---

Chair: Ludwin Molina, Ph.D.

---

Co- Chair: Glenn Adams, Ph.D.

---

Chris Crandall, Ph.D.

---

Byron Santangelo, Ph.D.

---

Joanne Nagel, Ph.D.

Date Defended: 23 May 2019

The dissertation committee for Sara Estrada-Villalta certifies that this is  
the approved version of the following dissertation:

Identity, Memory of the Civil War and Support for Reparations in Guatemala

---

Chair: Ludwin Molina, Ph.D.

---

Co-Chair: Glenn Adams, Ph.D.

Date Approved: 23 December 2019

## Abstract

The mutually constitutive relationship between constructions of social identity and collective memory is mediated by cultural tools. Across four studies, I explored the relationship between ethnic and national identity and engagement with the final report of the Commission for Historical Clarification as a cultural tool for the memory of the Civil War in Guatemala. I also investigated the implications of social identification and engagement with the report for support of social justice policies aimed at repairing harm associated with the war. In Study 1, identification with the Indigenous social category and a tendency towards exploration of national identity were associated with positive attitudes towards the CEH report and with greater support for reparative policy. In Study 2, identification with the Indigenous category—particularly a sense of solidarity and commitment towards Indigenous identity—was again related to more positive report attitudes and support for reparations. In the final two studies, I measured (Study 3) and manipulated (Study 4) a sense of shared heritage with Indigenous Peoples. Such sense of shared heritage was associated with increased Indigenous identification, which in turn predicted positive attitudes towards the report as well as increased support for reparations. These findings have implications for our understanding of social identities and their relationship with collective memory. I discuss these implications for the Guatemalan context with reference to local struggles for transitional justice.

## Acknowledgements

This project is the result of the collective efforts of many people to whom I would like to express my immense gratitude. I thank and express my appreciation to my graduate advisor, Dr. Glenn Adams, who supported and guided me throughout many years of learning about the human mind. I also thank Dr. Ludwin Molina for his support and intellectual contributions throughout my graduate career. And I also thank the members of my dissertation committee, Drs. Chris Crandall, Byron Santangelo and Joane Nagel, for their important questions and critical feedback about this project.

I also thank my mother Judith and my father Ricardo for their unlimited support, as well as for always being a source of constant inspiration. I am also grateful for the support of my sister Diana, and I thank my brother Ricardo for his constant support and faith in my progress. I also thank my friends and colleagues who have provided instrumental support and insightful comments throughout the development of this project, particularly the members of the Culture and Psychology Research Group at the University of Kansas, as well as Dr. Thomas Dirth and Ing. Luis Mijangos.

Finally, I would like to express my eternal gratitude to my husband, Dr. Juan Fernando Mancilla Cáceres, for his ever faithful support.

## Table of Contents

Abstract .....	iii
Acknowledgements.....	iv
List of Tables .....	vii
List of Figures .....	viii
Identity, Memory of the Civil War, and Support for Reparative Policy in Guatemala .....	1
Conception and measurement of social identity in psychological science .....	1
Multidimensionality.....	3
Cultural psychology perspective: identity as “mind in context” .....	10
Identity and memory. ....	13
Ethnic Identity: The Guatemalan Case .....	15
The Civil War in Guatemala. ....	18
Introduction to Present Studies .....	20
Study 1 .....	22
Method .....	22
Results.....	24
Discussion.....	27
Study 2 .....	28
Method .....	28
Results.....	31
Discussion.....	32
Study 3 .....	33

Method ..... 34

Results..... 36

Discussion..... 38

Study 4 ..... 39

    Method ..... 39

    Measures ..... 42

    Discussion..... 45

References..... 55

Tables and Figures ..... 64

Appendix A..... 74

Appendix B ..... 78

Appendix C..... 79

Appendix D..... 82

## List of Tables

Table 1. <i>Means and standard deviations (Study 1)</i> .....	64
Table 2. <i>Correlations between identification, knowledge, and report attitudes</i> .....	64
Table 3. <i>Identification predicting report knowledge</i> . ....	64
Table 4. <i>Identification and knowledge predicting attitudes and support for policy</i> . ....	65
Table 5. <i>Means and standard deviations (Study 2-3)</i> . ....	66
Table 6. <i>Correlations between identification, knowledge, and report attitudes</i> .....	66
Table 7. <i>Identification predicting report knowledge</i> . ....	67
Table 8. <i>Identification and knowledge predicting attitudes and support for policy</i> . ....	67
Table 9. <i>Correlations between heritage, identification, and report attitudes</i> . ....	68
Table 10. <i>Identification predicting report attitudes and support for policy</i> . ....	69
Table 11. <i>Means and standard deviations across experimental conditions</i> . ....	70

## List of Figures

Figure 1: Mediation model predicting support for reparative policy.....	71
Figure 2: Mediation model predicting report reliability. ....	71
Figure 3: Mediation model predicting support for report dissemination.....	72
Figure 4: Mediation model predicting perceptions of reliability. ....	72
Figure 5: Mediation model predicting support for dissemination of report.....	73
Figure 6: Mediation model predicting support for reparative policy.....	73



## **Identity, Memory of the Civil War, and Support for Reparative Policy in Guatemala**

The experience of seeing oneself as part of social categories is an important psychological phenomenon that shapes mental processes and behaviors. Across different societal contexts, research has shown that social identities influence the ways in which people process information, particularly when the information is relevant to the history or present concerns of the social category. In this set of studies, I apply a cultural psychological perspective to identity, emphasizing the particular cultural and historical context in which social identification occurs. Specifically, I focus on understanding how different measures of identification with social categories relevant to the Guatemalan context are associated with participants' stances towards the memory of the Civil War (1960-1996), an event that constitutes an extremely violent example of intergroup conflict. I am also interested in understanding how identities are related to people's support for reparative policies implemented by the State to address harms against civilian communities.

### **Conception and measurement of social identity in psychological science**

Social identity refers to the experience of the self as belonging to social categories (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). As a result of processes of categorization, information about the categories to which the self belongs becomes part of the self-concept, serving as an important basis for people's understandings of who they are and what their place in society is. Social identity can thus function as a source for meaning across different situations, guiding people's cognitions, emotions, and behaviors (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner, 1985; Turner & Oakes, 1986). One classic example of collective psychological processes is the tendency for people to reach a consensus with members of a salient social category regarding the meaning of perceptual stimuli, such as in Asch's (1955) experiments about line perception. This example of social influence

entails an interdependent relationship between individual perception and validation by others, associated with a self that is not experienced as individual, but as social (Brewer, 1991; Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 2002; Turner & Oakes, 1986).

This psychological experience of social identity has important implications for intergroup behaviors. One example is the phenomenon known as in-group favoritism, which refers to the tendency to judge and behave towards one's own social categories (i.e., ingroups) more favorably than towards those to which one does not belong (i.e., outgroups; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner & Oakes, 1986). People are motivated to maintain a positive self-image, and because social categories are part of their self-concept, it follows that people are also motivated to maintain positive category evaluations, as well as to protect collective interests. For example, experimental research has shown a general tendency to distribute more valuable rewards to one's ingroup relative to those allocated to outgroups participating in the same study (e.g., Billig & Tajfel, 1973; Oakes & Turner, 1980).

To study these collective psychological processes, researchers typically use experimental manipulations to increase the salience of social identities. One notable example is the experimental method known as the minimal group paradigm, in which the experimenter categorizes study participants into groups for the purposes of the study, based on arbitrary criteria such as preference for paintings (e.g., Doosje, Branscombe, Spears, & Manstead, 1998; Hogg & Sunderland, 1991; Tajfel, Billig, Bundy, & Flament, 1971). Another research method is based on scales that measure the degree or strength of identification with groups that exist outside of the study, which have a prior history associated with the historical, political, and economic structures of the societal context, as well as greater relevance for people's lived experience, such as people's national and ethnic categories. These measures assess people's

agreement with statements such as “Being [in-group] just feels natural to me,” and “I identify with other [in-group] people” (e.g., Branscombe & Wann, 1994; Doosje, et al., 1998; Verkuyten, 2005). A complete discussion of the large and diverse body of scientific literature documenting psychological processes associated with social identity is beyond the scope of this paper. Instead, I will focus on a discussion of the multiple dimensions of the construct and measures of social identity, as well as on the importance of the social context on its associated processes.

**Multidimensionality.** Theorists have noted that social identity is a complex phenomenon with different dimensions shaped both by the present situation and the particular historical context in which identification occurs (Adams, Fryberg, Garcia, & Delgado-Torres, 2006; Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004). They argue that researchers must go beyond a unitary conception of identity to explore different dimensions of the psychological experience of identification. These include cognitive processes such as self-categorization and judgments about the centrality of the category for the self-concept; affective processes such as emotional attachment and involvement with the category; and behavioral engagement through category-relevant actions (Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004). The concept of identity also includes its meaningful content, such as beliefs, expectations, symbols, and different kinds of social practices, which acquire meaning with reference to the category position within societal contexts characterized by particular power structures (Reicher, 2004; Nagel, 1994; Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998).

To address this multidimensionality, Leach and colleagues (2008) proposed a general measure of social identity that includes five different dimensions of the experience of identification. The first dimension, *individual self-stereotyping*, refers to the process of self-categorization through which the individual includes the self in the category (e.g., “I have a lot in

common with the average [in-group] person”); *in-group homogeneity* refers to the perception of the social category as including people that share common characteristics (e.g., “[In-group] people have a lot in common with each other”); and *centrality* refers to the extent to which category membership is an important aspect of the self-concept (“Being [in-group] is an important part of how I see myself.”). The other two dimensions assess affective aspects of identification: *satisfaction* refers to positive feelings about the category and about belonging to it (e.g., “Being [in-group] gives me a good feeling”); and *solidarity* refers to the psychological commitment and investment in the category (“I feel solidarity with [in-group]”).

Different dimensions have different implications for the experience of identification across social contexts, as well as for different social categories. For example, the most important dimension for the experience of belonging to experimentally created groups, which have relevance only in the laboratory for the duration of the study, might be the cognitive process of self-categorization following the experimenter’s instructions. However, identification with categories with a more complex history, meaning, and greater social relevance such as ethnic and national categories, might entail emotional processes including a sense of commitment and investment of the self in the category. In turn, commitment and self-investment might function as a powerful motivation to defend the positive image of the category against perceived threats (Leach et al., 2008).

Researchers have found some evidence of different psychological implications of different dimensions included in this measure. A study focusing on members of the majority-ethnic category in the Dutch context observed that the dimension of individual self-stereotyping was associated with feelings of collective guilt when considering in-group wrongdoing; whereas centrality and satisfaction were associated with an increased motivation to legitimize the

wrongdoing. In addition, only the solidarity dimension was associated with increased support for the full integration of a minority ethnic group into the broader society (Leach et al., 2008). A subsequent study showed that a threat consisting of devaluation of the ingroup motivated participants to increase their endorsement of the satisfaction dimension, but it did not increase the dimensions reflecting self-investment. The researchers interpreted this pattern as an indication that the threat increased participants' emotional attachment towards the category, but it did not motivate them to increase their sense of belonging to it (Leach, Rodriguez Mosquera, Vliek & Hirt, 2010).

Cameron (2004) proposed another multidimensional general model for the experience of identification, which includes three dimensions that encompass cognitive and emotional aspects. The dimension of *centrality* refers to the relative importance of category membership in people's lives; *ingroup affect* refers to the positive emotional experiences associated with category membership; and *ingroup ties* refers to the sense of belonging and perceived similarity with other members of the category. This model is similar to the previously discussed model by Leach et al. (2008). Both models focus on assessing cognitive and affective dimensions of identity; however, the Cameron (2004) model does not include a dimension referring explicitly referring to a sense of solidarity with other members of the category.

With respect to differential patterns of relationships with other variables, self-esteem is associated with the affective dimensions of ingroup affect and ingroup ties, but it is not associated with the cognitive dimension of group centrality. In addition, endorsement of authoritarianism is associated only with ingroup ties, highlighting the association between authoritarianism and the tendency to make sharp distinctions between the categories to which one belongs and those that are not part of the self-concept (Cameron, 2004). In addition to these

general models of identification, researchers have also proposed multidimensional models that focus on specific social identities, such as ethnic and national identity.

***Dimensions of ethnic identity.*** The *Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure* (MEIM; Phinney, 1992) includes various components of ethnic identification conceptualized as shared by different ethnic groups, with the purpose of developing an instrument with broad applicability. Resembling the measures of social identification that I considered in previous paragraphs, this instrument includes one dimension that refers to a sense of belonging, commitment, and pride regarding the category (e.g., “I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to.”, and “I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group”). In addition, informed by psychological theories of identity development across the lifespan, this measure includes a dimension of ethnic *identity search*, referring to the process of exploration and learning about what it means to be a member of an ethnic category within one’s particular society (e.g., “I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs”; Roberts et al., 1999; Phinney & Ong, 2007).

These dimensions have different functions regarding identity-relevant psychological processes. The first dimension makes reference to the sense of belonging and commitment to a particular construction of identity that has particular meanings and content. In contrast, the identity search dimension makes reference to a more open and fluid stance towards identity, including the motivation to explore and learn more about its meaning and potential content (Phinney, 1992; Phinney & Ong, 2007). For example, one study focusing on Mexican American adolescents found that only the belonging dimension, and not the exploration dimension, attenuated the negative effects of perceived discrimination on self-esteem (Romero & Roberts, 2003). However, another study found that perceived discrimination increases both the belonging

and the exploration dimensions among Black adolescents. Researchers proposed that experiences of discrimination might motivate adolescents to question and engage with the complex history of their ethnic category in the U.S. context, thus increasing their exploration motivation (Pahl & Way, 2006). An additional implication of the difference between these dimensions is that the sense of belonging and attachment to an ethnic category might be particularly associated with the motivation to defend it from perceived threats, whereas the exploration dimension might entail a greater openness to new information (Phinney & Tarver, 1988).

A more specific model of ethnic identification that focuses on the particular historical, political, and cultural features of the experiences of identity of African Americans in the U.S. context is the Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI; Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, Chavous, 1998). This theoretical model focuses both on the importance for the self of the ethnic category, as well as on the specific meaning of ethnic identity among African Americans. The first two dimensions are similar to measures discussed previously: *racial salience* and *centrality* refer to the extent to which ethnic group membership is a central aspect of people's self-concept in particular moments and situations (salience), or across situations (centrality). The other two dimensions refer to the affective experience and to the particular content of identity: *regard* assesses feelings associated with identification, and *ideology* refers to the specific attitudes and beliefs about the characteristics of the ethnic group. This model is the basis for the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI), which includes six subscales. *Centrality* assesses the importance of the social category for the self-concept (e.g., "In general, being Black is an important part of my self-image."); *private regard* refers to one's own feelings about it (e.g., "I feel that Blacks have made major accomplishments and advancements"); and *public regard* refers to others' evaluations of the category (e.g., "Overall, Blacks are considered

good by others.”). The *Ideology* scale assesses different types of beliefs that address the particular social experiences of African Americans relative to other ethnic groups in the U.S. context. It includes four subscales: the *nationalist ideology* subscale (e.g., “It is important for Black people to surround their children with Black art, music and literature”); the *oppressed minority ideology* subscale (e.g., “The racism Blacks have experienced is similar to that of other minority groups”); the *assimilationist ideology* subscale (e.g., “Blacks should strive to be full members of the American political system”); and the *humanist ideology* subscale (e.g., “Black values should not be inconsistent with human values”).

These dimensions have different functions regarding identity-relevant psychological processes. For example, the centrality dimension is associated with greater perception of discrimination in American society among African American participants, but the regard and ideology dimensions function as a buffer against the negative effects on well-being of perceived discrimination. In one study, endorsement of nationalist ideology buffered the impact of perceived discrimination on well-being (Sellers & Shelton, 2003); and in a subsequent study, it buffered the impact of experiences of racial discrimination, reducing symptoms of depression and stress (Sellers, Copeland-Linder, Martin, & Lewis; 2006).

***Dimensions of national identity.*** Regarding national identity, researchers have also distinguished between different forms of identification. Similar to previously discussed measures, one model of national identity includes a dimension of *attachment*, encompassing both to the extent to which the national identity category is part of the self-concept, as well as the experience of emotional attachment and commitment. The second dimension is *glorification*, which refers to the motivation to maintain a positive image of the national group. Such motivation implies a tendency towards defensiveness against perceived threats to the positive



image of the category, including the motivation to deny or justify instances of wrongdoing by the national category (Roccas, Klar, & Liviatan, 2006).

Studies have shown that these two different forms of national identification have different implications for psychological processes. For example, when exposed to information about past wrongdoing by the nation, greater endorsement of the attachment dimension is associated with an increased experience of collective guilt. In contrast, the glorification dimension is associated with a reduced experience of this collective emotion (Roccas, Klar, & Liviatan, 2006), as well as with lower support for reparative policies favoring the victims of wrongdoing carried out by one's nation (Leidner, Castano, Zaiser, & Giner-Sorolla, 2010).

