The Pathway Towards Intergroup Forgiveness

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Abstract Intergroup transgression is a form of relationship that highlights differences among groups. One aspect of this is emphasizing further discrepancies between behaviors of members of the ingroup and outgroup, which may develop antagonistic behaviors against one another. When intergroup characteristics become more salient, ingroup similarities become more evident as well (Turner, 2012) which will consequently inflate the chance of advancing the intergroup conflict. The common ingroup identity theory (Dovidio, 2012) proposes that re-categorization can be an approach by which this conflict can be resolved. This re-categorization rests on the assumption that if a superordinate identity will be identified, the ingroup and outgroup members will behave positively towards one another. This study made use of a 2 x 2 between sample design with the first factor consisting of priming and with the second factor as socio-historical experience. Sixty-nine (69) respondents participated in the experiment who were divided into two groups: those who experienced martial law (cohort group) and those who did not (non-cohort group). ANOVA results indicated that neither priming nor socio-historical group did not differ with one another and therefore did not affect the perceived intergroup transgression and intergroup forgiveness. The findings validated, however,

the theoretical assumption that intergroup forgiveness can be facilitated by one's subscription to an overarching identity.

Introduction

Intergroup relationship is dynamic such that in many cases, conflicts arise between groups. Social psychology, however, is not mainly concerned with identifying and explaining how differences arise during intergroup relations but in resolution of these conflicts as well. Intergroup conflict can be viewed in different forms, such as being sociopolitical in nature (Montiel, 2002). While there could be different routes in reducing intergroup conflicts, forgiveness is an important preliminary process (Kira, Mountain, Lewandowski, Templin, & Mohanesh, 2009). The collective component of intergroup conflict, however, provides different dynamics in intergroup forgiveness compared with interpersonal forgiveness which normally takes place within a person-to-person relationship or transgression. Public apology (Hamber, 2007; Montiel, 2002; Mullet & Neto, 2009; Wohl & Branscombe, 2006), for example, has been consistently identified as a requirement towards achieving intergroup forgiveness.

One of the theories being used to explain reduction of intergroup conflicts is the Common Ingroup Identity Model (CIIM; Gaetner & Dovidio, 2012). The model explains that when people from different groups are categorized under one superordinate identity, they will favorably behave towards each member since ingroup and outgroup categories do not exist anymore, or their respective identities do not become salient. The prominence of this overarching identity compels members to behave according to the expectations of that particular identity and less on one's ingroup or outgroup identities. Consequently, when

a common ingroup identity has been identified, intergroup conflict will be reduced (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy, 2007; Riek, Mania, Gaertner, McDonald, & Lamoreaux, 2010). It is with this reason that CIIM became a prominent social psychological theory in an attempt to reduce prejudice and discrimination.

In some recent investigations, the CIIM has been used also to describe and explain forgiveness at an intergroup relation level. Intergroup forgiveness is defined as reduction of negative feelings, thoughts, and behavior towards the transgressing group and manifestation of willingness to engage with its members (Cehajic & Brown, 2008). Using the CIIM assumptions, the superordinate identity will facilitate intergroup-promoting behaviors because the ingroup and outgroup members behave according to a common identification which consequently lead to a high sense of inclusivity. This feeling of inclusiveness provides a venue for interaction and development of common goals between groups. It is hypothesized, by the model, that the higher the identification of members from each group into the common identity, the lesser the ingroup bias, prejudice, and discrimination one will hold towards members of the ingroup and outgroup. Application of this model on intergroup forgiveness had been useful in explaining most national socio-historical conflicts such as conflicts between Bosnia and Herzegovina during the early 90s (Cehajic & Brown, 2008) and Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland (Noor, Brown, Taggart, Fernandez, & Coen, 2010). However, the latter authors identified that up to this date, this attempts to apply CIIM to forgiveness on historical transgression is still minimal. This study further tested the application of the model in socio-historical transgression experienced by Filipinos during the period that the country was under the martial law.

Socio-historical events that are considered transgressing is intertwined with the elements of time. Through time, recalling the details of one's experience of transgression would be altered by one's cognitive ability due to the succeeding similar or otherwise socio-political events. Such that recalling an intergroup transgression may depend on the nature of information (or schema) readily available at the time of stimulation and recall were made; and of the cues available for one to recall such. Priming is one of the approaches by which an experience can be recalled in a certain manner. It is assumed that priming provides directions on how a person will respond towards the person or situation (Higgins, 2000). When one is consciously primed, the person filters the behaviors and activates information that is relevant to the presented information.

In the context of intergroup forgiveness, priming is assumed to facilitate depending on what is presented as a priming cue. Positive priming (PP) and negative priming (PN) are supposed to take different routes when they are asked regarding their tendency to forgive afterwards. Although this area has been identified one of the progressing topics in forgiveness studies (Exline, Worthington, & Mccullough, 2003), these remained unexplored in the area of intergroup relation studies. Although Linardatos and Lydon (2010) worked on the relationship of priming and forgiveness, they focused on the romantic relationship and did not manipulate priming stimulus. In their study, respondents were generally instructed to recall a romantic partner and the conflict they went through.

