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THE NARRATIVE CONSTRUCTION OF COLLECTIVE VICTIMHOOD

BELIEFS

PHD DISSERTATION

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I. INTRODUCTION

Collective victimhood has been an important area of interest in social psychology over the past decade, with an array of scholarly papers from different cultural backgrounds and different theoretical approaches (see Bar-Tal et al., 2009; Noor et al., 2012; Vollhardt, 2020). However, little is known about how collective victimhood is represented in historical narratives; and how the structural and compositional linguistic details of the group-narratives may affect the interpretation of historical events.

This work provides a theoretical overview of the scientific notions of collective remembering (Halbwachs, 1980) from a social psychological point of view, with an emphasis on collective trauma (Erős, 2007). These phenomena are synthesized in the concept of collective victimhood consciousness (Bar-Tal et al., 2009; Vollhardt, 2020). The focus of the present dissertation is the narrative structural attributes of the construction of intergroup conflict narratives and the constructive nature of victim and perpetrator roles. Exploration of these questions is anchored in the wider theoretical basis of social representations- (Farr & Moscovici, 1984) and social identity theory (Tajfel, 1978, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). This work contributes to the field of collective victimhood research by emphasizing the narrative psychological aspects of collective memory and its relation to national history and history education, while it also offers a systematic comparison in a cross-cultural setting.

The goal of the present dissertation is to empirically test assumptions of a specific narrative organization of the belief system of victim groups, which can be characterized with what is called collective victimhood consciousness. The narrative structural properties of a victimhood-based narration will be systematically tested with the toolkit of the scientific narrative psychological approach in the context of history and historical knowledge. The studies described here aim to provide valuable insights into the phenomena of the narrative construction of historical representations, and collective victimhood beliefs, both in terms of the novelty of the applied methodology, and the theoretical approach of narrative psychology.

This work aims to prove that the narrative structural properties of an account of past conflict provides a tool for an identity-congruent interpretation of past events, even to an extent where the moral roles of victims and perpetrators fade into an ambiguity. The work emphasizes that in narrating group-related events not only *what* is told matters but *how* it is told as well.

II. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

In the scientific approaches of social psychology and history studies, the examination of the interdependence of representations of past and present has a somewhat different emphasis. While psychology mainly focuses on the processes of meaning construction by which the present challenges affect the notions of the past, history studies mainly focus on creating a distinction between past and present, making it possible to interpret the past on its own terms, finding objective causalities between past and present (Burke, 2001; van Alphen & Carretero, 2015). Despite the seemingly different approaches of the two fields of study, there is a recent growth of intention for an interdisciplinary approach in the examination of the phenomena of historical thinking (Azzopardi, 2015; Glăveanu & Yamamoto, 2012). The collision of the two fields is not without precedent, especially when we think about how social processes happen in a distinct time and space, thus are embedded in the social context of the past (Gergen, 1973; Munsterberg, 1899; Tileagă & Byford, 2014). For both fields, an important area of study is the examination of the processes of collective remembering (Gyáni, 2007; Liu & László, 2007; Novick, 2007), which gives one of the theoretical focus points of this dissertation.

II.1. Identity and remembering

Studying collective remembering has a long history in the discipline of social sciences. The notion of collective memory (Halbwachs, 1980) naturally draws from the literature of social representations theory (Farr & Moscovici, 1984), in terms of the socially boundedness of both the process and the content of representation of historical events. From a social psychological point of view, not *what* exactly happened is important, but *how* an event's interpretation and interpretation of a chain of events create a sense of continuity and distinctiveness of group identity (see Hobsbawm & Ranger, 2012). Representations of these events are continuously negotiated and are dependent on social, and political structural relations, which provides a context that cannot be ignored when studying processes of remembering (Jovchelovitch & Priego-Hernández, 2013; László, 2013). The interdependent nature of identity-needs of group members and power relations within a society keep a fine balance that results in a constant reinterpretation of what history means in terms of the nation's self-definition.

II.1.1 Social identity and social identification

In a social psychological sense, the examination of group-processes necessarily involve some sense of social categories, social comparisons, and qualities that are attached to the complexity of intergroup relations (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner, 2010).

Social identity can be considered as a social aspect of one's self-definition that contains knowledge which stem from one's group memberships (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Social identity theory and social categorization theory imply the process of social categorization, in which meaningful categories are created that establish a clear distinction between the ingroup and the outgroup, and as a result, the self and the other. The importance of these group memberships is highly dependent on the social context, in terms of how relevant they are in a certain social interaction. If a social category becomes salient, the qualities attached to those memberships may guide one's behavior and mental processes.

Any meaningful group memberships can be thought of as something that makes up social identity even from simple attributes like gender, age, or a profession, to more complex group memberships such as ethnicity and national affiliation. Although in terms of individual psychological processes, the salience of social identity is highly context dependent (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979), there are group memberships with which one forms a long-lasting identification. These group-memberships become important characteristics of the individual identity as well (Ashmore et al., 2004). A plausible group-membership that is present in one's life is their national belongingness, or national identity which is a crucial aspect of individual socialization. Individuals strive to achieve meaningful group memberships, that provide a basis for a distinctive and positive identification. As a result of identification, the group's – or here the national group's – goals, challenges, gains, and losses acquire personal importance for group members. Group experiences provide norms that facilitate the convergence of individual group members' reactions (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner, 2010).

However, the qualities of national identification may vary on the individual level. Some group members can form a complex concept of the ingroup, integrating varying contents of knowledge and experiences into their own representation of the national group, while others construct their identity in a stricter way. The characteristics of national identification affect how group members represent their history as well. For example, group members whose identification involves a stronger sense of emotional

importance of the national group are usually experiencing a form of critical loyalty, while group members who base their identification on the superiority of the national group may use various strategies to protect the ingroup's image (Roccas et al., 2006; Szabó & László, 2014). Experiencing the same events as a collective provides a basis for constructing and maintaining social group categories, while at the same time, belonging to social groups also shape how a group experiences these events (Mijić, 2021). The phenomenon of collective remembering begins with group memberships. In these memberships the normative ways of remembering are coded and the accepted ways of identification are prescribed (Halbwachs, 1980; Szabó & László, 2014).

II.1.2 The dynamics of collective remembering

In an international study, respondents were asked if they would have joined the forces of their state's military to defend their own country. The responses depended on their countries' role (winners vs. losers) in the second World War (*WW2*), and how necessary and justifiable they had found the war retrospectively. The results showed that group members of the winner states of the *WW2* tended to think of the war as more just and necessary, than those who lost. Moreover, they were more open to the thought of going to war in order to defend their home countries again (Bobowik et al., 2014; Paez et al., 2008). The result shows that group members' present actions and attitudes are highly influenced by how they represent certain historical events and what meaning is attached to those events in a given time period and social setting.

Group members form coherent understandings of historical events which orient their present attitudes and provide common vantage points. From this point of view, collective memories provide a sense of inclusion and common historical heritage that highlights the permanence of the group's identity. The group's self-definition is formed through the memories of common experiences passed down through generations, which provide a sense of continuity in time (Sani et al., 2007; Wertsch, 2002). However, collective memory is not something that exists on its own terms. Collective memories are rather memories *in* the group that require interpersonal discourse and social tools by which they are shared in a wider sense of social discourse, creating the functional representations of history (Wertsch, 2008a, 2008b). These connective structures draw a clear link between past and present (A. Assmann, 2008), which holds a sense of interdependency and meaning (Ashmore et al., 2004). On one hand interdependency appears as a notion of a common fate, that group members share, and which they perceive

as an overlap between the individual and the group level. On the other hand, the process of meaning construction is embedded in a representational process of historical events, which encompass the past, present, and future challenges of the nation (Liu & László, 2007). Viewing groups from this aspect, common history is a crucial aspect of how simply belonging to a common social category creates a group that provides room for identification (Ashmore et al., 2004).

People need to remember in order to belong (J. Assmann, 2011), but at the same time remembering is also defined by group memberships (Halbwachs, 1980). To understand how national groups act in the present when encountering collective triumphs, losses, threats, and collective events in general, one has to understand how the group experienced similar events in the past, and how those experiences live in their memory. Social psychology must take under scrutiny which of these events emerge in the collective memory of the group in terms of national identity, and which of them fade into oblivion (Pólya, 2017). Various events of the past do not all weigh the same in shaping the group's self-definition (J. Assmann, 1999). Assmann (1999) makes a distinction between *cultural* memory and *communicative* memory. In this sense, cultural memory draws from the distant past. It contains the hegemonic (Farr & Moscovici, 1984) – widely accepted – representations of the origins of the group, which assigns the normative ways of remembering. These events hold a meaning generally accepted by group members, and they are safeguarded by cultural tools: commemorations, theatre, literature, history writing, rites and traditions keep them alive because they can be considered functional in terms of the group's current needs. On the other hand, communicative memory contains memories of the recent past (Vansina, 1985), which are kept alive by living members of the group who have actually experienced them. These events are part of a livid interpersonal and social discourse. These representations are far more open to debate as they hold more polemic interpretations as non-institutionalized forms of collective memory (J. Assmann, 1999; Jovchelovitch, 2012). In a more traditional sense, the content of communicative memory is constantly (re)interpreted. Recently it has been theorized that a crucial aspect of communicative memory is that these events' memory is kept "alive" through *personalized* communication, not only by those who experienced it, but also by the next generations to whom their meaning was passed down through social discourse. These *living historical memories* (Choi et al., 2021; Liu et al., 2021) are "alive" because they encompass memories that have a special significance in a society's self-

definition, and they provide symbolic resources for either to challenge or to enforce the existing national canon (A. Assmann, 2008; Liu et al., 2021).

From a didactical point of view the differences between the notions of communicative and cultural memory can be defined, however, in practice communicative and cultural memory are more interrelated than distinct constructs. Cultural memory is highly influenced by the polemic representations of the recent past, that is the present cultural context. The elements of cultural memory gain their weight and value by being compared to the content of communicative – or living historical – memory (Welzer, 2008). This also means that group members can hold different representations of their distant past to some degree, which provides room for reconstructing and challenging hegemonic historical representations (Liu & Hilton, 2005; Sibley & Liu, 2004). While the polemic representations of communicative memory are not open to just any desired interpretation either. Elements of communicative memory are constantly compared to the content of cultural memory through discourse, and they must be aligned in a way not to contradict each other, in order to maintain historical continuity (Connerton, 1989; Jetten & Wohl, 2012). While the past delimits how the group can make sense of its experiences in the present, the current knowledge and identity qualities of the group also form the way the group thinks about its distant past. This capacity of collective memory to reconstruct the past also provides a possibility to challenge the normative ways of remembering (Kus et al., 2013). In this sense, the development and articulation of collective memory is an inherently social process, which incorporates the continuous flow of social discourse. Collective memory evolves in a social context, and it can only be interpreted in this narrow social frame of reference (Liu & Hilton, 2005). Historical representations are not static formations, thus simply examining the content of these representations is not sufficient for their understanding. Instead the particular meaning they hold in a given socio-cultural context is what provides answers in terms of the group's identity-needs (Gibson, 2012).

Although the dynamics of collective memory provide the basis for challenging the national historical canon (Goody & Watt, 1963; Liu & Hilton, 2005), in order to have a stable and continuous group identity, the understanding of the recent past must be aligned with memories of the distant past (Connerton, 1989; Jetten & Wohl, 2012). Group members play an active role in this process by maintaining and protecting the favored representations of their history (Klar & Baram, 2016; Wertsch, 2002). Thus it is not the past per se that is preserved: those parts of the past survive, which the society in a given

time and with a given point of reference is able to reconstruct (Halbwachs, 1980). Pennebaker and Banasik (1997), and later many more (e.g., Gravlin, 1996; Neal, 2005) pointed out that despite the countless wars in the past century of American history, most Americans consider the second world war, and the Vietnamese war as their most important historical events. According to the authors, the main reason for this is that these events had a significant effect on the American self-definition. In the case of the French history, a similar tendency can be observed: while one can find many instances of killing a French emperor, the execution of Louis the 16th is considered the most significant of them all, mainly because important societal changes can be originated from this event (Connerton, 1989). The cornerstones of collective memory are usually events that interrupt the continuous, predictable flow of the group history. These events function as anchor points in the present: an array of memories of significant gains, or devastating losses, the disruption of social order, traumas and treaties provide the group's ability to adapt, and reconstruct their self-definition (Wertsch, 2012a).

Historical representations not only define the adversaries and enemies of the group, but it also acts as a reminder of these significant events. The historical charter is a widely accepted, iconic representation of an event or events from the group narrative. These events and their causes gain a quasi-legal form in terms of social impact and provide a moral base for the group's actions (Hilton & Liu, 2017). The charter is the core base of the historical representations, which not only incorporates the origins of the group but also assigns the historical "mission" of the group. Liu and Hilton use Malinowski's "charter" definition to point out, that despite their seemingly correlating political goals, certain nations' (England, France, Germany) history have led to differing reactions to the terrorist attacks of September 11th. Germany's reaction of "not intervening" to the 9/11 attacks, or the inclusive attitude towards the migration crisis of 2015 are all examples of which's origins can be traced back to the burdening role Germany played in the second world war. More than that, they act as an attempt to wash away the stigma of the "aggressor of the world" (Liu & Hilton, 2005). An international study found that the WW2 is the most significant historical event according to the people of 22 out of 24 countries. The WW2 can be considered a globally significant charter, which effects people's attitudes towards many political, and social matters to this day (Liu & Hilton, 2005; Liu & Sibley, 2009; Noor & Montiel, 2009).

However, the group does not strive to record an objective representation of the past, but a favorable one (Wertsch, 2002, 2012b). Collective memory is inevitably biased

and necessarily selective (Boyer & Wertsch, 2009). With some temporal distance from the original events, certain parts fade away, while others (re)emerge. Group history tells members who they are and where they come from and, at the same time, places events in a particular vintage point that display the group in a favorable light (László, 2013). One of the main goals for any group is to have a positive group identity. In terms of history, this goal translates into representing the national history in a favorable – or at least acceptable – light, and to describe events in a way that transmits a functional and positive self-definition for group members (Tajfel, 1981; Wertsch, 2009). Efforts for conserving the past of a social group originates from two fundamental motivations (Licata & Mercy, 2015). *Epistemic* needs incorporate the need for acquiring knowledge of the origins of the group and answering the eternal question of “where we come from” (Liu & Hilton, 2005). *Identitary* needs on the other hand represents a need for self-definition, answering the question of “who we are”. The two motives are interrelated in many aspects, mainly because the definition of the group’s history also defines the boundaries of the group’s identity. As a result, groups try to define their identity by conserving important accounts of their past in their collective memory. Historical representations and the meaning of historical events fulfil the epistemic need of the group, while they are also continuously negotiated and reinterpreted in order to form a “usable past” (Pennebaker & Gonzales, 2009; Wertsch, 2008b), which fulfills the identitary function of historical remembering (Kirkwood, 2019; Licata & Mercy, 2015). The group not only has to inform its members of the past, but also has to create a past that is acceptable for group members. It conserves memories that can be fitted to the desired self-definition of the group, thus are “worthy” of remembering (Licata & Mercy, 2015).

II.1.3 Self-serving interpretations of history

The reconstructive capacity of collective remembering also provides – rhetoric – tools for protecting the identitary needs of the group, while serving their epistemic needs as well. Kirkwood (2019) examined the United Kingdom’s parliamentary representatives’ responses to one of the most significant events of the recent past: the migration crisis of Europe. According to Kirkwood, using history as a rhetorical resource can be a successful strategy, because it mobilizes identity categories in connection with the – supposed or real – current needs of the nation. With the help of history, the meaning construction of current events can be anchored in the frames provided by history, and the group’s repertoire of collective memory. Using parliamentary speeches and historical analogies –

like the parallels of the migration crisis and the British response to the Jewish population fleeing Germany during WW2 – can place the events of the current societal crisis in the context of the “heroic” picture of the British role in WW2. This highlights the social function and meaning of how the nation responds to a crisis posed upon the group. By emphasizing inclusive attitudes of the past, the suitable identity elements can be mobilized, and it could lead to the emergence of the established normative emotional orientations. Kirkwood’s study showed, that in these political speeches the inclusive attitude became a normative way of gaining national pride, while the exclusive attitudes became shameful at the same time. In this meaning constructing process, the historical analogies are not present on their own, but are constructed according to current identity needs, sometimes even ignoring details that don’t fit the context, or in other words which are not “usable”.

Using self-serving biases and enforcing the group’s perspective is a natural occurrence of historical event representation (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 2012; Klar & Bilewicz, 2017). Meaning construction plays an active role in adjusting historical representations in a usable way. In intergroup conflicts, certain moral roles – perpetrators vs. victims – retroactively define the intergroup relations, making the social reality more predictable (Gray & Wegner, 2009). “Uncomfortable” historical events, in which the group was either a victim or a perpetrator force group members to integrate them in their collective memory in a way that is suitable to identity purposes, and which is congruent with the established normative explanations. This can lead to diminishing the group’s responsibility in the event. These representations appear in a kind of grey zone: the roles of victims and perpetrators blend in a single group perspective, which necessarily includes self-serving biases. However the focus naturally shifts towards one (victim) or the other (perpetrator) role (Hirschberger et al., 2016). A critical area of research is the process in which these moral roles gain meaning, and the roles of victims and perpetrators are formed in social discourse. The resulting event representations become part of the social reality of the group, and they have a significant effect on intergroup relations. However, with these events, finding a way to integrate them into the collective memory of the group proves to be a great challenge. In both cases – the group being a victim or a perpetrator – the process of meaning construction is crucially important, however with a differing motivational basis (Hirschberger, 2018). In the case of victims, meaning construction is a tool for fighting the existential threat that the negative event poses, while for the aggressors, diminishing the identity threat of a corrupted moral image is the main

motive (Branscombe et al., 1999). For the victim group, the main goal is to repair their sense of agency. On the other hand, the oppressor group needs to find a way to accommodate both the need for a positive group identity, and the fact that they committed atrocities in the past (SimanTov-Nachlieli & Shnabel, 2014).

In the case of events with a high social significance (e.g., the WW2) people show a high level of understanding in terms of the allocation of moral roles (Liu & Hilton, 2005). England and the US was found to be “heroes”, while Germany is the No.1 perpetrator, with Italy and Japan following. Poland was clearly found to be a victim, while France and the UK were given the role of opportunists. Although there may be a high level of international understanding of these roles in any conflict, these common historical perspectives are much more layered, and more ambiguous in the social representations of those nations. It shouldn't come as a surprise that even perpetrator groups sometimes give voice to their losses and suffering (Hein & Selden, 2000), while trying to lessen, silence, or even deny their past atrocities (De Baets, 2002). Although Germany is widely considered to holding a perpetrator role during WW2, a German study revealed that only 30% of the participants agreed with the statement that the German people were collaborators of the Nazi elite, 40% thought that they were passive participants, while 23% even considered that Germans were victims of the WW2 (Bar-Tal, 2011; Langenbacher, 2003; Paez & Liu, 2011). On the one hand the official German history writing takes extra caution to show self-criticism – even on the level of the law –, but on the other hand German people in the present show a low willingness to feel guilt over their ancestors' actions and want to look forward, leaving behind the stigma of the past that is still present in the international community (Bar-Tal, 2011; Paez & Liu, 2011). These results highlight those moral roles cited from national history, such as being a victim, or a perpetrator may be open to interpretation even when there is a wide consensus about them. These roles can only be interpreted in the context of the present intergroup relations of the group. Group members make an effort to protect the group narrative and the roles they carry, but only until it is functional in terms of the current self-definition of the group (Hirschberger et al., 2016; Wertsch, 2012a). These roles are functional to some degree, and they provide a resource for interpreting and justifying present actions (Liu & Khan, 2021). However, it is important to note that being a victim or a perpetrator is a matter of social construction – at least to some degree – and these roles are defined by both the specific intergroup relations (Nadler & Saguy, 2004), and the historical heritage of the group (László, 2013).

II.1.4 Narrative templates of history

Narratives of the group play a significant role in creating common vintage points, which help to pinpoint the guidelines of remembering, by which schemas of remembering emerge. Narratives are a central tool for elaborating emotions relevant from the group perspective, defining roles in events that relate to the group, and most importantly they provide meaning for group members (Fülöp et al., 2013; Wertsch, 2008b). Arguing for the narrative organization of collective memory, Wertsch (2008) points out that narration is a cultural instrument, which makes it possible to connect events that have a temporal distance. Historical narratives are also “*cultural tools*” (Bruner, 1990). By narration, these events become a meaningful whole, that form a schematized plot. In some theoretical approaches collective memory may be considered as a thematically organized and schematized representation of events, which Wertsch (2008) refers to as *narrative templates*. These narrative templates are specific to each cultural tradition and provide a frame of reference for interpreting the past and present challenges faced by group members.

Wertsch (2007) remarks that “these templates act as an unnoticed, yet very powerful ‘co-author’ when we attempt to simply tell what really happened in the past” (p.654). Thus, collective memory conforms to schematic narrative templates to some extent. For example, Wertsch (2008) identified the so-called ‘expulsion of foreign enemies’ narrative template in Russian national grand narratives. He argues that a common plot in Russian narrative tradition is when a peaceful setting is disrupted by foreign forces, leading to suffering and devastation, which is overturned by the heroism of the Russian people. From the 13th century (e.g., the Mongol invasion) to the 20th century (e.g., Hitler’s invasion), Russian national historical tales and cultural memory bear the marks of this specific narrative template, which plays a central role in the meaning formation of events in the last decade as well, and also shape their international role (Wertsch, 2008a, 2012a). In a Hungarian context, László (2013) stresses that the Hungarian historical trajectory is characterized by a scheme of a positive distant past (e.g., the founding of the state), and a negative recent past (e.g., the revolution of 1956, or the treaty of Trianon) in which initial victories are followed by defeats and losses. This pattern of initial victories followed by losses can also be identified in representations of single events as well. The “we won but lost” narrative template is present in many of the Hungarian historical event representations (e.g., the Turkish invasion, the revolution of 1848, or the revolution of 1956). This schema as a frame of reference provides a basis for the recollection of

historical events and can be identified in the Hungarian tradition of history teaching as well (László, 2013).