Taken together, these examples of multidimensional measures of general social identification, as well as the measures of ethnic and national identity, illustrate the complexity of this psychological phenomenon. Researchers have conceptualized social identities in different ways across different contexts, proposing measures that encompass cognitive and affective psychological processes, as well as dimensions that address specific context-relevant content. All measures emphasize the importance of the process of inclusion of the self as part of the category, as well as the experience of emotional investment and attachment. However, when referring to more specific social categories such as national and ethnic identity, the measures include particular dimensions corresponding to the particular psychological experience of identification. For example, the MIBI (Sellers et al., 1998) focuses on the experience of Black Americans' ethnic identification within the U.S. context, taking into account the specific meaning of identity in a social context characterized by social inequality. In this context, identifying with a social category for which there is a prevalent glorification narrative has different meanings relative to the experience of identifying with a category that has negative connotations associated with a

history of marginalization and discrimination. A cultural psychology perspective for the study of identity also emphasizes the importance of the historical, political, material, and cultural context of social identification.

### **Cultural psychology perspective: identity as “mind in context”**

A cultural psychology perspective emphasizes that psychological processes take place in social contexts characterized by particular cultural patterns. These include patterns of beliefs, values, desires, expectations, practices, and societal arrangements and institutions, which emerge as people engage in socially relevant practices, and take part in the meaningful interpretation of such practices (Adams & Markus, 2004; Greenfield et al., 2003; Shweder, 1990). Cultural patterns do not constitute solidified traits of individuals or groups, but they emerge and change dynamically as humans adapt to their contexts. Any stability of cultural patterns across societies corresponds to the relative stability of the characteristics of the ecology, but they are susceptible to change in response to transformations in the social, material, or symbolic environment (Adams & Markus, 2004; Greenfield, 2016; Shweder, 1990).

Based on this understanding of culture as dynamic patterns of adaptation to context, a cultural psychology perspective emphasizes the extent to which the person –or any social entity– is not a previously constituted entity interacting at will with an also previously constituted context. Rather, the person and the social context exist in dynamic processes of “mutual constitution”: the totality of structural relationships within a particular society shapes the person, including their psychological tendencies and behaviors; while the person actively (re)constructs such structures through conscious or unconscious selection of particular tendencies and ways of being. These include constructions of the self, relationships, needs, obligations, habits, and social identities (Martín-Baró, 1986; Shweder, 1990).

Regarding social identities, a cultural psychology perspective emphasizes that rather than fixed, historically determined categories, social identities result from mutually constitutive relationships between societal structures and individuals or communities consciously or unconsciously selecting particular psychological patterns of social identification (Adams, Fryberg, Garcia, & Delgado-Torres, 2006; Hammack, 2008; Nagel, 1994; Reicher, 2004; Reicher & Hopkins, 2001). The context of identification includes the symbolic or ideological structures of beliefs, expectations, norms, and historical narratives, as well as the material structures of everyday worlds including economic arrangements, societal institutions, public policies, and power structures (Reicher, 2004). In addition, social categories can make possible the organization of meaning and action necessary for collective action and mobilization that (re)construct societal structures (Hopkins & Reicher, 2011). Such mobilization can in turn shape the meaning and boundaries of social identities, for example, by promoting the emotional experience of category pride after engaging in collective action to defend social rights (Nagel, 1995).

One example that illustrates how historical processes as well as unequal power structures of context shape the construction of social categories is the phenomenon that sociologists term *symbolic ethnicity*, referring to a nostalgic allegiance and pride about belonging to an ethnic group, but without incorporating the groups' cultural elements into everyday behavior (Gans, 1979). One notable example in the U.S. context is White Americans' claims of ethnic affiliations with reference to the national history of migration, such as claiming identification with ethnic ancestors who migrated from Europe. Such affiliation is constructed primarily by voluntary adoption of symbols, such as consuming ethnic food, celebrating holidays, and showing concern for one's ancestral country. However, rather than an affiliation based on everyday interactions

with a concrete group affording particular role prescriptions, it constitutes a psychological construction of a bond with an abstract collective. Such experience is possible because the relatively privileged position of Whites within U.S. society allows them a sense of freedom of choice regarding the construction of their social identities (Nagel & Kelly, 2008; Waters, 1996).

Another example of the importance of context regarding the dynamic negotiation of category boundaries and symbolic meaning is the Native American ethnic category in the U.S. Particular situations, reference groups, and salient interests can influence whether the relevant salient category for identification is the broad pan-Indian Native American or American Indian category, or a more specific tribal or regional category such as Sioux or Plains (Adams, Fryberg, Garcia, & Delgado-Torres, 2006; Nagel, 1994). For example, in the U.S. context, an ethnic renewal beginning in the 1960s was characterized by an increase in the number of people claiming Native American identities, as well as an increase in large-scale collective mobilizations to assert their Native American rights (Nagel, 1995). Relevant to these social movements, collective constructions of broader pan-Indian identities served to unite communities with different tribal and linguistic backgrounds to mobilize, as well providing a basis for communication and interactions with non-Indian communities.

As people and communities actively participate in the processes of construction of social identities, they make choices to emphasize certain elements while discarding others. One important resource for these constructions is the collective past, with people (re)interpreting and modifying its narratives to shape particular representations of social categories (Hammack, 2008; Nagel & Kelly, 2008; Verkuyten & de Wolf, 2002). For example, research has shown that the construction of a glorifying narrative of American identity is based on the strategic emphasis on historical events that support a positive view of the nation, as well as on the systematic silencing

of events that portray it negatively (e.g., the silencing of the genocide of Native American peoples in the early history of the U.S.; Kurtiş, Adams, & Yellow-Bird, 2010).

**Identity and memory.** Research across different regions of the world has found evidence of a mutually constitutive relationship between social identities and shared representations of the past. One concept that illustrates this relationship is *collective memory*, which refers to the specific set of representations of history that are common among members of social categories (Figueiredo, Martinovic, Rees & Licata, 2017; Licata & Klein, 2010). The first direction of this mutual constitution concerns processes by which particular accounts and meaningful interpretations of historical events provide the basis for narratives of the past, present, and future of social categories (Figueiredo, Martinovic, Rees & Licata, 2017; Turner & Oakes, 1986). Historical narratives include foundational myths about the origins of social groups, which can function as the basis for shared *charters*, a concept that refers to the normative framework for interpretation and response to contemporary identity-relevant social issues (Liu & Hilton, 2005). For example, research in the New Zealand context has shown that different social groups share a consensus regarding the most important events in the history of the nation, placing more importance on those events that involve the categories to which they belong, as well as their historical interactions with different social categories within the nation (e.g., participants tend to emphasize events such as the Treaty of Waitangi, which entails an interaction between representatives of the British Crown and Māori chiefs; Liu, Wilson, McClure, & Higgins, 1999).

In the other direction, particular understandings and constructions of social identities guide people's selective remembering and interpretation of historical narratives, a process that is associated with the general psychological motivation to maintain a positive view of one's social identities (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner & Oakes, 1986). As discussed above, research in the

U.S. context has shown that endorsement of a glorifying narrative of national identity is associated with preferences for narratives of the past that do not make explicit allusions of past wrongdoing by national group (Kurtiş, Adams, & Yellow-Bird, 2010). In the Indian context, greater identification with the nation is associated with ascribing more importance to past events that refer to its triumphs and positive attributes, minimizing the importance of events involving wrongdoing or defeat (Mukherjee, Adams, & Molina, 2017). In the Turkish context, endorsement of an ethno-cultural construction of national identity (i.e., a construction emphasizing specific cultural markers such as language and religion) is associated with greater denial of past events involving harmful treatment of ethnic minorities (Kurtiş, Soylu Yalçinkaya, & Adams, 2017).

This mutually constitutive relationship between social identities and shared representations of the past has important implications for present intergroup relations and conflicts. For example, engagement with historical narratives that explicitly address past wrongdoing by ingroups can increase support for reparative actions. A study in the American context showed that engagement with historical narratives that address past wrongdoing against Native American is associated with greater support for Indigenous rights (Kurtiş, Adams, & Yellow-Bird, 2010). Another study in the New Zealand context showed that lower denial of past wrongdoing against the Māori predicted greater support for different kinds of public policy favoring Māori rights (Sibley, Liu, Duckitt, & Khan, 2008). In Chile, several studies showed that experiencing the emotion of guilt when engaging with information about past harmful treatment of Mapuche peoples was associated with greater support for material and symbolic reparations (Brown, González, Zagefka, Manzi, & Čehajic, 2008).

Processes of mutual constitution between identity and memory require that people engage with the societal structures of their everyday context, which can function as sources of important information. One particular form of engagement is through cultural tools that mediate the collective construction of memory. People's constructions of their "imagined communities" (Anderson, 1983) occur in contexts shaped by the material manifestations of collective psychological processes, including cultural artifacts such as flags, monuments, museum exhibits, official textbooks, educational displays, and collective commemoration practices such as moments of silence and reflection (Hakim & Adams, 2017; Kurtiş, Soylu Yalçinkaya, & Adams, 2017; Mukherjee, Salter, & Molina, 2015; Salter & Adams, 2016). Engagement with cultural tools afford a sense of connection with distant others, as well as provide the symbolic material to construct a narrative of continuity between the past and present of the social identity (Hakim & Adams, 2017). In this set of studies, I was interested in exploring people's engagement with a cultural tool for remembering the past with respect to identification with national and ethnic categories in the Guatemalan context.

### **Ethnic Identity: The Guatemalan Case**

Guatemala is a multiethnic and multicultural country. An extensive discussion of social identities in this context is beyond the scope of this work, so I provide a brief introduction highlighting its most important features. The majority of the population refers to two broad ethnic categories to categorize themselves. Approximately 40% of the population identifies as Indigenous, a broad term that encompasses several specific Mayan categories, such as K'iche, Kaqchikel, Mam and Q'eqchi; and approximately 41% identifies as Ladino, another broad term that generally refers to population of mixed-ethnicity (INE, 2012).

Historically, relations between these two ethnic categories have been characterized by severe inequality and conflict. The systems of exploitation of Indigenous labor established by the Spanish colonizers persisted after the nation received its nominal independence, as the established national institutions favored the local-born population of Spanish descent (the *Criollos*), who controlled most resources and societal institutions (Casaús-Arzú, 2010; Martínez-Peláez, 2012). In contrast, Indigenous populations suffered from limited access to material resources such as land, as well as limited social rights and low access to participation in political life. For example, inequality was sustained through different forms of laws that implied forced labor mostly affecting Indigenous peoples (Taracena Arriola, 2007; Martínez-Peláez, 2012). Such historic inequality and exclusion of the Indigenous population is evident in contemporary ethnic disparities in income, access to education, health services, and participation in government (PNUD, 2005). For example, 58% of those living in poverty and 72% of those living in extreme poverty are Indigenous (INE, 2000).

As in many other Latin American nations, historical processes of *mestizaje* are important for understanding the context of ethnic category construction in Guatemala. *Mestizaje* is the term commonly used to refer to the union between different ethnic groups, particularly between Spanish and Indigenous persons (Taracena Arriola, 2007). Its meaning extends beyond the biological/genetic to the sociocultural, considering that historical interactions between Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations involve the interchange and sharing of cultural elements. Thus, scholars propose that the Guatemalan national culture is a *cultura mestiza*, because contemporary Indigenous cultural patterns incorporate elements originating from Europe, while non-Indigenous cultural patterns incorporate elements originating from pre-Hispanic or Indigenous practices (PNUD, 2005).



The Ladino ethnic label has been widely used as a synonym for the term mestizo to include people with both Indigenous and European ancestry. However, scholars have noted that the term also functions as an explicit contrast with the Indigenous group, thus also having the meaning of “not-Indigenous” (Taracena Arriola, 2007). Currently, Ladinos have greater access to both material and symbolic resources that include the power to shape the national project based on their own interests (Taracena Arriola, 2007). However, such historical domination has also entailed different forms of resistance, such as various Indigenous social movements that continuously challenge unequal societal structures (Bastos, 2007; Warren, 1998).

Associated with these interethnic relations characterized by conflict and inequality, an important feature of identity construction in the Guatemalan context is its relative fluidity. One notable example of the active participation of individuals in the construction of their identity is the process that scholars have termed *ladinización*. This refers to people’s active choices of abandoning traditional Indigenous language and dress to adopt Western-style clothing, and Spanish in order to construct a non-indigenous identity (Adams, 1994; Taracena Arriola, 2007). One important incentive for this process is the experience of discrimination and negative treatment of Indigenous persons in everyday social interactions, so that successfully transitioning to the Ladino group might entail greater access to economic opportunities and participation in social life (Hale, 2006; Quintana & Segura-Herrera, 2003).

In this context, research focused on interethnic attitudes has documented psychological processes that reflect these unequal societal structures. For example, a study focusing on people’s beliefs about the two major ethnic groups showed a general pattern of ingroup favoritism. In particular, higher identification with the Ladino category was associated with more positive attitudes towards Ladinos, and higher identification with the Indigenous category was

similarly associated with more positive attitudes towards Indigenous peoples, including beliefs about one's own category having more positive characteristics and providing greater contributions to Guatemalan society (Gibbons & Ashdown, 2010). In a subsequent study, endorsement of Social Dominance Orientation (SDO), understood as the tendency to accept social hierarchies as legitimate, significantly predicted more negative attitudes towards Indigenous peoples, but it was not associated with attitudes towards the Ladino category (Ashdown, Gibbons, Hackathorn, & Harvey, 2011).

**The Civil War in Guatemala.** The Civil War in Guatemala was a violent conflict that lasted for 36 years (1960 – 1996), fought between the military forces of the Guatemalan State and various armed groups. The conflict began after a U.S.-led intervention in 1954 forced the democratically elect President Jacobo Arbenz to step down from office. As a result of the intervention, a military officer named Carlos Castillo Armas was installed as president. His regime reverted most of the social reforms promoted by the two previous governments, intensifying social tensions. The war began formally in 1960, after a revolt by a group of military officers against the regime of Miguel Ydígoras Fuentes, the military officer who succeeded Castillo Armas. The war was characterized by extreme violence and human rights violations, in many cases associated with repressive strategies led by the State against the civilian populations. The national army carried out forced disappearances, torture, mass executions, as well as scorched-earth campaigns, a term that refers to the complete eradication of civilian villages. The conflict ended formally with the signing of Peace Accords between the armed groups and the Guatemalan government in December 29, 1996 (CEH, 1999).

In 1994, the U.N. appointed a commission known as Historical Clarification Commission (*Comisión para el Esclarecimiento Histórico*, CEH). Its mandate was to investigate and

document the violent events and human rights violations that occurred during the civil war. The final report, entitled “Guatemala: Memory of Silence” (*Guatemala: Memoria del Silencio*), was published in 1999. Based on their investigation, which included over 7,000 testimonies from witnesses and survivors, the commission estimated that approximately 200,000 people were killed or disappeared during the war, over 80% of which were Indigenous. In the geographic area of the western highlands known as the Ixil Triangle, the violence against the Ixil Indigenous population was so extreme that the commission classified it as genocide. Among its conclusions, the commission established that 93% of the human rights violations were carried out by State forces. The report also included several recommendations to promote reconciliation in the nation, including the provision of material reparations for victims, formal investigations of forced disappearance cases, and important institutional reforms to strengthen democratic processes (CEH, 1999).

The societal effects of truth commissions such as the CEH and their published reports on post-conflict societies are controversial. For example, scholars argue that detailed descriptions of State-led violence campaigns against the Indigenous population of Guatemala have been unhelpful because they have not led to the necessary institutional reforms to address ongoing injustice against them (Corntassel & Holder, 2008). Regarding psychological well-being, the potential benefits of truth commissions include providing opportunities for previously silenced victims to tell their stories, allowing for a sense of acknowledgment and empowerment, a sense of community and trust with other survivors and community members, and increasing societal awareness and support for human rights and justice seeking efforts (Burt, 2019; Martin-Beristain, Paez, Rimé, & Kanyangara, 2010). However, potential harms include intensifying negative emotions against perpetrators and causing negative effects on physical health associated with

stress (Chapman, 2007; Stein et al., 2007). In order to increase the beneficial potential of truth commissions, they must explicitly promote reconciliation, and serve as the foundation for investigations and prosecutions of perpetrators of human rights violations, as well as for substantive reparations for survivors that address historical structural inequalities (Burt, 2019; Twose & Mahoney, 2015).

In Guatemala, in the decades after the formal end of the war and the publication of the CEH report, the memory of the civil war has become a contested issue, with different social actors emphasizing specific aspects of the historical events. As discussed in a previous section, identity concerns can motivate people to construct the memory of past harmful collective behaviors in ways that protect the positive image of the social category (e.g., Kurtiş, Adams, & Yellow-Bird, 2010; Kurtiş, Soylu Yalçinkaya, & Adams, 2017). Social actors continuously engage in different forms of collective action aimed at preserving the memory of the civil war and promoting transitional justice, a term that refers to judicial and non-judicial measures to address societal consequences of human rights abuses (ICTJ, 2019), such as those committed during the civil war. Other actors work to sustain the systematic silencing or distorting of the memory, in order to promote narratives of forgetting and avoid accountability (e.g., Burt, 2019; Crosby & Lykes, 2011; Isaacs, 2010). Thus, although the long-term benefits of the CEH report are not clear, it remains an important historical document that presents a formal record of events with far-reaching implications for Guatemalan society.