The present study attempted to provide baseline data on the possible inclusion of priming as an important element in a study of socio-historical-related intergroup forgiveness. Figure 1 illustrates the above relationships. Positive priming is hypothesized to establish negative relationships with

perceived intergroup transgression, with few negative information to consider common ingroup identity increases which will enhance the tendency to forgive. On the other hand, negative priming is hypothesized to induce perceived intergroup transgression which may negatively correlate with ingroup bias and lessen the probability for intergroup forgiveness.
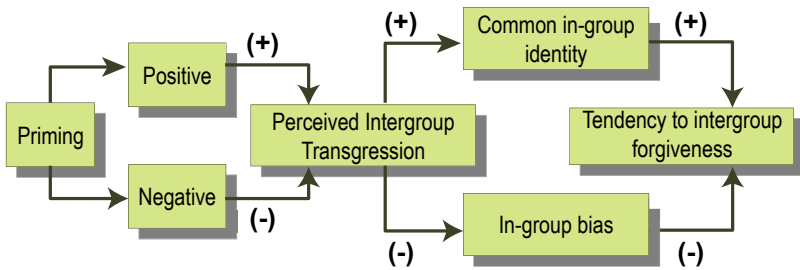
Figure 1. Conceptual Framework

Present Study

On September 21, 1972, the Philippines was placed under martial law upon the declaration of the then President Ferdinand Marcos. Since then, there were significant changes that took place in the day-to-day lives of the Filipinos. Under this government, the Philippines saw two images: one, a government that is committed to economic growth; and two, a government that is preoccupied with personal and familial gratification (Hande, n.d.). As its implementation progressed, the second image became more salient and transcended to many civil and human rights violations which eventually led to massive civic action that ultimately ousted the Marcoses. This significant event allowed the Philippine government to undergo political revolution. This political revolution, however, also left feelings of transgression to many Filipinos during that time.

After 41 years of its declaration, it would be of worth to revisit the Filipinos' perceptual take towards martial law. This study investigated the state of relation of Filipinos towards the Marcoses, his government, and the people who were instrumental in the implementation of martial law and those who experienced, either in a direct or indirect way, transgression during martial law. Particularly, this study examined the forgiveness tendency of Filipinos and testing its pathway through CIIM. Thirty years after the bloodless EDSA revolution that ended the Marcos regime, the details of remembering those experiences could have been affected by many social and political events that have taken place within the country. Thus, the examination of the intergroup forgiveness included the priming affect.

Moreover, the PNU research agenda gives emphasis to culture studies where prevailing perceptions in understanding one's history is understood through the lens of today's society. The research aimed to make meaning of the impact of a piece of information when presented negatively or positively. Likewise, intergenerational gaps were examined when it comes to views about political transgressions.

The following hypotheses were tested:

1. The type of priming will determine the nature of experience that will be salient among people who have experienced an intergroup transgression.
2. Common ingroup identity mediates the process of intergroup forgiveness.
3. Ingroup bias emphasizes intergroup transgression; thus, prevents intergroup forgiveness.

Methodology

Design

This study made use of a 2 x 2 between sample design. The first factor which is the priming condition consists of positive priming (PP) and negative priming (NP). Priming was primarily manipulated through the presentation news clip depicting a particular priming condition. The second factor is the socio-historical experience which was divided into a cohort group (with socio-historical experience) and a non-cohort group (without socio-historical experience).

Sample

There were 69 subjects who participated in this experiment. These participants were divided into two groups:, those who lived during the martial law (cohort group) period and those who did not (non-cohort group). Due to the difficulty to access subjects, especially the cohort groups, numbers of participants in the groups were not equal.

The cohort group was composed of 25 subjects who were from the community partner of a private higher education institution. Their age ranged from 40 to 68 ($\bar{x}$ = 51.04, s = 8.45). Likewise, majority of them were female. The non-cohort group, on the other hand, was composed of 44 university students from a state university in Manila. Their age ranged from 17 to 19 ($\bar{x}$ = 16.97, s = .725). Same with the cohort group, majority of them were female.

Instruments

The present study measured five major dependent variables: perceived intergroup transgression, tendency toward intergroup forgiveness, common ingroup identity, and ingroup, that is to be influenced by one's experience of intergroup transgression and the type of priming.

General characteristics of instruments. With the anticipation of possible subjects having difficulty understanding a foreign language, especially English, all the instruments were presented in Filipino. In terms of scaling, subjects' responses were based on a 7-point likert scale, 7 indicating the highest agreement *(lubos na sumasang-ayon)* and 1 indicating the lowest agreement *(lubos na di sumasang-ayon)* towards the statements. The cohort group was given pictorial scaling to anticipate the difficulty in responding. They were also given assistance due to the difficulty in dealing with the tasks, especially in indicating their responses. The approximate time of administration of all the instruments was 30 minutes for the non-cohort group and more than 1 hour for the cohort group.