Narrative templates exert a considerable effect on communicative memory as well, thus making collective memory resistant to change (Wertsch & Karumidze, 2009). New experiences are “measured” against the existing narrative templates, which affects the understanding of contemporary events as well (Liu & Hilton, 2005). This effect lies in adjusting new experiences in the narrative frame, but ignoring those inconsistent with it (Sahdra & Ross, 2007; Wertsch, 2002). Group members are motivated for this conservative interpretation of history, since it provides historical continuity for the group identity, which is an essential existential need for the group (Jetten & Hutchison, 2011).

Historical memory not only contains event explanations, but also carries an emotional weight (László, 2013). Dependent on the quality and intensity of group identification, group members may view events from the group’s point of view and their emotional reactions may converge (László, 2013; Smith et al., 2007). László & Fülöp (2008) argue that the historical representations of a nation encode emotional orientations, that also define how to react in intergroup situations. For example, the narrative template of the Hungarian historical trajectory includes a distinctive pattern of ingroup emotions, which is connected to the “we won but lost” narrative template. These collective emotions are usually considered in relation to moral dilemmas that emerge in social groups, such as collective shame, or guilt. On the other hand, intergroup emotions are considered to emerge in situations where outgroups are involved and the ingroup’s relation to that group is salient, such as anger, fear, and disgust (Szabó et al., 2011). When exploring group-based emotions from a historical point of view, it is an important question how these emotional orientations gain function in the self-definition of the group. Group-based emotions in this sense, have an important function in both defining group members’ relation to past events, and providing a guideline for how to relate to similar events and similar outgroups in the present (László, 2013). Past victimization also bears its mark on the emotional orientation of a national group. In a study conducted by Wohl & Branscombe (2008) participants were reminded of past harm posed upon them. As a result, these participants were less likely to accept the ingroup’s responsibility in present conflicts, which lead to a lower willingness to experience collective guilt over the ingroup’s actions as well. The result shows that past victimization have long- lasting effects on the extent to which group-members are able to form adaptive emotional orientations. Moral dilemmas attached to traumatic events have a significant effect on

emotional patterns of the ingroup. Group-based emotions create a context in which orientations towards outgroups become conserved (Bar-Tal, 2001). Emotional reactions followed by collective traumas can become persistent and show a crippling effect. Regarding emotional orientations of a nation, an important question is the extent to which group members are able to understand their complex roles in historical events. Constant reminders of historical traumas, and losses may conserve these dysfunctional emotional orientations, and integrating the event into the collective memory of a group becomes compromised. In conflicting societies, emotions such as fear, hatred, hope, and a sense of security may guide the perception of conflicts conserving intergroup relations (Bar-Tal et al., 2007).

II.2. Collective victimhood

II.2.1 Emergence and definition

It is hard to define, what the word “trauma” means, since its meaning depends on the social – and in this case – scientific context. Varying representations are attached to trauma, and in some cases both layman interpretations and clinical psychological approaches affect how we think about traumatic experiences (Erős, 2007). The classical view of trauma is that the feeling of being traumatized emerges after a single negative event, or an ongoing deprivation of basic human needs, which crashes the general functioning of a person or a group. This approach places the cause of the traumatic experience in the qualities of the specific event experienced, that undermine the needs for security, and the belief of a predictable world. These views are consistent with the psychodynamic sense of trauma, however, they ignore the *social* side of these experiences (Alexander, 2012). Traumas are not purely individual processes: they happen in a social context, they stem from social belongings, and they catalyze social processes. The way these events gain meaning, the way the symptoms gain meaning, and the reactions of the group members are all social constructional processes that make it impossible to understand trauma from purely an individual point of view (Erős, 2007). Alexander (2012) also highlights that the source of trauma lies in its social implications. He argues that events do not lead to collective traumas purely by happening. The experience of trauma originates from the social constructional process in which group members define the meaning and reasons of those events. Defining the victims and the responsible party of the event is in itself a process of construction. Despite the social constructivist approach of traumatic experiences, it would hardly be reasonable to debate that shocking events

and historical trauma usually do pose a threat to group identity and rupture the continuity of group history by challenging the core self-beliefs of group members (Alexander, 2012). Collective traumas disrupt the group's psychological integrity, and group members might struggle with the reintegration of the traumatic experiences into their history (Hirschberger, 2018; Volkan, 2001). Most nations' history contains such negative elements. These traumatic experiences have a significant emphasis in the collective remembering of the group. They force group members to find new frames of interpretation, and (re)evaluate their relation to history. Wars, losses, and atrocities made against or by the ingroup lead to collective suffering, and to question the role the group holds in the world (Erős, 2007). After the second World War, the scientific interest of social psychology focused on the questions of historical atrocities: conformity and collective perpetration, collective guilt over past wrongdoing, and the root of evil were highly researched phenomena, which produced a rich literature. However, the focus later shifted on the aftermath of intergroup conflicts, and the victims' perceptions.

Being victimized can happen in a multitude of ways (for an overview see Vollhardt, 2012). Structural inequalities such as discrimination (e.g., accessibility of healthcare, housing, education, and work), or direct atrocities such as wars (e.g., colonization, invasion, slavery, ethnic conflicts, terrorism, hate-crimes, wars, and genocides) are only two distinct sides of a much wider spectrum. Victimization may result from a series of ongoing atrocities, while it can also originate from one specific event (Bar-Tal et al., 2009). However, a common theme in victimization is the trauma it holds. „These traumas can be interpreted as collective traumas; meaning as a chain of events, which either one by one, or taken together may traumatize both those directly affected by it, and their surroundings to a varying way and degree” (Erős, 2007, p.17). Encountering these kinds of recurrent oppression and defeats may lead to the prevailing feeling of being victimized, making the group unable to mourn their losses (Volkan, 2001).

This phenomenon is referred to as self-perceived collective victimhood (Bar-Tal et al., 2009). At the core of self-perceived collective victimhood are widely shared group-beliefs that consist of the perception that the group was unjustly, deliberately, and undeservingly harmed in the past by the fault of outgroups (Bar-Tal et al., 2009; David & Bar-Tal, 2009; Schori-Eyal et al., 2014). In the strategic formation of the self-definition of the group, the victimhood role can be an important asset, which provides a distinctive and positive identity for group members (Vollhardt, 2020): (1) it draws a line between the victim group and the outgroup marked as a “perpetrator”, (2) on the other hand, the

“victim” role arouses sympathy in outgroups since it’s associated with positive moral qualities and leads to a feeling of moral superiority in the ingroup (Vollhardt, 2020).

II.2.2 Consequences of collective victimhood beliefs

Collective victimhood beliefs have numerous cognitive, affective, and behavioral consequences. A certain siege mentality appears that correlates with a higher vigilance. These groups can often be characterized with a compulsive alertness that becomes part of the beliefs system used to interpret social relations. These beliefs contain the idea that the ingroup is vulnerable, distrustful, and helpless (Bar-Tal et al., 2009; Eidelson & Eidelson, 2003; Schori-Eyal et al., 2014). This belief system governs a society to a world, that is perceived uncertain, and dangerous, which gives base to the biased and unrealistic perception of intergroup conflicts – both past and present (Bar-Tal et al., 2009; Mészáros et al., 2017). In general, collective victimhood beliefs are integrated in a collective mindset that is characterized by *paranoia*. Individuals with a victimhood orientation are also more prone to use conspiracy-based explanations (Vincze et al., 2021), which affects present day social discourse as well.

Vollhardt (2009) distinguishes between exclusive and inclusive forms of victimhood consciousness, which are both *comparative* ways of constructing victimhood consciousness.

Inclusive victimhood can be considered as a more juxtaposed way of perceiving collective victimhood that allows individuals to take into consideration others’ suffering as well. Individuals with inclusive victimhood show higher empathy toward others’ hardships and are more concessive concerning the “victim” category membership (Adelman et al., 2016; Gordijn et al., 2001; Vollhardt & Bilali, 2015). Group members with higher inclusivity in their victimhood beliefs are more prone to acknowledge the weight of the suffering of outgroups, which can lead to solidarity towards other groups that have been victimized.

Individuals who think in a more *exclusive* way about their nation’s victimhood are more prone to sense that their group’s hardships are unique and cannot be compared to other groups’ suffering, which leads to an inflexible, monopolized category of victimhood. Exclusive victimhood may result in competitiveness over public recognition of their suffering and might deepen existing intergroup conflicts (Noor et al., 2012; Shnabel et al., 2013). Group members with higher levels of exclusive victimhood beliefs strive to elevate their suffering above others’. This exclusionary nature of victimhood

consciousness often leads to competitiveness – or competitive victimhood (Noor et al., 2012) –, which is associated with a decrease in the willingness to take responsibility (Wohl & Branscombe, 2008). Their ability to show empathic concern and perspective taking towards outgroups may also become compromised (Bar-Tal et al., 2009; Mack, 1990).

Comparative victim beliefs may target former or current intergroup conflicts, but they can also convey a general feeling of distinctiveness and uniqueness of the sufferings that might result in the devaluation of hardships of *unrelated* groups as well. Noor et al. (2017) suggests that competition over the victimhood status can occur along numerous attributes: e.g., similarities in the physical qualities of the conflict, such as lost lives; material qualities, such as lost resources; cultural qualities, such as a ruptured way of life; and psychological qualities, such as the aftermath of trauma. The victim status in itself is also a basis for competition, or as the authors put it, it conveys a feeling of “not only have we suffered more but our suffering was decidedly more unjust than that of the other group” (Noor et al., 2017, p.124). Scientific results show that competition for the victim status can also occur between groups that are not responsible for the group's past or present suffering, especially in cases when victimization is not given due recognition (see e.g. Bilewicz & Stefaniak, 2013; De Guissmé & Licata, 2017). A problem with a one-sided victim perspective is that the victimized group may become prone to retaliation (Bar-Tal et al., 2009; M. Noor et al., 2012). However, this retaliation is framed as a justified response to the harms suffered in the past. As a result, a cycle of violence can appear that makes the conflict intractable (Bar-Tal et al., 2009; Vollhardt, 2009). This is the case in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as well, where both parties feel, they are entitled to the victim “title”, preventing the conflicting groups from forming a common perspective of the conflict. Without acknowledging each other’s suffering, violence, and perpetration becomes framed as “retaliation” leading to a cycle of confrontation on both sides of the conflict (Bar-Tal et al., 2009).

In general, collective victimhood beliefs can lead to a weaker ability to experience collective guilt through the legitimization of atrocities committed by the ingroup (Wohl & Branscombe, 2008). This lack of ability to experience self-critical emotions is related to the inadequate emotional orientation that characterizes the collective memory of a traumatized group. As an example, emotional patterns associated with the Hungarian group in history textbooks bear a mark of a distinct emotional pattern of the Hungarian history writing (László, 2013). These emotions relate to the feelings of collective

victimhood: negative events are characterized by hostile emotions (hatred, anger, disgust), and depressive emotions (sadness, disappointment) which signal a negative emotional tone of the Hungarian historical trajectory. In Hungarian history writing, these feelings or emotions that would only be adequate in events of victimization, are inadequately associated with every negative event of the Hungarian history – even the ones in which the Hungarian group held a perpetrator position. This can be interpreted as a result of the collective victimhood of the Hungarian nation.

Collective victim beliefs affect the interpretation of historical events and the attribution of responsibility (Bar-Tal et al., 2009). Traumas that give base to collective victimhood are not only fixated in the collective memory of the group, but also prescribe the normative forms of orientation towards outgroups (Bilali & Ross, 2012). As a result, national groups often “adjust” their collective memories, creating some sort of defensive representation of their history. It may impair the group members’ ability to take the perspective of and being empathically concerned with other groups (Demirdağ & Hasta, 2019). Furthermore, collective victimhood prevents group members from seeing the ingroup as a responsible agent for historical conflicts, even when the atrocities were committed by the ingroup (Hirschberger, 2018; László, 2013; Mészáros et al., 2017; Noor et al., 2012, 2017). Using defensive historical representations – such as highlighting the victimhood role of the ingroup – is especially present in group members with a high level of national identification. Hirschberger et al. (2016) found that in a Hungarian sample, people who identified more strongly with their nation were more prone to accept defensive explanations of the Hungarian role in the Holocaust, were more likely to have an antisemitic attitude, and a general anti-Israel attitude. Similar results can be observed in Polish studies (Bilewicz & Stefaniak, 2013), where the Polish youth is showing this tendency as well (Bilewicz et al., 2017): the more they learn about the Holocaust, the more they agree with the statement that Poland showed too much effort in helping the Jewish population during WW2.

II.2.3 The protective function of collective victimhood beliefs

Despite its negative consequences on intergroup relations (i.e., Hirschberger, 2018), placing the ingroup in a victim role can be an adaptive strategy in terms of group identity. Gaining recognition of the victimized position is especially important if the group’s position is not obvious. These diffuse roles often motivate groups to accentuate their suffering and lessen their responsibility for the crimes committed (Bar-Tal et al.,

2009; Hirschberger et al., 2016). Where the moral roles become ambiguous, there is a higher possibility of clinging to creating biased and favorable explanations of the past events. This is the case with Poland and Hungary as well. While the victim role of Poland is generally accepted in the Polish historical canon, recent historical sources (Grabowski, 2013; Gross, 2002) did question the sole victim role of Poland. The pogrom of Jedwabne shows a slice of this ambiguity: the locals in Jedwabne conducted a previously planned attack against the local Jewish community with the help of German soldiers stationed there. The recent public discourse about the atrocities created a backlash, which resulted in the denial of the revealed facts, attribution of responsibility to outside factors, and the complete denial of ingroup responsibility (Klar & Bilewicz, 2017). The query into the past victimhood of Poland resulted in a series of laws, banning certain expressions, and reinforcing the Polish canon of Poland being a victim of the WW2.

A similar function can be attributed in the Hungarian politics of remembering to the group of sculptures in the “Square of Freedom”, which underlines the sufferings of Hungarians under German occupation. The group of sculptures emphasize the sole victim position of the Hungarian people. While there is a wide consensus in Hungary in terms of the many victims of the German invasion under WW2, a social discourse began on whether the artwork dismisses Hungary’s responsibility in the events that had led to the devastating outcome of the war. Hungary’s role in WW2 is a symbolic example of the ambivalent nature of being a victim or a perpetrator, as – at some point in the history of WW2 – Hungary was a collaborator with the Nazi regime, while also a victim of the events. These entangled roles often lead to a defensive national historical narrative, rejecting ingroup responsibility, while at the same time accentuating the ingroup victimhood (Hirschberger et al., 2016).

The emphasizing of the ingroup’s victimization has numerous positive effects on the self-definition of the ingroup, and – through identification – on the self-definition of the individual group members as well (Mijić, 2021). Collective victimhood beliefs – or self-victimization as Mijić puts it – (1) provides means to enhance solidarity between ingroup members, by making a clear distinction between the ingroup and the outgroups; (2) ensures moral superiority, by defining the “good” and “evil” actors in past conflicts; and (3) helps to gain support and sympathy of third parties, by characterizing the ingroup with positive moral qualities. Noor et al. (2012) also argues that the accentuation of the ingroup’s victim position in an intergroup conflict can be considered advantageous, as being a victim provides a morally justifiable, and legitim reason for the ingroup's efforts

or atrocities (Bar-Tal et al., 2009; Vollhardt, 2009). The victim position can also strengthen the group cohesion through the common suffering, and mitigate distress felt over the experienced traumas (Bar-Tal et al., 2009; Vollhardt, 2009).

Although comparative victimhood beliefs are especially important in terms of the topic of the present dissertation, it is important to note that Vollhardt et al. (2021) recently argued for a better understanding of the context-dependency of collective victimhood consciousness. It is important to reflect not only on the comparative nature of victim beliefs, but to the socio-cultural and historical context of the topic in the applied theoretical and methodological approaches as well. Perceived closure of the traumatizing conflicts, and the general centrality of victimhood beliefs in the national historical narratives play an important part in the construction and quality of victimhood beliefs. Identity and memory politics have a severe effect – and responsibility – in how these narratives are constructed, which elements are highlighted, and which are silenced. Collective victimhood beliefs lead to a victimhood perspective in group narratives (Bilali & Vollhardt, 2019; Eidelson, 2009). In these cases the victim group is often unable to perceive themselves as a perpetrator in their historical representations (László, 2013).

II.3. Victim beliefs in narration

The effects of victimization, the immense traumas of the last century, the intractable conflicts that remained in place, and the petrified perpetrator and victim roles of nations became an interest of the field (Mészáros et al., 2017; Vollhardt, 2020). In the past decades, the phenomena of collective victimhood has been a highly researched topic (see Bar-Tal et al., 2009; Noor et al., 2012; Vollhardt, 2020). Most of these studies examine the forms, the antecedents, or the consequences of collective victimhood, however, collective victimhood has not yet been experimentally studied focusing on the narrative forms instead of the whole text. Although there are numerous studies aiming to reveal the components of a victim's story (e.g. Li et al., 2018), they mainly use qualitative methodology (e.g. content analysis), and lack the experimental validation of their findings.

Narratives are a central means of social communication that convey conceptions of the national past (Liu & László, 2007; Wertsch, 2008b), and historical narratives are primarily responsible for the elaboration and transmission of traumatic events (Fülöp et al., 2013; Pennebaker & Susman, 1988). The experimental approach allows us to observe how the structural and compositional properties of narratives may affect the interpretation

of historical events and allow for a comparison in cross-cultural contexts. The following chapters reflect on this issue.

II.3.1 The narrative structural properties of historical representations

Creating stories is a unique characteristic of the human species since the dawn of ages. Cave drawings, and runes, stories told around the fire, the canonizing qualities of religion are all examples of the narrative thinking that creates meaning in our social realities. Many scholars have argued that the processes of remembering (Bartlett, 1995), thinking (Bruner, 1986), and identity development (László, 2008; McAdams, 2008; McAdams et al., 2006; Ricoeur, 1979) take a narrative form, while narratives also provide tools for social adaptation (Halbwachs & Coser, 1992). Accounts of historical events are transmitted through narratives as well. Social representations of history are in fact an array of widely shared narratives. These narratives provide basis to form a grand narrative, or master narrative as a canonized source of knowledge (Liu & László, 2007; van Alphen & Carretero, 2015). It is impossible to study historical knowledge and the qualities of national identity without studying the group-specific content and forms of these narratives: theater plays, books, movies, songs, and the more institutionalized forms of narration such as commemorations, national holidays, and history education all play a part in constructing the master narrative of history (Alridge, 2006).

Narrative psychological analysis can provide frameworks for history writing and history teaching, and by creating more self-reflective narratives, historical consciousness can be facilitated. In a decade long study László et al. (2013) showed that the social function of collective victimhood beliefs in Hungarian remembering is provided by unique narrative constructional strategies. They reviewed and content-analyzed layman historical narratives, history textbooks, and magazine articles to prove that collective victimhood beliefs are constructed by a certain narrative structural composition: collective victimhood can be best grasped through the linguistic correlates of agency, social evaluations, and psychological perspectives in narratives (Fülöp et al., 2013; Vincze et al., 2013). The reasoning of narrative social psychology is that by analyzing the narrative compositional characteristics of stories, one can gain access to the identity states, fragilities, and coping mechanisms of the group (Ehmann et al., 2013; László et al., 2013; László & Ehmann, 2013; Rohse et al., 2013).

The study revealed that the historical representations bear a perspective that is not immediately apparent for either the reader, or the storyteller, while strongly influencing

the notions of the past (László, 2013). It is worth studying how narration, and its structural properties influence the process of social construction, and how it relates to the present identity and epistemic needs (Licata & Mercy, 2015) of the group. In the following section, I will provide a brief overview of the narrative structural properties that has been linked to the phenomena of collective victimhood. Both their universal psychological functioning, and their relation to historical representations will be presented.

Bruner (1986) states that two psychological landscapes exist in a narrative. The landscape of action consists of the qualities of the actual activity of the protagonist. While the landscape of consciousness describes the thoughts, emotions, and knowledge of the protagonist. Together they presuppose, that narratives not only describe what actually happened, but also present a subjective psychological perspective of these events. Creating meaning through narration is a culturally bound process which requires both the effort of the narrator and the reader. A distinction can be made between the roles defined by the actual actions described in a narrative, and the semantic roles, defined by the linguistic qualities or narrative structural properties of the narrative. Semantic roles can transmit a meaning that is clearly distinct from the landscape of action: it is defined by to which actor or recipient an emotion, process of cognition, or evaluation is associated (Ehmann et al., 2013). Structural properties in the narrative event construction can lead to the creation of such semantic roles that represent self-serving historical event explanations.

Assignment of victim and perpetrator roles can be accomplished in – at least – two ways: through the content or factual properties of the story (i.e., who initiated the conflict, who is the beneficiary and the injured party of the conflict) or by the narrative structural composition of the story (i.e., intergroup distribution of activity and passivity, negative and positive emotions, or evaluations). Victims can be seen as perpetrators, or perpetrators can be placed in the role of a victim (Jenei et al., 2020). Efforts for creating a usable past and adjusting event interpretations to the existing narrative historical templates can lead to systematical uses of narrative structural forms, that lead to an acceptable representation of the ingroup's role. It is achieved by creating a semantic role that is dissociated from the actual facts of the events (Ehmann et al., 2013; László et al., 2013). As revealed by the studies of László, linguistic correlates of agency, psychological perspective, and social evaluations can be good indicators as to what qualities the collective identity of a group entails.

II.3.2 Agency

Agency and its linguistic correlates (i.e., activity and intention) are closely related to the perceived self-efficacy of the group (Ferenczhalmy et al., 2011). Agency is one of the major categories in narrative psychology that can be expressed by different voices. Active and passive voice refers to whether the subject or object in the sentence performs the action of the verb (Formanowicz et al., 2017). The active voice indicates activity and capability for having an effect on the actual situation, while the passive voice obscures agency by placing the actor in the background and the object in the foreground (Penelope, 1990). A high level of agency in the narratives indicates that the group takes responsibility, plays an active role in reaching the desired goals, and assumes a capability to influence the outcome, while a lack of agency implies a lack of control, incapability, and a general powerlessness (Ataria, 2015; Yamaguchi, 2003). One way to study agency and its linguistic correlates is to analyze the relative frequency of intention/constraint and active/passive verbs in the text (Ferenczhalmy et al., 2011; László et al., 2010). This provides an opportunity to make assumptions of the actor in terms of their ability to act, their ability to control, and their ability to take responsibility (Wojciszke & Abele, 2008; Yamaguchi, 2003). In an intergroup context, a relatively low ingroup agency compared to the outgroup indicates defensiveness and leads to perceiving the ingroup as not being responsible for the events. Traumatized groups often show a low level of agency and position themselves as helpless agents who are unable to control the situation (Erős, 2007; Fülöp et al., 2013; Herman, 1997; Volkan, 2001).