### **Introduction to Present Studies**

As discussed above, a cultural psychology perspective emphasizes that engagement with the structures of everyday worlds mediates the psychological processes associated with the mutually constitutive relationship between social identities and collective memory (Hakim &

Adams, 2017; Kurtiş, Soylu Yalçinkaya, & Adams, 2017; Mukherjee, Salter, & Molina, 2015; Salter & Adams, 2016). In the present studies, I focus on one tool for collective remembering of the Civil War in Guatemala: the final report published in 1999 by the Historical Clarification Commission (CEH). The studies focus on exploring the relationship between social identities and people's knowledge and beliefs regarding this historical report.

An important feature of the report is that the investigation highlighted the importance of ethnic categories with respect to the violence, concluding that the majority of the victims were part of the Indigenous ethnic category. Previous research across various settings found a relationship between social identification and the construction of collective memory, partly associated with a defensive motivation to maintain a positive image of the social categories that are part of the self-concept. One manifestation of this motivation is the positive association between identification with a category and the motivation to deny past wrongdoing and present unequal privileges (Kurtiş, Adams, & Yellow-Bird, 2010; Nelson, Adams, & Salter, 2013). Based on this research, engaging with the historical record of violence endured by the Indigenous group could constitute a threat for the non-Indigenous ethnic category, as well as for the national category. Thus, identification with the national or the Ladino ethnic category could be associated with a reaction against remembering, as well as with greater resistance towards reparative policy perceived to be directed primarily at Indigenous communities.

However, such processes might function differently in the Guatemalan context, in which centuries of shared history and processes of *mestizaje* have promoted the incorporation of Indigenous elements into people's understandings of the national project. Thus, the context might afford the psychological possibility of open and fluid constructions of social categories, thereby reducing defensiveness motivations regarding identity-relevant historical knowledge. A

related additional focus of these studies is to investigate whether the possibility of identification with more than one category shapes the relationship between identity and memory; as well as the relationship between memory and people's stances towards current transitional justice issues.

### **Study 1**

The general purpose of Study 1 was to explore the relationship between identity and engagement with the CEH report. Identification with the national or Ladino social categories could activate defensiveness motivations against the contents of the report, as they might constitute a threat to positive ingroup image. The study focuses on exploring this possibility, using adapted measures that assess cognitive and emotional aspects of the experience of identification. It also explores the implications of the relationship between identity and historical knowledge for people's support for reparative policy.

### **Method**

#### **Participants**

Participants ( $N = 215$ ) were Guatemalan adults currently residing in Guatemala City. The researcher recruited participants over a period of approximately two weeks, approaching them to request voluntary participation in the study in public urban spaces near local universities (42% women; age range 18-47,  $M = 23$ ). The majority of participants (98%) reported some university education, and most (80%) located their socioeconomic status along the middle (4-7) of a scale from one to ten ( $M = 6.23$ ,  $SD = 1.38$ ). Participants completed the set of paper-and-pencil measures in their native language, Spanish, and received a candy bar to thank them for their participation.

#### **Measures**

**National identification.** Participants completed a 6-item scale ( $\alpha = .79$ ) adapted from the

Collective Self-Esteem Scale (CSE; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). Three items assessed feelings about national identity (e.g., “I am proud to be Guatemalan”), and three items assessed the importance of national identity for the self-concept (e.g., “Being Guatemalan is an important part of who I am”). Participants used a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *Do not agree at all* and 7 = *Completely agree*) to indicate their agreement with each item.

**National identity exploration.** Participants completed a 3-item scale ( $\alpha = .70$ ) adapted from the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (Phinney, 1992). The measure focused on people’s interest and motivation to learn more about their national identity, including its history and culture (e.g., “I have spent time trying to learn about the history and traditions of Guatemala”). Participants used a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *Do not agree at all* and 7 = *Completely agree*) to indicate their agreement with each item.

**Ethnic identification.** Participants completed two items referring to their identification with the two major national ethnic groups. One item referred to the extent to which they identify with the Indigenous category, and the second item referred to the extent of identification with the Ladino ethnic category. Participants used a 7-point scale (1 = *Do not identify at all* and 7 = *Completely identify*) to indicate the extent of their identification with each group.

**Knowledge of Truth Commission Report.** Participants completed a true/false knowledge test composed of 16 items organized across different categories: 8 items were directly taken from the report (“true”), and 8 items were fabricated and not included on the report (“false”). In addition, half of the items referred to wrongdoing by the Guatemalan State forces and half referred to wrongdoing by the rebel guerrilla groups (Appendix A). To assess participants’ knowledge of the report, I adapted a paradigm from Signal Detection Theory (SDT) using participants’ responses to true items (*signal*) and to false items (*noise*) to compute a

measure of their ability to correctly distinguish the eight true items from the eight false items (formula in Appendix B). This discrimination index ( $d'$ ; Nelson, Adams, & Salter, 2012) serves as an indication of participants' knowledge of the contents of the report.

**Attitudes towards Truth Commission Report.** Participants also completed a measure assessing their attitudes with regards to the CEH report. Three items measured their beliefs about the reliability of the report ( $\alpha = .72$ ; e.g., “The researchers who wrote the report are trustworthy”); and three items assessed their support for its widespread dissemination ( $\alpha = .76$ ; e.g., “All high schools in the country should have a copy of the report available for students”).

**Support for reparations.** Participants completed a nine-item measure ( $\alpha = .77$ ) that assessed the extent of to which they support different kinds of reparative policy aimed at repairing harms associated with the war. Three items focused on material reparations for damaged communities (e.g., “The Guatemalan State should provide economic compensation to indigenous communities that suffered damages during the Civil War”), three items focused on policies related to official forms of commemoration (e.g., “The Guatemalan State should build monuments and memorials to commemorate the victims of the Civil War”), and three items assessed support for the formal prosecution of army officials accused of crimes against humanity.

## **Results**

Average performance on the knowledge test was 9 correct answers out of sixteen ( $SD = 2.00$ ,  $range = 4 - 14$ ). As a first step to explore the relationship between identification, knowledge, and attitudes, I computed bivariate correlations. Then I carried out regression analyses to explore whether identification and knowledge predicted attitudes towards the report,



and whether identification, knowledge, and report attitudes predicted support for reparations.

Means and standard deviations appear on Table 1.

**Bivariate correlations.** As Table 2 shows, national identification and exploration were positively associated with identification with the Indigenous category, but not with identification with the Ladino category. In addition, identification with one ethnic category was negatively related to identification with the other. Regarding people's attitudes towards the report, national identity exploration was positively related to support for dissemination, and Indigenous identification was related both to greater perceptions of reliability and support for dissemination. The discrimination index ( $d'$ ) was not related to attitudes towards the report. Overall, more positive attitudes towards the report were related to greater support for reparations.

With respect to knowledge of the report, the discrimination index ( $d'$ ) was not significantly related to national or ethnic identification. Similarly,  $d'$  was not related with people's attitudes towards the report. However, it was significantly and negatively related to support for reparations, so that accuracy when distinguishing true from false items was associated with lower support for reparative policy. A potential source of this result is the particular content of the knowledge test. Support for reparations was associated with an increased number of false alarms for items about wrongdoing the army ( $r = .13, p < .05$ ), which indicates a greater tendency to falsely classify them as appearing in the report. More specifically, support for reparations was associated with indicating response of "true" to items that constitute a magnification or exaggeration of actual events such as: "During the conflict, the army's definition of internal enemy included the whole academic sector and the Catholic Church." ( $r = .18, p < .01$ ), and "During the conflict, the actions of the army caused the destruction of several

small museums in the rural areas of the country that housed important archaeological archives considered as heritage of humanity” ( $r = .17, p < .01$ ).

Regarding demographic characteristics, neither sex nor age were significantly correlated with national identification, knowledge and attitudes towards the CEH report, or attitudes towards reparations. Socioeconomic status was not related to national identification, knowledge and attitudes towards the report, but it was significantly negatively correlated with support for reparations ( $r = -.25, p < .01$ ), i.e., higher socioeconomic status was associated with lower support for reparations.

**Knowledge of CEH report.** To further explore the relationship between intercorrelated identification measures and knowledge of the report, I conducted ordinary least squares (OLS) regression analyses with ethnic and national identification as predictors of knowledge of CEH report. Results indicate that neither national nor ethnic identification predicted d' (Table 3).

**Attitudes towards CEH report and support for reparations.** In order to explore whether identification and knowledge independently predicted attitudes towards the report and support for reparations, I carried out ordinary least squares (OLS) regression analyses entering variables sequentially (Table 4). First I entered national and ethnic identification (STEP 1), and then knowledge (d', STEP 2). Regarding people's beliefs about the reliability of the report, the complete model accounted for 10% of the variance, and only the first step accounted for a significant amount of variance (Step 1  $\Delta R^2 = .09$ , and Step 2  $\Delta R^2 = .01$ ). In the final model, only Indigenous identification ( $\beta = .28, p = .00$ ) significantly predicted perceptions of report reliability. With respect to support for dissemination, the complete model accounted for 13% of the variance, with only the first step accounting for a significant amount of variance (Step 1  $\Delta R^2$

= .13, and Step 2  $\Delta R^2 = .00$ ). Only Indigenous identification ( $\beta = .28, p = .00$ ) significantly predicted support for report dissemination.

The complete model predicting support for reparative policy accounted for 17% of the variance, with both steps accounting for a significant amount of additional variance (Step 1  $\Delta R^2 = .18$ , and Step 2  $\Delta R^2 = .04$ ). Because of the significant negative association between SES and support of reparations, I included SES in this model. Indigenous identification ( $\beta = .31, p = .00$ ) predicted higher support for reparations, and SES ( $\beta = -.20, p = .00$ ) significantly predicted lower support for reparations. In addition, performance on the knowledge test,  $d'$  also significantly predicted lower support ( $\beta = -.20, p = .00$ ).

## **Discussion**

This study provides some evidence of the relationship between particular constructions of social identity and collective memory of the civil war. In particular, greater identification with the Indigenous group was associated with more positive attitudes towards the CEH report, as well as with greater support for reparations.

Regarding knowledge of the contents of the report, none of the different forms of national and ethnic identification were related to performance on the knowledge test. Additionally, the discrimination index that provides information about participants' ability to distinguish between items that actually appear in the report and those that do not was associated with lower support of reparations. As discussed above, this might be due to the particular items included in the knowledge test, with false items appearing more plausible than anticipated. These results suggest that attitudes towards the report are more important than knowledge of its contents with respect to support for reparations. An important limitation of this study was that it only included single-

item measures of both Ladino and Indigenous ethnic identification, a limitation addressed in Study 2.

## **Study 2**

Study 2 focused on further exploring the relationship between identity and knowledge of the CEH report. In particular, the study investigated the meaning of people's expressed identification with the Indigenous category, including a multidimensional measure of identification with reference to both Indigenous and Ladino categories. Although people inhabiting urban spaces in Guatemala might construct the Indigenous as the Other, Indigenous elements are an important component of the national identity. This has implications for people's attitudes towards reparative policies because, as shown in Study 1, a sense of identification with the Indigenous category might be associated with increased concern for category-relevant interests.

## **Method**

### **Participants**

Participants (N= 164) were Guatemalan adults currently residing in Guatemala City. The researcher approached potential participants in public metropolitan spaces near local universities (40% women; age range 18-77,  $M=27$ ). All participants reported some university education and located their socioeconomic status along the middle (4-7) of a scale from one to ten ( $M =6.76$ ,  $SD =1.30$ ). On an open-ended question requesting their ethnicity, 76% identified as Ladino, 14% identified as mixed ethnicity or *mestizo*, 1% identified as Indigenous, and 9% did not report an ethnicity. Participants completed the set of paper-and-pencil measures in Spanish, and received a candy bar to thank them for their participation.

### **Measures**

**National identification.** Participants completed the same 6-item scale ( $\alpha = .81$ ) adapted from the Collective Self-Esteem Scale (CSE; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992) as in Study 1. The measure included the same three items assessing feelings about the category and its importance for the self-concept as in Study 1. Participants used a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *Do not agree at all* and 7 = *Completely agree*) to indicate their agreement with each item.

**National identity exploration.** Participants completed the same 3-item scale ( $\alpha = .70$ ) adapted from the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (Phinney; 1992) as in Study 1, which assessed people's interest in learning more about their national identity.

**Ethnic identification.** Participants completed two five-item measures that assessed the meaning of their identification with the Indigenous and Ladino ethnic categories. I adapted these measures from the Multicomponent Ingroup Identification measure (Leach et al., 2008), particularly the three items from the *ingroup solidarity* subscale (“I feel a bond with [In-group]”, “I feel solidarity with [In-group]”, and “I feel committed to [In-group]”) and the two items from the *individual self-stereotyping* subscale (“I am similar to the average [In-group] person”, and “I have a lot in common with the average [In-group] person”).

I adapted these two subscales from a larger measure of in-group identification because they provide a way to explore in greater depth measure the different conceptual dimensions of self-investment and self-categorization as part of a social category (Leach et al., 2008) while allowing for a fluid construction of identity suitable for the Guatemalan context. For example, items that measure the dimension of identity centrality make more explicit assumptions about group membership (e.g., “I think of myself as [In-group]”), whereas the investment and solidarity items do not make such assumptions. For this study, I was particularly interested in participants' experiences of similarity and solidarity with the Indigenous group, even if they

would identify primarily as part of the Ladino group. Participants indicated their sense of similarity ( $\alpha = .83$ ) and solidarity ( $\alpha = .79$ ) with the Indigenous group, as well as their similarity ( $\alpha = .76$ ) and solidarity ( $\alpha = .78$ ) with reference to the Ladino group using a 7-point scale (1 = *Completely disagree* and 7 = *Completely agree*) to indicate the extent of agreement with each item.

**Knowledge of Truth Commission Report.** Participants completed a true/false knowledge test similar to the test used in Study 1, composed of 16 items (8 items were “true” and 8 items were “false”). As in Study 1, eight items referred to the Guatemalan State and the national army, and eight items referred to the guerrilla groups. One important difference between the studies is that the eight items corresponding to each group were divided as follows: four items described instances of wrongdoing by both sides, and four items described plausible justifications for such actions. As in the previous study, I used participants’ responses to compute a discrimination index ( $d'$ ) to assess participants’ ability to distinguish between the eight items that appear in the report (“true items” and the eight fabricated items (“false”); formula in Appendix B).

**Attitudes towards Truth Commission Report.** Participants completed a measure assessing their attitudes towards the report. In this study, four items measured their perception about the reliability of the report ( $\alpha = .80$ ); and four items measured their support for the widespread dissemination of the document ( $\alpha = .84$ ).

**Support for reparations.** Participants completed the same measure from the previous study assessing their support for material reparations, commemorations, and prosecutions ( $\alpha = .84$ ). This measure included an additional item referring to prosecutions of members of the

guerrilla groups (“The State should allocate more resources for investigations and prosecutions of guerrilla members accused on crimes during the civil war”).

## **Results**

Average performance on the knowledge test was similar as in Study 1, with 9 correct answers out of 16 ( $SD = 1.75$ ,  $range = 4 - 14$ ). I again computed bivariate correlations and regression analysis to explore the relationship between identification, report knowledge and attitudes, and support for reparative policy. Means and standard deviations appear in Table 5.

**Bivariate correlations.** As in Study 1, national identification and exploration were positively associated with Indigenous identification, but they were also related to Ladino identification. Neither national identification nor identity exploration were related to report knowledge, attitudes, or support for reparations. Regarding ethnic identification, both similarity and solidarity with the Indigenous category were related to more positive attitudes towards the report, as well as to greater support for reparations; but neither dimension of identification with the Ladino category was related to knowledge or attitudes. In this study, the discrimination index ( $d'$ ) was related to beliefs about reliability, but it was not associated with support for dissemination or reparative attitudes (Table 6). Regarding demographic characteristics, neither sex, age, nor socioeconomic status were related to knowledge and attitudes towards the CEH report, or to support for reparations.

**Knowledge of CEH report.** In this study, ordinary least squares (OLS) regression analyses showed that that neither national nor ethnic identification predicted  $d'$  (Table 7).

**Attitudes towards CEH report and support for reparations.** To explore the relationship between identification, attitudes, and support for reparations, I carried out ordinary least squares (OLS) regression analyses first entering national and ethnic identification (STEP 1),

and then knowledge ( $d'$ , STEP 2). Regarding people's beliefs about the reliability of the report, the complete model accounted for 10% of the variance, and neither step accounted for a significant amount of additional variance (Step 1  $\Delta R^2 = .07$ , and Step 2  $\Delta R^2 = .02$ ). In the final model, only Indigenous solidarity ( $\beta = .27, p = .03$ ) significantly predicted report reliability. The complete model predicting support for dissemination accounted for 4% of the variance, with neither of the two steps accounting for a significant amount of additional variance (Step 1  $\Delta R^2 = .04$ , and Step 2  $\Delta R^2 = .00$ ). In this case, neither identification nor knowledge significantly predicted support for report dissemination.

With respect to support for reparations, the complete model accounted for 18% of the variance, with only the first step accounting for a significant amount of variance (Step 1  $\Delta R^2 = .18$ , and Step 2  $\Delta R^2 = .00$ ). Indigenous solidarity ( $\beta = .43, p = .00$ ) significantly predicted greater support for reparations, whereas Ladino solidarity significantly predicted lower support ( $\beta = -.19, p = .00$ ).