Manipulation measure. This measure was intended to determine whether subjects were able to perceive the priming materials according to what had been assigned to them, either positive or negative priming. It consists of six statements pertaining to the extent of relationship between the priming materials with the Marcos government and martial law.

Intergroup forgiveness. This measure consists of 7 statements pertaining to how the subjects think and feel towards the Marcos government as well as towards those people who had direct relationship in the implementation of martial law. Statements include, *'Sa paglipas ng panahon, natanggap ko na rin ang mga di magagandang ginawa ng administrasyong Marcos noong martial law.'* (As time passes by, I have learned to accept the wrong doings of the Marcos administration during the martial law period) and *'Ang lalim ng galit ko noon sa mga nagpatupad ng martial ay hindi na ganoon ngayon.'* (The hatred that I feel now towards people who implemented martial law is not the same as before). The cronbach alpha of this scale is .666.

Perceived intergroup transgression. This measure indicates the extent by which participants, especially the cohort group, have evaluated the outcomes of the implementation of martial law to have caused either personal or collective offensive feelings or thoughts. This consists of five statements, like *'Ang mga Marcos at ang gobyerno nito ay nagdulot sa akin ng takot noong panahon ng martial law.'* (Marcos and his government had caused my fear when martial law was declared) and *'Nagkaroon ako ng pakiramdam na ang administrasyong Marcos ay sumupil sa aming karapatang pantao ng ipinatupad nya ang martial law.'* (I believed that Marcos administration suppressed human rights when he declared martial law.) This measure has a Cronbach alpha of .781.

Common in-group identity scale. This measure indicates the degree to which the Marcoses and martial law implementers were seen within the sphere of a superordinate identity, which is being a Filipino. This also measures the motivation to forgive due to the said identity. This consists of five statements, like *'Ang mga Marcos at ang mga tauhan nila ay mga kapwa ko Pilipino.'* (The Marcoses and their followers are Filipinos like me.) and *'Naiintindihan ko ang mga pangyayari noong martial law kapag iniisip ko na kaming lahat ay mga Pilipino.'* (I am able to understand the circumstances during martial law if I get to think that we are all Filipinos). The cronbach alpha of this measure is .813.

In-group bias scale. This measure indicates the extent by which subjects highlight their ingroup feelings and thoughts against the Marcos government and martial law implementers. This, likewise, determines how they exaggerate the positive evaluation they have towards their ingroup. This consists of five items, such as *'Nakaramdam ako ng awa sa mga naging biktima ng mga militar dahil sa martial law.'* (I pitied the victims of military personnel during martial law) and *'Kung*

ako ang huhusga, higit kong kakampihan ang mga laban sa gobyerno.' (If I am to judge, I will take the side of those who are against the government). The cronbach alpha of this measure is .767.

Procedures

Priming materials. Since this study tested the influence of priming in intergroup forgiveness, the priming materials were the primary consideration prior the actual experiment. There were two types of priming that were separately presented to each group conditions. The positive priming contains news clip that showcases the advantage or the positive impact of the implementation of martial law in the country. Particularly, this contains an international recognition in terms of the low crime rate after the declaration of martial law. The negative priming, on the other hand, contains news clip that reveals the negative impact experienced during the period of martial law. This contains series of reported kidnapping of political activists who were directly attacking Marcos and his government. The news clips were validated by language experts for language appropriateness and readability.

Pretesting of the experiment. Prior to the actual experiment, the procedure and materials were pretested. In the non-cohort group, there were significant improvements needed for the actual experiment. The pretesting in the cohort group, however, required improvements in the procedures such as adaptation of pictorial scaling, revision of some statements, especially the reverse-scoring items, and revision on the layout of the instrument. Also, the two priming conditions were held at different room assignment since the assistance had to be given to them.

Actual experimental procedure. After the coordination with the community partner and university students and the finalization of the priming materials, schedule of the actual

experiment was made. The cohort group was first gathered in the psychology laboratory before they were randomly assigned to a priming condition and assisted to go to their room assignment. The experiment in the non-cohort group, on the other hand, was held in the room during one of their lecture sessions in General Psychology course. They were randomly assigned in the priming condition through alternate arrangement of the experimental materials (priming stimulus and questionnaires). Prior to the distribution of the materials, subjects were given an informed consent form. Subjects who were 17 years old were required to have consent forms signed by their parents. A cover story about research on life experiences of late adults (for cohort) and social events (for non-cohort) were distributed after submission of the informed consent forms. After everyone had finished answering the questionnaire, they were debriefed with regard to the true nature of the experiment.