II.3.3 Psychological perspective

Traumatic events necessarily generate an intense expression of thoughts and negative feelings (Conejero & Etxebarria, 2007; Pennebaker & Harber, 1993), which may invite for empathy (Hogan, 2001) and bolster the identification with the actor (e.g., de Graaf et al., 2012). The expression of mental states in a discourse setting may contribute to the structuring of the event by placing it in a particular angle, which promotes the acceptance of the actor's perspectives. In narratives, the psychological perspective represents the agent's mental states (thoughts and feelings) that function as a narrative tool for perspective-taking and triggering empathy (Keen, 2006; Pólya et al., 2005). Empirical results show that negative emotions such as fear, disappointment, and sadness (Fülöp et al., 2013), paired with inner thoughts with positive propositional content (the subject-matter of the thought) are frequently attached to the Hungarian group both in

history textbooks and lay historian accounts regardless of the valence of the event. At the same time, opposing outgroups are usually assigned negative, hostile emotions, thoughts, and intentions, which depicts them as deliberate actors and underlines their responsibility in the events (László et al., 2013; Vincze & Rein, 2011).

By analyzing the records of the Nuremberg-suit Schmid and Fiedler (1996) found significant differences in the linguistic style of the defense and the prosecution. According to their results, the representatives of the prosecution used active interpersonal verbs more frequently when describing the defendants, while the defense showed more neutral or positive mental states of the defendants (what they felt, knew, believed, or not knew and did not want to do). In spite of these results, Vincze and Rein (2011) proved by analyzing Hungarian history textbooks, that if the actor's thoughts and intentions are presented with a negative propositional content, they don't transmit the actor's uncertainty. On the contrary: displaying negative intentions and thoughts highlight the actors' actions, showcasing the responsibility over their atrocities.

II.3.4 Social evaluations

Evaluation is essential in narratives (Labov et al., 1967), which can be clearly stated or implied and can be realized in various ways. It is a linguistic tool that might divide actors into morally defined categories by assigning positive or negative attributions to them or their actions. Intergroup distribution of positive and negative evaluations plays an important role in the maintenance of positive social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and in this way it may contribute to enhance the positive moral image of the ingroup and devalue that of the outgroup. Evaluation refers to the explicit judgments of the ingroup and outgroup. It is a linguistic tool that divides actors into morally defined categories by assigning positive or negative attributions to actors or their actions. Previous research has found that collective victimhood is associated with asymmetry in intergroup evaluations (e.g. Hirschberger et al., 2016; László et al., 2013; Szabó, 2020) that leads to portray the ingroup as a positive and the outgroup as a negative actor of the events (Korostelina, 2010; Schori-Eyal et al., 2017).

II.4. Narrative tools in canonized historical sources

II.4.1 Defensive use of narrative tools in Hungarian history writing

Collective memory consists of narratives and is transmitted over generations (Bilali & Vollhardt, 2019; Crawford, 2014). Thus, collective memory is not objective, but merely “usable” (Wertsch, 2002), or in other words functional. Construction of events is

based on real accounts; however, it is by nature biased, selective, and distorted, in order to serve the current identity needs, and the future goals of the group (see Hobsbawm & Ranger, 2012). This draws attention to the importance of the narrative construction of historical events (Bilewicz & Liu, 2020; Liu & László, 2007), particularly the way *how* the events are narrated, in addition to *what* they tell. Historical narratives plot the sequence of facts in order to make a story (White, 1990) that satisfies both the identity and the epistemic needs of the group at the same time (Licata & Mercy, 2015; Paez & Liu, 2011). For a positive distinction of the ingroup it also needs to define apparent intergroup boundaries, especially for events where the ingroup's victim or perpetrator position is diffuse (Hirschberger, 2018), and averting blame becomes ponderous (Wohl et al., 2006). Content that is implicitly transmitted through language not only orientates the attentive focus of the reader but also affect the assumptions and evaluations that the reader forms about the group's role. Judgements about responsibility is often based on event descriptions, and they are highly dependent on constructional characteristics of these descriptions (Turnbull, 1994).

Defensive narrative strategies are mobilized by events that would be devastating for the identity needs of the group, which are recognizable in the narrative composition of historical narratives. In this sense narrative structural properties provide a *tool* for constructing an acceptable history. Mitigating responsibility can be achieved by lowering the ingroup agency in narratives about negative events. By distinctively distributing active and passive verbs between groups, the agent and the recipient of the events can be implicitly defined (Lamb & Keon, 1995). By using active verbs, the agent's ability to act and to control, their efficacy and responsibility can be highlighted. On the other hand, using passive verbs can mitigate the agency and thus the perceived responsibility of an actor (László et al., 2010). In intergroup conflicts, people often use active verbs when describing morally questionable actions of outgroups, while using passive verbs when describing negative actions of the ingroup (Szabó et al., 2010). Showing negative group-based emotions (e.g., fear or sadness), and the mental states of group members (e.g., thoughts and assumptions) can lead to empathetic concern for the ingroup (Keen, 2006). Narrative psychological perspective – linguistic expressions of the mental states of the actors – is another tool that can be used to exempt the ingroup from taking responsibility (Semin & Fiedler, 1988; Vincze et al., 2013). Moreover, verbs that describe mental states usually imply uncertainty and a lack of control (Semin & Fiedler, 1988), thus lowering the feelings of guilt.

Overall, László's studies involving Hungarian history teaching materials showed that the Hungarian group can be described by a narrative structural composition that tells a story of a fragile national identity. There is a general lack of agency on the Hungarian side as compared to outgroups. Hungarians tend to be described as passive, and unintentional, who act under constraints. This lack of agency is most present in negative events, while there is not much difference between the description of the Hungarian group and the rival outgroups in positive events. The intergroup distribution of narrative markers of social evaluations shows a similar picture. The Hungarian group is described as more positive in both negative and positive events, while outgroups are negatively evaluated, especially in negative events. It can also be observed that the outgroups' mental states are more often presented, however with a negative content. These results show a self-serving bias: a divided historical arch in which losses and defeats follow the glorious distant past. The overly positive self-assessment achieved by the devaluation of rival groups in negative events – especially in ones in which the Hungarians were perpetrators – paired with the biased use of language signal a victimhood role, according to László (David & Bar-Tal, 2009; László & Fülöp, 2011a). These findings and the accumulated empirical results (Csertő et al., in preparation; László, 2013; Mészáros et al., 2017; Szabó, 2020; Vincze et al., 2021) indicate that the Hungarian national identity is characterized by a sense of collective victimhood (Ting-Toomey & Dorjee, 2018). Presenting a group as a passive but positive actor, which is helpless against the outgroup's harm, easily attracts empathy and protects the group from blame. Recently Csertő et al., (in preparation) also confirmed that this narrative compositional pattern can be detected in numerous Hungarian historical accounts, even concerning events in which Hungarians played a perpetrator role. These results suggest that people who conceive the Hungarian group as a victim group are more prone to using this linguistic composition when talking about historical conflicts. It also implies that the use of this specific narrative composition may positively influence the image the outgroups hold of the ingroup, in some cases, by creating a distorted, ingroup favored representation of events, that lacks self-reflection (Hirschberger et al., 2016; Wohl & Branscombe, 2008).

II.4.2 Transmitting defensive event representations in education

History education as a form of shared discourse and a stage of socialization is crucial in developing national identity by transmitting event interpretations and assisting in acquiring the normative explanations of history (Aldrich, 2005; Bilewicz et al., 2017).

Besides its role in forming a coherent national identity and the ability to integrate complex perspectives of historical actors, it may also lead to the development of dysfunctional group narratives and dichotomized viewpoints (Alridge, 2006; Carretero & van Alphen, 2014; Psaltis, McCully, et al., 2017; van Alphen & Carretero, 2015; Wertsch, 2002). Schematized knowledge of historical memoirs – master narratives (Carretero & van Alphen, 2014), or narrative templates (Wertsch, 2012a) – have an overarching effect on how history is reinterpreted (Carretero & van Alphen, 2014). A recent Argentinian study (Carretero & van Alphen, 2014) concluded, that a significant proportion of high school students think in terms of the master narrative in which they were brought up in. This results in the paradoxical situation, where the founding of Argentina is interpreted in terms of the Argentinian identity, while in fact talking in terms of the Argentinian identity about the historical period is unintelligible, since Argentine consisted of loosely tied ethnic groups without a clear sense of national identity at that time. The authors' interpretation of these results makes a distinction between two goals of history education: identity creation and improving critical historical thinking. They argue that the results show a lack of ability to interpret historical events in their historical socio-cultural setting; instead, interpreting them in the representational context of the present. Gyáni (2002) argues that by stating that the role of history education is the transmission of civic knowledge, history education drifts away from the ideas of objectivity and rationality. Collective remembering is partly based on these institutionalized forms of history writing. It is important to make history education a subject of social psychological research and analyze its function in both meaning construction and identity construction. The principles that characterize history education have severe consequences in terms of how a nation thinks about its past and present (Volkan, 2001). They have a central role in the socialization process, in which group members gain knowledge that conveys the basic elements of what it means to belong to the nation (László, 2013).

History books are canonized, culturally grounded collections of collectively shared narratives (Aldrich, 2005). Not only are they responsible for transmitting the past, but they also inform about the national identity. It is important to study how and by which principles is it possible to represent history in a way which facilitates critical historical thinking. This also means that in some cases, creating adaptive representations, group members must face and contradict the hegemonic narratives of the past, which defines the very foundation of national identity. It is worth noting, that although the self-serving historical viewpoints can exaggerate intergroup conflicts, they also provide a predictable

social world, thus group members necessarily make an active effort for trying to maintain these beliefs (Klar & Baram, 2016). This in turn blocks the efforts to create common points of view between nationalities and social groups.

Many scholars argue that an adaptive way of constructing historical representations would be to form complementary intergroup perspectives and multilayer narratives in history teaching, while also addressing the complexity of historical settings (McCully, 2012; Psaltis, McCully, et al., 2017). The term historical consciousness is the main objective of modern history education (Sakki & Pirttilä-Backman, 2019), namely, being able to take another's perspective without thinking in terms of one's own current socio-cultural mindset, which resembles what other scholars have defined as historical empathy (Bryant & Clark, 2006). Historical narratives with complementary intergroup perspectives and multilayer narratives can lead to the development of historical consciousness and empathy, where past actions are understood in their own historical and social context, not only in terms of the qualities and content of the present state of national identity (Bryant & Clark, 2006; Carretero & van Alphen, 2014). The exclusionary, victimhood-based narration of events usually develops a dichotomized, prefabricated point of view, not leaving space for in-between interpretations of the events (Adelman et al., 2016). To mitigate intergroup conflicts, a mindset is required that can be free of the victim-perpetrator category-based relations, and the over-simplifying narrative templates.

Some scholars stress that for the last century, Hungarian history teaching has been characterized by a mythical and conservative, schematic narration of events with little regard for outgroup perspectives (Jakab, 2008). Despite efforts to integrate a multi-perspective approach in the curricula, meaningful change is still in the early stages of development due to a nation-centric viewpoint in the teaching of history (Fischerné Dárdai & Kojanitz, 2007; Kaposi, 2010). Not only a conservative approach is present with a strong central control over the curriculum (Csapó, 2015), but analysis of history textbooks and lay historians' accounts revealed a regressive historical trajectory with a narrative template of initial victories followed by defeats and losses (Kovács et al., 2012; László, 2013).

The narrative structural properties of these textbooks which is the main topic of this dissertation has a significant role in this meaning creating process of social construction. The identity threat of a negative event can be mitigated by the narrative structural composition without changing the objective facts. The phenomenon can be seen as functional because it helps to maintain the belief system that averts responsibility,

while keeping the moral high ground (David & Bar-Tal, 2009; László & Fülöp, 2011a). In a way, being a victim or a perpetrator is a matter of perspectives, and intergroup relations. A specific quality of victimhood-based narration is that it provides a stability and continuity for the national identity, by providing a distinctive, schematized point of view, which is independent of the real causalities of the events (Hirschberger, 2018). While the presented linguistic correlates are psychologically important in their own terms as well, together, as a specific narrative structural composition, they are related to the victimhood-based narration of history. Together they provide a toolset for accommodating the narrative historical templates of the group (László & Fülöp, 2011a; Liu & Hilton, 2005; Wertsch, 2002). One of the main results of the Hungarian literature of collective victimhood is that the victim perspective is not only present in stories of victimization. The identity-congruent narrative structural composition is present in narratives where the Hungarian group was in a perpetrator role as well. The probable reason behind this phenomenon is an effort to protect the national identity through the victimhood beliefs conserved in the narrative structural composition of the national tales (László, 2013).

II.5. Summary

According to the United Nation's definition the victim is usually identified as a person who individually or collectively has suffered different forms of harm and substantial losses, while the perpetrator is someone who individually or collectively committed a crime or a violent action that led to suffering or deaths (Melander et al., 2004). However, the *perception* or social representation of victim and perpetrator roles are also outcomes of psychological construction, albeit being rooted in historical facts. Consequentially, they are to some degree changeable in accordance with the situational factors (Nadler & Saguy, 2004). One way to construe the victim and perpetrator roles is to capture them through the actions and outcomes associated with these roles (Bar-Tal et al., 2009). Nevertheless, it is also feasible to assign victim and perpetrator roles through the narrative structural elements of the story, such as semantic roles (Ehmann et al., 2013) and the various predicates associated with them. In this way, it is possible to modify the perception of group positions (victim vs. perpetrator) in a conflict without changing the historical facts (in an interpersonal setting see Bohner, 2001). This is the quality of narratives that makes them able to place the events in an identity-congruent light, without having to change the historical facts (Hirschberger, 2018).

It is important to note that historical representations are dynamically changing (Moscovici & Marková, 1998). Narrative historical templates only endure, while the group's history-based needs, and their current self-definition are in alignment, and can adaptively govern the (re)construction of the past. If their functionality disappears, they shift towards other interpretations and meanings. Thus, these templates can be changed. However, until they provide certainty, they won't change on their own (Mészáros et al., 2017). This can result in erratic splits between perspectives of different nations, or even between different (sub)groups within a nation. Globalization brings global challenges, and the need to create common understandings, to create common perspectives, and to create overarching narratives will be crucial in solving these challenges (Psaltis, McCully, et al., 2017). Citizens need to be able to understand the context-sensitivity of historical event explanations. To de-escalate historical intergroup conflicts, a different approach towards history teaching is needed. The present dissertation aims to provide theoretical and methodological standpoints for including the findings of narrative psychology when approaching questions of social representations of history.

II.6. Goals

Numerous Hungarian studies have been conducted in order to examine the phenomena of the narrative properties of historical accounts in light of collective victimhood (for a summary see: László, 2013). However, to verify the role of the narrative structural composition described by László in maintaining and transmitting the victim position of a national group have not yet been tested. The present dissertation is an attempt to highlight that the specific narrative structural composition of historical narratives can transmit the psychological states and belief system of a victimized group, or even construct a victimized position regardless of the factual details.

The following studies build upon the social perception paradigm, in which actors of historical accounts of an intergroup conflict are evaluated by the participants. In the presented narratives, the narrative structural properties are systematically manipulated, implicitly presenting one or the other *target group* in the semantic role of the victim of the events, regardless of their roles defined by the factual details of the narratives.

One of my main questions regards the ambiguous situations where the victim or perpetrator positions cannot be so easily defined, which leaves room for subjective interpretation. How can the narrative structural properties of an event description affect the perception of the actors' roles? Can a perpetrator group be positioned as a victim

simply by changing the structural compositional properties of a story? Two studies will be presented here that are designed to answer these questions.

- 1) The goal of *Study I.* was to establish the methodological foundations. In this section the general applicability of the experimental manipulation was tested, and its effect was measured. The focus of this phase of the studies is the verification of the effect of the narrative structural properties on the perception of the actors' victim position. The study also widens the context of the narrative structural organization of the victimhood narrative by placing the question in an intercultural setting. It was tested whether the narrative structural qualities of stories of victimization have a general effect on the perception of semantic victim and perpetrator positions; and whether the question can be interpreted in cultures different from the Hungarian. A methodologically identical study conducted in Finland will be presented, to identify cultural differences in the perception of these victimhood narratives. As a cross-cultural research method, the study is designed to make indirect assumptions about the Hungarian-specific qualities of the perception of victimhood narratives, by searching for both individual and group level cultural differences that affect the presumed relationship between the narrative structural organization and the perception of the target groups.
- 2) The goal of *Study II.* is to provide a social weight, or identity-relevance to the findings of Study I. by changing the context of the narratives to a culturally sensitive topic from the Hungarian history's point of view. It is assumed that the perception of the victimhood narrative is dependent not only on the narrative structural organization and the socio-cultural background, but also on the national-historical context in which these are interpreted. By presenting identity-relevant actors, the national historical narrative templates are assumed to hold a more accentuated effect over the perception of the narratives, besides the narrative structural composition, which may lead to a more identity-dependent result of the same methodological approaches. The most important question of this study is whether the established effects of the narratives can be transferred to events important in terms of the Hungarian national identity.

The two studies together provide a unique insight into the qualities of the narrative construction of collective victimhood with a two-fold aim:

The studies attempt to experimentally verify if it is possible to present a perpetrator as a victim of the conflict using narrative tools. On the other hand, it is aimed to think further by trying to use these narrative strategies to bring the perspectives of historically challenged outgroups' closer to the reader, providing empirical foundations to psychologically constructive ways of history teaching, challenging the historical canon and facilitating critical historical thinking.

III. GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE APPLIED RESEARCH METHODS

III.1. Research design and procedure

General description

The applied research methods build on the traditions of the scientific narrative psychological approach and were identical in both studies presented in the following sections of this dissertation. A general description of the measures, and main independent variables is given here. Later, the study-specific variables and results will be discussed.

In the experimental design, participants were randomly assigned to read one of two fictional stories of an intergroup conflict presented as history textbook excerpts (see Supplements IX.3. & IX.4.) using the PsyToolkit online platform (Stoet, 2010, 2017). In Study I. the target groups were chosen as actors of the stories with careful attention to not having historical links to either the Hungarian or the Finnish history. The story's plot displays the Kyrgyz and Uzbek groups in Study I., and the Romanian and Hungarian groups in Study II., describing their long-lasting territorial conflict, from which the story flashed a violent episode. It is important to note, that although the narratives display a real-life conflict, they were products of fiction. In Study II. the specifics of the research setting (e.g., target groups, indications of geographical locations, etc.) were altered, which will be discussed in the corresponding chapter of the dissertation. The experimental manipulation included the systematic manipulation of the narrative structural characteristics of the stories, in order to create a *congruent* and *incongruent* version of the event concerning the semantic roles of the actors (i.e., victim or perpetrator) and their roles defined by the factual content of the stories.

Assignment of victim and perpetrator roles can be accomplished in two ways: through the content or factual properties of the story (i.e., who initiated the conflict, who is the beneficiary and the injured party of the conflict) or by the narrative structural

composition of the story (i.e., intergroup distribution of activity and passivity, negative and positive emotions, or evaluations). In both versions of the story, the factual elements were invariant. The initiator of the atrocities and the beneficiary party of the outcome was the Kyrgyz/Romanian group, while the Uzbek/Hungarian group was the sufferer in both story versions (see Fig. 1). In this sense, the Kyrgyz/Romanian group can be considered to be a perpetrator of this event, while the Uzbek/Hungarian group is the victim of the events.

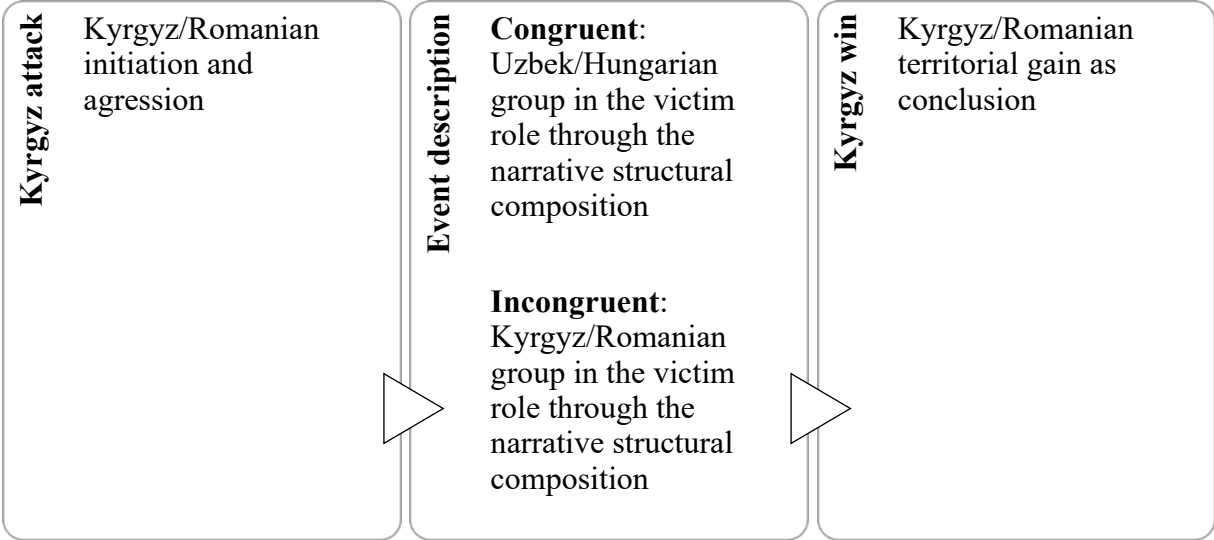


Fig. 1. Structure of the narratives

In the congruent experimental setting, the narrative structural composition corresponded with the roles defined by the factual properties of the narrative. Negative evaluation and higher activity with negative intentions were attributed to the conflict-initiator Kyrgyz/Romanian group, while the Uzbek/Hungarian group was presented with lower activity, higher empathy-inducing negative emotions, and positive evaluations compared to the Kyrgyz/Romanian group. In the incongruent narrative, the relative allocation of victimhood narrative markers was reversed: the Kyrgyz/Romanian group was placed in a “victimized” role by the means of attributing lower activity and higher frequency of empathy-inducing emotions, and positive evaluations compared to the Uzbek/Hungarian group. In this case, the Uzbek/Hungarian group was presented with relatively higher activity, hostile intentions, and negative evaluations with a lack of empathy-inducing emotions. The frequency and the actual qualities – or content – of the linguistic markers attributed to the target groups were identical in the two experimental settings (see Table 1.).