## **Discussion**

Study 2 provides further evidence of the importance of participants' sense of identification with the Indigenous category for memory and reparations. Although both similarity and solidarity were correlated with these variables, regression analyses showed that only the sense of solidarity significantly predicted greater belief in the reliability of the report, as well as greater support for reparations.

Similar to Study 1, identification was not related to performance on the knowledge test. In this study, the discrimination index ( $d'$ ) was not associated with support for reparations. It is possible that the result from Study 1 was not replicated because the second test had a different format, including items about wrongdoing as well as about plausible justifications for the actions



of the army and the guerrilla groups. However, across the two first studies there was no evidence of a relationship between identity and knowledge of the report, or between knowledge and people's attitudes towards reparations. It is possible that because the historical events associated with the Civil War are currently a site of contestation, whereby different social groups promote different interpretations, but historical knowledge based on official documents is not equally promoted. A future direction for research would be to explore people's motivations to engage with historical documents such as the CEH report.

Overall, results from Study 2 provide further evidence of the importance of identification with the Indigenous category for people's attitudes towards reparative policy. In this study, there was a significant association between solidarity with the Ladino category and lower support for reparations, suggesting that people might interpret reparative policies as conflicting with Ladino-relevant interests. One important issue is that the solidarity subscale that I used in this study could be interpreted both as a dimension of self-investment in a social category to which one belongs (Leach et al., 2008), or as an experience of solidarity or allyship towards a separate social category. To further understand the meaning of this scale in this context, Study 3 focuses on exploring possible bases for identification with ethnic categories in the Guatemalan context.

### **Study 3**

The previous two studies showed that identification with the Indigenous ethnic category is associated with attitudes towards the CEH report and towards reparative policy. Broadly measured Indigenous identification (Study 1) and solidarity towards the category (Study 2) predicted more positive attitudes towards one of the most important cultural tools for remembering past events associated with the war, although in the second study this was evident particularly regarding people's belief in its reliability. In addition, Indigenous identification and

solidarity were associated with greater support for reparative policies. In order to better understand the meaning of this reported sense of identification, Study 3 focuses on people's understandings of their biological and cultural heritage. The study includes measures that assessed perceptions of the extent to which participants share biological/genetic and cultural elements with the Indigenous ethnic category.

An important feature of this study is that it includes a measure of heritage that does not separate the Ladino and Indigenous categories. Using separate measures of ethnic identification as in the previous studies carries the possibility of interpreting the measures as referring to categories that one does not necessarily include as part of the self-concept. To clarify this issue, Study 3 includes measures of heritage along a bipolar scale that forces participants to make a choice between the two groups, allowing for a fluid identification process that includes elements from both the Ladino and Indigenous categories. Additionally, because identity was not related to knowledge of the report in the previous two studies, this study omits a knowledge test.

## **Method**

### **Participants**

Participants (N= 167) were adults residing in Guatemala City (44% women; age range 18-60,  $M=24$ ). I removed seven participants who reported being born outside of the country, leaving a total sample of 160 (78% identified as Ladino, 10% identified as mixed ethnicity or *mestizo*, 1% identified as Indigenous, and 10% did not indicated any ethnicity). All participants reported some university education and the majority (80%) located their socioeconomic status above the middle (6-8) of a scale from one to ten ( $M =6.70$ ,  $SD =1.53$ ). I recruited participants via email lists, and they completed all measures in Spanish language through an online platform voluntarily with no compensation.

## Measures

**National identification.** Participants completed the same 6-item scale ( $\alpha = .86$ ) adapted from the Collective Self-Esteem Scale (CSE; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992) from previous studies.

**National identity exploration.** Participants also completed the same 3-item scale ( $\alpha = .70$ ) adapted from the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (Phinney; 1992), which assessed their interest in learning about their national identity.

**Ethnic identification.** Participants completed the same five-item measures from Study 2, adapted from the Multicomponent Ingroup Identification measure (Leach et al., 2008). As previously, participants indicated their similarity ( $\alpha = .65$ ) and solidarity ( $\alpha = .70$ ) with reference to the Indigenous category; as well as their similarity ( $\alpha = .70$ ) and solidarity ( $\alpha = .83$ ) with reference to the Ladino group.

**Indigenous heritage.** Participants completed two measures that assessed their perceptions of their Indigenous heritage. First, they estimated the percentage of their Indigenous ancestors relative to their ancestors of European origin using a bipolar scale. They then completed a similar set of items asking them to estimate the cultural influence of their Indigenous and European ancestors in their everyday practices (including their diet, dress, religion, language, and holiday celebrations). I used these estimates to compute a measure of *individual Indigenous heritage* ( $\alpha = .65$ ). They then completed the same biological/genetic ancestry and cultural influence estimates with reference to the whole nation of Guatemala, which I combined to compute a measure of *national Indigenous heritage* ( $\alpha = .75$ ).

**Attitudes towards Truth Commission Report.** Participants completed the same measure assessing their attitudes towards the report as in Study 2. Four items measured their

beliefs about report reliability ( $\alpha = .76$ ), and four items measured their support for the widespread dissemination of the document ( $\alpha = .82$ ).

**Support for reparations.** Participants completed the same 9-item measure as in Study 2, assessing their support for different kinds of reparations, including items about material reparations, resources for commemoration, and support for prosecutions of army officials and members of guerrilla accused of crimes against humanity ( $\alpha = .91$ ).

## Results

A central objective of this study was to explore whether people's sense of identification with the Indigenous ethnic category was associated with their estimates of shared biological/genetic ancestry and culture. Overall, people reported higher estimates of national Indigenous heritage than individual Indigenous heritage (Table 5). I first explored the relationship between the different measures of identification, and then explored their role as predictors of report attitudes and reparative policy.

**Bivariate correlations.** National identification was associated with both individual and national estimates of shared heritage (Table 9). Individual Indigenous heritage was significantly associated with similarity, but not with solidarity towards the Indigenous category. In addition, individual Indigenous heritage was negatively associated with similarity with the Ladino category. Regarding report attitudes, heritage was not associated with reliability or dissemination, and it was not associated with support for reparations. As in previous studies, Indigenous solidarity and exploration of national identity were related to support for report dissemination and reparative policy.

**Attitudes towards report and support for reparations.** I conducted regression analyses entering Indigenous heritage variables (STEP 1), and ethnic and national identification (STEP 2)

sequentially to predict attitudes. Results showed that Indigenous solidarity consistently predicted more positive report attitudes and greater support for reparations (Table 10). Regarding people's beliefs about report reliability, the complete model accounted for 9% of the variance, with neither step accounting for a significant amount of variance (Step 1  $\Delta R^2 = .07$ , and Step 2  $\Delta R^2 = .02$ ). In the final model, only Indigenous solidarity ( $\beta = .36, p = .00$ ) significantly predicted reliability. The complete model predicting support for dissemination accounted for 16% of the variance, with only the second step accounting for a significant amount of additional variance (Step 1  $\Delta R^2 = .02$ , and Step 2  $\Delta R^2 = .13$ ). Again, only Indigenous solidarity significantly predicted support for report dissemination.

The model predicting support for reparative policy accounted for 21% of the variance, with only the second step accounting for a significant amount of additional variance (Step 1  $\Delta R^2 = .01$ , and Step 2  $\Delta R^2 = .20$ ). Indigenous solidarity ( $\beta = .43, p = .00$ ) and exploration of national identity significantly predicted greater support for reparations ( $\beta = .40, p = .00$ ).

**Mediation analysis.** In this study, regression analyses showed that people's estimate of their own Indigenous heritage significantly predicts their sense of similarity with the Indigenous group ( $\beta = .30, p = .00$ ), whereas their estimate of national Indigenous heritage does not ( $\beta = -.06, p = .44$ ). Because heritage was not associated directly with Indigenous solidarity, I tested an indirect effect through mediation analyses using PROCESS in SPSS. Analyses showed evidence of an indirect effect of Indigenous heritage on reparative policy through the sequential mediation by the two forms of Indigenous identification (total indirect effect  $b = .04, SE = .02, 95\% \text{ CI } [.01-.08]$ ; Figure 1). Participants' own Indigenous heritage significantly predicted Indigenous similarity ( $b = .24, SE = .07, 95\% \text{ CI } [.10-.38]$ ), Indigenous similarity significantly predicted

solidarity ( $b = .43$ ,  $SE = .08$ , 95% CI [.28-.58]), and similarity significantly predicted support for reparations ( $b = .38$ ,  $SE = .10$ , 95% CI [.19-.58]).

The same pattern was evident regarding perceptions of the reliability of the truth commission report (total indirect effect  $b = .02$ ,  $SE = .01$ , 95% CI [.01-.05], with participants' Indigenous heritage significantly predicting Indigenous similarity ( $b = .25$ ,  $SE = .07$ , 95% CI [.11-.39]), Indigenous similarity significantly predicting solidarity ( $b = .43$ ,  $SE = .07$ , 95% CI [.29-.58]), and similarity significantly predicting perceptions of reliability ( $b = .21$ ,  $SE = .08$ , 95% CI [.05-.37]; Figure 2).

These relationships were also evident regarding support for dissemination (total indirect effect  $b = .03$ ,  $SE = .02$ , 95% CI [.01-.07]; Figure 3). Own Indigenous heritage significantly predicted Indigenous similarity ( $b = .25$ ,  $SE = .07$ , 95% CI [.11-.39]), which significantly predicted solidarity ( $b = .43$ ,  $SE = .07$ , 95% CI [.29-.58]), which in turn predicted support for dissemination ( $b = .21$ ,  $SE = .08$ , 95% CI [.05-.37]).

## **Discussion**

Although the majority of participants identified primarily as Ladino as a response to a demographic question asking them to report their ethnicity, they also reported some extent of Indigenous ancestry and shared culture. In addition, estimates of their own Indigenous heritage were associated with their sense of similarity with the Indigenous category. A mediation analysis showed that similarity predicts greater solidarity with the Indigenous category, which in turn predicts more positive attitudes towards the truth commission report and greater support for reparative policy. These results provide evidence for the role of shared heritage as a potential basis of identification with the Indigenous social category, which has implications for attitudes and beliefs relevant to the Guatemalan context.

In this study, exploration of national identification positively predicted greater support for reparative policy. Taken together, Studies 1-3 provide consistent evidence of a relationship between a sense of identification with the Indigenous category and support for different kinds of reparative policy associated with the civil war. Study 3 showed evidence of a relationship between participants' perceptions of shared cultural and biological heritage and their identification with the Indigenous category. Study 4 further explores this relationship through an experimental manipulation of shared heritage with the Indigenous category among a sample composed primarily of Ladino participants.

#### **Study 4**

The main purpose of Study 4 was to explore whether an experimental manipulation of participants' perceptions of shared heritage with the Indigenous ethnic category influences the extent to which participants experience an increased sense of similarity and solidarity. Study 3 showed that participants' estimates of their own Indigenous heritage were positively associated with their reported sense of similarity with the Indigenous category, which in turn predicted an increased sense of solidarity. A hypothesis guiding this study is that experimentally manipulating the salience of shared heritage should also increase people's identification with the Indigenous group, thereby increasing their support for reparative policy associated with events during the Civil War.

#### **Method**

##### **Participants**

Participants ( $N = 204$ ) were Guatemalan adults currently residing in Guatemala City, recruited in public metropolitan spaces near local universities as well as in public plazas and parks (67% women; age range 18-76,  $M = 25$ ). An a priori power analysis using the software

G\*power (Faul, Erdfelder, Lang, & Buchner; 2007), suggested a sample size of 177 for an effect size of 0.3 with three groups. The majority of participants (93%) reported some university education, and most (92%) located their socioeconomic status along the middle (4-7) of a scale from one to ten. Regarding ethnicity, 78.5% of participants identified as Ladino, 13% identified as mixed ethnicity or *mestizo*, 2.5% identified as Indigenous, and 6% did not report an ethnicity. As in the first two studies, participants completed the set of paper-and-pencil measures in their native Spanish language and received a candy bar to thank them for their participation.

### **Procedure**

I randomly assigned participants to one of three conditions, one condition emphasized similarities between Ladino and Indigenous categories, one condition emphasized differences between the categories, and one control condition. To manipulate salience of group similarities and group differences, I adapted an experimental procedure that Glasford and Calcagno (2012) used to manipulate ethnic group closeness versus ethnic group boundaries (Appendix D). In the group similarities condition ( $n = 68$ ), participants first read an initial passage stating that “Guatemala is a country in which different social groups coexist”, and that “the two most commonly studied groups in the country are the Indigenous and the Ladino ethnic groups”. They then read the following passage:

*Different kinds of research studies have concluded that the Indigenous and Ladino groups are more similar than what was previously believed. As the result of centuries of interaction and coexistence in the same territory, Indigenous and Ladino people share many of their ancestors, so they have a very similar genetic composition. In addition, due to their constant interaction, both groups share customs and traditions.*



To strengthen the manipulation, participants then completed a set of biased-response questions (Glasford & Calcagno, 2012). First, they chose among four statements the one that “best summarizes the information that [they] just read”. All statement choices reinforced the message of group similarity. Next, participants wrote “three statements that explain why the Indigenous and Ladino groups are more similar than was previously believed”. Finally, participants chose among three options one diagram that “best represents the similarity between the Indigenous and Ladino groups”. The options portrayed different degrees of commonality through overlapping circles representing each group.

In the ethnic group differences condition ( $n = 70$ ), participants read the same initial passage about ethnic groups in Guatemala. Then they read the following passage:

*Different kinds of research studies have concluded that the Indigenous and Ladino groups are more dissimilar than what was previously believed. As the result of centuries of separation and relative territorial isolation, Indigenous and Ladino people have different ancestors, so they have a very different genetic composition. In addition, due to their limited interaction, both groups have different customs and traditions.*

For the first biased-response question in this condition, participants chose one among four statements reinforcing the idea of group differences. Participants then wrote “three statements that explain why the Indigenous and Ladino groups are more dissimilar than was previously believed”. And finally, participants chose the diagram that “best represents the differences between the Indigenous and Ladino groups” among three options portraying different degrees of distance between the groups.

In the control condition ( $n = 66$ ), participants read the same initial passage about ethnic groups in Guatemala. Next, they then read a passage stating that “different scientific disciplines

such as history, biology, anthropology and psychology study social dynamics in our country. For example, researchers study how food is produced and distributed across the country”. Similar to the two experimental conditions, participants also wrote three sentences summarizing what they have just read, chose among four statements the one they thought best represented the previous information, and chose among three diagrams the one that best represented the relationship between social sciences. Across all conditions, participants completed the manipulation materials believing it was the first of two studies in which they were participating. After completing these tasks, they read a thank you note “for completing Study 1” and proceeded to read the instructions for the dependent measures and demographics.

### **Measures**

**National identification.** Participants completed the same 6-item scale ( $\alpha = .78$ ) adapted from the Collective Self-Esteem Scale (CSE; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992) from Studies 1-3.

**National identity exploration.** Participants also completed the same 3-item scale adapted from the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure from Studies 1-3 (Phinney; 1992;  $\alpha = .70$ ).

**Ethnic identification.** As in the previous studies, participants completed a five-item measure assessing the extent of their identification with the Indigenous and Ladino ethnic categories (Leach et al., 2008). Participants indicated their similarity ( $\alpha = .75$ ) and solidarity ( $\alpha = .73$ ) with reference to the Indigenous category; as well as their similarity ( $\alpha = .84$ ) and solidarity ( $\alpha = .79$ ) with reference to the Ladino category.

**Attitudes towards Truth Commission Report.** Participants completed the same items measuring their attitudes towards the report used in the previous study. Four items referred to their beliefs about the reliability of the report ( $\alpha = .70$ ); and four items referred to their support for its dissemination ( $\alpha = .85$ ).

**Support for reparations.** Participants completed the same ten-item measure from the previous study assessing their support for different kinds of reparations, including material reparations, commemoration, and prosecutions ( $\alpha = .90$ ).

## Results

This focus of this study was testing the effect of an experimental manipulation of shared heritage of identification with ethnic categories. I explored the effect of the manipulation on the identification measures, and then I tested the mediation model from Study 3 focusing on the indirect effect of shared heritage on support for reparations and report attitudes.

**Effects of experimental manipulation.** Analyses of variance (ANOVA) exploring the effect of experimental condition on ethnic identification showed a significant main effect ( $F = (2, 201) = 4.40, p = .01, \eta^2 = .04$ ) on the measure of Indigenous similarity, and a marginally significant main effect on the measure of Indigenous solidarity ( $F = (2, 201) = 2.58, p = .08, \eta^2 = .02$ ; Table 7). Post hoc pairwise comparisons using Tukey's HSD method showed that participants reported significantly higher Indigenous similarity in the group similarities condition ( $M = 3.85, SD = 1.74$ ) relative to the group differences condition ( $M = 3.10, SD = 1.54$ ), but not relative to the control condition ( $M = 3.65, SD = 1.28$ ).