Results and Discussion

There were two levels of analysis made to test the hypotheses of this experiment. First, an analysis of variance was conducted to test the impact of priming of intergroup transgression in determining the pathway towards intergroup forgiveness. The second level of analysis was the validation of pathway through the use of multiple correlations.

Manipulation check

The exposure of subjects to the type priming materials was expected to be salient among them. The manipulation check analysis confirmed the differentiation on the priming materials where the subjects were exposed. Significant difference was observed between positive and

negative priming in the manipulation measure, t (67) = 6.477, p < .01. This result indicates that the subjects were able to distinguish the priming stimuli presented to them.

Descriptive statistics

Table 1 presents the degree by which the subjects perceived the implementation of martial law and its implementers to be offensive. The cohort group that was positively primed appeared to elicit highest feeling of intergroup transgression as opposed to the negatively primed. This result is somehow unexpected since the negative priming group was presumed to activate higher level of transgression after they were presented with a news clip manifesting negative circumstances during the period of martial law. In the over-all mean, NP and PP condition do not also indicate large discrepancies. Between the socio-historical groups, it was predicted that the cohort group would have higher level of perceived intergroup transgression than the non-cohort group.

Table 2, on the other hand, presents the level of intergroup forgiveness after the subjects were exposed to the types of priming. It can be observed that the highest mean was obtained in the cohort group who were exposed to positive priming. This type of priming also yielded the higher over-all mean than the negative priming. In terms of the socio-historical groups, the cohort group reported the highest tendency for intergroup forgiveness than the non-cohort group.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics on the level of intergroup transgression

Socio-historical groups	Priming		Total
	Negative	**Positive**	
Cohort	4.6667	4.6769	4.6720
	.95092	1.4202	1.19287
Non-cohort	4.3300	4.2353	4.2865
	1.4701	1.2713	1.3643
Total	4.4563	4.4267	4.4419
	1.2934	1.3326	1.3018

Non-italicized values indicate mean values; italicized values indicate standard deviation

Table 2. Descriptive statistics on the level of intergroup forgiveness.

Socio-historical groups	Priming		Total
	Negative	**Positive**	
Cohort	4.9883	5.2315	5.1148
	.59504	.78757	.69842
Non-cohort	3.8855	4.0241	3.9492
	1.0771	.76759	.93763
Total	4.2991	4.5473	4.4192
	1.0635	.97574	1.0213

Non-italicized values indicate mean values; italicized values indicates standard deviation

To test whether these differences are significant, an Analysis of Variance was performed. Since there was a considerable amount of age differences especially of the cohort group, age was controlled statistically; hence, it was entered as a covariate. Tables 3 and 4 present the results of the analysis of variance for the intergroup transgression and intergroup forgiveness. Analyses indicated that neither priming nor socio-historical group did not differ with one another and therefore did not affect the perceived intergroup transgression and intergroup forgiveness.

Table 3.   ANOVA results for intergroup transgression

Source	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Socio-historical group	2.383	1	2.383	1.361	.248
Priming	.014	1	.014	.008	.929
Interaction	.047	1	.047	.027	.870
Error	99.763	57	1.750		
Total	1326.680	62			

Table 4.   ANOVA results for intergroup forgiveness

Source	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Socio-historical group	1.518	1	1.518	2.022	.161
Priming	.534	1	.534	.712	.402
Interaction	.040	1	.040	.053	.818
Error	42.796	57	.751		
Total	1274.441	62			

Pathway to intergroup forgiveness

With the goal to include priming as an important element in understanding intergroup forgiveness, prior analyses undermined the roles of actual socio-historical experience and the mechanism of priming towards intergroup forgiveness. Hence, this portion of analysis worked on the validation of the relationship among perceived intergroup transgression, ingroup identity, ingroup bias, and intergroup forgiveness. Since age was used as a controlling variable in earlier analysis, this was also entered as one of the predictors of intergroup forgiveness.
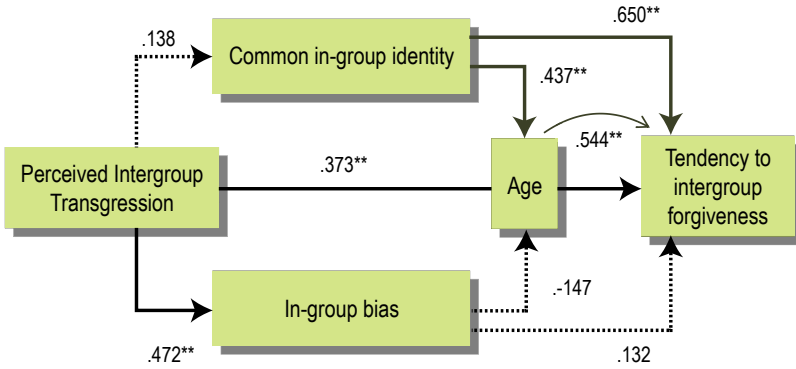
Figure 2. Structural equation model of intergroup forgiveness