	Congruent story		Incongruent story	
	Kyrgyz/Romanian	Uzbek/Hungarian	Kyrgyz/Romanian	Uzbek/Hungarian
Negative evaluation	4.21	-	-	4.21
Positive emotions	-	2.10	2.10	-
Active verbs	5.26	1.15	1.05	5.26
Hostile intentions	2.10	-	-	2.10
Empathy induced emotions	-	1.05	1.05	-

Table 1. Relative frequencies of victimhood narrative markers in the manipulated story versions
Note: Relative frequency was computed by the raw frequency of narrative markers divided by the total word frequency of the stories.

Constructing the stories this way lets to examine the readers' perception of the perpetrator group presented implicitly as a victim through the narrative structural composition. The incongruent version of the narrative makes it possible to reduce the perceived responsibility for the atrocities committed by the group. This is a key characteristic of the belief system of groups with higher levels of collective victim beliefs, especially exclusive victim beliefs, which have been associated with reduced acceptance of responsibility (Bilali & Vollhardt, 2019; David & Bar-Tal, 2009).

After reading the narrative, participants were asked to answer questions concerning the two target groups in the story, as well as their own demographic data and their beliefs concerning history and empathy. Half of the participants answered these questions before, and the other half after the introduction of the manipulated narratives to avoid any priming effects.

III.1.1 Main independent variables

Victimhood of the target groups

Participants indicated the extent to which they perceived the two groups to see themselves as victims of the event ("In your view, how likely are the Uzbeks/Kyrgyzes to see themselves as the victims of the events?"). Responses were scored on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (very unlikely) to 7 (very likely).

It is an important abstraction in the question that the participants are not asked to assess the victimhood of the target groups by their own moral judgment, but to assume what the target groups would think about their own victimhood position. The wording in itself implies an effort to take the perspective of the target groups.

Dangerous beliefs

A national group-specific version of the Individual Group Belief Inventory (Eidelson, 2009) was used to assess the "dangerous beliefs" associated with perceived collective victimhood. In the present study, only dimensions associated with the

victimhood mindset were used as a unified scale (see Bar-Tal et al., 2009). Participants were asked to evaluate both target groups in each experimental condition concerning their perceived vulnerability (e.g., “The Uzbeks/Kyrgyzes feel unsafe.”); perceived distrust towards other groups (e.g., “The Uzbeks/Kyrgyzes think they should be cautious of other groups’ intentions.”); and perceived helplessness (e.g., “The Uzbeks/Kyrgyzes think they cannot influence their own future.”). Participants indicated their agreement with each item on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (completely disagree) to 7 (completely agree).

Group level emotions

Emotions relevant in terms of the Hungarian historical trajectory (see László, 2013) were also measured:

- Hatred
- Anger
- Disgust
- Sadness
- Disappointment

These collective emotions represent hostility (hatred, anger, disgust), and a depressive emotional tone (sadness, disappointment). These collective emotions correspond with the victim status, however, in historical representations of groups with collective victimhood they may also be improperly attributed to the ingroup in cases where they held a perpetrator role (László, 2013). Participants indicated the extent to which they perceived the Uzbek/Kyrgyz groups as feeling these emotions (“Please think over how the Uzbeks/Kyrgyzes might feel after the event. Use the below scales to indicate how likely the Uzbeks were to feel each emotion.”) on a 0-to-7-point Likert scale (1 = very unlikely; 7 = very likely) where zero was also an adequate answer.

Empathy

Empathy was measured by two subscales of the Interpersonal Reactivity Index (Davis, 1980) to control the trait empathetic attributes of the participants, which is assumed to have an effect on recognizing the target groups’ suffering. Emphatic concern (e.g., “I often have tender, concerned feelings for people less fortunate than me”) and the ability for perspective taking (e.g., “I believe that there are two sides to every question and try to look at them both”) were measured on a 5-point scale from 1 (completely disagree) to 5 (completely agree) and were later aggregated on a unified scale.

Collective victimhood consciousness

The participants' beliefs concerning past historical victimization of their own nation was also measured. A national group-specific, shortened version of the *exclusive victimhood* beliefs subscales of the Global Collective Victimhood Scale (Mészáros, 2017; Szabó et al., 2020; Vollhardt & Bilali, 2015) was used. Exclusive victimhood (e.g., “While all experiences of victimization are somewhat different, the experience of the Hungarians/Finns is truly unique”) measures the perceived uniqueness and distinctiveness of the ingroup's victimization. In Study II, *centrality of victimhood* beliefs was also measured (e.g., “It is important for me that the stories of the suffering of the Hungarians are preserved in our memory and passed on to future generations.”), which implies a central role of the Hungarians' suffering in the participants national identity but does not focus on the uniqueness of their hardships.

Manipulation check

After reading one of the story versions, participant indicated the possible source of the story, whether it was derived from an Uzbek or a Kyrgyz history textbook (“Which nation's textbook do you think the excerpt is from?”). Numerous studies show that groups prefer to display themselves as victim (see e.g., Barnard, 2014; Basic, 2015; Korostelina, 2010; Stojanov & Todorov, 2020) in an intergroup conflict due to several benefits of victim position (see Bar-Tal et al., 2009; Noor et al., 2017; Crawford & Kruperman, 2006;). The manipulation check builds on this presumption.

III.1.2 Ethical disclosure

The presented research was conducted ethically, responsibly, and legally; and was approved by the Hungarian United Ethical Review Committee for Research in Psychology (ref.nr.: 2019-133, 2021-30). Participants were informed in advance, about the purpose and nature of the data collection, how the data will be used and how their anonymity will be preserved.

They were given the opportunity to discontinue the survey and were informed of that by taking part in the survey, they agree to the terms and conditions of the participation. After participating in the study, they were given the opportunity to share their comments with the authors via email. Participants received no compensation for taking part in the studies.

IV. STUDY I. – THE NARRATIVE CONSTRUCTION OF INTERGROUP CONFLICTS

IV.1. Purpose of Study I.

In the corpus of Hungarian history education materials examined by László (László, 2013; László et al., 2010), the intergroup frequency of agency in relation to the valence of the event showed a picture, where the Hungarian group is more passive in the narratives, as compared to outgroups. More than that, a general passivity is present in the Hungarian group's historical accounts, regardless of the valence of these events. The Hungarian group's agency is relatively low, even in narratives, where their victim or perpetrator status is ambiguous (Ferenczhalmy et al., 2011). Examining the psychological perspective in Hungarian historical narratives lead to the conclusion that the Hungarian group is presented with negative emotions – such as fear, sadness, and shock – while negative cognitive states are usually linked to outgroups (László, 2013; László et al., 2013). This particular way of presenting mental states, indicates that the outgroups have not only more agency, but they also have negative intentions, which even more highlights their negative evaluation, and their responsibility in their actions (Vincze et al., 2013). This kind of perspective also prescribes for the reader who to emphasize with. Additionally, the Hungarian group's evaluations are consequently more positive as compared to the outgroups (Csertő & László, 2011; László, 2013). This is even true in accounts where the Hungarian groups held the role of the aggressor. Distinct evaluations attached to the semantic roles of the actors (Hungarian group as a passive sufferer, and the outgroups as active actors) is closely linked to an effort of highlighting the responsibility of outside parties and the moral superiority of the ingroup. Csertő & László (2013) found that a group with self-perceived collective victimhood is more prone to display asymmetry in intergroup evaluations. It is more likely to portray the ingroup as a positive and the outgroup as a negative actor of the events, corresponding to intergroup bias (Csertő & László, 2011).

The first study was designed to test the effect of these narrative structural qualities of the victim narrative (László, 2013) in the perception of historical narratives and – indirectly – in the narrative event construction. By assessing the effects of the victim and perpetrator roles created by the narrative structural composition, assumptions can be made about the defensive narrative strategy by which a group-favored, “usable” representation of an event of victimization can be constructed. The intercorrelation of the related individual and group level qualities (national identification, collective victimhood beliefs about the Hungarian history, trait empathy) and the susceptibility to the linguistic

manipulation provides points of reference for assessing how the narrative organization of victimhood creates biased event interpretations and which functions it holds in terms of national identity. By assessing the group-based emotions attributed to the conflicting groups, overlaps of the perception of outgroups' emotional characteristics and the perception of the emotional orientation of the Hungarian historical trajectory can be identified.

Implicit narrative strategies provide a cultural tool for the social construction of historical representations by which the identity needs of social groups are served, while also corresponding to the specific traits of narrative templates. However, these templates are specific for each socio-cultural contexts and narrative traditions (László, 2013). Thus, they are dependent on how those cultures interpret their own past. Not all nations with the experience of historical losses present their history from the victim's point of view. For example, the Finnish national history includes several periods of oppression, and the fight for independence is a central theme in Finnish history (e.g., the Winter War between Finland and the Soviet Union in 1939-1940, in which Finland lost a considerable proportion of its territory). Still, examination of history textbooks has revealed that Finnish history curricula strongly emphasize developing critical historical thinking, even though the former patriotic ways of teaching remain intact (Rantala, 2012; Sakki & Pirttilä-Backman, 2019). Hakoköngäs & Sakki (2016) found that the Finnish historical narratives bear the marks of the Finish nation as being strong and unified against external threats, and wars being portrayed as either positive or neutral.

Study I. observes differences in two cultural contexts: Hungary and Finland, two EU-member countries, which are both located on the Eastern border of Europe, and whose histories share many common themes. The 20th century history of both Hungary and Finland share the theme of oppression and a fight against alien forces (e.g., revolt against the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in Hungary and historical battles against Russia in Finland) and losses (e.g., territory losses in WWI). However, the two countries have constructed a different understanding of their national history. Hungarian historical writing emphasizes historical losses and defeat, while Finnish historical writing accentuates the perseveration of independence through historical challenges (Hakoköngäs & Sakki, 2016; László, 2013).

Although the presented empirical evidence is deeply rooted in the Hungarian history writing, as this linguistic structural composition is present in Hungarian textbooks, I argue that these linguistic markers have a more generalized function and psychological

meaning in the narrative psychological tradition, especially in the context of trauma. It can be assumed, that their function in the language is independent of the cultural context to some degree. Following László's reasoning I argue that the victim position can be represented in other languages as well with the joint presence of this specific narrative composition. Narrative compositional features such as lower agency with positive ingroup evaluation in conjunction with negative, empathy-triggering ingroup emotions, and inner thoughts with positive propositional content compared to the outgroup indicate an unstable and ingroup favored identity state, which is typical for collective victimhood. Presenting a group as a passive but positive actor, which is helpless against the outgroup's harm, easily attracts empathy and protects the group from blame.

It is assumed that the linguistic features of the national historical narrative templates and the emotional orientations coded in them provide a frame of reference for perceiving the suffering of outgroups. Based on the theoretical foundations and methodological approaches described above, I hypothesize that [H1] the victimhood narrative composition may alter the perception of a group's victim position, even when their roles which are defined by their actual actions (here: victim or perpetrator) are ambiguous. I also assume that [H2] this effect is present regardless of the nationality of the participants. Complimenting this assumption, I also assumed that [H3] the participants would attribute more hostile (hatred, anger, disgust) and depressive (sadness, disappointment) emotions to the group placed in the semantic victim role in both the Hungarian and Finnish samples, as these emotions relate to the feelings of collective victimhood: negative events are characterized by attribution of emotions which signal a negative emotional tone.

Regarding, the underlying psychological attributes of these effects, I suppose that [H4] the narrative structural composition's effect is mediated by the extent of the perceived vulnerability, distrust, and helplessness ("dangerous beliefs") of the target groups. In addition, I presumed that the effect of the victimhood narrative composition depends on the prevalence of ingroup collective victimhood consciousness in the participant's socio-cultural background. Based on this assumption, I hypothesize that [H5] the strength of the victimhood-oriented narrative composition's direct effect depends on the participants' global exclusive collective victimhood attributes in the Hungarian sample, but not in the Finnish one.

IV.2. Method

IV.2.1 Sample and data analysis

The total sample ($N = 551$) included 415 Hungarian adults (139 males, 276 females; $M_{\text{age}} = 31.54$; $SD_{\text{age}} = 13.06$; range 18–76), and 116 Finnish adults (26 men, 84 women, and 6 who identified otherwise; $M_{\text{age}} = 29.97$; $SD_{\text{age}} = 9.32$; range between 18 and 69). In the Hungarian sample, 47% of the participants finished some form of higher education, while in the Finnish sample, this ratio was 67%.

The participants were recruited online through the snowball method and through personal inquiry at university lectures in the autumn of 2019.

The participants were informed of the goals and qualities of the data collection, the method and extent of the data storage and the protection of their anonymity. An option for aborting the study was provided for every participant, and a formal participation consent was requested of them. The participants were not rewarded for their participation in any manner.

Since both Finnish and Swedish are recognized as official languages in Finland, participants were asked to indicate their native language and permanent place of residence. Participants whose native language was Swedish ($n = 8$) were excluded from the Finnish part of the data because linguistic characteristics play a vital role in the experimental design. Any other participants with missing data from the main experimental evaluation ($n = 12$) were also excluded from the overall dataset.

The narratives were designed initially in Hungarian and translated to Finnish afterwards, using the committee method (Brislin, 1980), which involves a group of bilingual researchers who translate from a source to a target language (Nasser, 2005). Special attention was paid to the specific linguistic markers in the text to convey the same psychological meaning and the same intergroup distribution.

For data collection the PsyToolkit format was used (Stoet, 2010, 2017).

For statistical data analysis the IBM SPSS Statistics 26, and Jamovi 1.6.23. software was used.

IV.2.2 Main analyses

Manipulation check

Using Chi-square tests, the successfulness of the linguistic manipulation was assessed.

Effects of the narrative structural composition on the perceived victimhood of the target group

A 2x2x2 factorial design ANOVA was conducted to compare the main effects of the target group (Kyrgyz, Uzbek), the narrative structural composition (congruent, incongruent), and the nationality of the participants (Hungarian, Finnish) on the perceived intensity of victimhood. The two-level direct measurement of the target groups' victim position was used as a within-subject variable, while the two experimental settings created by the narrative structural composition and the nationality of the participants provided between-subject factors.

Measures of the attributed emotions

Since measures of emotions were not normally distributed, Spearman's rho was used to test whether the intensity of the associated emotions correspond to the perceived level of victim position of the Uzbek and Kyrgyz groups in the experimental settings in which their victimhood is emphasized: the Uzbek victimhood in the congruent setting, and the Kyrgyz victimhood in the incongruent setting. Measures of emotions were also tested using independent samples T-test (Welch's T), to assess whether the emotions associated to the Uzbek and Kyrgyz groups had changed between the two experimental settings. For these tests both hostile emotions (hatred, anger, disgust), and depressive emotions (sadness, disappointment) were aggregated in a scale-type variable, to be able to treat them as distinct patterns of emotional states.

Individual and group level constructs affecting the perception of the victim position

The hypothesized conditional process model (see Figure 2.) was tested with PROCESS macro model 5, v4.0 (Hayes, 2018) in SPSS version 22 on both the Hungarian and the Finnish samples. I examined the significant effect of the narrative structural composition on the judgment of the target group's victimization in a single model, but separately for the two sub-samples using a bootstrapping approach with bias-corrected 95% confidence intervals ($n = 20,000$). Due to the differences in variable scaling, all scale-type variables were entered in a mean-centered way (for an overview of the method, see Hayes, 2018). Since the primary question of the study was how the perceived victim position of a perpetrator might change as a result of the narrative structural composition, in the model, I only examined the victim position of the Kyrgyz group as an outcome. The story versions were coded as 0 = congruent and 1 = incongruent, treating the

congruent condition as a reference level in the model. The narrative structural composition was the *predictor*, with perceived dangerous beliefs of Kyrgyz group as *mediator*. Dangerous beliefs were measured as a composite score of vulnerability, distrust, and helplessness. The *outcome variable* was the perceived victimhood attributed to the Kyrgyz group, and the exclusive victimhood of the participants constituted the proposed *moderator*. Trait empathy and the dangerous beliefs attributed to the Uzbek group were entered into the model as *covariates*. Direct and indirect effects were deemed to be significant if the *CI*s excluded zero (Hayes, 2018).

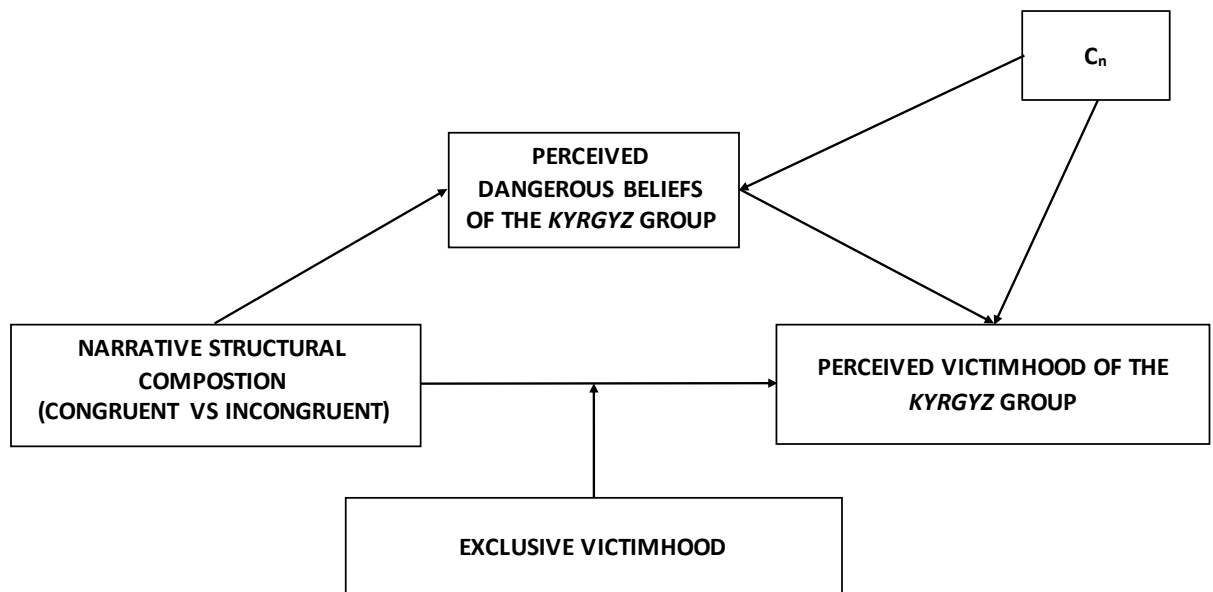


Fig. 2. Conceptual diagram of the conditional PROCESS analysis
 Note: C_n (covariates) = trait empathy; dangerous beliefs of the Uzbek group

IV.3. Results

IV.3.1 Descriptive and reliability qualities of the main variables

Direct measure of victimhood

Participants indicated the extent to which they perceived the two groups to see themselves as victims of the event (Uzbek: $M_{HU} = 4.82$, $SD = 2.07$; $M_{FI} = 5.66$; $SD = 1.56$; Kyrgyz: $M_{HU} = 4.91$, $SD = 1.89$; $M_{FI} = 5.90$, $SD = 1.38$).

Indirect measures of victimhood

The 9-item IGBI scale produced a scale with high reliability for both the Uzbek-specific ($M_{HU} = 4.70$, $SD = 1.44$, $\alpha = .93$; $M_{FI} = 4.81$, $SD = 1.18$, $\alpha = .92$) and the Kyrgyz-specific versions ($M_{HU} = 4.61$, $SD = 1.31$, $\alpha = .89$; $M_{FI} = 4.95$, $SD = 1.10$, $\alpha = .90$).

Collective victimhood beliefs

Exclusive victimhood measures produced reliable scales ($M_{HU} = 2.53$, $SD = 1.43$, $\alpha = .79$; $M_{FI} = 1.97$, $SD = 0.86$, $\alpha = .55$). Although Finnish Cronbach's alpha values can be considered somewhat low, they are still within the range of acceptability (see e.g., Hinton et al., 2004).

Empathy

The total of 14 items of the empathic concern and perspective taking subscales formed a reliable scale ($M_{HU} = 3.77$, $SD = 0.57$, $\alpha = .80$; $M_{FI} = 3.90$, $SD = 0.49$, $\alpha = .78$).

IV.3.2 Manipulation check

Chi-square test was used to determine the successfulness of the linguistic manipulation. The frequency distribution was ideal in terms of the hypothesis in both the Hungarian ($\chi^2 = 70.1$; $p = .001$ $\Phi = .44$) and the Finnish ($\chi^2 = 79.4$; $p = .001$ $\Phi = .83$) sample. In the case of the congruent version of the narrative, participants categorized it more frequently as a story from an Uzbek textbook in the Hungarian sample ($N_{Uzbek} = 130$, $N_{Kyrgyz} = 70$), and in the Finnish sample ($N_{Uzbek} = 51$, $N_{Kyrgyz} = 5$) as well. While in the case of the incongruent narrative, participants mainly categorized it as a story from a Kyrgyz textbook in the Hungarian sample ($N_{Uzbek} = 52$, $N_{Kyrgyz} = 163$), and in the Finnish sample ($N_{Uzbek} = 5$, $N_{Kyrgyz} = 55$) as well. This result suggests that the participants were able to differentiate which national group's points of view were present in the narratives based on the narrative composition. The semantic roles which appear in one or the other narrative oriented the evaluation of the two groups according to the initial assumptions, which is assumed to be a result of the experimental manipulation of the narrative structural properties.