Regarding identification with the Ladino category, analyses of variance showed a significant main effect of condition ( $F = (2, 201) = 3.52, p = .03, \eta^2 = .03$ ) on Ladino solidarity, but no effect on Ladino similarity ( $F = (2, 201) = .76, p = .47, \eta^2 = .00$ ). Post hoc pairwise comparisons showed significantly higher Ladino solidarity in the group similarities condition ( $M = 5.21, SD = 1.13$ ) relative to the group differences condition ( $M = 4.96, SD = 1.37$ ), but not relative to the control condition ( $M = 4.60, SD = 1.51$ ). These results suggest that the effect was associated with the two experimental conditions. Additional analyses of variance did not show

any significant effects of the manipulation on national identification ( $F = (2, 200) = .13$ ), national identity exploration ( $F = (2, 200) = .11$ ), report reliability ( $F = (2, 187) = .91$ ), support for its dissemination ( $F = (2, 188) = .86$ ). All means and standard deviations by experimental condition appear in Table 11.

**Attitudes towards report and support for reparations.** The experimental manipulation of category similarities through shared heritage increased similarity but not solidarity with the Indigenous category. However, as in previous studies regression analyses showed that Indigenous solidarity significantly predicted policy support ( $\beta = .33, p = .00$ ), but similarity did not ( $\beta = -.04, p = .50$ ). To further explore this pattern, I tested a similar serial mediation analyses as in the previous study, contrasting the two experimental conditions. Analyses showed evidence of an indirect effect on participants' attitudes. Regarding people's beliefs about report reliability (total indirect effect  $b = .03, SE = .02, 95\% CI [.00-.08]$ ), condition significantly predicted Indigenous similarity ( $b = .32, SE = .14, 95\% CI [.04-.60]$ ), which predicted solidarity ( $b = .49, SE = .07, 95\% CI [.36-.62]$ ), which also predicted reliability ( $b = .21, SE = .08, 95\% CI [.05-.37]$ ; Figure 4).

The same pattern was evident regarding people's support for report dissemination (total indirect effect  $b = .06, SE = .04, 95\% CI [.00-.15]$ ). Condition significantly predicted Indigenous similarity ( $b = .27, SE = .14, 95\% CI [.01-.58]$ ), which predicted solidarity ( $b = .49, SE = .07, 95\% CI [.36-.62]$ ), which predicted support for dissemination ( $b = .45, SE = .11, 95\% CI [.24-.66]$ ; Figure 5). With respect to support for reparations, analyses showed a significant indirect effect ( $b = -.26, SE = .11, 95\% CI [-.49 - -.03]$ ) with experimental condition significantly predicting Indigenous similarity ( $b = .35, SE = .14, 95\% CI [.07-.62]$ ), which predicted solidarity ( $b = .51, SE = .06, 95\% CI [.38-.63]$ ), which also predicted support for reparations ( $b = .26, SE = .10, 95\% CI$

[.07-.45]; Figure 6).

## **Discussion**

This study showed a similar pattern as Study 3 with respect to the relationship between the sense of shared heritage with the Indigenous category and the experience of solidarity. Manipulating category similarity through salience of shared ancestry and culture between the Ladino and Indigenous group increased participants' sense of similarity with Indigenous Peoples, which in turn increased their sense of solidarity. Solidarity with Indigenous Peoples predicted more positive attitudes towards the CEH report, as well as greater support for reparative policy. In this study, there was some evidence of similarity with the Indigenous category predicting lower support for policy. This unexpected result suggests that support for these policies cannot be solely based on a sense of similarity, but it requires an experience of a sense of commitment and investment on the social category, which might entail an increased concern for the fate and interests of Indigenous communities in the country.

## **General Discussion**

The purpose of this research was to examine engagement with the Commission of Historical Clarification report that documents the Civil War (1960-1996) in Guatemala. The studies explored the relationship between such engagement and different forms of social identification, as well as its implications for support of reparative policy addressing harms against civilian populations during the war. Results did not show consistent evidence of an association between knowledge of the contents of the CEH report and national and ethnic identification, or support for policy. The most notable results concerned the relationship between contextually relevant ethnic identification and peoples' stances regarding the report and relevant reparative policy.

### **Social Identification and Support for Reparative Policy**

Although most participants in these studies would best fit into the category of Ladino, the stronger predictor of positive attitudes towards the report and support for reparative policy was their reported identification with the Indigenous category. Previous research carried out in the Guatemalan context had also shown that Guatemalan participants report some degree of identification with both the Ladino and Indigenous ethnic categories (Ashdown, Gibbons, Hackathorn, & Harvey, 2011; Gibbons & Ashdown, 2010), which are the two largest categories in the context. Across the studies, there was no consistent evidence of a conflict between identifying with both categories. There was some evidence of a negative relationship between the measures of similarity with other category members, i.e., reporting a greater sense of similarity with members of the Indigenous category was associated with lower similarity with members of the Ladino category, and vice versa. However, there was a positive relationship between the measures of solidarity, so that higher solidarity towards one category was associated with greater solidarity towards the other. Thus, although participants might experience themselves as more similar to one of the two main ethnic categories, they are still able to experience a sense of solidarity with both.

This pattern of associations provides interesting directions for future research, particularly focusing on the relevance in this cultural context of prevalent understandings within psychological science of social identities in essentialist terms. Local historical and societal structures might afford the possibility of open and fluid constructions of ethnic categories, rather than promoting a single construction of categories as groups with closed boundaries. Guatemalan society constitutes a fruitful context for investigating processes of social identification and social category construction, with a focus on the mutually constitutive relationship between the

symbolic and material structures of everyday life and people's understandings and constructions of the narratives, expectations, beliefs, and meanings that constitute the basis for identity. For example, available historical narratives about the interactions between Spanish colonizers and Indigenous native populations throughout the history of the nation might entail certain understandings about ethnic identities that implicate the notion of fluidity across categories (Hale, 2006; Taracena Arriola, 2007).

The original focus of this research was to explore the implications of historical knowledge for important contemporary social issues. However, the most notable result across the four studies was the positive association between identification with the Indigenous ethnic category and a more positive stance towards the CEH report and towards different forms of reparative policy. This pattern was particularly evident regarding the extent to which participants reported experiencing a sense of solidarity and commitment towards the category. Such results provide some evidence of the importance of the possibility of including the Indigenous category in the self-concept in this societal context. Accordingly, the focus of the project shifted to further understanding constructions and experiences of ethnic identity and their implications for important issues in a post-conflict society.

**Engagement with Indigenous Identity: Similarity or Solidarity.** One objective of this research was to understand how apparently non-Indigenous Guatemalans engage with the Indigenous ethnic category. Participants' reported identification could constitute a claim of membership in the category, reflecting the process of including the self within the Indigenous category with important implications for one's everyday life and experiences. However, another possible interpretation is that it constitutes a manifestation of an experience of *allyship*, referring to the experience of identification with a dominant or powerful social category, while also

experiencing a sense of commitment to support social struggles aimed at reducing inequality harming marginalized social categories (Brown & Ostrove, 2013). In this research, participants might construct themselves primarily as non-Indigenous, but still experience a sense of commitment and solidarity with the Indigenous peoples living in the nation, motivating them to support their rights and struggles for justice.

To investigate this issue, the third and fourth studies focused on the role of shared genetic/biological and cultural heritage as a potential basis for identification with the Indigenous category. Measured and manipulated shared heritage with Indigenous Peoples was positively associated with an increased sense of similarity with the Indigenous ethnic category. Such similarity was also associated with participants' reported experience of solidarity and commitment, which in turn was associated with greater support for reparative policy. These results suggest that shared heritage can serve as a basis for an experience of identification with the Indigenous category, with important implications for social attitudes.

This finding is also consistent with previous research that showed that perceiving greater similarity between one's social category and a different victimized group is associated with greater solidarity towards it (Glasford and Calcagno, 2012; Warner, Wohl, & Branscombe, 2014). Research also found that categorizing oneself as part of the same group that has been the victim of harm can lead to increased emotional and behavioral reactions to such harm (Yzerbyt, Dumont, Wigboldus, & Gordjin, 2003). Another interesting direction for future research would be to explore how people in Guatemala understand processes of intergroup victimization associated with the civil war, in particular, which social categories people construct as victimized or perpetrators.



**Engagement with National Identity: Achievement or Ongoing Development.** The present studies also provided the opportunity to investigate understandings of national identity in the Guatemalan context. Research on social identity within social psychology investigates the motivational implications of inclusion of the national category in the self-concept, and of emotional attachment towards a stable and meaningful national category (Leach et al., 2008; Phinney, 1992; Phinney & Tarver, 1988). However, across these studies there was no evidence of a motivation to defend the category regarding the CEH report. National identification was not related to knowledge of the report or to stances towards it. In addition, national identification was not associated with participants' support for reparative policy. It is possible that because the national project incorporates elements from both ethnic categories, national identification entails the possibility of identifying with different sides of the violent conflict documented in the report. Thus, participants might not necessarily construct historical knowledge or reparative action as a threat to the national category.

These studies included a second type of measure of identification with the nation, which refers to an open stance towards exploration and construction of the meaning of the category through new information and experiences. Across the studies, there was some evidence of an association between national identity exploration and an open stance towards the CEH report. Endorsement of national identity exploration was associated with increased support for the different kinds of reparative policy. Such support might be associated with the psychological tendencies implied by endorsement of identity exploration. These include tendencies towards thinking and learning about the social category, pondering its positive and negative aspects, and considering its meaning with reference to the past, present, and future (Phinney & Tarver, 1988). One research direction could focus on investigating whether such an open stance towards

identity might be also associated with a tendency towards questioning societal structures, particularly regarding power hierarchies. Such questioning might promote greater support for public policy aimed at restructuring the societal and economic arrangements that sustain social injustices.

*Implications for identity and social issues in Guatemala.* One context-relevant implication of this research is that discourses of identity might have different consequences for prevalent understandings of social issues. Identity discourses that emphasize essential biological or cultural differences between the Indigenous and non-Indigenous categories, such as the discourses deployed by Indigenous social movements, might have different meanings depending on people's social positioning. For example, in the U.S. context there is some evidence of different functions of essentialist social identity constructions for different social categories. For White Americans, endorsement of both biological and cultural essentialist constructions of ethnicity decreased their support for policies addressing racial injustices; for Black Americans, endorsement of biological essentialism also decreased their support, but endorsement of cultural essentialism, i.e., a construction that emphasizes essential cultural patterns of each category, increased their support for such policies (Soylu, Estrada-Villalta, & Adams, 2017).

In the Guatemalan context, scholars have suggested that failing to highlight the differences between the two major ethnic categories might reduce the perceived importance of Indigenous struggles. Discourses that emphasize shared elements might obscure historical processes of exploitation and marginalization, as well as reduce the possibility for the experience of ethnic pride that bolsters Indigenous mobilization (Bastos, 2007). Thus, deployment of strategic essentialism through discourses that highlight the particular features of the history, culture, and ancestry that differentiate the Indigenous from the non-Indigenous population has

the purpose of promoting a general appreciation for their unique interests and struggles, as well as providing the basis for a sense of common fate that promotes political mobilization (Simon & Klandermans, 2001). However, evidence from this research suggests that such strategic essentialist discourses might have the effect of reducing support for Indigenous struggles among those who identify as Ladino.

These studies also suggest that inclusion of Indigenous category elements in the self-concept of Ladinos might provide a basis for a sense of common history, common future, and an awareness of shared grievances with the local Indigenous populations (Simon & Klandermans, 2001), motivating them to join collective struggles. Regarding the societal issue explored in these studies, such experience of identity might be associated with particular understandings of the civil war, including its causes and its consequences. For example, they might understand the violence that occurred as having negative consequences relevant to themselves and others like them, which might motivate them to increase their support for justice struggles. In contrast, identifying exclusively as non-Indigenous might be associated with a construction of the violence as affecting a distant, separate group of people, thus reducing their perception of the relevance of the issue.

Finally, another direction for future research concerns the issue of the meanings and implications of the privileged social position of Ladinos in the Guatemalan context. Their powerful position could afford them the opportunity to appropriate certain elements from the Indigenous category without a sense of commitment towards Indigenous people. This could constitute an example of a purely symbolic identification that does not have any implications for people's everyday lives or for their engagement with political issues (Kelly & Nagel, 2008). Studies across different segments of the Guatemalan population could investigate the conditions

under which identification with the Indigenous category implies the motivation to challenge structural inequalities, rather than constituting a superficial symbolic experience associated with neoliberal multiculturalism (Hale, 2005).

### **Limitations**

One important limitation of this research concerns the constraints on sampling associated with the use of quantitative surveys in this context. I recruited participants in urban settings, and the majority reported some university education, as well as middle to high socioeconomic status. Considering that less than 3% of the Guatemalan population has access to university education (INE, 2016), my sample is composed of people who inhabit a particularly privileged social position. This limits the possibility of generalizing the pattern of results, as well as exploring differences across social categories. Results could reflect psychological tendencies afforded by occupation of a privileged position within an unequal society. One important future investigation could focus on exploring identity construction with reference to historical processes in different populations in the country, including people inhabiting diverse geographic areas, socioeconomic status, experiences of discrimination, among others.

Another limitation associated with the constrained sample concerns investigation of the meaning of the Mestizo category. On an open-ended question about ethnicity, some participants identified themselves using the Mestizo ethnic category. Another direction for research is exploring the implications for societal issues of categorizing the self as a member of an ethnic category label that explicitly references the idea of hybridity (Adams, 1994; Hale, 2003). An additional limitation concerning the meaning of identity is associated with the particular measures of national identification that I adapted for these studies. One advantage of using an adaptation of the Collective Self-Esteem Scale (CSE; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992) is that the

items have relatively broad applicability across cultural contexts because they assess national identity concerns without imposing specific meaningful content (e.g., “I am proud to be Guatemalan”, “Being Guatemalan is an important part of who I am”). However, the pattern of results that showed no association between national identity and memory of the civil war might be related precisely to this lack of exploration of meaningful constructions and narratives of identity. One potentially fruitful line of research is to examine prevalent narratives of the nation and understandings of national identity, as well as the relationship between endorsement of certain narratives and attitudes towards past and present societal issues.

Finally, these studies did not provide the opportunity to explore how contextually relevant understandings of political ideology are associated with identity construction processes, including the ways in which people understand category boundaries and meaningful category content. Different constructions of ethnic identity could be deployed in the service of particular political aims, particularly those associated with issues of social justice associated with ethnic and socioeconomic identity categories (Hale, 2003).

### **Conclusion: Toward a Cultural Psychology of Identity**

A cultural psychology perspective emphasizes the importance of context for the study of psychological processes. Regarding the experience of social identity, context is central for processes of social identity construction because social identification directly implicates the mutually constitutive relationship between the self and society. Identity is the product of engagement with the structures of the sociocultural setting in which people carry out their lives. Such structures include the particular narratives of the past that serve as the basis for the construction of collective projects such as the social categories of ethnicity and nation. The present studies constitute an exploration of social identity as mind in context, because the

histories and present social struggles in the Guatemalan context provide insights relevant for psychological experience. In particular, the context affords an exploration of the processes through which open and fluid constructions of identity might provide a productive basis for the promotion of social justice, relative to constructions that emphasize closed or rigid category boundaries. Narratives of identity that connect the histories of people coexisting within a shared territory could promote a critical stance towards past and present injustices, as well as the will to join collective struggles to eliminate them.

## References

- Adams, R. N. (1994). Guatemalan ladinización and history. *The Americas*, *50*, 527-543.
- Adams, G., & Markus, H. R. (2004). Toward a conception of culture suitable for a social psychology of culture. In M. Schaller & C. S. Crandall (Eds.), *The psychological foundations of culture* (pp. 335–360). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Adams, G., Fryberg, S., Garcia, D. M., & Delgado-Torres, E.U. (2006). The psychology of engagement with Indigenous identities: A cultural perspective. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *12*, 493–508.
- Anderson, B. (1983). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origins and spread of nationalism*. London, United Kingdom: Verso.
- Asch, S. E. (1955). Opinions and social pressure. *Scientific American*, *193*, 31-35.
- Ashdown, B. K., Gibbons, J. L., Hackathorn, J., & Harvey, R. D. (2011). The influence of social and individual variables on ethnic attitudes in Guatemala. *Psychology*, *2*, 78–84.
- Ashmore, R. Deaux, K., & McLaughlin-Volpe, T. (2004). An organizing framework for collective identity: Articulation and significance of multidimensionality. *Psychological Bulletin*, *130*, 80-114.
- Bastos, S. (2007). La construcción de la identidad maya en Guatemala. Historia e Implicaciones de un proceso político. *Desacatos*, *24*, 197-214.
- Branscombe, N. R., & Wann, D. L. (1994). Collective self-esteem consequences of outgroup derogation when a valued social identity is on trial. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, *24*, 641-657.
- Brewer, M. B. (1991). The social self: On being the same and different at the same time. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *17*, 475-482.