Figure 2 validates the theoretical assumption that intergroup forgiveness can be facilitated by one's subscription to an overarching identity ($r = .650$, $p < .01$) between the transgressed and the transgressor. The ingroup bias correlates with the perceived intergroup transgression ($r = .472$, $p < .01$) and does not with intergroup forgiveness. This may indicate that when perceived transgression is heightened, ingroup bias also becomes more salient. This result generally affirms the basic assumption of the common ingroup identity theory. With the inclusion of age as one of the predictors of intergroup forgiveness, it appears that age can be a moderating variable towards one's tendency to forgive a transgressing group. An unexpected result can be found in the relationship between the perceived intergroup transgression and intergroup forgiveness($r = .373$, $p < .01$). While it was expected that an inverse relationship exists between them, results of this analysis did not affirm such assumption.

The primary objective of this study was to describe the pathway towards intergroup forgiveness with the inclusion of priming as an important mechanism towards such behavior. Common ingroup identity theory was used as the

primary theoretical basis in explaining how people forgive an intergroup transgression. It was hypothesized that (1) the type of priming will determine the nature of experience that will be salient among people who have experienced an intergroup transgression. Also, it was hypothesized that (2) common ingroup identity will be a mediating variable in the process of intergroup forgiveness while (3) ingroup bias emphasizes intergroup transgression. The first hypothesis was not confirmed whether which indicates the priming of intergroup transgression may not necessarily affect the tendency to intergroup transgression. The second and third hypotheses were affirmed through the correlational analysis.

Despite the non-significant result with regard to the effect of priming, it provides several insights regarding the intergroup forgiveness behavior as well as on how intergroup transgression is taken by Filipinos. Even though the non-cohort group was not exposed to an actual transgression, their level of perceived transgression and intergroup forgiveness were the same as those of the cohort group. This may imply that the offensive feeling may not really be caused by an actual experience but instead a conditioning that may be provided by the environment, such as interaction with people who have experienced the transgression (e.g., family members and teachers). This affirms the claim of Tajfel and Turner (Ellemers & Haslam, 2012) in their minimal group experiment where they presumed that group categorization may not necessarily be based on a realistic conflict between groups. Instead, it may exist based on one's subjective reality of categorization. The non-cohort group may have internalized the collective conception of intergroup transgression of the implementation of martial law. It is interesting to note that despite this, the presentation of positive priming which was supposed to regulate their thoughts towards affirmative response. It can be presumed that information (for the cohort) and the experience (for non-

cohort) are so chronic that priming may not be sufficient to alter how they will respond towards the given situation (Linardatos & Lydon, 2010). Ortiz (2008), however, in his review of history-related children story books, found many inaccurate and insufficient information with regard to motivations of Filipinos engaging in social activism. This sets an alarming idea when these historical accounts are handed to succeeding generations. When thess misleading and subjective accounts are used in judging other groups, it can lead to a more complex intergroup conflicts.

This result was also observed in terms of the measure of intergroup forgiveness. The readiness to forgive did not differ between the cohort and the non-cohort group despite their exposure to both negative and more so to the positive priming. These findings are important in terms of describing and explaining how people, in this case Filipinos, tend to evaluate a group of people's transgressing behaviors and how they forgive these behaviors. In the assertion of Linardatos and Lydon (2010), it is not the priming per se that explains how people relate with transgression and forgiveness but the extent by which the transgressed evaluate one's self as part of the transgressor's self. This line of explanation is headed towards accounting for culutral orientation, particularly self-contrual (Neto & Mullet, 2004; Paz, Neto, & Mullet, 2008; Linardatos & Lydon, 2010). Filipinos having to subscribe to a more collectivistic culture, the tendency to forgive and handle transgression are anchored on the degree of shared self with another person and/or another group. Since communal and interpersonal harmony are the goals of this type of cultural orientation (Ho & Fung, 2011) (i.e. Philippines), restoration of a damaged relationship is more important than to assert one's individuality.

As it appears in the structural equation model analysis, common ingroup identity significantly predicts the tendency to forgive an intergroup transgression. This result

indicates that when the argument has been transformed into being a Filipino, which makes the *collective* identity salient,it becomes easier to forgive intergroup trangression that may be political in nature. Alternative but similar explanation can be from the indigenous construct of *kapwa* (Enriquez, 1978). In the original conception of this construct, Enriquez explains that *pakikipagkapwa* (shared identity) is an overarching value that guides Filipinos in interacting with other people regardless of the extent of ones relationship (i.e., *ibang-tao* (not one of us) or *hindi ibang-tao* (one of us)) with another person. This assumption extends to the idea that *pakikipagpakapwa* is a very inclusive construct that differentiation between outgroup and ingroup membership is less salient in most interaction, including circumstances requiring forgiveness. Since inclusivity is highlighted, ingroup bias is consequently reduced, and perceived transgression is lessened as well. This results are consistent with previous studies of Noor, Brown, Taggart, Fernandez, and Coen (2010) and Cehajic and Brown (2008) which also predicted intergroup forgiveness through the use of a superordinate national identities.