IV.3.3 Effects of the narrative structural composition on the perceived victimhood of the target group

Neither the main effect of the target groups (Uzbek/Kyrgyz) nor the main effect of the narrative structural composition (congruent/incongruent) were significant, indicating that the participants did not differ in terms of how they perceived the target groups in general, furthermore the congruent and incongruent story structure did not show differences in terms of the perceived representational level of victimhood in general. However, the main effect for nationality yielded an F ratio of $F(1;527) = 42.887$; $p = .000$; $\eta^2_p = .075$, showing that Finnish participants estimated the two target groups' perceived

victimhood generally higher ($M = 5.78$) compared to the Hungarian participants ($M = 4.86$).

A significant two-way interaction was observed $F(1;527) = 46.663$; $p = .000$; $\eta^2_p = .081$ (Fig. 3) between the target group and the narrative compositional structure of the story [H1], meaning that the perception of the groups' victim position has varied depending on the narrative compositional structure of the story. When the Kyrgyz victimhood was emphasized by the means of the narrative composition (incongruent setting), participants perceived the level of the Kyrgyz's victimhood higher compared to the congruent setting.

An interaction of the perceived victimhood of the target groups and the nationality of the participants [H2] was also not present (Fig. 3), suggesting that the general perception of the target groups' victim position was not dependent on the nationality of the participants (Hungarian or Finnish). The three-way interaction of the target group, the narrative composition, and the nationality of the participants was not significant either, suggesting that the narrative manipulation had the same effect on the perception of the two target groups in both the Finnish, and the Hungarian sub-samples.

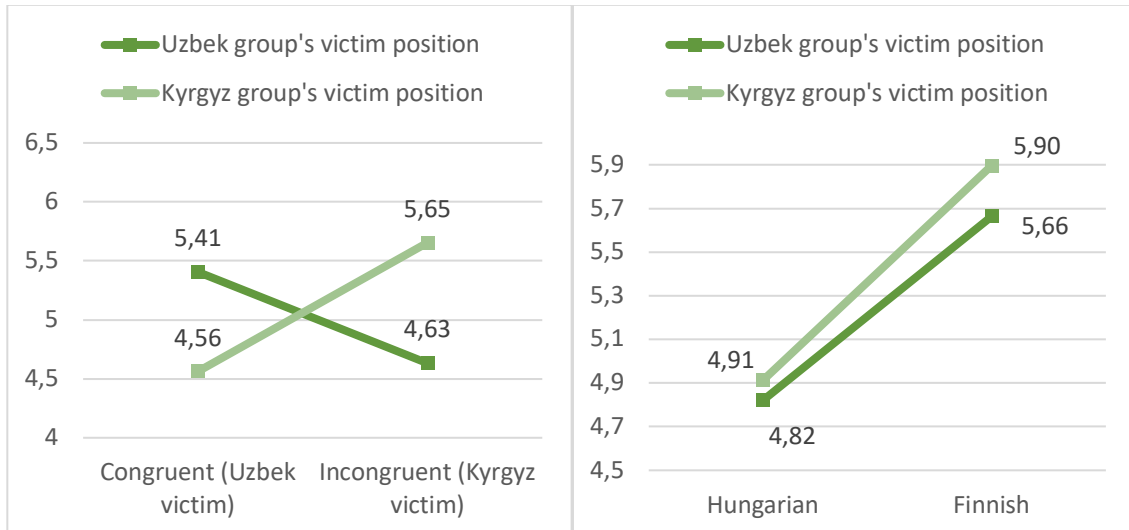


Fig. 3. Marginal means of the perceived victim position (direct victimhood measurement) of the target groups depending on the narrative manipulation (left: measured group x manipulation, right: nationality x measured group)

IV.3.4 Measures of the attributed emotions

Hungarian

Correlational analysis of the emotional patterns associated to the Uzbek and Kyrgyz groups in the experimental settings in which they were portrayed as victims of the events revealed that the intensity of the associated emotions corresponds to the level of the perceived victim position of the target groups.

Both hostile [$r(415) = .580$; $p = .001$] and depressive [$r(415) = .652$; $p = .001$] feelings of the Uzbek group are significantly correlated to their perceived level of victim position in the congruent setting. In the case of the Kyrgyz group hostile [$r(415) = .486$; $p = .001$] and depressive [$r(415) = .535$; $p = .001$] feelings are significantly correlated to their perceived level of victim position in the incongruent setting. These results suggest that the extent to which the Hungarian participants associate the negative emotional tone – which is also present in accounts of the Hungarian historical trajectory – to outgroups is related to the perceived victim position of those groups.

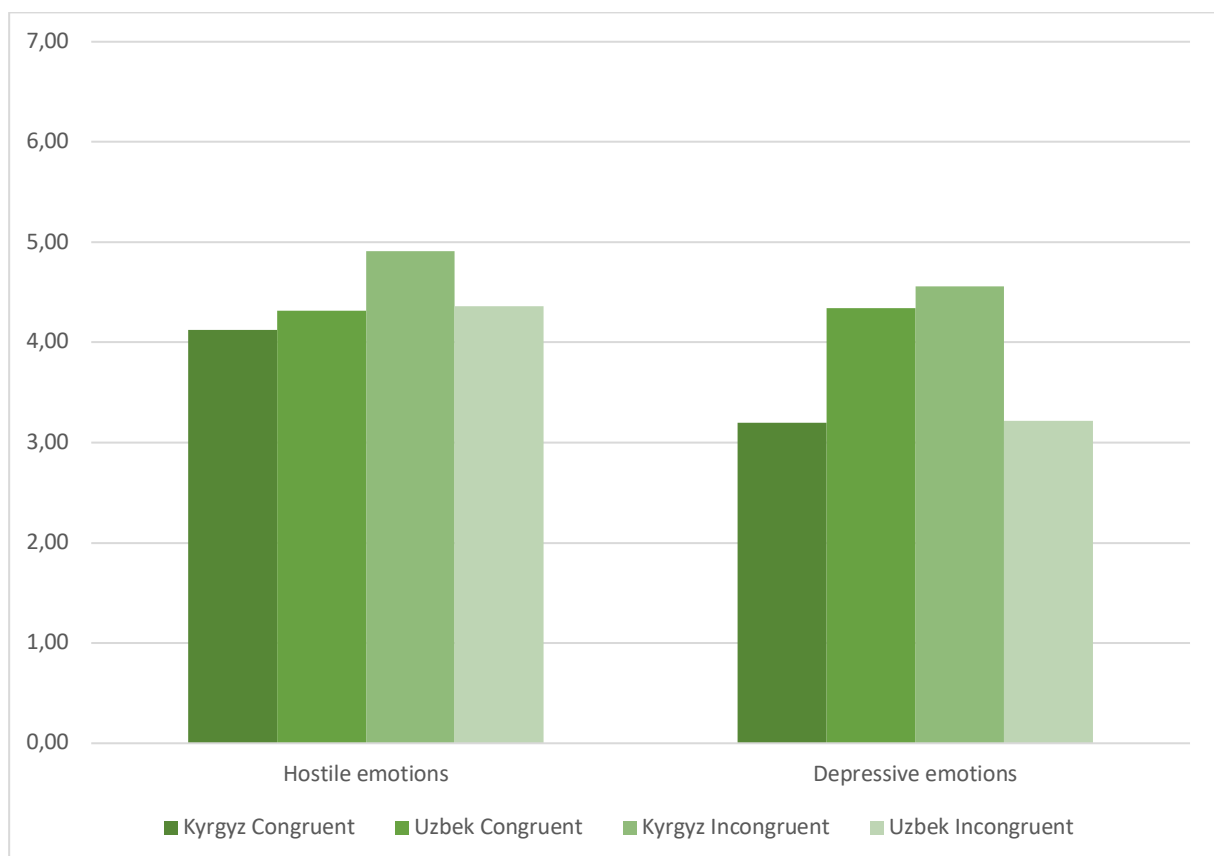


Fig. 4. Hostile (hatred, anger, disgust) and depressive (sadness, disappointment) emotions attributed to the target groups in the Hungarian sample.

Results of the independent samples T-test revealed that a significant difference can be observed in the intensity of both hostile [$t(407) = -4.32$; $p = .001$; $d = -.42$] and depressive [$t(409) = -7.75$; $p = .001$; $d = -.76$] emotions of the Kyrgyz group between the two experimental conditions (congruent and incongruent). The intensity of the hostile emotions attributed to the Kyrgyz group was higher in the incongruent setting ($M = 4.90$) than in the congruent setting ($M = 4.13$), while the intensity of the depressive emotions attributed to the Kyrgyz group was also higher in the incongruent setting ($M = 4.59$) than in the identity-congruent setting ($M = 3.20$). The perceived level of these victimhood-related emotions is significantly higher in the experimental condition in which the Kyrgyz group is presented as a victim (incongruent narrative), although they hold a perpetrator role in the narrative. The result in the Kyrgyz group's perceived emotional states can be attributed to the narrative structural composition. However, a slightly different outcome is present in the case of the Uzbek group. A significant difference can only be observed in the level of the depressive emotions [$t(409) = 5.37$; $p = .001$; $d = .52$] associated to the Uzbek group, but not in the level of hostile emotions. The intensity of the depressive emotions attributed to the Uzbek group was higher in the congruent setting ($M = 4.33$) than in the incongruent setting ($M = 3.19$).

These patterns in the emotions attributed to the target groups (see Fig. 4.) are hypothesized to be related to the effect of the manipulated narrative structural composition appearing in the narratives [H3].

Finnish

The results of the Finnish sample show a similar picture. Examining the emotions associated to the Uzbek and Kyrgyz groups, it can be concluded that the emotional orientations linked to victimhood are indeed attributed to the Uzbek and Kyrgyz groups (Fig. 5). Moreover, correlational analysis revealed that the intensity of the associated emotions corresponds to the level of the perceived victim position of the two national groups described in the stories.

Both hostile [$r(116) = .381$; $p = .004$] and depressive [$r(116) = .479$; $p = .001$] feelings of the Uzbek group are significantly correlated to their perceived level of victim position (direct measurement) in the congruent setting. In the case of the Kyrgyz group hostile [$r(116) = .374$; $p = .003$] and depressive [$r(118) = .302$; $p = .019$] feelings are significantly correlated to their perceived level of victim position in the incongruent setting.

Alike in the case of the Hungarian participants, results of the independent samples T-test revealed that a significant difference can be observed in the intensity of both hostile [$t(92.9) = -4.29$; $p = .001$; $d = -.80$] and depressive [$t(102.9) = -3.93$; $p = .001$; $d = -.73$] emotions of the Kyrgyz group, but only depressive emotions [$t(113.8) = 3.06$; $p = .003$; $d = .56$] for the Uzbek group between the two experimental conditions (congruent and incongruent). The intensity of the hostile emotions attributed to the Kyrgyz group was higher in the incongruent setting ($M = 5.92$) than in the congruent setting ($M = 4.83$), while the intensity of the depressive emotions attributed to the Kyrgyz group was also higher in the incongruent setting ($M = 5.40$) than in the identity-congruent setting ($M = 4.22$). The intensity of the depressive emotions attributed to the Uzbek group was higher in the congruent setting ($M = 4.69$) than in the incongruent setting ($M = 3.58$).



Fig. 5. Hostile (hatred, anger, disgust) and depressive (sadness, disappointment) emotions attributed to the target groups in the Finnish sample.

Although the measured emotions were specifically chosen for the Hungarian context, they provided similar results for the Finnish study as well. It seems safe to assume, that the similar pattern is the result of the similar perception of the manipulated narratives and the representational level of victimhood which they transmitted.

Again, these patterns in the emotions attributed to the target groups are hypothesized to be related to the effect of the manipulated narrative structural composition appearing in the narratives [H3].

IV.3.5 Individual and group level constructs affecting the perception of the perpetrator group

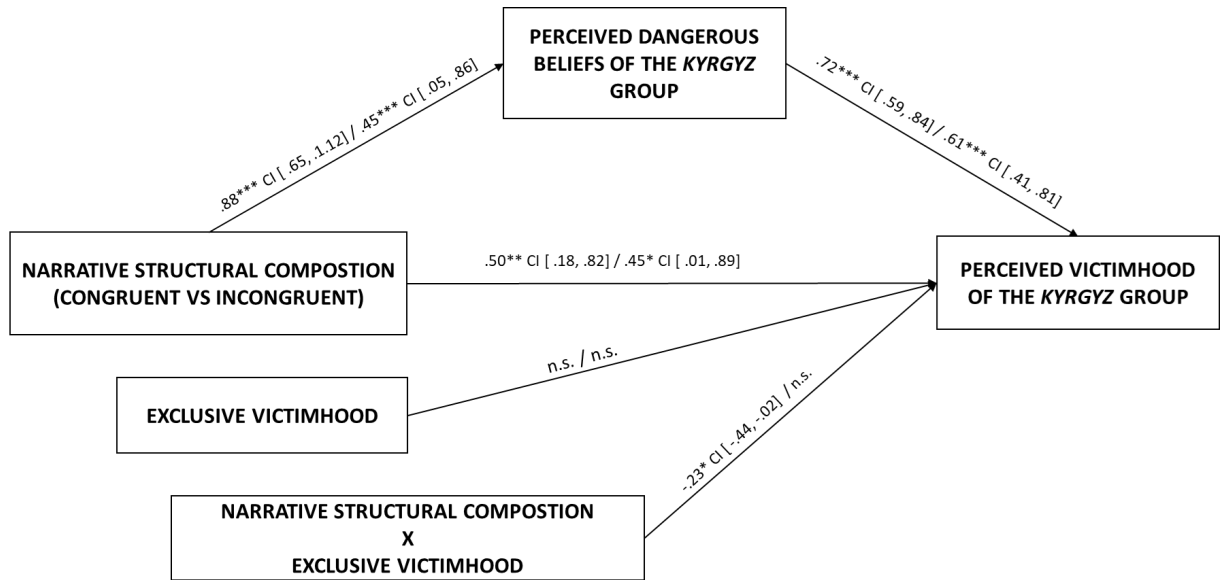


Fig. 6. Statistical diagram: Mediating and moderating variables of the linguistic manipulation’s effect on the perception of the perpetrator group (Kyrgyz) – Study I; Hungarian and Finnish samples

Note: Path values represent unstandardized mean-centered regression coefficients. Covariates are not displayed here for a better readability. (see Table 2.).

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Mediated and moderated effects of narrative composition on the perceived victimhood of the target group were tested using PROCESS macro model 5, v4.0 (Hayes, 2018) with the goal of examining how the effect of narrative composition comes to be and under what circumstances its effect exists or not (Hayes & Rockwood, 2020). Since the primary question of the study was how the perceived victim position of a perpetrator (the indicator and the beneficiary of the conflict) might change as a result of the narrative structural composition, in the model, we examined only the victim position of the Kyrgyz group as an outcome.

The results (see: Fig. 6.) showed a significant positive indirect effect of the narrative composition on the Kyrgyz group’s perceived victimization through the mediation of dangerous beliefs in both samples (HU: $b = .64$, $SE = .10$, 95% CI [.45, .85],

FI: $b = .26$, $SE = .13$, 95% $CI [.02, .54]$. This result indicates that the victimhood-oriented narrative composition promotes the presence of dangerous beliefs associated with victimization (i.e., vulnerability, helplessness, distrust) that result in a more established victim position for the perpetrator group [H4].

A direct effect of narrative composition was also present in both cases, HU: $b = .50$, $SE = .16$, 95% $CI [.20, .84]$, FI: $b = .45$, $SE = .22$, 95% $CI [.01, .08]$. However, for the Hungarian sample, it was conditional on the self-perceived exclusive victimhood of the participants, $b = -.24$, $SE = .10$, 95% $CI [-.45, -.03]$, supporting the hypothesis [H5]. That is, the exclusive victimhood consciousness of the Hungarian participants moderated the effect of narrative composition on the perceived victim position of the target group [$F(1, 409) = 5.10$; $p = .02$]. This means that the more respondents think about the victimization of their nation, the less likely they are to see the perpetrator group as the victim in the incongruent story.

As a covariate, empathy had a significant effect on the dangerous beliefs assigned to the Kyrgyz group $b = .38$, $SE = .10$, 95% $CI [.18, .58]$ in the Hungarian sample, which means that higher trait empathy enhanced the attribution of dangerous beliefs to the Kyrgyz group. On the other hand, dangerous beliefs ascribed to the Uzbek group as a covariate had a significant effect on the perception of the Kyrgyz group's victim position in the Finnish sample $b = -.19$, $SE = .09$, 95% $CI [-.38, -.00]$, showing that higher levels of dangerous beliefs assigned to the Uzbek group lead to a decreased perception of the victimization of the Kyrgyz group.

Outcome variables		Hungarian					Finnish				
		b	SE	t	CI (95%)		b	SE	t	CI (95%)	
					LL	UL				LL	UL
Dangerous beliefs of the Kyrgyz group		2.73***	0.41	6.66	1.92	3.54	3.20***	0.85	3.76	1.51	4.88
	constant	0.88***	0.11	7.40	0.65	1.12	0.45*	0.20	2.24	0.05	0.86
	Narrative structural composition	0.39***	0.10	3.72	0.18	0.59	0.33	0.20	1.62	-0.07	0.74
	Trait empathy	-0.01	0.04	-0.32	-0.09	0.07	0.04	0.08	0.64	-0.13	0.21
	Dangerous beliefs of the Uzbek group										
		R2=.146, F(3, 411)=23.466, p < .001					R2=.065, F(3, 112)=2.617, p < .05				
Victim position of the Kyrgyz group		1.39*	0.56	2.47	0.28	2.50	4.33***	0.96	4.49	2.42	6.24
	constant	0.50**	0.16	3.07	0.18	0.82	0.45*	0.22	2.04	0.01	0.89
	Narrative structural composition	0.72***	0.06	11.29	0.59	0.84	0.61***	0.10	6.12	0.41	0.81
	Dangerous beliefs of the Kyrgyz group	0.03	0.07	0.46	-0.11	0.19	-0.12	0.16	-0.77	-0.44	0.19
	Exclusive victimhood beliefs	-0.23*	0.10	-2.19	-0.44	-0.02	-0.14	0.25	-0.56	-0.64	0.35
	Interaction (Manip. x Exclusive v. b.)	0.04	0.13	0.29	-0.23	0.31	-0.19	0.22	-0.88	-0.64	0.24
	Trait empathy	-0.04	0.05	-0.85	-0.15	0.06	-0.19*	0.09	-2.08	-0.38	-0.00
	Dangerous beliefs of the Uzbek group										
		R2=.334, F(6, 408)=34.099, p < .001					R2=.348, F(6, 109)=9.736, p < .001				

Table 2. Predictors of the perceived victim position of the perpetrator group – Study I

Note: b values represent unstandardized mean-centered regression coefficients. CI = Confidence interval.

Number of bootstrap samples for percentile bootstrap confidence intervals: 20 000

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

IV.4. Discussion

The results fit the literature, while they also provide important complements. Moreover, they verify László's (2013) assumptions about the narrative structural attributes of the victimhood narrative. The manipulated narrative structural composition of such historical accounts affected the group perception in a meaningful way. It can be concluded that the narrative composition described by László indeed has an important function in transmitting and maintaining the belief system related to victimhood. Indirectly it can be also assumed, that groups which can be characterized with some form of collective victimhood construct a group narrative that allows for the self-serving perception of their history: (1) lower ingroup agency (2) exclusively positive evaluation of the ingroup and (3) the presentation of negative emotions in the ingroup perspective, while presenting negative cognitions and intentions in the outgroup perspective. It is an important result, that the perception of an aggressor group was open to change as a result of manipulated the narrative structural properties. This kind of group narrative, where the perpetrator enforces their victim qualities, is a specific attribute of self-perceived collective victimhood (Bar-Tal et al., 2009), which is a substantial characteristic of the Hungarian history writing (László, 2013). In light of these results, it can be assumed that the social constructional qualities of event representation after a traumatic experience may bear similar marks, at least on the level of implicit linguistic attributes. This can contribute to the emergence of self-serving group perspectives.

The effect of the linguistic manipulation

The lack of difference in the general level of the perceived victimhood between the congruent and incongruent experimental conditions provides a strong basis for the internal validity of the study. The result demonstrates that although the narrative structural composition differs in the two story-versions, they both hold the same representational level of victimhood. In addition, the lack of the main effect of the target groups shows that the participants did not perceive any general difference between the victimization of the Kyrgyz and the Uzbek groups. These results together indicate that the representation of victimhood may be accomplished by the careful modification of narrative structural properties, even if the factual information (who is the initiator of the attack or who suffered greater losses) would contradict their perception, which was also proofed by the significant (target-groups x narratives structural composition) two-way interaction. Although the Kyrgyz group was the initiator and the major beneficiary of the

conflict in the incongruent setting, the manipulated narrative structural composition (i.e., low agency, negative empathy-triggering emotions, and positive evaluations attributed to the Kyrgyz group; higher agency, a lack of emotions, negative evaluations, and hostile intentions attributed to the Uzbek group) still directed the participants' perception leading to perceive the Kyrgyz group as being more victimized than the Uzbek group. The results indicate that the perceived roles were primarily defined by the narrative composition and superseded the effect of factual information on the meaning formation of intergroup roles. This finding is in line with the assumption that a group-favored presentation of an event may be produced through the narrative composition (László et al., 2013), which may obscure the atrocities committed by placing the group in a victimized position.

The significant main effect of the nationality shows that the Finnish participants perceived a greater intensity of victimhood regardless of the target groups in comparison with the Hungarian subjects, suggesting that Finnish participants have a stronger susceptibility of other groups' victimization in general. Cultural differences in history education (Sakki & Pirttilä-Backman, 2019) and historical thinking (Hakoköngäs & Sakki, 2016) may account for these results (see in general discussion), however further research is needed to exhaustively answer this question.

Measures of the attributed emotions

The results of the emotions attributed to the Uzbek and Kyrgyz groups provide a unique context for the interpretation of the findings. The Kyrgyz group's perceived emotional states were open for change in accordance with their perceived victim position in both samples: their intensity proved to be related to the Kyrgyz group's perceived victim position; and their intensity also changed with the change of the semantic role of the perpetrator group. The attributed group-level emotions can be considered a strong indicator of the compromised perception that the narrative manipulation created. A lingering high level of hostile emotions (hatred, anger, disgust) and depressive emotions (sadness, disappointment) that are related to the victim position of a national group indicates a loss of agency, emotional instability, and a fragile group identity in general (Fülöp et al., 2013), which is a specificity of the emotional pattern of the Hungarian historical trajectory (László, 2013). The fact that the narrative manipulation was able to not only change the perceived victim position of the perpetrator Kyrgyz group, but also to change the intensity of the attributed victimhood-related emotions indicates that the

participants were able to take the perspective of the perpetrator group, seeing them as more of the victims of the events (de Graaf et al., 2012).