- Brown, R. J., Gonzalez, R., Zagefka, H., Manzi, J., & Cehajic, S. (2008). Nuestra Culpa: Collective guilt and shame as predictors of reparation for historical wrongdoing. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 94*, 75-90.
- Brown, K. T., & Ostrove, J. M. (2013). What does it mean to be an ally? The perception of allies from the perspective of people of color. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 43*, 2211-2222.
- Burt, J. M. (2019). Gender justice in Post-Conflict Guatemala: The Sepur Zarco sexual violence and sexual slavery trial. *Critical Studies, 4*, 63-69.
- Cameron, J. E. (2004). A three-factor model of social identity. *Self and Identity, 3*, 239-262.
- Casaús Arzú, M. E. (2010). *Guatemala: Linaje y racismo*. Guatemala: F&G Editores.
- CEH. (1999). *Guatemala: Memory of Silence*. Guatemala: CEH.
- Chapman, A. (2007). Truth commissions and intergroup forgiveness: The case of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission. *Peace and conflict: Journal of peace psychology, 13*, 51-69.
- Corntassel, J., & Holder, C. (2008). Who's sorry now? Government apologies, truth commissions and indigenous self-determination in Australia, Canada, Guatemala, and Peru. *Human Rights Review, 9*, 465-489.
- Crosby, A. & Lykes, M.B. (2011). Mayan women survivors speak: The gendered relations of truth telling in postwar Guatemala. *International Journal of Transitional Justice, 5*, 456-476.
- Doosje, B., Branscombe, N. R., Spears, R., & Manstead, A. S. R. (1998). Guilty by association: When one's group has a negative history. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 75*, 872-886.



- Ellemers, N, Spears, R., & Doosje, B. 2002. Self and social identity. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 53, 161–186.
- Faul, F., Erdfelder, E., Lang, A.-G., & Buchner, A. (2007). G\*Power 3: A flexible statistical power analysis program for the social, behavioral, and biomedical sciences. *Behavior Research Methods*, 39, 175-191.
- Figueiredo, A., Martinovic, B., Rees, J., & Licata, L. (2017). Collective memories and present-day intergroup relations: Introduction to the Special Thematic Section. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*, 5, 694-706.
- Gans, H. (1979). Symbolic ethnicity: The future of ethnic groups and culture in America. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 2, 1-20.
- Gibbons, J. L. & Ashdown, B. K. (2010). Ethnic identification, attitudes and group relations in Guatemala. *Psychology*, 1, 116-127.
- Glasford, D. E., & Calcagno, J. (2012). The conflict of harmony: Intergroup contact, commonality and political solidarity between minority groups. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 48, 323-328.
- Greenfield, P. M. (2016). Social change, cultural evolution, and human development. *Current Opinion in Psychology*, 8, 84-92.
- Greenfield, P. M., Keller, H., Fuligni, A., & Maynard, A. (2003). Cultural pathways through universal development. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 54, 461-490.
- Hakim, N. H., & Adams, G. (2017). Collective memory as tool for intergroup conflict: The case of 9/11 commemoration. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*, 5, 630-650.
- Hale, C.R. (2006). *Más que un indio: Racial ambivalence and neoliberal multiculturalism in Guatemala*. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press.

- Hammack, P. L. (2008). Narrative and the cultural psychology of identity. *Personality and Social Psychology Review, 12*, 222-247.
- Hogg, M. A., & Sunderland, J. (1991). Self-esteem and intergroup discrimination in the minimal group paradigm. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 30*, 51-62.
- Hopkins, N., & Reicher, S. (2011). Identity, culture and contestation: Social identity as cross-cultural theory. *Psychological Studies, 56*, 36-43.
- ICTJ. (2019). *What is transitional justice?* Retrieved from <https://www.ictj.org/about/transitional-justice>
- INE. (2000). *Encuesta nacional de condiciones de vida*. Guatemala: Instituto Nacional de Estadística.
- INE. (2012). *Caracterización estadística de Guatemala*. Guatemala: Instituto Nacional de Estadística.
- INE. (2016). *República de Guatemala: Compendio de Educación 2015*. Guatemala: Instituto Nacional de Estadística. Retrieved from <https://www.ine.gob.gt/sistema/uploads/2017/01/16/13EpHY9jEEyYORgJJAUwB758EoJL36aV.pdf>
- Isaacs, A. (2010). At war with the past? The politics of truth seeking in Guatemala. *International Journal of Transitional Justice, 4*, 251–274.
- Kurtiş, T., Soylu Yalçinkaya, N., & Adams, G. (2017). Silence in official representations of history: Implications for national identity and intergroup relations. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology, 5*, 608-629.
- Leach, C. W., Rodriguez Mosquera, P. M., Vliek, M. L. W., & Hirt, E. (2010). Group identification and group devaluation. *Journal of Social Issues, 66*, 535–552.

- Leach, C. W., van Zomeren, M., Zebel, S., Vliek, M. L. W., Pennekamp, S. F., Doosje, B., Ouwerkerk, J.W., & Spears, R. (2008). Group-level self-definition and self-investment: A hierarchical multicomponent model of ingroup identification. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 95*, 144–165.
- Leidner, B., Castano, E., Zaiser, E., & Giner-Sorolla, R. (2010). Ingroup glorification, moral disengagement, and justice in the context of collective violence. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 36*, 1115–1129.
- Licata, L., & Klein, O. (2010). Holocaust or benevolent paternalism? Intergenerational comparisons on collective memories and emotions about Belgium's colonial past. *International Journal of Conflict and Violence, 4*, 45-57.
- Liu, J. H., & Hilton, D. J. (2005). How the past weighs on the present: Social representations of history and their role in identity politics. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 44*, 537-556.
- Liu, J. H., Wilson, M. S., McClure, J., & Higgins, T. R. (1999). Social identity and the perception of history: Cultural representations of Aotearoa/New Zealand. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 29*, 1021-1047.
- Luhtanen, R., & Crocker, J. (1992). A collective self-esteem scale: Self-evaluation of one's social identity. *Personality and social psychology bulletin, 18*, 302-318.
- Martín-Baró, I. (1986). Hacia una psicología de la liberación [Towards a liberation psychology]. *Boletín de Psicología de El Salvador, 22*, 219–223.
- Martin-Beristain, C., Paez, D., Rimé, B., & Kanyangara, P. (2010). Psychosocial effects of participation in rituals of transitional justice: A collective-level analysis and review of the literature of the effects of TRCs and trials on human rights violations in Latin America. *Revista de Psicología Social, 25*, 47-60.

- Martínez Peláez, S. (2012). *La patria del criollo*. Guatemala: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Mukherjee, S., Adams, G., & Molina, L. E. (2017). A cultural psychological analysis of collective memory as mediated action: Constructions of Indian history. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology, 5*, 558-587.
- Nagel, J. (1994). Constructing ethnicity: Creating and recreating ethnic identity and culture. *Social Problems, 41*, 152-176.
- Nagel, J. (1995). American Indian ethnic revival: Politics and the resurgence of identity. *American Sociological Review, 60*, 947-65.
- Nelson, J. C., Adams, G., & Salter, P. S. (2013). The Marley hypothesis: Racism denial reflects ignorance of history. *Psychological Science, 24*, 213-218.
- Kelly, M. E., & Nagel, J. (2008). Symbolic ethnicity. In J. H. Moore (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of race and racism*. New York: Macmillan Oakes.
- Kurtiş, T., Adams, G., & Yellow Bird, M. (2010). Generosity or genocide? Identity implications of silence in American Thanksgiving commemorations. *Memory, 18*, 208-224.
- P. J., & Turner, J. C. (1980). Social categorization and intergroup behaviour: Does minimal intergroup discrimination make social identity more positive? *European Journal of Social Psychology, 10*, 17-52.
- Pahl, K., & Way, N. (2006). Longitudinal trajectories of ethnic identity among urban Black and Latino adolescents. *Child Development, 77*, 1403-1415.
- Phinney, J. (1992). The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure: A new scale for use with diverse groups. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 7*, 156-176.
- Phinney, J. S., & Ong, A. (2007). Conceptualization and measurement of ethnic identity: Current status and future directions. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 54*, 271-281.

- Phinney, J. S., & Tarver, S. (1988). Ethnic identity search and commitment in Black and White eighth graders. *The Journal of Early Adolescence*, 8, 265-277.
- Quintana, S. M., & Segura-Herrera, T. A. (2003). Development transformations of self and identity in the context of oppression. *Self and Identity*, 2, 269-285
- Reicher, S. (2004). The context of social identity: Domination, resistance, and change. *Political Psychology*, 6, 921-945.
- Reicher, S., & Hopkins, N. (2001). Psychology and the end of history: A critique and a proposal for the psychology of social categorization. *Political Psychology*, 22, 383-407.
- Roberts, R., Phinney, J., Masse, L., Chen, Y., Roberts, C., & Romero, A. (1999). The structure of ethnic identity in young adolescents from diverse ethnocultural groups. *Journal of Early Adolescence*, 19, 301– 322.
- Roccas, S., Klar, Y., & Liviatan, I. (2006). The paradox of groupbased guilt: Modes of national identification, conflict vehemence, and reactions to the in-group's moral violations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 91, 698-711.
- Romero, A., & Roberts, R. (2003). The impact of multiple dimensions of ethnic identity on discrimination and adolescents' self-esteem. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 33, 2288-2305.
- Salter, P. S., & Adams, G. (2016). On the intentionality of cultural products: Representations of black history as psychological affordances. *Frontiers in psychology*, 7, 1–21.
- Sellers, R., Smith, M., Shelton, J., Rowley, S., & Chavous, T. (1998). Multidimensional model of racial identity: A reconceptualization of African American racial identity. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 2, 18-39.
- Sellers, R., & Shelton, J. (2003). The role of racial identity in perceived racial discrimination.

*Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 84, 1079-1092.

- Sellers, R. M., Copeland-Linder, N., Martin, P. P., & Lewis, R. L. (2006). Racial identity matters: The relationship between racial discrimination and psychological functioning in African American adolescents. *Journal of Research on Adolescents*, 16, 187–216.
- Shweder, R.A. (1990). Cultural psychology: What is it? In J. Stigler, R. Shweder, & G. Herdt (Eds.), *Cultural psychology: Essays on comparative human development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sibley, C. G., Liu, J. H., Duckitt, J., & Khan, S. S. (2008). Social representations of history and the legitimization of social inequality: The form and function of historical negation. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 38, 542-565.
- Simon, B. & Klandermans, B. (2001). Politicized collective identity: A social psychological analysis. *American Psychologist*, 56, 319-331.
- Stein, D. J., Seedat, S., Kammerer, D., Moomal, H., Herman, A., Sonnegga, J., & Williams, D. R. (2007). The impact of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission on psychological distress and forgiveness in South Africa. *Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology*, 43, 462-468.
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In W. A. Austin & S. Worschel (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 33–47). Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole.
- Tajfel, H., Billig, M., Bundy, R., & Flament, C. (1971). Social categorization and intergroup behaviour. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 1, 49-178.
- Taracena Arriola, A. (2007). *Guatemala: del Mestizaje a la ladinización, 1524- 1964*. Guatemala: Centro de Investigaciones Regionales de Mesoamérica. CIRMA.

- Turner, J. C. (1985). Social categorization and the self-concept: A social cognitive theory of group behavior. In E. J. Lawler (Ed.), *Advances in Group Processes* (pp. 77-122). Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.
- Turner, J. C., & Oakes, P. J. (1986). The significance of the social identity concept for social psychology with reference to individualism, interactionism and social influence. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 25, 237–252.
- Twose, G., & Mahoney, C.O. (2015). The trouble with truth-telling: Preliminary reflections on truth and justice in post-war Liberia. *Peace and Conflict Studies*, 22, 83-112.
- PNUD. (2005). *Diversidad étnico-cultural: La ciudadanía en un estado plural*. Guatemala: Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo.
- Verkuyten, M. (2005). Ethnic group identification, and group evaluations among minority and majority groups: Testing the multiculturalism hypothesis. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 88, 121–138.
- Verkuyten, M., & de Wolf, A. (2002). Being, feeling and doing: Discourses and ethnic self-definitions among minority group members. *Culture & Psychology*, 8, 371–399.
- Warren, K. (1998), *Indigenous movements and their critics. Pan-Maya activism in Guatemala*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Waters, M. (1996). Waters, M.C. (1996). Optional Ethnicities: for Whites Only? In S. Pedraza & R.G. Rumbaut (Eds.) *Origins and Destinies: Immigration, Race, and Ethnicity in America* (pp. 444–454). Belmont CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company.

## Tables and Figures

**Table 1.** Means and standard deviations (Study 1).

Variable	<u>M (SD)</u>
National ID	5.62 (1.04)
Nat ID -Explore	4.89 (1.26)
Indigenous ID	3.12 (1.48)
Ladino ID	5.45 (1.36)
d'	.44 (.71)
Reliability	4.20 (1.35)
Dissemination	5.32 (1.43)
Reparations	4.82 (1.17)

**Table 2.** Correlations between identification, knowledge, and report attitudes (Study 1).

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. National ID								
2. National ID -Explore	.42**							
3. Indigenous ID	.27**	.31**						
4. Ladino ID	.11	.10	-.16*					
5. d'	-.00	.09	-.09	.06				
6. Reliability	.12	.13 <sup>†</sup>	.26**	.09	.09			
7. Dissemination	.03	.21**	.32**	.02	-.04	.36**		
8. Support for reparations	.19**	.28**	.38**	.00	-.19*	.35**		
							.45**	

**Table 3.** Identification predicting report knowledge (Study 1).

Predictor Variable	d'			
	B	SE	95% CI	$\beta$
National ID	-.01	.05	-.11 - .09	-.02
National ID -Explore	.06	.04	-.02 - .15	.11
Indigenous ID	-.05	.04	-.12 - .02	-.10
Ladino ID	.02	.04	-.05 - .09	.04
R <sup>2</sup>	.02			
F	1.02			



**Table 4.** Identification and knowledge predicting attitudes and support for policy (Study 1).

Predictor Variable	<i>Step 1</i>			<i>Step 2</i>				
	B	SE	95% CI	$\beta$	B	SE	95% CI	$\beta$
	Reliability							
Identification								
<i>National ID</i>	.04	.10	-.15 - .23	.03	.04	.10	-.15 - .23	.03
<i>National ID –Explore</i>	.00	.08	-.16 - .17	.00	-.00	.08	-.17 - .16	-.01
<i>Indigenous ID</i>	.25	.07	.12 - .38	.27**	.26	.07	.12 - .29	.28**
<i>Ladino ID</i>	.13	.07	-.00 - .27	.13	.13	.07	-.01 - .27	.13
Knowledge								
<i>d'</i>					.18	.13	-.01 - .43	.09
$\Delta R^2$		.09**				.01		
	Dissemination							
Identification								
<i>National ID</i>	-.17	.10	-.37 - .03	-.13	-.17	.10	-.37 - .03	-.13
<i>National ID –Explore</i>	.16	.09	-.01 - .33	.14	.16	.09	-.00 - .33	.14 <sup>†</sup>
<i>Indigenous ID</i>	.31	.07	.17 - .44	.32**	.30	.07	.17 - .44	.32**
<i>Ladino ID</i>	.07	.07	-.07 - .22	.07	.08	.07	-.06 - .22	.08
Knowledge								
<i>d'</i>					-.08	.13	-.35 - .19	-.04
$\Delta R^2$		.13**				.02		
	Support for reparative policy							
Identification								
<i>National ID</i>	.10	.11	-.11 - .30	.07	.09	.10	-.12 - .29	.06
<i>National ID –Explore</i>	.09	.09	.08 - .29	.08	.12	.09	.06 - .29	.10
<i>Indigenous ID</i>	.20	.07	.05 - .34	.20**	.18	.07	.14 - .32	.17
<i>Ladino ID</i>	.03	.07	-.12 - .17	.02	.03	.07	-.11 - .18	.03
<i>SES</i>	-.23	.07	-.38 - -.09	-.21**	-.22	.07	-.37 - .08	-.20**
Knowledge								
<i>d'</i>					-.37	.14	-.65 - -.10	-.17**
$\Delta R^2$		.14**				.17**		

**Table 5.** Means and standard deviations (Study 2-3).

Variable	<u>Study 2</u>	<u>Study 3</u>
	M (SD)	M (SD)
National ID	4.81 (1.38)	5.05 (1.30)
Nat ID -Explore	4.75 (1.26)	4.72 (1.37)
Ind Similarity	3.12 (1.62)	2.96 (1.28)
Ind Solidarity	5.10 (1.40)	4.39 (1.24)
Lad Similarity	5.43 (1.34)	5.56 (1.21)
Lad Solidarity	5.10 (1.41)	5.48 (1.26)
Ind Heritage –own	--	4.11 (1.45)
Ind Heritage - nation	--	6.19 (1.55)
d'	.31 (.63)	--
Reliability	4.01 (1.32)	4.41 (1.07)
Dissemination	4.45 (1.68)	4.68 (1.64)
Reparations	4.48 (1.22)	4.77 (1.38)

**Table 6.** Correlations between identification, knowledge, and report attitudes (Study 2).

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. National ID										
2. Nat ID –Explore	.32**									
3. Ind Similarity	.26**	.26**								
4. Ind Solidarity	.32**	.39**	.67**							
5. Lad Similarity	.32**	.20**	.45*	.44**						
6. Lad Solidarity	.41**	.26**	.33*	.50*	.58**					
7. d'	-.02	-.02	.09	.03	.01	-.00				
8. Reliability	.07	.09	.20*	.26**	.07	.09	.16*			
9. Dissemination	.05	.07	.16*	.18**	.05	.04	.00	.47**		
10. Reparations	.07	.09	.31**	.38**	.13	.05	-.00	.39**	.45**	