An unexpected result may be found in the positive relationship between the perceived transgression and the tendency for intergroup forgiveness. While it was expected that an inverse relationship between these two variables is to be observed, it may also provide possible descriptions on intergroup forgiveness behaviors of Filipinos. This may indicate high tolerance of Filipinos with regard to politically-based intergroup transgression like that of the martial law. As observed in several circumstances, politicians, from the lowest to highest, who have been accused and found guilty on graft and corruption cases, extra judicial killings, electoral cheatings, and direct suppression of one's human rights, were supported, elected, or appointed in government posts. Cehajic and Brown (2008) found out that outgroup empathy

can also predict intergroup forgiveness. Empathy is triggered when another individual experiences difficulties, hurt, or punish. It is an emotional response towards an emotionally-loaded behavior of another individuals. In the recent history, politicians who have done wrong doings against Filipinos typically appeal and sought for forgiveness in a very emotional way. For example, Imelda Marcos, wife of former president Ferdinand Marcos, crying in front of the media cameras while apologizing and at the same time justifying their actions then.

The results of this study have several implications in terms of understanding intergroup forgiveness of Filipinos. First, nationalism is an important ingredient in advancing intergroup forgiveness. With the existence of conflict in southern Philippines and armed groups located almost all over the country, the implicit discrimination against regional affiliation can be reduced if not eliminated by the superordinate identity which is being a Filipino. Second, age (Allemand, 2008) but necessarily actual experience matter in forgiving another group's transgression. Soon after the Philippines became a democratic country, there have been a lot of political, social, and economic reforms that occurred.

These changes, in one way or the other, have altered the way people evaluate their experiences during the time of martial law. Non-cohort group could have expressed lower tendencies to forgive, despite not experiencing martial law, but it could be predicted that through time, their attribution will change in a more forgiving manner. The third implication pertains to the general forgiveness behavior of Filipinos. If Filipinos express high tolerance in transgressions, it can be possible that they can be politically abused. People who run the government may repeatedly do political transgression despite the damage it brings to different governments in

general and to Filipinos in particular. Lastly, this study has implications in terms of understanding the value of apologies in order to arrive in an intergroup forgiveness. While it is perceived that expression of apologies is considered relevant in intergroup forgiveness (Philpot & Hornsey, 2011; Mullet & Neto, 2009; Wohl & Branscombe, 2006; Kadiangandu & Mullet, 2007), results of this study seem to undervalue the forgiveness-seeking behaviors of the transgressing group. Forgiveness can be readily given even in the absence of any form of public forgiveness-seeking behavior such as apologies. This is similar to what Rungduin (2012) found out in terms of less valuing the forgiveness-seeking behavior of Filipinos at interpersonal level forgiveness.

Conclusions and Recommendations

In identifying the pathway towards intergroup forgiveness, national identity such as being a Filipino can heighten the intention to forgive which ingroup bias reinforces. Thus, the perceived intergroup transgression may be seen between the continuum of being a serious offense or an offense that is easily forgiveable. In this pathway, one's activation of a particular memory and one's actual experience are not sufficient to change how one feels towards the socio-political transgression.

While this study contributes in the understanding of socio-political and forgiveness behaviors of Filipinos, this study has a number of limitations. Methodologically speaking, dealing with the cohort group was a little difficult since almost all of them had low educational background and consequently had difficulty dealing with survey-type questionnaire. The difficulty was also expereinced not only in terms of dealing with the questionnaire but also in dealing

with the priming stimuli. The use of other efficient and creative method in presenting both the priming stimuli and questionnaire could provide stronger grounding in the results of the analysis. Perhaps, the use of more visuals and which are less cognitive in presentation will facilitate processing of information better. Conceptually and theoretically, the test of common ingroup identity as an explanatory variable of intergroup forgiveness had been largely tested through correlational approach (Cehajic & Brown, 2008; Noor, Brown, Taggart, Fernandez, & Coen, 2010). In this study, the pathway was also generated through correlational analysis. A causal examination of these variables can bolster the claim of the common ingroup identity model in explaining the intergroup forgiveness phenomenon.

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Appendix A.1: Negative Priming Materials

Sibilyan 'di kinaya ang torture, nagpakamatay

Marso 12, 1974

Dalawang magkapatid, isa ay patay, ang pinalaya ng Philippine Constabulary matapos ang halos isang buwang pagkakakulong sa Camp Crame.

Ang 24 taong gulang na si Francisco Herrera, kasama ang namatay niyang kapatid na si Ernesto, 20, ay pinaratangang mga miyembro ng New People's Army.