However, in the case of the victim Uzbek group, the intensity of the hostile emotions attributed to them did not change with their changing semantic roles. A fair assumption is that their victim role transmitted by the factual information prevented the participants to attribute a lower level of hostile emotions to them, even though their perceived victim position did change with the semantic position that was conveyed by the linguistic properties of the narratives. This result suggests that while the perception of the Uzbek group's victim role changed in the incongruent experimental setting, on an emotional level the participants were more less susceptible to the manipulation, meaning that they attributed hostile emotions to the Uzbek group according to their original role showcased by the factual properties of the narratives. These results – at least in part – confirm the assumptions about the intensity of emotions attributed to the conflicting groups, while providing an interesting discrepancy. In the incongruent setting, where the Kyrgyz victimhood was emphasized by the narrative composition, the intensity of depressive emotions attributed to the Uzbek group is significantly lower than in the congruent setting, indicating that their semantic role prevented the participants to perceive them as worthy of these feeling. In other words, they were revoked of the feelings that could function as a basis for empathy (Hogan, 2001; Keen, 2006). This last finding is especially important in terms of how implicit narrative strategies can reverse the roles in an intergroup conflict and revoke the “privilege” of empathy without modifying objective facts, or actually perceiving the group as more hostile. The result supports the findings of the effect of the narrative structural properties on the perception of the target groups' victim position. While the actual perpetrator of the events can be “subtly” placed in a victimized position with implicit tools of narration, the actual victim's valid emotions were also revoked in the readers' eyes.

Individual and group level constructs affecting the perception of the victim position

The results of the conditional process analysis show that the victimhood-oriented composition of the story (incongruent) can change the perceived victim position of a perpetrator group (Kyrgyz), which is mediated by the dangerous beliefs (perceived vulnerability, distrust, and helplessness) attributed to the perpetrator group in both samples. Dangerous beliefs are worldviews that convey the threatening nature of the outside world, and which usually co-appear with the victimhood consciousness (David &

Bar-Tal, 2009; Mészáros, 2017). This result supports the previous findings, highlighting the importance of these associated beliefs in the mediation between the narrative structural composition and the perception of a perpetrator group's "victim" role.

The analysis also revealed that the direct effect of the narrative composition was dependent on the degree of the participants' exclusive victim beliefs for the Hungarian sample, which means that the participant's higher level of exclusive victimhood consciousness reduces the likelihood of accepting the victimized depiction of the perpetrator group. There are some possible explanations that may account for this result. One is that the type of event (defeat and a significant loss of territory) might resonate with the Hungarian historical narrative templates, that eliminated the effect of the narrative structural composition (Wohl & Branscombe, 2008). The other possible explanation is that individuals with a high level of exclusive victimhood are more prone to make a sharper distinction between victim and offender (Shnabel et al., 2013) and less likely to tolerate role ambiguity produced by the narrative composition.

Results show a slightly different picture for the Finnish sample. The manipulation also showed an effect on estimating the victimhood of the target group; nevertheless, the direct effect did not depend on the participants' own collective victim beliefs. On the other hand, victimhood beliefs assigned to the Uzbek group significantly affected the perceived victimhood of the Kyrgyz group. It suggests that the greater an individual perceives the Uzbek group as vulnerable, distrustful, and helpless, the less likely to see the Kyrgyz group (perpetrator) as a victim. The result indicates that for Finnish subjects the perception of the Kyrgyz group's victim position is relative to the perception of the Uzbek group's mental states (i.e., dangerous beliefs). A possible explanation for this result can be found in Finnish history education, which places a strong emphasis on critical thinking and the presentation of events from multiple perspectives (Hakoköngäs & Sakki, 2016; Rantala, 2012; Sakki & Pirttilä-Backman, 2019) which might result in a more balanced evaluation of intergroup roles in a historical setting.

In general, these findings prove that the narrative composition described by László plays a significant role in transmitting the victim or perpetrator positions in an intergroup conflict; and these narrative compositional attributes can transmit the victim position of a group even when that group is explicitly described as a perpetrator. Moreover, the changing semantic roles transmit different emotional states of the conflicting groups. The persistent use of this type of narration may indicate a fragile group identity, in which

unprocessed traumas and beliefs of the national victimhood implicitly bear their marks on the historical representations of the group (László & Fülöp, 2011a).

The results also suggest that the narrative structural composition of national historical tales can support and transmit the persisting event interpretations coded in the schematic narrative templates (Wertsch, 2002, 2007) of a nation. It seems that these structural properties of historical narratives indeed have an effect on how an ethnocentric viewpoint is transmitted in a wider sense of social discourse. However, the results also open the possibility of overturning these self-serving event interpretations, with an emphasis on not only what events are taught in the national curricula, but also how they are narrated. It is necessary to further study the impact of language on shaping historical understanding and social identities, to which this study provides an auxiliary of where to start. The previously shown narrative strategy may play a role in the process in which the image of victims and perpetrators of certain historical events emerge, thus plays a part in the social construction of collective memories (Alexander, 2012; Hobsbawm & Ranger, 2012; Volkan, 2001). However, the interpretation and validity of these results highly depends on the specific national-historical context in which they were measured.

It is important to note that in this study the outgroups portrayed in the experimentally manipulated narratives were assumed to be neutral to both the Hungarian and the Finnish participants. This assumption is verified by the lack of main effects in the analyses of variance, suggesting that the participants did not hold any pre-supposed beliefs of the Uzbek and Kyrgyz groups. Constructing the experimental setting this way lets one examine the “pure” effect of the narrative structural properties that are the focus of this dissertation. It is established that the narrative organization described by László indeed has an effect on how harshly a victimized group is perceived, or how a perpetrator group’s actions can be diminished. However, these studies are in some way presented in a social vacuum, which can provide a foundation for a clear-cut examination of the phenomenon on the one hand but strips the question of its social context on the other hand. For this reason, a second study was conducted in which the same experimental setting was placed in a social context that is relevant and known in terms of Hungarian history, and Hungarian national identity.

V. STUDY II. – THE DEFENSIVE PERCEPTION OF INTERGROUP CONFLICT

NARRATIVES

V.1. Purpose of Study II.

As previously stated in Study I., the narrative structural properties of a description about an intergroup conflict may have a significant effect on how the parties involved are perceived. Group-favored interpretations which are – at least partly – transmitted by the narrative structural properties of these accounts provide a cultural tool for the narrative event construction by which the self-serving interpretations of the victim and the perpetrator roles can be constructed. According to the previously described results, these roles are interchangeable at least to some extent. However, the groups depicted in those accounts were not in any way relevant in terms of the Hungarian or the Finnish national identity. Study II. addresses this limitation: the main question of this section is whether the previously shown narrative strategy may be used to introduce schema-incongruent, contradictory information about a specific, national identity-relevant outgroup, the Romanian group.

Numerous studies have confirmed (e.g., Fülöp & Kóvágó, 2018; László & Fülöp, 2011; Szabó et al., 2020; Vincze et al., 2021) that the Hungarian historical narrative templates have a victimhood-orientation. The typical interpretation of these templates has a distinct arch of plot that goes from the initial heroic acts of Hungarians to a loss and defeat. This narrative template can be identified in several accounts of Hungarian national history both in the distant past that are part of the cultural memory (e.g., the battle of Mohács), and in the near past (e.g., the revolution of 1956) which are part of the communicative memory of the nation. One traumatic experience that can be considered a cornerstone of Hungarian national identity is the Treaty of Trianon, in which two thirds of the country's territory was detached and Hungarian nationals were displaced in territories with different national involvements. The event is still an active part of Hungarian living historical memories (László, 2013; Vincze et al., 2021). The topic is a basis of both social and political debates and has a significant effect on present-day event interpretations. The Treaty has long lasting political, socio-economical, and societal effects, not only because of the nature of the collective trauma, but also because of the somewhat unsettled political status of Hungarian minorities living outside of the borders of Hungary (Bálint et al., 2020). The Treaty of Trianon is an “open wound”, one of the main traumas of Hungarian collective remembering (Mészáros, 2017). On one hand, “Trianon” is part of the national grand narratives, however on the other hand, these

narratives are polemic and fragmented (T. Szabó, 2020). These traumas, are the cornerstones of the national narratives (cp. the functioning of historical charters in Hilton & Liu, 2017 & the definition of chosen traumas in Volkan, 2001), and they not only prescribe the normative ways of thinking about the conflict but also the roles that are normatively assigned to the actors involved (Wertsch, 2007). In this sense, the beneficiaries of the Treaty – including the Romanian nation – gained a “villain” status. The Hungarian-Romanian relationship – partly due to the harms committed against the Hungarian minorities and the lack of recognition of their legal claims – has been characterized with deep rooted malignity since the change of system in 1989 (Zahorán, 2020).

It is assumed that the perception of the narrative structural composition of victimhood is not only dependent on the narrative organization itself, but also the socio-cultural and historical context in which these are interpreted. Using the same event descriptions but replacing the parties involved with identity-relevant actors, the effect of the narrative structural properties of victimhood narratives on the perception of the target groups’ victim position is examined. The victim Uzbek group was replaced with the Hungarian group, while the perpetrator Kyrgyz group was replaced with the Romanian group. With this modification, the congruent and incongruent experimental conditions became identity-congruent and identity-incongruent conditions, respectively. It is assumed that the linguistic structural properties of the narratives would have a similar effect on the perception of the target groups, nevertheless with a less robust intensity. While I expect that the experimental manipulation might lead to a forced acceptance of the outgroup perspective, it is reasonable to assume that this effect would be more nuanced than in Study I., since by presenting identity-relevant actors, existing schematic narrative templates of the national ingroup might also guide the perception of the events. In this sense, the Hungarian group was a victim, and the Romanian group was a perpetrator in terms of the factual details of the narratives. Although it would have been interesting to see the effect of reversed roles in these events (Hungarian perpetrators, and Romanian victims) in terms of the factual details as well, this stance would have contradicted the schema-congruency of these roles for the Hungarian subjects to an unreasonable extent. This would have prevented to test the assumptions presented in the followings, so the decision was made not to contradict the widely established roles (Bálint et al., 2020; Zahorán, 2020) in the Hungarian collective remembering. It is an important question of the present study whether tendencies can be observed in the effect of the

narrative structural composition on the identity-congruent and incongruent narrative settings, while keeping details and facts in congruence of the established narrative templates of the Hungarians. Building on the results of Study I., I expect that the implicit narrative strategies will influence the perception of the target groups in a similar way as to Study I., because they do not pose an explicit contradiction to the existing schemas.

Although the Treaty of Trianon was not explicitly mentioned in the stories, the terms indicating geographical locations or dates involved in the territorial conflict were replaced with ones that are related to the historical setting of the Treaty (see in Supplement IX.2). In the identity-congruent condition, the Hungarian victimhood is emphasized, while in the incongruent condition, the Romanian victimhood is highlighted. Thus, the congruent condition builds on the Hungarian narrative templates, in which the Hungarian victimhood is present.

Following the observations made in Study I., new independent variables were introduced as well. Initial attitudes of the participants about the Hungarian-Romanian conflict, and the personal effect of the Trianon Treaty on the lives of the participants were measured. Additionally, the centrality of victimhood beliefs was also measured as a control variable, as suggested by the latest results of experts of the field (Vollhardt et al., 2021).

Because of the identity-relevance of the experimental setting, the perceived aggressiveness, and hostility of the target groups was also measured, as it is expected that these perceived attributes play a significant role in the perception of the victim and perpetrator roles. New information about the ingroup is measured against the narrative templates of the distant historical events, and only those fragments can be meaningfully interpreted which complies to the needs of group identity (Liu & Hilton, 2005), and the ingroup's moral image becomes salient (Hirschberger et al., 2016). It is assumed that not only the dangerous beliefs of the outgroup, but the ingroup's moral image as well (here: aggressivity, and responsibility) lead the perception of the participants. It is proposed that the perceived Hungarian aggressivity and responsibility in the event descriptions will mediate the relationship between the narrative structural composition, and the Romanian victimhood.

It is important to note, that just as in the previous studies, the factual properties of the two version of the narratives were identical, with the Romanian group being the perpetrator in terms of starting the conflict, and their territorial gains. It was an important aspect while constructing the experimental setting, not to contradict the *historical facts*,

but to provide an account of intergroup conflict in a *historical setting*. Based on these theoretical cornerstones, I assume that [H1] the experimental manipulation – the narrative structural properties – will alter the Romanian group’s perpetrator position, while [H2] the participants would attribute more hostile (hatred, anger, disgust) and depressive (sadness, disappointment) emotions to the group placed in the semantic victim role.

Regarding the underlying individual and group-level constructs, I assume that [H3] a direct effect of the manipulation will be present, as in Study I. While I propose that the linguistic structural properties would have an effect on the perpetrator group’s perception, I also assume, that the participants’ focus would also shift towards protecting the ingroup’s moral image. In this sense, the ingroup’s perceived aggressivity, and responsibility become important attributes that may orient the perception of not only the Hungarian ingroup, but also the Romanian outgroup. Thus, it is assumed that [H4] the effect of the narrative structural composition is mediated not only by the extent of the perceived dangerous beliefs of the perpetrator group, but the perceived responsibility and aggressiveness of the Hungarian group as well. Exclusive victimhood beliefs may take part in the perception of the narrative structural composition, as a defensive strategy. For this reason, I hypothesize that [H5] the strength of the victimhood-oriented narrative structural composition’s direct effect depends on the participants’ global exclusive collective victimhood beliefs.

V.2. Method

V.2.1 Sample and data analysis

Demographic

The total sample included 238 Hungarian adults (94 men, 144 women; $M_{\text{age}} = 37.6$; $SD_{\text{age}} = 15.2$; range between 18 and 82). The participants were recruited online by university students through the snowball method and through personal inquiry at university lectures and online social media platforms.

Control variables

Initial attitudes of the participants about the Hungarian-Romanian conflict were measured (“In my opinion our past conflicts with the Romanians can be considered entirely closed.”). Participants indicated their agreement with each item on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 - completely disagree to 7 - completely agree ($M = 3.76$; $SD = 1.74$).

The effect of the Trianon Treaty on the personal lives of the participants was also measured. (“Were you or your immediate family directly affected by the newly established national borders after the Treaty of Trianon (e.g., your family got stuck outside of the Hungarian borders)?”). 51 of the participants indicated that they feel directly affected by the events.

V.2.2 Main analyses

Manipulation check

Using Chi-square tests, the successfulness of the linguistic manipulation was assessed.

Personal involvement

An independent samples T-test was conducted to detect whether there are differences in the main independent variables between people whose families were directly affected by the Trianon treaty and those whose families were not.

Measures of the attributed emotions

Measures of emotions associated to the Hungarian and Romanian groups were aggregated for a descriptive visualization. Since measures of emotions were not normally distributed, Spearman’s rho was used to test whether the intensity of the associated emotions correspond to the perceived level of victim position of the Uzbek and Kyrgyz groups in the experimental settings in which their victimhood is emphasized: the Hungarian victimhood in the congruent setting, and the Romanian victimhood in the incongruent setting. Measures of emotions were also tested using independent samples T-test (Welch’s T), to assess whether the emotions associated to the Hungarian and Romanian groups had changed between the two experimental settings. For these tests both hostile emotions (hatred, anger, disgust), and depressive emotions (sadness, disappointment) were aggregated in a scale-type variable.

Effects of the narrative structural composition on the perceived victimhood of the target group

A 2x2 factorial design ANOVA was conducted to compare the main effects of the target group, and the narrative structural composition (identity-congruent, incongruent) on the perceived victimhood. The two-level direct measurement of the target groups’

victim position was used as a within-subject variable, while the two experimental settings created by the narrative structural composition provided between-subject factors.

Individual and group level constructs affecting the perception of the victim position

The hypothesized conditional process model (see Fig. 8.) was tested with PROCESS macro model 5, v4.0 (Hayes, 2018) in SPSS version 22. I examined the significant effect of the narrative structural composition on the judgment of the target group's victimization using a bootstrapping approach with bias-corrected 95% confidence intervals ($n = 20,000$). Due to the differences in variable scaling, all scale-type variables were entered in a mean-centered way. Since the primary question of the study was how the perceived victim position of a perpetrator might change as a result of the narrative structural composition, I only examined the victim position of the Romanian group as an outcome. The story versions were coded as 0 = congruent and 1 = incongruent, treating the congruent condition as a reference level in the model. The narrative structural composition was the predictor, with perceived dangerous beliefs of Romanian group as mediator. Dangerous beliefs were measured as a composite score of vulnerability, distrust, and helplessness. The outcome variable was the perceived victimhood attributed to the Romanian group, and the exclusive victimhood of the participants constituted the proposed moderator. Trait empathy and the dangerous beliefs attributed to the Hungarian group were entered into the model as a covariate. However, in line with the modifications of the initial experimental design, new variables were added to the model. The perceived responsibility and aggressivity of the Hungarian (in-)group were included as mediating variables as well, as it was presumed that the perception of an identity-relevant outgroup cannot be detached from the perception of the ingroup. While this reasoning would also be true in the case of the Uzbek-Kirgiz narrative framework of interpretation, in Study II. the Hungarian-Romanian groups are not only connected by the narrative structure but also by identity aspects. In this regard, the joint perception of the depicted groups is also an identity question.

Direct and indirect effects were deemed to be significant if the *CI*s excluded zero (Hayes, 2018). The applied adjustments – regarding the coding, and transformation of the variables – were identical to the ones applied in Study I.

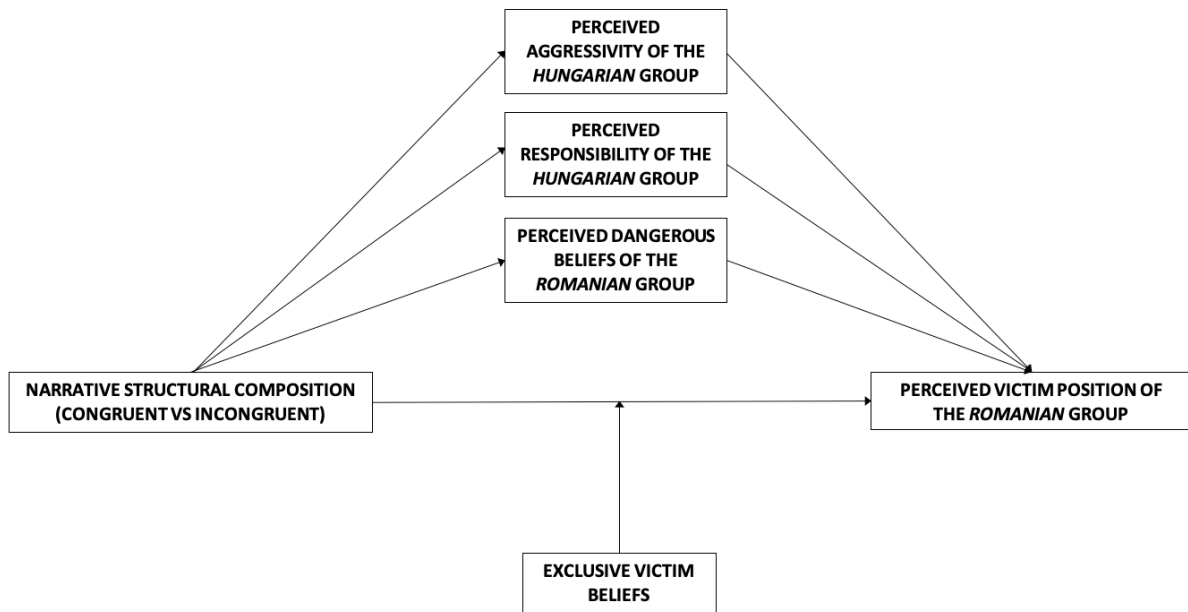


Fig. 8. Conceptual diagram: Mediating and moderating variables of the experimental manipulation’s effect on the perception of the perpetrator group (Romanian) – Study II; Hungarian sample

Note: Covariates – which are not displayed here for a better readability – included trait empathy, and the dangerous beliefs of the Hungarian group (see Table 3.).

V.3. Results

V.3.1 Descriptive and reliability qualities of the main variables

Direct measures of victimhood

Participants indicated the extent to which they perceived the two groups to see themselves as victims of the event (Hungarian: $M = 5.97$; $SD = 1.30$; Romanian: $M = 4.62$; $SD = 2.05$).

Indirect measures of victimhood

The 9-item IGBI scale produced a scale with high reliability for both the Hungarian-specific ($M = 5.41$; $SD = 1.03$; $\alpha = .87$) and the Romanian-specific versions ($M = 4.04$; $SD = 1.32$; $\alpha = .89$).

Additional questions about the Hungarian and Romanian groups' role in the experimental texts¹

These questions were related to the perceived responsibility and aggressivity of the Hungarian and Romanian groups, indicated on a 7-point Likert-scale (1 – not at all, 7 – completely):

- In your opinion, how fairly can the Hungarian nation be blamed in the events described in the story? ($M = 3.81$; $SD = 1.74$)
- In your opinion, how fairly can the Romanian nation be blamed in the events described in the story? ($M = 4.38$; $SD = 1.55$)
- In your opinion, how aggressively did the Hungarian nation behave in the events described in the story? ($M = 4.48$; $SD = 1.83$)
- In your opinion, how aggressively did the Romanian nation behave in the events described in the story? ($M = 4.87$; $SD = 1.62$)

Collective victimhood beliefs

Exclusive victimhood measures produced reliable scales ($M = 2.74$; $SD = 1.42$; $\alpha = .77$). A subscale on the perceived centrality of victimhood beliefs was also used ($M = 3.97$; $SD = 1.39$; $\alpha = .56$), although the Cronbach-alfa level was somewhat lower than necessary.

Empathy

The total of 14 items of the empathic concern and perspective taking subscales formed a reliable scale ($M = 3.78$; $SD = 0.56$; $\alpha = .80$).

¹ Translated for the purposes of understandability in this dissertation.