**Table 7.** Identification predicting report knowledge (Study 2).

Predictor Variable	d'			
	B	SE	95% CI	$\beta$
National ID	-.01	.04	-.10 - .07	-.03
National ID -Explore	-.01	.04	-.10 - .08	-.02
Ind Similarity	.05	.04	-.03 - .14	.13
Ind Solidarity	-.01	.05	-.12 - .09	-.03
Lad Similarity	-.01	.05	-.10 - .10	-.01
Lad Solidarity	-.00	.05	-.10 - .10	-.00
R <sup>2</sup>	.01			
F	.29			

**Table 8.** Identification and knowledge predicting attitudes and support for policy (Study 2).

Predictor Variable	Step 1				Step 2			
	B	SE	95% CI	$\beta$	B	SE	95% CI	$\beta$
Reliability								
Identification								
<i>National ID</i>	.00	.09	-.17 - .18	.00	.01	.09	-.17 - .18	.01
<i>National ID -Explore</i>	-.01	.10	-.21 - .18	-.01	-.01	.10	-.21 - .18	-.01
<i>Ind Similarity</i>	.04	.09	-.15 - .22	.05	.02	.09	-.15 - .22	.02
<i>Ind Solidarity</i>	.23	.11	.02 - .45	.27*	.24	.11	.02 - .45	.23**
<i>Lad Similarity</i>	-.04	.10	-.24 - .17	-.04	-.04	.10	-.24 - .17	-.04
<i>Lad Solidarity</i>	-.03	.10	-.24 - .17	-.04	-.03	.10	-.24 - .17	-.04
Knowledge								
<i>d'</i>					.28	.16	-.04 - .61	.14 <sup>†</sup>
$\Delta R^2$	.07				.02			
Dissemination								
Identification								
<i>National ID</i>	.02	.11	-.21 - .25	.02	.02	.11	-.21 - .25	.02
<i>National ID -Explore</i>	-.01	.13	-.26 - .24	-.01	-.01	.13	-.26 - .24	-.01
<i>Ind Similarity</i>	.09	.12	-.15 - .32	.08	.09	.12	-.15 - .32	.08
<i>Ind Solidarity</i>	.17	.14	-.11 - .45	.15	.17	.14	-.11 - .45	.15
<i>Lad Similarity</i>	-.04	.13	-.31 - .22	-.03	-.04	.13	-.31 - .22	-.03
<i>Lad Solidarity</i>	-.04	.13	-.31 - .22	-.04	-.04	.13	-.31 - .22	-.04
Knowledge								
<i>d'</i>					-.01	.22	-.44 - .41	-.00
$\Delta R^2$	.04				.00			
Support for reparative policy								
Identification								
<i>National ID</i>	-.00	.07	-.15 - .14	-.01	-.01	.07	-.15 - .14	-.01
<i>National ID -Explore</i>	-.05	.08	-.21 - .10	-.06	-.05	.08	-.21 - .10	-.05
<i>Ind Similarity</i>	.07	.08	-.08 - .22	.09	.07	.08	-.08 - .22	.09
<i>Ind Solidarity</i>	.35	.09	.17 - .53	.43**	.35	.09	.17 - .53	.43**
<i>Lad Similarity</i>	.02	.09	-.15 - .20	.03	.02	.09	-.15 - .20	.03
<i>Lad Solidarity</i>	-.17	.09	-.34 - .00	-.19*	-.17	.09	-.34 - .01	-.19*
Knowledge								
<i>d'</i>					-.05	.14	-.33 - .22	-.03
$\Delta R^2$	.18**				.00			

**Table 9.** *Correlations between heritage, identification, and report attitudes (Study 3).*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. National heritage											
2. Own heritage	.43**										
3. National ID	.15 <sup>†</sup>	.18*									
4. Nat ID –Explore	-.03	-.01	.15 <sup>†</sup>								
5. Ind Similarity	.08	.27**	.10	.14							
6. Ind Solidarity	.08	.05	.29**	.26**	.42**						
7. Lad Similarity	-.11	-.16*	.08	.30**	-.18*	.11					
8. Lad Solidarity	.01	-.11	.25*	.14	-.17*	.23**	.66**				
9. Reliability	.02	-.03	-.03	.05	.02	.22**	-.02	-.01			
10. Dissemination	-.11	.05	-.03	.20*	.08	.26**	.09	-.05	.58**		
11. Reparations	-.11	.06	.10	.26**	.15 <sup>†</sup>	.34**	-.04	-.02	.49**	.67**	

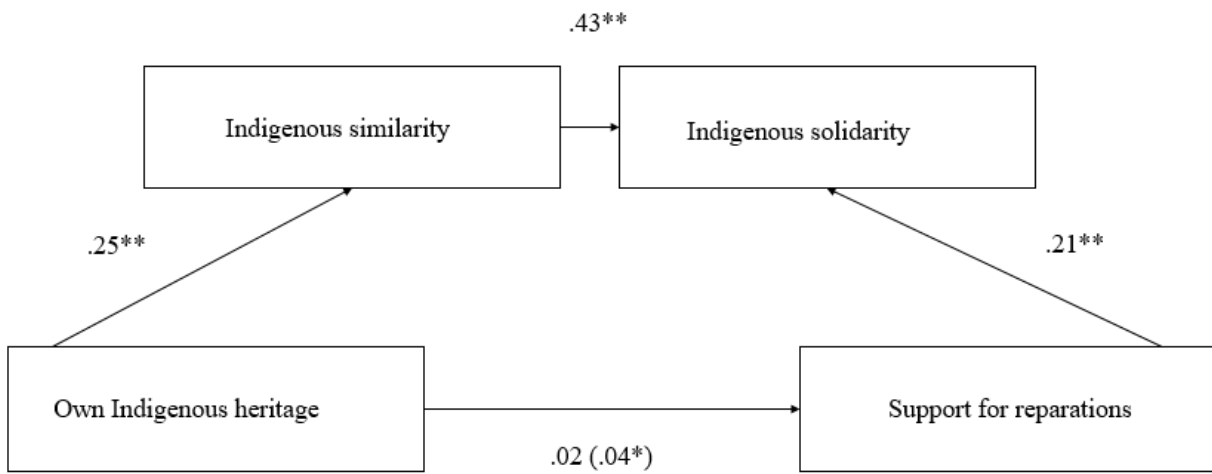
**Table 10.** Identification predicting report attitudes and support for policy (Study 3).

Predictor Variable	<i>Step 1</i>			$\beta$	<i>Step 2</i>			B
	B	SE	95% CI		B	SE	95% CI	
Reliability								
Indigenous heritage								
<i>National</i>	.05	.07	-.09 - .19	.06	.03	.07	-.33 - .03	.05
<i>Own</i>	-.04	.07	-.18 - .11	-.05	-.01	.08	-.02 - .30	-.01
Identification								
<i>National ID</i>					-.08	.08	-.32 - .08	-.09
<i>National ID –Explore</i>					.03	.07	-.05 - .32	.04
<i>Ind Similarity</i>					-.15	.09	-.40 - .06	-.17
<i>Ind Solidarity</i>					.43	.12	.19 - .67	.36**
<i>Lad Similarity</i>					.14	.14	-.14 - .43	.12
<i>Lad Solidarity</i>					-.22	.13	-.48 - .05	-.19
$\Delta R^2$		.00				.09		
Dissemination								
Indigenous heritage								
<i>National</i>	-.15	.05	-.33 - .04	-.15	-.15	.09	-.10 - .17	-.15
<i>Own</i>	.13	.10	-.06 - .32	.13	.18	.10	-.16 - .15	.17
Identification								
<i>National ID</i>					-.12	.10	-.15 - .22	-.10
<i>National ID –Explore</i>					.13	.09	-.23 - .07	.13
<i>Ind Similarity</i>					-.17	.11	-.32 - .04	-.15
<i>Ind Solidarity</i>					.30	.09	.12 - .48	.35**
<i>Lad Similarity</i>					-.03	.11	-.25 - .19	-.03
<i>Lad Solidarity</i>					-.08	.10	-.29 - .12	-.10
$\Delta R^2$		.02				.13		
Support for reparative policy								
Indigenous heritage								
<i>National</i>	-.10	.09	-.28 - .08	-.11	-.11	.08	-.28 - .06	-.12
<i>Own</i>	.07	.09	-.11 - .26	.08	.07	.09	-.11 - .26	.07
Identification								
<i>National ID</i>					-.02	.09	-.28 - .06	-.02
<i>National ID –Explore</i>					.22	.09	.05 - .40	.23*
<i>Ind Similarity</i>					-.13	.11	-.34 - .10	-.11
<i>Ind Solidarity</i>					.45	.11	.23 - .67	.40**
<i>Lad Similarity</i>					-.09	.13	-.36 - .17	-.08
<i>Lad Solidarity</i>					-.14	.12	-.38 - .10	-.13
$\Delta R^2$		.01				.20**		

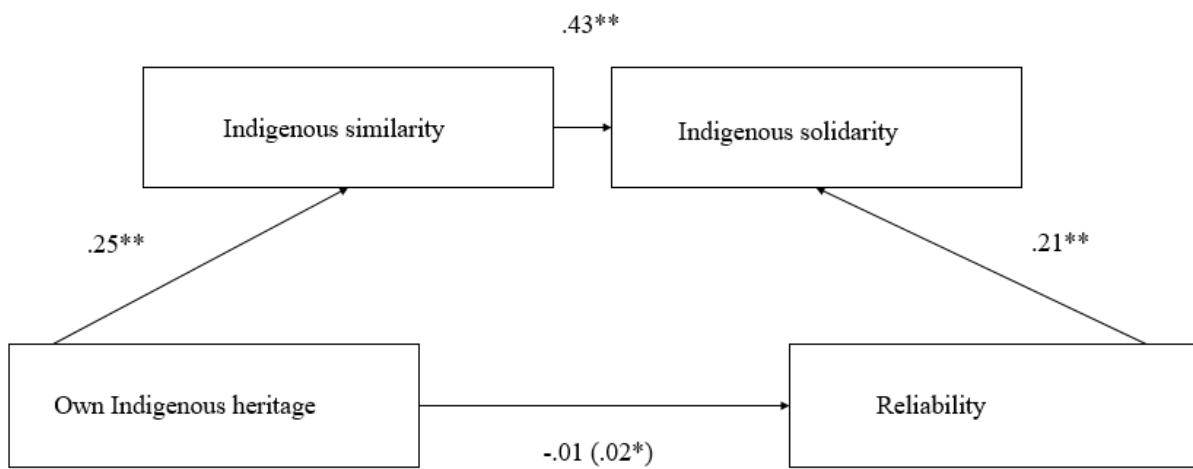
**Table 11.** Means and standard deviations across experimental conditions (Study 4).

<b>Variable</b>	<b><u>Similarities</u></b> M(SD)	<b><u>Differences</u></b> M(SD)	<b><u>Control</u></b> M(SD)
Ind Similarity	3.84 <sub>b</sub> (1.74)	3.10 <sub>a</sub> (1.53)	3.65 <sub>a</sub> (1.27)
Ind Solidarity	4.58 <sub>a</sub> (1.44)	4.13 <sub>a</sub> (1.38)	4.13 <sub>a</sub> (1.10)
Lad Similarity	5.58 <sub>a</sub> (1.11)	5.37 <sub>a</sub> (1.57)	5.31 <sub>a</sub> (1.26)
Lad Solidarity	5.21 <sub>a</sub> (1.37)	4.96 <sub>a</sub> (1.51)	4.60 <sub>b</sub> (1.36)
National ID	5.45 <sub>a</sub> (1.30)	5.35 <sub>a</sub> (1.21)	5.37 <sub>a</sub> (1.20)
Nat ID -Explore	5.19 <sub>a</sub> (1.60)	5.31 <sub>a</sub> (1.37)	5.25 <sub>a</sub> (1.30)
Reliability	4.56 <sub>a</sub> (1.21)	4.65 <sub>a</sub> (1.32)	4.62 <sub>a</sub> (1.30)
Dissemination	4.78 <sub>a</sub> (1.42)	4.71 <sub>a</sub> (1.81)	5.05 <sub>a</sub> (1.56)
Reparations	4.67 <sub>a</sub> (1.35)	5.07 <sub>a</sub> (1.38)	5.12 <sub>a</sub> (1.18)

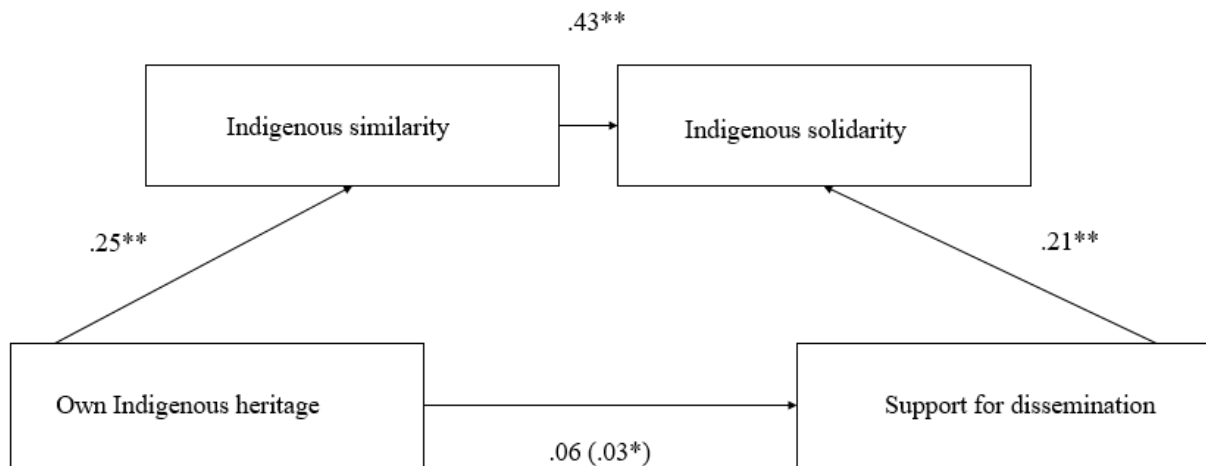
*Note.* Different letter subscripts within rows indicate statistically significant ( $p < .05$ ) differences



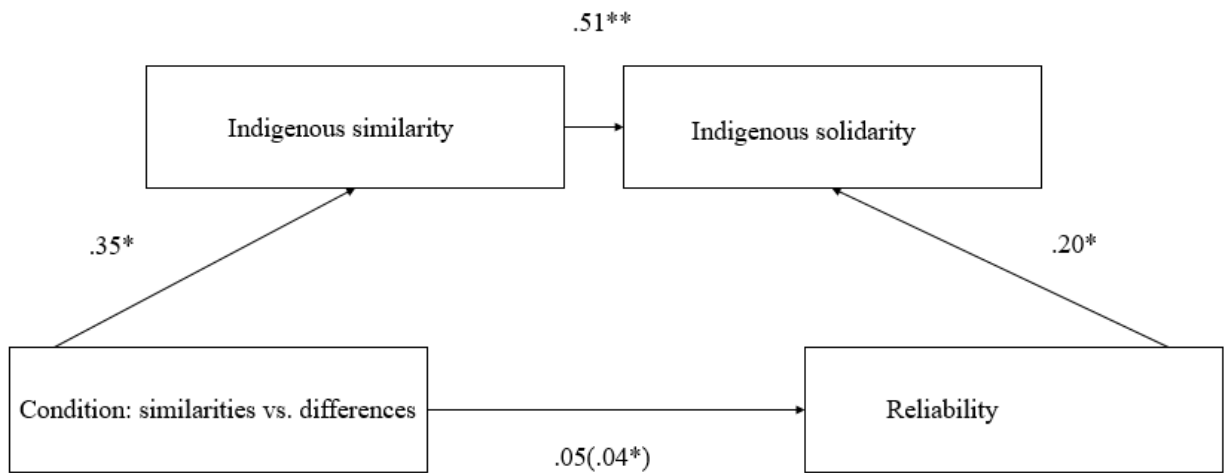
**Figure 1:** Mediation model predicting support for reparative policy.