Ayon kay Francisco, isang nakatataas na opisyal na kung tawagin ay "One-Eyed Jack" ang nagbibigay ng utos sa pagsasagawa ng torture. Ang pinaka-brutal naman sa mga militar ay isang batang Constabulary officer na tinatawag na Col. Bing.

Walang araw na lumipas na hindi sila bubugbugin ng mga militar. Tinotorture sila sa pamamagitan ng pangunguryente, pagpapaso sa kanilang mga balat ng nakasinding sigarilyo, at pagbubuhos ng mainit, at maya-maya'y malamig, na tubig.

Hindi pa man sinasabi sa kanila ang kanilang pagkakasala nang sila'y hulihin, nagtamo na sila ng mga suntok at tadyak. Sinabi daw ng mga militar na ito ang kanilang paraan ng pagpapakilala.

Sinabi ni Francisco na hindi na natiis ng kanyang kapatid ang hirap. "Nu'ng tinapon siya sa pool, ayaw na niyang umahon. Uminom na siya ng maraming tubig. Inahon na lang siya ng militar, sabi magsasalita muna siya bago siya mamamatay." Gayon pa man, namatay din si Ernesto makalipas ang ilang oras.

Sa kabilang banda, bagama't isang sibilyan lamang, hindi na niya sinikap itanggi na siya ay isang komunista. Subalit, nagpatuloy pa din ang pagpapahirap sa kanya. .

Ang katawan ng dalawa ay nagtamo ng maraming pinsala. Sunog ang kanilang utong, tiyan, at mga daliri.

Sinabi ni Francisco na naglalakad lamang sila sa isang creek sa San Miguel, Bulacan nang pilit silang isinakay ng mga opisyal ng Constabulary sa kanilang sasakyan.

Lingid pa sa kaalaman kung bakit sila ay naisipang pakawalan.

Sa ngayon, nais ng pamilya Herrera ng bigyang katarungan ang pagkamatay ni Ernesto pero walang abogado ang nais tumanggap ng kanilang kaso.

"It is unlikely to get justice because the military did it and we are still under martial law [Malamang na hindi makakuha ng hustisya dahil ang militar ang may gawa nito at tayo ay nasa ilalim pa ng batas militar]," sabi ng isang abogadong tumangging makilala.

Appendix A.2: Positive Priming Materials

'Mababang kriminalidad sa Pilipinas,' sabi ng Nat Geo

Marso 7, 1974

Ang isang artikulong nagsasaad ng mababang kriminalidad sa Pilipinas dulot ng pagdedeklara ni Pangulong Ferdinand Marcos ng Batas Militar ay nailathala sa National Geographic Magazine kahapon.

Ito ay sa panunulat ni Dan Moser. Ayon sa kanya, malinaw ang patunay ng pagbabagong nakita niya sa Pilipinas, lalong-lalo na sa Kamaynilaan. Nasasaad sa artikulo:

> *"Supporters of the administration often say to foreign visitors, 'You see no tanks on the streets, do you?" And indeed there is little visible evidence that the country is squirming under a dictator's boot heel. Ordinary people I talked with – taxi drivers, fishermen – were delighted with their freedom from harassment by 'holduppers' and the torpedoes hired by local politicians. And the economy has returned from near disaster."*

[Ang mga taga-suporta ng administrrasyon ang siyang nagsasabi sa mga bisita mula sa ibang bansa nang ganito: 'Mayroon ba kayong nakikitang mga tangke sa mga lansangan?' Sa katunayan, wala kayong makikitang ebidensiya na ang bansa ay namimilipit sa ilalim ng takong ng bisang diktador. Ang mga ordinaryong mamamayan na nakakausap ko – tsuper ng taxi, mangingisda – ay tuwang-tuwa sa kanilang kalayaan sa pangangambala

ng mga 'holduppers' at mga tauhan ng mga pulitiko sa lokal na pamahalaan. At, higit sa lahat, ang ekonomiya ay bumangon mula sa malubhang pagkakalugmok."]

Ipinagmalaki ni Hen. Fidel V. Ramos, pinuno ng Philippine Constabulary (PC) at Integrated National Police, na ang Pilipinas ay mayroong isa sa pinakamababang crime rate index kumpara sa mga malalaking lungsod sa buong mundo. Bukod pa rito, patuloy ang pagbaba nito taun-taon.

Sa ulat ng PC, bumaba ng 23.1% ang index crime cases, tulad ng pagpatay, pisikal na pananakit at panggagahasa, at mga krimen laban sa ari-arian, nitong nakaraang Enero.

"Dahil sa ating mga aksyon at pagsusumikap, nawala na sa mga kalsada ang mga taong dati'y hayagang nagbibitbit ng baril," ika ni Ramos.