Relationship of the main independent and dependent variables

		Victim	Victim	IGBI	IGBI	Responsibility	Responsibility	Agressivity	Agressivity
		Romanian	Hungarian	Romanian	Hungarian	Romanian	Hungarian	Romanian	Hungarian
Victim	Identity-congruent	—							
Romanian	Incongruent								
Victim	Identity-congruent	0.060	—						
Hungarian	Incongruent	0.118							
IGBI	Identity-congruent	0.401***	-0.028	—					
Romanian	Incongruent	0.438**	-0.195*						
IGBI	Identity-congruent	0.085	0.225*	0.178*	—				
Hungarian	Incongruent	0.196*	0.387***	0.210*					
Responsibility	Identity-congruent	-0.062	-0.032	-0.010	0.327***	—			
Romanian	Incongruent	-0.171	0.135	-0.151	0.164				
Responsibility	Identity-congruent	0.330*	-0.240**	0.351***	0.018	0.252**	—		
Hungarian	Incongruent	0.313*	0.031	0.344***	-0.024	0.102			
Agressivity	Identity-congruent	0.094	0.400***	-0.011	0.302***	0.464***	-0.170	—	
Romanian	Incongruent	-0.239*	0.102	-0.074	0.199*	0.500***	-0.225*		
Agressivity	Identity-congruent	0.380***	0.106	0.396***	0.144	-0.074	0.408***	0.075	—
Hungarian	Incongruent	0.396*	0.070	0.411***	0.133	-0.025	0.653***	-0.218*	

Table 3. Correlation coefficients of the main dependent and independent variables ($N = 118$)

Note: The coefficients represent relationships in either the identity-congruent, or the incongruent experimental settings, respectively. Correlation coefficients for the independent variables are presented for the whole section of the sample.

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Concerning the relationships of the indirect and direct measurements of victimhood (see Table 3.), and the related perceived aggressivity and responsibility of the Hungarian and Romanian groups, two important results need to be discussed. Both in the Hungarian and Romanian cases, and in both the identity-congruent and incongruent settings, the direct (IGBI) and indirect measures of victimhood are positively correlated as assumed. Additionally, in both the congruent and incongruent settings the perceived responsibility of the Hungarian group, and the perceived aggressivity of the Hungarian group are positively correlated to the perceived victim position of the Romanian group. The result suggests that the perceived moral behavior of the Hungarian group is in a relationship with how they perceive the Romanian ingroup. Although, this result will be addressed in the PROCESS model, the positive relationship points in the direction of the initial assumptions about the importance of the Hungarian ingroup's moral image in perceiving the Romanian victim position.

V.3.2 Manipulation check

Chi-square test was used to determine the successfulness of the experimental manipulation. The frequency distribution was ideal in terms of the hypothesis ($\chi^2 = 128$; $p = .001$; $\Phi = .73$). In the case of the congruent version of the narrative, participants categorized it more as story from a Hungarian textbook ($N_{\text{HUN}} = 113$, $N_{\text{RO}} = 10$). While in the case of the incongruent narrative, participants mainly categorized it as a story from a Romanian textbook ($N_{\text{HUN}} = 22$, $N_{\text{RO}} = 93$). This result suggests that based on the narrative composition, the participants were able to differentiate which national group's points of view were present in the narratives. The semantic roles which appear in one or the other narrative oriented the evaluation of the two groups according to the initial assumptions, which is assumed to be a result of the experimental manipulation of the narrative structural properties.

V.3.3 Personal involvement

Significant differences could not be established between the personally affected and non-affected participants in terms of how they perceived the victim position of the Hungarian [$t(236) = -0.082$; $p = .691$; $d = -.062$] and Romanian [$t(236) = -0.386$; $p = .233$; $d = -.188$] groups. Because of this result, the following statistical analyses contain the whole set of participants ($N = 238$).

V.3.4 Effects of the narrative structural composition on the perceived victimhood of the target group

Results of the ANOVA show that the main effect of the target groups (Romanian vs. Hungarian) on the perception of their victimhood position is significant [$F(1;236) = 87.10$; $p = .001$; $\eta^2p = .269$]. In general, the Hungarian group's perceived level of victimhood ($M = 5.95$) is significantly higher, than the Romanian group's ($M = 4.65$). This suggests that the perception of these groups is – at least partly – dependent on previously held attitudes about the target groups, that is supported by the difference in their perception.

A significant two-way interaction could be observed [$F(1;236) = 74.80$; $p = .001$; $\eta^2p = .241$] (Fig. 9) between the target group and the narrative structural composition of the story, meaning that the perception of the groups' victim position has varied depending on the narrative compositional structure of the story [H1].

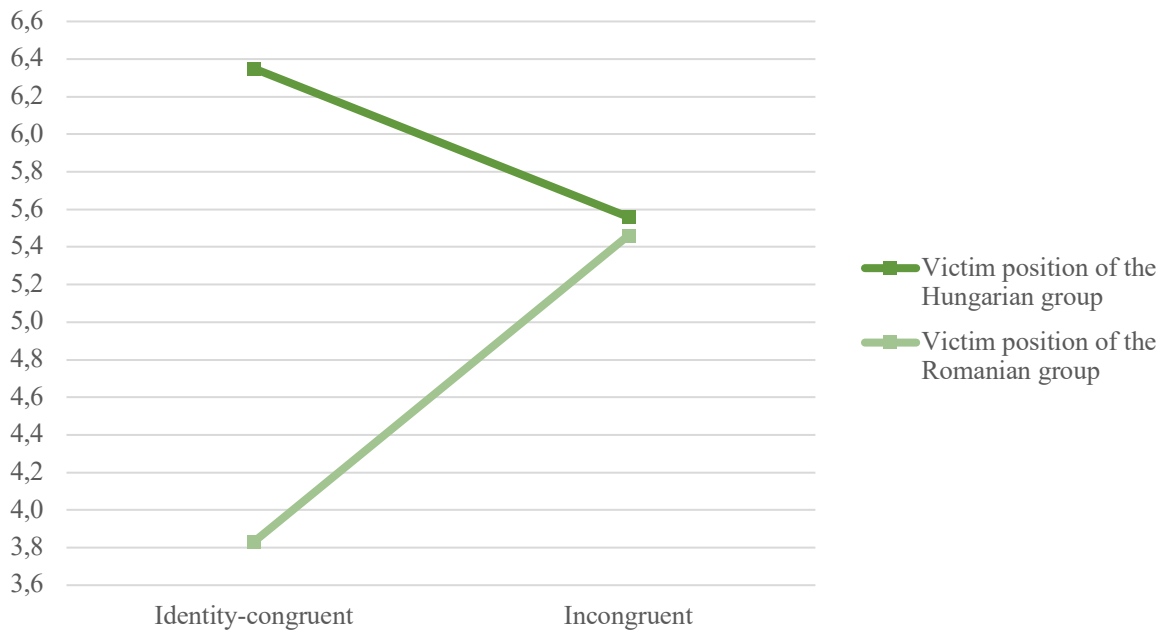


Fig. 9. Marginal means of the perceived victim position (direct victimhood measurement) of the target groups depending on the narrative manipulation

Looking at the post-hoc tests, it is clear that not only is an interaction present, but the perceived victim position of the Hungarian group [$t(236) = 4.92$; $p = .001$] did change between the two experimental conditions, and so did the Romanian group's [$t(236) = -6.67$; $p = .001$]. In summary these results support the initial hypothesis about the effect of the implicit narrative strategies being able to present the outgroup perspective, without contradicting historical facts.

V.3.5 Measures of the associated emotions

Correlational analysis revealed that the intensity of the associated emotions corresponds to the level of the perceived victim position of the two national groups described in the stories. Both hostile [$r(121) = .373$; $p = .001$] and depressive [$r(121) = .284$; $p = .001$] feelings of the Hungarian group are significantly correlated to their perceived level of victim position (direct measurement) in the congruent setting. In the case of the Romanian group both hostile [$r(113) = .481$; $p = .001$] and depressive [$r(113) = .432$; $p = .001$] feelings are significantly correlated to their perceived level of victim position in the incongruent setting, where they were depicted in the semantic role of the victim of the events.

The associations revealed in Study I. are present in this experimental setting as well, suggesting that the emotional orientation of the texts is similar regardless of the changes in the context of the narratives.

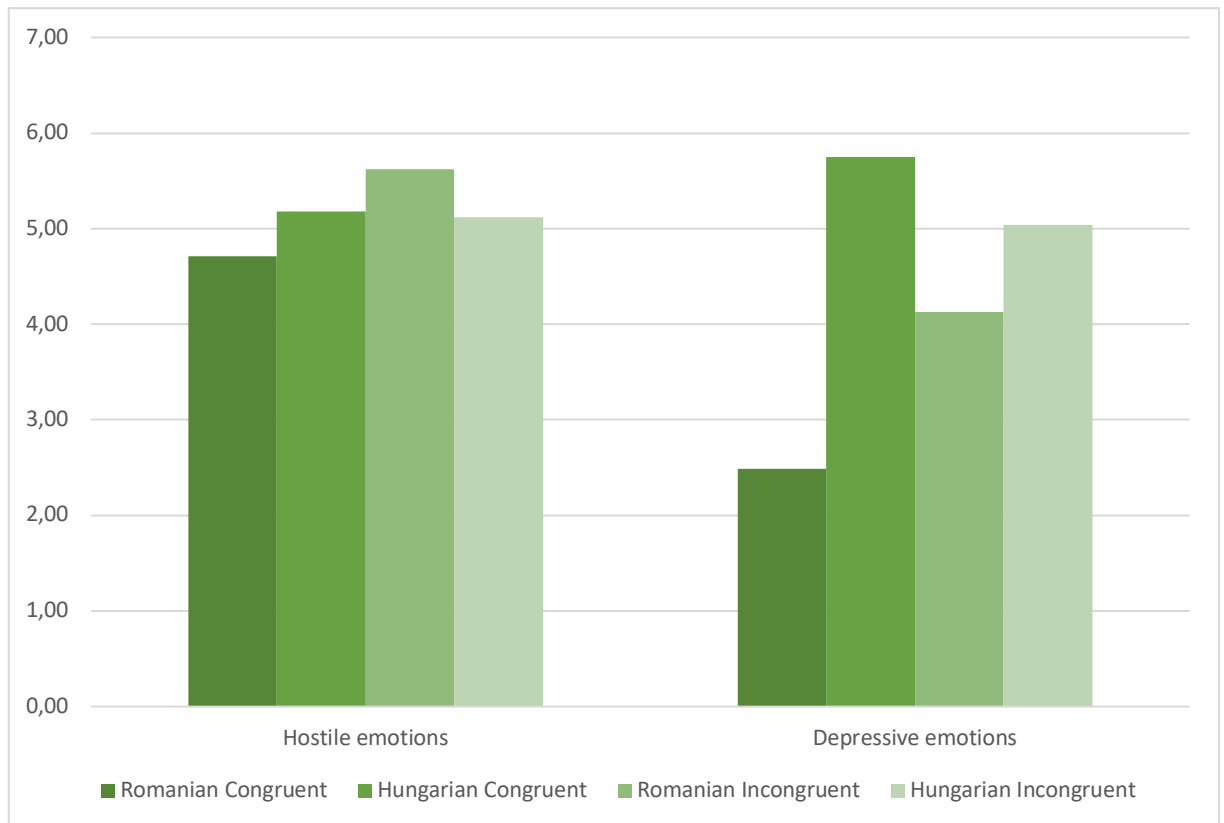


Fig. 10. Hostile (hatred, anger, disgust) and depressive (sadness, disappointment) emotions attributed to the target groups.

Results of the independent samples T-test revealed that a significant difference can be observed in the intensity of depressive emotions of both the Hungarian [$t(207) = 3.60$; $p = .001$; $d = .47$] and the Romanian national group [$t(232) = -7.03$; $p = .001$; $d = -.91$] between the two experimental conditions (congruent and incongruent). The intensity of hostile emotions changed only in the case of the Romanian group [$t(236) = -4.40$; $p = .001$; $d = -.57$]. In general, the intensity of the depressive emotions attributed to the Hungarian group was higher in the identity-congruent setting ($M = 5.75$) than in the incongruent setting ($M = 5.04$), while the intensity of the depressive emotions attributed to the Romanian group was higher in the incongruent setting ($M = 4.13$) than in the identity-congruent setting ($M = 2.49$). The results suggest that the experimental manipulation did only have an effect on the hostile emotions associated to the Romanian group, but not the Hungarian group: the hostile emotions attributed to the Romanian group was higher in the incongruent setting ($M = 5.62$) than in the identity-congruent setting ($M = 4.71$), which points to the conclusion that the emotions associated to the target groups (except the Hungarian hostility) changed according to their semantic roles, partly supporting the hypothesis [H2].

V.3.6 Individual and group level constructs affecting the perception of the Romanian group

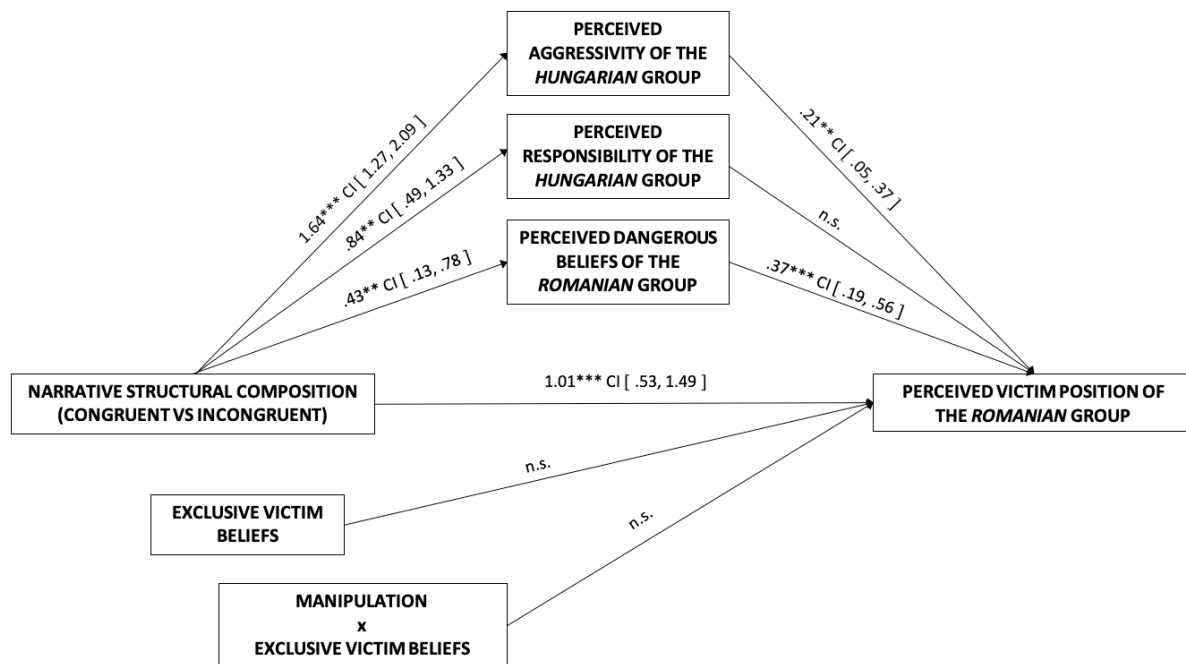


Fig. 11. Statistical diagram: Mediating and moderating variables of the linguistic manipulation's effect on the perception of the perpetrator group (Romanian) – Study II

Note: Path values represent unstandardized mean-centered regression coefficients. Covariates are not displayed here for a better readability. (see Table 7.).

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

The results (see: Fig. 11.) show a positive direct effect of the narrative composition on the perception of the Romanian group's victim position ($b = 1.01$, $SE = .24$, 95% $CI [.53, 1.49]$), supporting the hypothesis [H3]. The participants thought the Romanian group saw themselves as more of a victim of the events in the incongruent, than in the congruent setting.

A significant positive indirect effect of the narrative composition on the Romanian group's perceived victimization through the mediation of dangerous beliefs ($b = .16$, $SE = .07$, 95% $CI [.03, .33]$) was also present. This result indicates that the victimhood-oriented narrative composition promotes the presence of dangerous beliefs associated with victimization (i.e., vulnerability, helplessness, distrust) that result in a more established victim position for the perpetrator group. An indirect effect was also present in the case of the perceived aggressivity ($b = .35$, $SE = .14$, 95% $CI [.08, .66]$), but not in the case of the perceived responsibility of the Hungarian group ($b = .09$, $SE = .07$, 95% $CI [-.02, .25]$). This result partly verifies the hypothesis [H4].

Contradicting the initial assumptions, the direct effect was not dependent on the exclusive victim consciousness of the participants [H5].

As a covariate (see Table 7.), empathy had a significant negative effect on the perceived victim position of the Romanian group ($b = -.53$, $SE = .19$, $95\% CI [-.91, -.14]$), which is a somewhat contradictory result. Centrality of victim beliefs as a covariate also had a negative effect on all three of the mediating variables (Hungarian responsibility $b = -.37$, $SE = .07$, $95\% CI [-.52, -.22]$), Hungarian aggressivity $b = -.200$, $SE = .07$, $95\% CI [-.35, -.05]$, dangerous beliefs of the Romanian group $b = -.12$, $SE = .06$, $95\% CI [-.24, -.01]$), showing that an importance of victimhood consciousness in the participants identity decreased the susceptibility of the mediating factors transmitting the effect of the narrative structural properties. This result can be interpreted as a defensive perception of the experimental manipulation.

		Study II.				
		<i>b</i>	SE	<i>t</i>	CI (95%)	
Outcome variables					LL	UL
<i>Hungarian responsibility</i>	<i>constant</i>	4.17***	0.90	4.61	2.39	5.96
	Narrative structural composition	0.91***	0.21	4.31	0.49	1.33
	Trait empathy	0.10	0.18	0.57	-0.26	0.48
	Dangerous beliefs of the Hungarian group	0.04	0.10	0.46	-0.15	0.25
	Centrality of victim beliefs	-0.37*	0.07	-4.84	-0.52	-0.22
	Model summary		R2=.145, F (4, 233)=9.892, p = .000			
<i>Hungarian aggressivity</i>	<i>constant</i>	3.33**	0.89	3.72	1.57	5.10
	Narrative structural composition	1.68***	0.21	8.02	1.27	2.09
	Trait empathy	-0.06	0.18	-0.33	-0.43	0.30
	Dangerous beliefs of the Hungarian group	0.25*	0.10	2.47	0.05	0.45
	Centrality of victim beliefs	-0.20**	0.07	-2.66	-0.35	-0.05
	Model summary		R2=.238, F (4, 232)=9.892, p = .000			
<i>Dangerous beliefs of the Romanian group</i>	<i>constant</i>	3.88***	0.70	5.51	2.50	5.27
	Narrative structural composition	0.45**	0.16	2.76	0.13	0.78
	Trait empathy	-0.28	0.14	-1.96	-0.57	0.00
	Dangerous beliefs of the Hungarian group	0.28**	0.08	3.51	0.12	0.44
	Centrality of victim beliefs	-0.12*	0.06	-2.14	-0.24	-0.01
	Model summary		R2=.100, F (4, 232)=6.518, p = .000			
<i>Victim position of the Romanian group</i>	<i>constant</i>	2.22*	0.98	2.25	0.28	4.16
	Experimental manipulation	1.01***	0.24	4.09	0.51	1.48
	Hungarian responsibility	0.12	0.07	1.60	-0.02	0.28
	Hungarian aggressivity	0.21**	0.08	2.64	0.05	0.37
	Dangerous beliefs of the Romanian group	0.37***	0.09	4.09	0.19	0.56
	Exclusive victimhood beliefs	0.04	0.11	0.34	-0.19	0.27
	Interaction (Manip. x Exclusive v.b.)	-0.23	0.15	-1.49	-0.53	0.07
	Trait empathy	-0.53**	0.19	-2.73	-0.91	-0.14
	Dangerous beliefs of the Hungarian group	0.11	0.10	1.07	-0.09	0.32
	Centrality of victim beliefs	0.08	0.08	0.95	-0.08	0.25
	Model summary		R2=.391, F (9, 228)=16.321, p = .000			

Table 7. Predictors of the perceived victim position of the perpetrator group – Study II

Note: *b* values represent unstandardized mean-centered regression coefficients. CI = Confidence interval.

Number of bootstrap samples for percentile bootstrap confidence intervals: 20 000

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

V.4. Discussion

In the previously described study, showing the victimization of the perpetrator group through the narrative structural properties of the narratives was enough to lead to perceiving them as helpless, vulnerable, and distrustful, and in turn more as a victim of the events. More importantly, the subtle narrative manipulation of the target groups' roles led to disregard some of the objective/factual details of the narratives. These results provided unique evidence that the narrative constructional properties of a story about an intergroup conflict play a role in transmitting the victim or perpetrator positions of the actors, while also transmitting the appropriate emotional reactions of them. On one hand, these results provide evidence that narrative structural properties, such as intergroup distribution of activity and passivity, negative and positive emotions, negative intentions, or evaluations does play a role in the narrative construction of the victimhood-oriented historical event-interpretations. This type of narration is believed to be a cultural tool with which event-interpretations can be adjusted to the narrative templates of groups with accounts of past victimization in their histories (László & Fülöp, 2011b). In fact, these narrative templates provide the basis for forming a "usable" past, that is identity-congruent, and positive. As a result, Hungarian participants were susceptible of the subtle experimental manipulation, which bears resemblance to their already existing templates.

However, narrative templates not only provide a kind of "plot", or schema. They also provide the knowledge of who the enemies and allies of the group are (Hilton & Liu, 2017; Liu & Hilton, 2005). In the case of Study II. the Romanian group can be considered a group whose role in the past is a "wrongdoer" in the Hungarian historical knowledge (Turda & Laczó, 2020). This provides an opportunity to examine the narrative templates of the Hungarian participants in a meaningful social context. Acknowledging the Romanian perspective in an event description that is important in terms of Hungarian history would be supposedly challenging the Hungarian narrative templates, inducing a defensive interpretation of the event (Klar & Baram, 2016). However, the results support the assumptions that these implicit narrative strategies can even supersede the defensive interpretations of events, leading to an acceptance of the outgroup perspective.