**Figure 2:** Mediation model predicting report reliability.

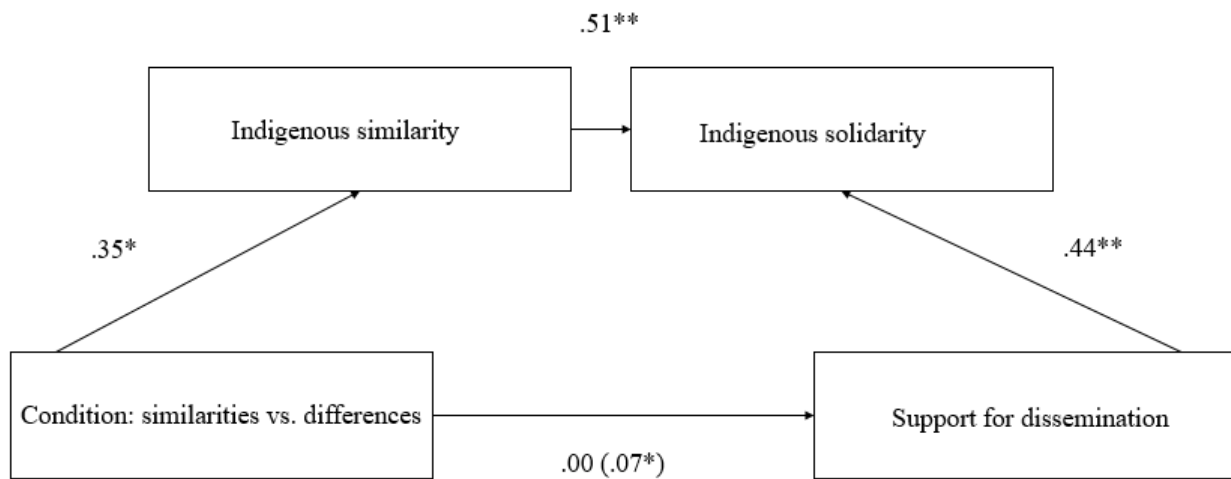


**Figure 3:** Mediation model predicting support for report dissemination.

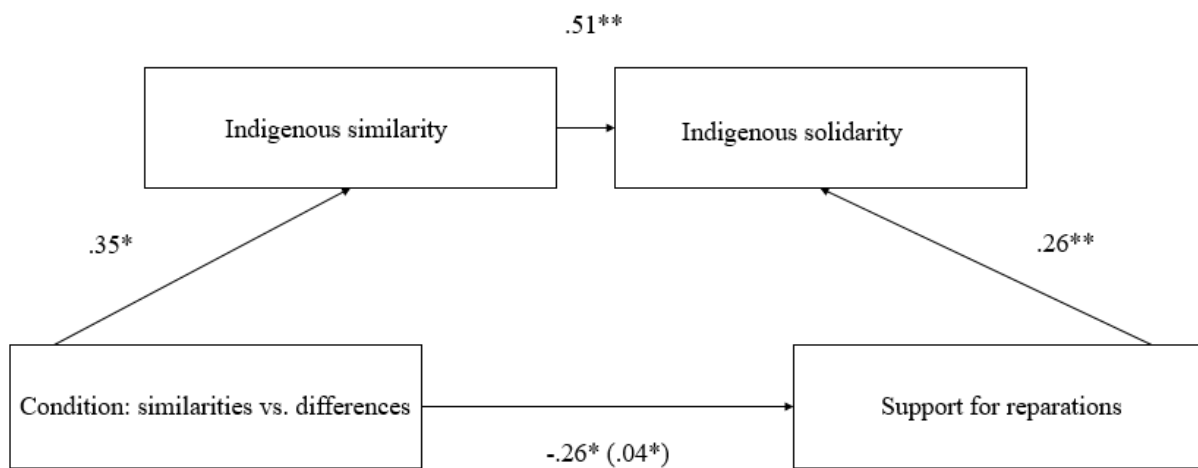


**Figure 4:** Mediation model predicting perceptions of reliability.





**Figure 5:** Mediation model predicting support for dissemination of report.



**Figure 6:** Mediation model predicting support for reparative policy.

## Appendix A

**Historical Knowledge Test – Study 1**

## CEH Report Items:

1. Las fuerzas militares del Estado y grupos paramilitares afines fueron responsables de más del 90% de las violaciones a los derechos humanos documentadas por la Comisión de Esclarecimiento Histórico.  
*The military forces of the State together with associated paramilitary groups were responsible for over 90% of the human right violations documented by the Historical Clarification Commission.*
2. Durante el conflicto, el Ejército realizó actos de destrucción cultural en contra de comunidades Indígenas, como destruir centros ceremoniales, lugares sagrados y retirar a las autoridades mayas comunitarias.  
*During the war, the Army carried out acts of cultural destruction against Indigenous communities, including the destruction of ceremonial and sacred sites and the withdrawal of community leaders.*
3. Durante el conflicto, el Ejército implementó una estrategia de tortura sistemática de personas identificadas como “subversivas”, llevada a cabo dentro de cárceles clandestinas en instalaciones militares y privadas.  
*During the war, the Army implemented a strategy of systematic torture of persons who they identified as “subversive”, carried out inside clandestine sites in military and private quarters.*
4. Las fuerzas militares del Estado planificaron y llevaron a cabo más de 600 masacres y operaciones de “tierra arrasada”, exterminando por completo comunidades Indígenas.  
*State military forces planned and carried out more than 600 massacres and “scorched earth” campaigns, completing exterminating Indigenous communities.*
5. Los grupos guerrilleros llevaron a cabo más de 30 masacres en comunidades rurales del país.  
*Guerrilla groups carried out more than 30 massacres in rural communities within the country.*
6. Los grupos guerrilleros realizaron ejecuciones arbitrarias de personas identificadas como colaboradores del Ejército y de miembros de la élite económica nacional.  
*Guerrilla groups carried out arbitrary executions of persons who they identified as collaborators of the Army, as well as members of the national economic elites.*
7. Los grupos guerrilleros reclutaron forzosamente a civiles, incluyendo menores de edad.  
*Guerrilla groups forcibly recruited civilians, including minors.*
8. Varios grupos guerrilleros utilizaron la estrategia de “impuesto de guerra”, exigiendo contribuciones económicas a dueños de fincas mediante amenazas o hechos de violencia incluyendo secuestros.

*Several guerrilla groups employed a strategy of “war taxes”, demanding economic contributions from owners of land using threats or violence, including kidnappings.*

Fabricated Items (not in CEH report):

1. Además de llevar a cabo las operaciones contra insurgentes, miembros del Ejército utilizaron sus capacidades para realizar robos monetarios y de propiedad privada a la población civil.  
*In addition to carrying out operations against rebel forces, members of the Army used their capabilities to conduct robberies and theft of private property against the civil population.*
2. Durante el conflicto, la definición de “enemigo interno” del Ejército incluyó a todo el sector académico y la Iglesia Católica guatemalteca.  
*During the war, the definition of “internal enemy” of the Army included the whole academic community and the Guatemalan Catholic Church.*
3. El Ejército destruyó infraestructura básica como puentes y torres de electricidad y luego culpó a los grupos guerrilleros para desprestigiarlos ante la población civil.  
*The Army destroyed basic infrastructure such as bridges and transmission towers and later blamed guerrilla groups to damage their reputation before the civil population.*
4. Durante los años del conflicto, las acciones del Ejército ocasionaron la destrucción de varios pequeños museos en el interior del país que albergaban importantes archivos arqueológicos considerados como patrimonio de la humanidad.  
*During the war years, Army actions caused the destructions of small museums within the country, which stored important archaeological archives that were important sites of cultural heritage of humanity.*
5. El objetivo principal de las organizaciones guerrilla era tomar el poder e instalar una dictadura militar comunista.  
*The main objective of guerrilla organizations was to take power to install a communist military dictatorship.*
6. Las organizaciones guerrilleras fueron responsables más del 70% de las desapariciones forzadas que ocurrieron en el área urbana del país.  
*Guerrilla organizations were responsible for more than 70% of the forced disappearances that occurred in the urban area of the country.*
7. Una de las estrategias utilizadas por la guerrilla fue promover la ocupación masiva de fincas privadas, cuyos dueños eran parte de los poderes económicos locales.  
*One of the strategies used by the guerrilla was promoting massive occupations of private lands, whose owners were members of the local economic elites.*
8. Una de las fuentes de recursos económicos de la guerrilla eran las actividades relacionadas con el narcotráfico.

*One of the sources of economic support for guerrilla groups were activities related to drug trafficking.*

## **Historical Knowledge Test – Study 2**

### **CEH Report Items:**

1. Las fuerzas militares del Estado y grupos afines fueron responsables de más del 90% de las violaciones a los derechos humanos documentadas por la Comisión de Esclarecimiento Histórico.  
*The military forces of the State and associated groups were responsible for over 90% of the human right violations documented by the Historical Clarification Commission.*
2. Durante el conflicto, el Ejército implementó una estrategia de tortura sistemática de personas identificadas como “subversivas”, llevada a cabo dentro de cárceles clandestinas en instalaciones militares y privadas.  
*During the war, the Army implemented a strategy of systematic torture of persons who they identified as “subversive”, carried out inside clandestine sites in military and private quarters.*
3. Los Estados Unidos y su política anticomunista de Guerra Fría influyeron considerablemente en las acciones del Ejército de Guatemala durante el Conflicto Interno.  
*The United States and its anti-communist policies during the Cold War had a considerable influence over the actions of the Guatemalan Army during the Civil War.*
4. El Ejército tenía el objetivo de proteger al Estado de los grupos armados que buscaban tomar el poder para instaurar un nuevo régimen inspirado en el cubano.  
*The objective of the Army was to protect the State from armed groups seeking to take power to install a new regime based on the Cuban system.*
5. Los grupos guerrilleros realizaron acciones violentas contra civiles identificados como colaboradores del Ejército, incluyendo a miembros de la élite económica nacional.  
*Guerrilla groups carried out violent actions against civilians identified as collaborators of the Army, as well as members of the national economic elites.*
6. Los grupos guerrilleros reclutaron forzosamente a civiles, incluyendo menores de edad.  
*Guerrilla groups forcibly recruited civilians, including minors.*
7. Los grupos armados insurgentes son responsables de menos del 10% de las violaciones a los derechos humanos de poblaciones civiles durante el Conflicto Armado.  
*Armed guerrilla groups are responsible for less than 10% of human rights violations during the Civil War.*
8. El objetivo original de los grupos armados guerrilleros era luchar contra la exclusión, la pobreza y la injusticia en la sociedad guatemalteca.  
*The original purpose of armed guerrilla groups was to fight against exclusion, poverty and injustice in Guatemalan society.*

Fabricated Items (not in CEH report):

1. Además de llevar a cabo las operaciones contra insurgentes, miembros del Ejército utilizaron sus capacidades para realizar robos de propiedad privada a civiles en la ciudad y en el área rural.  
*In addition to carrying out operations against rebel forces, members of the Army used their capabilities to conduct robberies and theft of private property against the civil population.*
2. Durante el conflicto, la definición de “enemigo interno” del Ejército incluyó a todas las organizaciones que trabajaban en temas sociales, como el sector académico y la Iglesia Católica.  
*During the war, the definition of “internal enemy” of the Army included organizations working on social issues, the academic community, and the Catholic Church.*
3. Durante los años del Conflicto Armado, el objetivo principal de los aparatos de Inteligencia del Ejército era el cumplimiento de las leyes y resguardar las funciones del Estado.  
*During the Civil War years, the main objective of the army intelligence apparatus was to enforce the law and protect the functioning of the State.*
4. De las víctimas de las operaciones del Ejército identificadas, la mayoría colaboraba activamente con los grupos armados guerrilleros.  
*The majority of identified victims of Army operations was collaborating actively with armed guerrilla groups.*
5. Una de las estrategias utilizadas por la guerrilla fue promover la ocupación masiva de fincas privadas, cuyos dueños eran parte de los poderes económicos locales.  
*One of the strategies used by the guerrilla was promoting massive occupations of private lands, whose owners were members of the local economic elites.*
6. Las operaciones de los grupos guerrilleros incluyeron la destrucción sistemática de infraestructura básica como puentes y torres de electricidad.  
*Guerrilla groups operations included the systematic destruction of basic infrastructure, such as bridges and transmission towers.*
7. Como parte de su estrategia social, los grupos guerrilleros establecieron programas educativos de alfabetización y escuelas en comunidades rurales.  
*As part of their social strategy, armed guerrilla groups established literacy program and founded schools in rural areas.*
8. La mayoría de los integrantes de los grupos guerrilleros tenía el objetivo de restaurar las políticas sociales igualitarias de la llamada “primavera democrática” (1944-1954).  
*The majority of members of guerrilla groups shared the objective of reinstating the social policies promoting equality from the time know as “democratic spring” (1944-1954).*

## Appendix B

**Signal Detection Paradigm – Formula to compute the measure of accuracy on the knowledge test****( $d'$ ; Study 1 and Study 2):**

$$dprime\_Tot = \text{probit}(\text{TotalHrate}) - \text{probit}(\text{TotalFARate})$$

Probit function of total hit rate (number of true items identified as true from a total of eight items) minus probit function of total false alarm rate (number of fabricated items incorrectly identified as true from a total of eight items).

## Appendix C

**Identification Measures**

*Ethnic Identification (adapted from Leach et al., 2008):*

I feel a bond with the Indigenous/Ladino.

I feel solidarity towards the Indigenous/Ladino.

I feel committed with the Indigenous/Ladino.

I believe I have a lot in common with the Indigenous/Ladino people.

In general, I am very alike with the average Indigenous/Ladino people.

*National Identification (adapted from Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992):*

Being Guatemalan is an important part of who I am.

One of my most important characteristics is being Guatemalan.

Being Guatemalan has little to do with how I feel about myself.

I feel happy about being Guatemalan.

I often regret being Guatemalan.

I feel proud about being Guatemalan.

*National Identification –Exploration (adapted from Phinney, 1992):*

I have spent time trying to learn more about the history and traditions of Guatemala.

I enthusiastically participate in the holidays and traditions related to the culture and history of Guatemala.

I enjoy visiting monuments, museums and other sites that help me to understand the history and culture of Guatemala.

### **Support for Reparations**

The Guatemalan State should provide economic compensations to the communities that suffered harm during the civil war.

The Guatemalan State should build more schools and health centers in the communities that suffered harm during the civil war.

The Guatemalan State should provide land to the indigenous communities that suffered harm during the civil war.

The official curriculum should include a discussion about the causes and consequences of the civil war.

The State should erect monuments or memorials to remember the victims of the civil war.

Official commemorations should address the damage caused to the victims of the civil war.

The Guatemalan State should allocate more resources to the trials against the Army officials who committed crimes during the civil war.

All Guatemalans should support the trials for crimes against civil communities committed by the forces of the State.

It is very important to prosecute those who committed State crimes during the civil war.

### **Heritage Measures**

Please think about your ancestors.

Indicate, to the best of your knowledge the origin of your ancestors by choosing the numbers in the scale (for example, the numbers to the left mean that your ancestors are primarily Indigenous, and the numbers to the right mean more European ancestry):

Indigenous    1        2        3        4        5        6        7    European

Now please think about the origin of the ancestors of the majority of the Guatemalan population. Indicate according to your opinion the origin of the ancestors of the population of Guatemala:

Indigenous    1        2        3        4        5        6        7    European



Please think about the activities in your everyday life.

Indicate according to your opinion to what extent the following activities originate or have influences from the Indigenous peoples and European peoples by choosing the numbers in the scale (for example, the numbers to the left mean that the activities have primarily Indigenous origins, and the numbers to the right mean more European origins):

	Indigenous					European	
Diet (everyday food)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Clothing	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Language and manner Of speaking	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Traditional holidays And celebrations	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Religious/Spiritual beliefs	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Now, please think about Guatemalan culture.

Indicate according to your opinion to what extent are the following cultural practices of Guatemalans originate or have influences from the Indigenous peoples and European peoples.

	Indigenous					European	
Diet (everyday food)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Clothing	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Language and manner Of speaking	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Traditional holidays And celebrations	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Religious/Spiritual beliefs	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

## Appendix D

**Experimental Manipulations – Study 4**

## Condition: Similarity/Shared identity

“Guatemala is a country in which different social and ethnic groups live together. Historians and social scientists have studied for many years their origins, their history and their interaction within the Guatemalan society. The two most studied groups are the group known as Indigenous, and the group known as Ladino.

Different kinds of research studies have concluded that the Indigenous and Ladino groups are more similar than what was previously believed. As the result of centuries of interaction and coexistence in the same territory, Indigenous and Ladino people share many of their ancestors, so they have a very similar genetic composition. In addition, due to their constant interaction, both groups share customs and traditions.

In conclusion, scientists and historians have confirmed the existence of a common group identity that joins Indigenous and Ladino people, based on the amount of ancestral, genetic, historic and cultural elements that they share. Therefore, Ladinos and Indigenous people can be considered as part of the same social group that inhabits shared spaces in Guatemala.”

## Condition: Differences/Separate identity

“Guatemala is a country in which different social and ethnic groups live together. Historians and social scientists have studied for many years their origins, their history and their interaction within the Guatemalan society. The two most studied groups are the group known as Indigenous, and the group known as Ladino.

Different kinds of research studies have concluded that the Indigenous and Ladino groups are more dissimilar than what was previously believed. As the result of centuries of separation and relative territorial isolation, Indigenous and Ladino people have different ancestors, so they have a very different genetic composition. In addition, due to their limited interaction, both groups have different customs and traditions.

In conclusion, scientists and historians have confirmed the existence of a unique identity that differentiates Indigenous and Ladino people, based on the amount of ancestral, genetic, historic and cultural elements that are different. Therefore, Ladinos and Indigenous people can be considered as different social groups that inhabit different spaces in Guatemala.”

## Condition: Control/Neutral

“Guatemala is a country in which different social and ethnic groups live together. Historians and social scientists have studied for many years their origins, their history and their interaction within the Guatemalan society. The two most studied groups are the group known as Indigenous, and the group known as Ladino.

Different kinds of research has concluded that the topic of the social groups in the country is important to study. Many researchers from different disciplines such as psychology,

anthropology, biology, and psychology study social life in our country. For example, research focuses on distribution and consumption of food, as well as language use in the country. In conclusion, scientists carry out the important work of understanding how people in Guatemala coexist in the country using different perspectives.”