Sa kasalukuyan, nakabuwag na ang PC ng humigit kumulang na 149 na pribadong hukbo at mga sindikato. Nakasamsam na rin ang kapulisan ng mahigit na kalahating milyong mga baril na hindi lisensiyado. Libu-libong criminal na ang nahuhuli at napapatay sa mga engkwentro.

Appendix B: Dependent Measures

Pangalan (*optional*): _____ edad: __ kasarian: __

Ang mga sumusunod ay naglalarawan ng mga karanasan, pakiramdam, at pag-iisip tungkol sa martial law, sa goberyerno at at sa mga taong nagpatupad nito.Lagyan ng tsek ang iskala (7=higit na pagsang-ayong, 1=higit na *di* pagsang-ayon) na naglalarawan ng iyong pagsang-ayon sa mga nasabing pangungusap.Walang tama o maling sagot.Ang iyong tapat na pagtugon sa higit na makakatulong sa pag-aaral na ito.

1. Sa kabuuan, paano mo maisasalarawan ang iyong posisyon noong ipinatupad ang batas militar (martial law) (lagyan ng tsek ang angkop sa iyong karanasan)

   __ ako ay kaisa sa mga nagpatupad ng martial law, lalo na ang mga militar at gobyerno.

   __ sa maliit o malaking paraan, ako ay naging biktima ng pagkakaroon ng martial law. (sagutan ang #2 kung ito ang sagot)

2. Ikaw ba ay naging aktibo sa paglaban batas military noon?   ___ oo   ___ hindi

   Kung oo ang sagot,

   Ikaw ba ay aktibo pa rin hanggang ngayon?

   ___ oo   ___ hindi

Sa paanong paraan ka naging aktibo sa paglaban sa martial law? (magtala 2 na pinakamadas ng ginawa)

1. _____

2. _____

	Higit na pagsang-ayon					Higit na di pagsang-ayon	
	7	6	5	4	3	2	1

Perceived Transgression

1. Ako ay higit na naapektuhan ng ipinatupad ang martial law.

2. Ang mga Marcos at ang gobyerno nito ay nagdulot sa akin ng takot noong panahon ng martial law.

3. Bagama't ako ay hindi diretsong naging biktima, nakaramdam ako ng galit sa gobyerno ng ipinatupad nito ang martial law.

4. Noong panahon ng martial law, ang administrasyong Marcos ay laban sa mga ordinaryong tao.

5. Nagkaroon ako ng pakiramdam na ang administrasyong Marcos ay sumupil sa aming karapatang pantao ng ipatupad nito ang martial law.

Intergroup forgiveness

1. Sa paglipas ng panahon, natanggap ko na rin ang mga di magagandang ginawa ng administrasyong Marcos noong martial law.

2. Higit ko na ngayong naun-awaan ang dahilan ni Marcos sa pagpapatupad nya ng martial law.

3. Hanggang ngayon naiisip ko pa rin ang di magagandang nangyari dulot ng pagpapatupad ng administrasyong Marcos ng martial law.

4. Ang lalim ng galit ko noon sa mga nagpatupad ng martial law ay ganoon pa rin hanggang ngayon.

5. Kapag nakikita ko ang mga taong nagpatupad ng martial law sa telebisyon ngayon, nakakaramdam pa rin ako ng poot sa kanilang mga ginawa.

6. Ako ay hindi na nababagabag kapag naaalala ko ang mga hindi magagandang nangyari noong panahon ng martial law.

7. Sa mga darating na halalan, handa akong iboto ang mga taong nagpatupad ng martial law noon.

Common-identity

1. Ako at ang mga nagsulong ng martial law ay mayroong mabuting hangarin para ating bansa.

2. Ang mga Marcos at tauhan nito ay mga kapwa ko Pilipino.

3. Kasali ako ng gobyerno sa kagustuhang isulong ang kabutihan ng mga Pilipino.

4. Naiintindihan ang mga pangyayari noong martial law kapag iniisip ko na kaming lahat naman ay Pilipino.

5. Gusto ko na tinatawag kaming mga Pilipino.

In group bias

1. Nakakaramdam ako ng awa sa mga naging biktima ng mga military dahil martial law.

2. Ang mga ordinaryong tao ay masasabing biktima ng martial law.

3. Ang paglaban sa administrasyong Marcos noon ay mayroong sapat na dahilan.

4. Kung ako ang huhusga, higit kong kakampihan ang mga laban sa gobyerno.

5. Ang paglaban sa administrasyong Marcos noong panahon ng martial ay paraan ng pagkuha ng hustisya.

Manipulation check

1. Ang aking nabasang balita ay nagsalarawan ng hindi magandang pangyayari tungkol noong panahon ng martial law.

2. Ang aking nabasa ay nagsalarawan ng negatibong epekto ng martial law.

3. Ang tema ng aking nabasa ay tungkol sa karahasang nangyari noong martial law.

4. Ang balitang aking nabasa ay nagpapakita ng pang-aabusong pisikal ng mga militar.