The effect of the narrative structural properties

The results verify that the perceived victim position of the two groups did change between the experimental conditions. Looking at the results of the ANOVA, it seems that the participants had a pre-existing attitude of the relationship of the two groups,

perceiving the Hungarian victimhood higher regardless of the experimental settings. However, in the incongruent setting, the Hungarian victimhood was less prominent, and the Romanian victimhood was perceived higher as in the congruent setting. While in Study I., these roles were completely reversed, here the representational level of the two groups' perceived victimhood was evened. It would not be reasonable to expect these roles to be completely interchangeable, as pre-existing schemas contradict these interpretations (Turda & Laczó, 2020; Hirschberger et al., 2016). However, the results suggest that the perception of a perpetrator outgroup can become more nuanced if presented in an implicit way. This supports the assumption that semantic roles can transmit a meaning that is distinct from the content of the event-descriptions: it is defined by to which actor or recipient an emotion, process of cognition, or evaluation is associated (Ehmann et al., 2013). In this case, linguistic structural properties of the excerpts lead to a perception contradicting preliminary historical knowledge.

Measures of the attributed emotions

Just as in Study I., the results of the emotions attributed to the Hungarian and Romanian groups provides a context for the interpretation of the findings of this study. Supporting the hypothesis, the depressive emotions attributed to the two groups did change between the two experimental conditions. While the manipulation did influence the hostile emotions attributed to the Romanian group, the intensity of hostile emotions attributed to the Hungarian group did not change, suggesting that while cognitively the interpretations changed, on an emotional level, the participants still empathized more with the Hungarian group. It can be considered as a defensive psychological mechanism (Demirdağ & Hasta, 2019), revoking empathy, while also accepting the outside perspective. Interpretatively the Hungarian participants insisted on the feelings that could function as a basis for empathy (Hogan, 2001; Keen, 2006). This result is similar to the one obtained in Study I., where the hostile emotions attributed to the Uzbek group were preserved between the experimental conditions. Nevertheless, the results support the hypothesis, as this interpretation of roles and emotional attributes is mostly congruent with semantic roles described in the stories.

However, in order to be sure of these complex relationships, more adequate models of statistical analysis are needed. The next chapter provides a synthesis of the previously described results, to gain a more meaningful understanding of the process-like qualities of the perception of the victimhood narrative.

Individual and group level constructs affecting the perception of the victim position

Study II. provides answers regarding the extent to which the narrative structural composition asserts its effect. While the perpetrator and victim roles were not reversed in the context of the Hungarian-Romanian conflict, PROCESS analysis reveals that some level of variance is indeed accounted to the effect of the experimental manipulation, and the victim role attributed to the Hungarian and Romanian groups did get closer to each other.

A significant direct effect of the experimental manipulation was present, suggesting that presenting an actor with lower agency, positive social evaluations and highlighting their psychological perspective (Fülöp et al., 2013; Vincze et al., 2013) can lead to a more balanced understanding to moral roles in historical conflicts. Contrary to the assumptions, this effect was not moderated by the exclusive victimhood beliefs the participants hold. While in Study I., exclusive victimhood played a significant moderating role, in Study II. this effect is not present. This may be accounted for several reasons. The inconsequent results draw attention the context dependency of the role exclusive victimhood consciousness plays in the perception of outgroups. Szabó (2020) also argues that without an ongoing conflict, exclusiveness may not be an adequate attitude towards other groups hardships, especially as Hungarian collective victimhood beliefs are more historical in nature. Another explanation might be, that in this experimental setting, the effect of centrality of victimhood consciousness was controlled, which had a negative effect on all mediating variables. Recent studies argue, that in many contexts, centrality of victimhood is a more important factor, where the focus is on the role victimhood consciousness plays in the national self-concept, instead of the uniqueness of past hardships (Szabó, 2020; Vollhardt et al., 2021).

A significant indirect effect is present, both through the perceived dangerous beliefs of the Romanian group, and the perceived aggressiveness of the Hungarian group. Although the Romanian group's role has its roots in Hungarian collective memory, the presented narratives seem to have been able to counteract this role to some extent. Moreover, the results point to the conclusion, that in an identity-threatening situation, the perception of victim and perpetrator roles are not only perceived through the attributed belief system of the groups involved, but through the perception of the ingroup as well, or specifically the ingroup's aggressivity in this case. PROCESS analysis supports these implications, through providing an insight into the mediating nature of the Hungarian aggressivity in the historical accounts. According to the results, the Romanian group's

role is partly defined by the Hungarian group's perception. It was previously established that the depressive emotions attributed to the Hungarian group did not change as a result of the narrative structural property, which compliments these results: associating empathy-inducing emotions to the ingroup is considered an adaptive strategy to avert blame, which the manipulated narrative structural properties would imply (Wohl et al., 2006).

Narrative templates not only encode schemas, but historical roles as well (Wertsch, 2008). Paradoxically it seems that the exact same linguistic strategies (László, 2013) that provide a basis for reinforcing the ingroup's victimhood, can lead to accepting the victim position of a historically relevant outgroup's perspective. Although centrality of the participants own victimhood beliefs might mitigate this effect, nevertheless the narrative composition led to a more nuanced acceptance of the Romanian perspective. These results support the notion of the importance to take into consideration the differences in the construction of victimhood beliefs, and the centrality of these beliefs when examining the effects of victimhood consciousness in terms of the perception of intergroup relations (Szabó, 2020; Vollhardt et al., 2021; Vollhardt & Bilali, 2015).

Although the roles were not completely changed as in Study I., the presence of the Romanian perspective in the incongruent experimental setting both increased the perceived dangerous beliefs of the Romanian group, and increased the perceived aggressivity of the Hungarian group, which in turn led to a stronger perception of the Romanian group's victimized position. These results support the assumption, that *how* a story is told in terms of the narrative structural composition does have the potential to overturn the one-sided interpretations of widely shared historical representations.

VI. GENERAL DISCUSSION

VI.1. Limitations

It is important to address the methodological limitations that this kind of narrative manipulation can hold. As the present study was one of the first attempts to inspect the effect of a manipulated narrative structure in Hungarian, the thorough validation of the experimental intervention is yet to be achieved. It is important to highlight that the results could be derived from many interdependent factors (e.g., slight changes of explicit interpretations in the narratives) which was not controlled at a satisfactory level in the present studies. Despite the obtained effect of the narrative composition, the study design

did not allow to independently test the effect of each individual narrative category. The question of how these narrative structural features contribute to the perception of the target group' victim role remains unanswered.

Another limitation relates to the imbalanced sample sizes that may limit the validity of the results. The present study aimed to examine the effect of the narrative structural composition in two different national samples with similar historical backgrounds – in terms of historical challenges –, albeit with a different approach to it. Consistent with the expectations, the results showed that Finnish participants' sense of victimhood did not influence the perception of the victim position of the target group. I explained this result with a low level of the participants' collective victimhood and traced it back to the non-victimizing Finnish national historical canon (see Hakoköngäs & Sakki, 2016). However, the low sample size and the low victimhood scale reliability for the Finnish sample might question these arguments.

It would have been also important to previously measure the preliminary knowledge and attitude of the participants about the Uzbek and Kyrgyz groups, as even a few participants' biased beliefs could have changed the results due to the small sample size. Although using a bootstrapping approach with bias-corrected 95% confidence intervals may address some of these limitations, the sample size was not ideal in the Finnish sample. Nevertheless, the impact of the participant's historical consciousness (victimhood consciousness) on the perception of the target group's victim position in the story is supported by the results obtained with the Hungarian sample. As a possible future direction, it would be interesting to repeat the study with other national groups known to have a high or low collective victimhood consciousness.

Hungarian victimhood is typically historical in nature, rooted in already settled historical conflicts, and is more likely to be marked by the feelings of betrayal, the sense of pride associated with victimization, the perceived threat to the territorial integrity, or the invisibility and un-acknowledgement of past suffering (Szabó, 2020). An interesting aspect of the results is that Hungarian participants generally associated a less intense victim position to the Uzbek and Kyrgyz groups in Study I. than the Finnish participants, and Hungarian participants with higher levels of exclusive victimhood consciousness were more dismissive of the interpretations provided by the narrative structural properties in Study I. However, it is an open question whether the Hungarian participants are truly characterized with an exclusive attitude, since both the mean and median values of the exclusive victimhood scale can be considered low. However, Study II. supplements these

concerns, by putting the experimental approach in a historically relevant setting and showing that exclusive victimhood consciousness does not necessarily have an effect on the perception of outgroups' victimization, while centrality of victimhood plays a role in the tested models. The question is worth studying, along with the general studying of the narrative framing of victimhood.

Empathic capacity in Study II. was negatively influencing the acceptance of the perspective of the Romanian group, which question remained unanswered in the dissertation. Further research is needed to understand the complex relationship between narrative structural forms and the readers' individual trait in the context of social identity and intergroup conflicts.

Hungarian history education is known to use these implicit narrative strategies (Ehmann et al., 2013; Ferenczhalmy et al., 2011; Fülöp et al., 2013; László, 2013; László et al., 2010; Vincze & Rein, 2011). However, it is also important to keep in mind when interpreting these results, that national historical curricula, and differences in history teaching can be considered more of a context of interpretation and not an immediate antecedent of the observed phenomena.

For the applicability of these results, it is important to note, that the fact that one or the other group's victim position becomes highlighted and perceived as stronger, does not necessarily mean that the other group is perceived as a perpetrator, and nor do I wish to suggest that. However, the presented implicit narrative strategy seems to be a usable cultural tool regarding the validation of the ingroup's favored version of events and the harms committed against them, which is theoretically linked to a victim position.

VI.2. Summary of the results

Collective memory serves the identitary and epistemic needs of national groups (Licata & Mercy, 2015), by adjusting their historical representations in a way where the questions of "where we come from" (Liu & Hilton, 2005) and "who we are" are both satisfied. Collective memories require social institutions by which they are shared in a wider sense of social discourse, creating the functional representations of history (Wertsch, 2008b). As Wertsch (2008) puts it, collective memory itself is a thematically organized and schematized representation of events. Wertsch states, that these so-called narrative templates are specific to each cultural tradition and provide a frame of reference for interpreting the past and present challenges faced by group members. In a Hungarian context, László (2013) found that the Hungarian historical trajectory is characterized by

a positive distant past (e.g., the founding of the state), and a negative recent past (e.g., the revolution of 1956, or the treaty of Trianon) in which initial victories are followed by defeats and losses, which is accompanied by the narrative template of “we won but lost”. This schema as a frame of reference provides a basis for the recollection of historical events and can be identified in the Hungarian tradition of history teaching. In this context, recognition of past traumas became a cornerstone for the Hungarian collective remembering, leading to a collective victimhood consciousness (László & Fülöp, 2011; Szabó, 2020; Szabó et al., 2020).

When interpreting past intergroup conflicts, certain moral roles – perpetrators vs. victims – retroactively define the intergroup relations, making the social reality more predictable (Gray & Wegner, 2009). “Uncomfortable” historical events force group members to integrate them in their collective memory in a way that is adequate, acceptable, and identity congruent in terms of the existing narrative templates. These representations appear in a kind of grey zone: the roles of victims and perpetrators blend together in a single group perspective (Hirschberger et al., 2016; Wertsch, 2012a). This can lead to diminishing the group’s responsibility in the events, maintaining the more rewarding victim position, which is usually associated with justification of aggressive responses, exoneration of moral responsibility, and a gain of moral and financial support from the international community (Noor et al., 2012). As a result, even perpetrator groups sometimes give voice to their losses and suffering (Hein & Selden, 2000), while trying to lessen, silence, or even deny their past atrocities (De Baets, 2002).

On one hand institutionalized forms of remembering, such as history teaching (László et al., 2013) play a significant role in the social constructional processes in which the victim and perpetrator roles are assigned (Bilewicz & Liu, 2020; Nadler & Saguy, 2004). On the other hand group members also play an active role in maintaining the national canon (A. Assmann, 2008), and defending the usable representations of history (Klar & Baram, 2016; Wertsch, 2002). Creating these representations of events naturally involves the allocation of victim and perpetrator roles as an effort to provide grounds for identification (Pólya, 2017). László’s (2013) work is unique in a sense that it integrates these two aspects. Following his theoretical foundations, this dissertation’s goal is to provide an auxiliary on how the narrative structural composition of historical narratives of intergroup conflicts lead to a self-serving – or even defensive – event perception, while also showing how these observations could be used to create more context-dependent, balanced interpretations of victim roles.

The principles that characterize history education have severe consequences in terms of how a nation thinks about its past and present (Volkan, 2001). They have a central role in the socialization process, in which group members gain knowledge that conveys the basic elements of what it means to belong to the nation (László, 2013). However, Gyáni (2002) argues that by stating that the role of history education is the transmission of civic knowledge, history education drifts away from the ideas of objectivity and rationality. Collective remembering is partly based on these institutionalized forms of history writing.

The results portrayed in Study I. complement these theoretical assumptions in two ways. First, they highlight how the narrative structural composition of stories of intergroup conflicts alter the perception of the actors' victim position. Secondly, they highlight the socio-cultural context of interpretation of these roles by placing the results in an intercultural context.

The presented results verify that:

- I. The structural narrative properties (László & Ehmann, 2013) of a conflict narrative transmit an effect on the perception of the actors' victim position, even when contradictory facts are provided; meaning that portraying a perpetrator group with lower agency with positive ingroup evaluation in conjunction with negative, empathy-triggering ingroup emotions, and inner thoughts with positive propositional content compared to the outgroup leads to a perception as if they were the victims of the encounter. It raises caution that these effects go together with a revoking of empathy triggering emotions attributed the victim group, without modifying objective facts, or actually perceiving the group as more hostile. These results complement the existing literature (see László, 2013), and highlight that self-serving biases and enforcing the group's perspective in historical event representation (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 2012; Klar & Bilewicz, 2017) do not only come from the content of narratives, but the narrative forms as well (László & Ehmann, 2013).
- II. This effect is in part the result of a general function of the narrative structural properties, which seems to be unrelated of the national context to some degree. The psychological meaning (László & Ehmann, 2013) that

this narrative structural composition conveys relates to trauma, and an experience of victimization in a more universal human way. It is presumable that their meaning is universal to some extent, and what varies in a socio-cultural setting is not their meaning, but their general presence in the historical narrative templates (Wertsch, 2009) of that society. The narrative forms described by László (2013) all relate to the underlying psychological aspects of trauma (e.g. helplessness, vulnerability, distrustfulness, see Eidelson, & Eidelson, 2003). Historical traumas are by nature social traumas (Alexander, 2012). While national histories prescribe how a traumatic experience can be integrated in the collective memory of a society (Halbwachs, 1980; Hobsbawm & Ranger, 2012), universal consequences of trauma are nonetheless present: the predictable social reality ceases to hold its function and the world becomes an unpredictable place until the meaning of the event can be integrated into the narratives of the group (Erős, 2007; László, 2013), in which the narrative tools described in this dissertation play a central role.

- III. An outgroup's victim position is perceived through their "dangerous" worldviews. These beliefs contain the idea that the ingroup is vulnerable, distrustful, and helpless (Bar-Tal et al., 2009; Eidelson & Eidelson, 2003; Schori-Eyal et al., 2014). This belief system governs a society to a world, that is perceived uncertain, and dangerous, which gives base to the biased and polarized perception of intergroup conflicts (Bar-Tal et al., 2009; Mészáros et al., 2017). According to the results, these beliefs act as a mediator, through which the narrative structural composition exerts its effect on the perception of the perpetrator group's victimized position. These results again relate to the universal experience of trauma, where the continuity of the group's identity is disrupted and new coping mechanisms need to be constructed (Alexander, 2012). Dangerous beliefs of a group convey the psychological meaning of trauma, and victimization (Eidelson, 2009), that seems to be – at least – partly presented by the narrative forms described here.
- IV. In the first study, the strength of these effects is dependent on the global exclusive victim consciousness that is conveyed by the national historical templates of the participants. Comparative victim beliefs may target former

or current intergroup conflicts, but they can also convey a general feeling of distinctiveness and uniqueness of the sufferings that might result in devaluation of hardships of unrelated groups. The results suggest that competition for the victim status can also occur between groups that are not responsible for the group's past or present suffering (see Bilewicz & Stefaniak, 2013; De Guissmé & Licata, 2017).

In the recent years, efforts have been made on a European scale to reform history teaching on a scientific basis. For example, the European Cooperation in Science and Technology provides a manual (Psaltis, McCully, et al., 2017) for professionals of different fields of social studies, in which the authors attempt to provide a guideline, reviewing and synthesizing the available literature on historical thinking and intergroup conflicts. The basic principles laid down in the publication complement László's decade long study (for an overview see László, 2013), which verified that not only what is taught in the history textbooks, but how the historical conflicts are thought requires attention as well. Narrative psychological analysis can provide frameworks for history writing and history teaching, and by creating more balanced narratives, historical consciousness can be facilitated. Study I. provides insight into how the narrative *forms* (linguistic structural composition) can convey psychological meaning and provide a basis for presenting a participant of an intergroup conflict as victim of the events, even when these roles could be challenged if strictly based on the details provided in the text. Study II. aimed to utilize these results for showing the perspective of a national group with a challenged relationship to the Hungarian readers. The goal was to present the described events in a way that is not threatening in terms of identity needs, thus acceptable for the reader.

The results verify that:

- V. The effects which are present in Study I. were also present when perceiving identity-relevant groups, leading to an increased acceptance of outgroup perspective. The subtle manipulation of the narrative structural composition did not reverse the victim and perpetrator roles, although the representational level of the perceived victimhood of the two national groups were evened. The result point to the direction of a more balanced perception of intergroup conflicts, which is also supported by the emotional patterns attributed to the target groups. The perceived

aggressivity of the Hungarian ingroup acted as a mediating variable suggesting that in identity-challenging situations, not only the outgroup's perceived belief system but the ingroup's moral image plays an important psychological role as well. This effect was present even when controlling for the centrality of victimhood consciousness, which is far less taken into account in the available literature than comparative victim beliefs (Vollhardt et al., 2021). Contrary to the findings in the first study, in the second study, the effect of exclusive victimhood disappears, which might question the relevance of comparative victimhood beliefs in some present intergroup contexts, which is in line with recent findings (e.g. Szabó, 2020; Vollhardt et al. 2021). Further research could answer the question whether in this exact research context, the comparative victim beliefs play a role, or other underlying phenomena guides the attitudes of participants. The results support the notion that comparative victimhood beliefs play a less important role in the Hungarian context (Szabó, 2020; Vollhardt et al. 2021), while also stress that presenting a challenging intergroup conflict with an implicit presentation of the outgroup's mental states, agency, and evaluation might lead to more balanced attitudes towards past conflicts.

In a way, what we see in the results is the epistemic and identity needs of the group in action. Group members need to accommodate both their epistemic knowledge of the past and their need to protect their identity (Licata & Mercy, 2015). When one is challenged, their only possibility is to rely on the other, filling in the gaps of their interpretations. The results verify that one tool which can take place in this process is an implicit strategy of carefully modifying the narrative structural properties of event descriptions, such as describing the outgroup with negative evaluations and higher activity, and negative intentions, while presenting the ingroup with lower activity, higher empathy-inducing negative emotions, and positive evaluations. While, these strategies can conserve schematic, single-perspectivist, and fatalistic interpretations of history (Psaltis, McCully, et al., 2017), the results suggest that these narrative strategies can act as a two edged sword. While consistently presenting the ingroup's historical tales with careful implicit modifications as tales of victimhood might have a deteriorative effect, the same strategy can be used to bring the outside perspective closer to the reader, without falling in the trap of threatening the identity needs of the ingroup.

VI.3. Principles of history education

Past experiences of victimhood as parts of the cultural memory impair the interpretation of present events, by adjusting them to the narrative templates of the group. The previously described narrative strategies provide a basis for maintaining these group-favored explanations. These narrative frames also shape how group members think about their past, thus taking part in the construction of historical representations. The way in which a society talks about its history – whether in terms of political discourse or the teaching of history – plays a role in this process (László, 2013; Lerner, 2020). In this context, history education provides a crucial social stage. The inclusion of sometimes contradictory interpretations of events from multiple perspectives into the social discourse can have a positive impact on unravelling the distorted and biased interpretations that are present in the collective memory of the group (Nasie et al., 2014), which may lead to an increased emphatical capacity towards other victim groups (Adelman et al., 2016). This is especially important in the case of living historical memories (Choi et al., 2021; Liu et al., 2021) which can provide symbolic resources for challenging the existing national canon (A. Assmann, 2008; Liu et al., 2021).

A wide scale of literature is available regarding the role of history education in the process of identity formation and conflict resolution (for an overview see Psaltis, Carretero, et al., 2017), however the role of the narrative structural features of historical tales that may be presented in the classroom is an understudied aspect of the issue. A widely accepted goal in history education is to form complementary intergroup perspectives and multilayered narratives (McCully, 2012; Psaltis, McCully, et al., 2017), which are important in developing historical consciousness and empathy (Bryant & Clark, 2006; Sakki & Pirttilä-Backman, 2019). This aim has an especially acute aspect in post-conflict societies, where social representations of history often conserve the polarized narratives of the experienced traumas and thus the conflict itself (Psaltis, Carretero, et al., 2017). The Recommendations for the History Teaching of Intergroup Conflicts (Psaltis, McCully, et al., 2017) defines three main goals– based on social psychological studies – that can create a more conscious way of thinking about history.

- I. According to the author’s reasoning, the education system’s function is to present the complex relations between events, to highlight the changing frameworks for interpretation, and to view these in a certain social-historical-political context. By contrast, master narratives – or historical

templates – follow the principle of simplification, using schemas and pre-existing character types. They operate with heroes and villains, winners and losers, *victims*, and *perpetrators*, using analogies to present the events (László, 2013; Psaltis, Mccully, et al., 2017). In Study I. narrative strategies were presented which reinforce the victim/perpetrator dichotomy, however in Study II. these narrative forms led to a more balanced interpretation of historically relevant events. This shows that the context in which these linguistic forms are used, matters, and history teaching should be sensitive to these contexts.

- II. They highlight the necessity of emphatical capacity in history education. They define the ability to make a distinction between the pupil's own perspective and the given social-historical-political perspective of the historical actors as a goal of development. "Whose perspective is present?" is a question that must be raised in the case of analyzing historical sources: how this perspective affects the interpretation of a given event and whether there are contradicting sources that operate with different perspectives. In these studies, using carefully modified event descriptions of the same events, could lead to different interpretations of national groups' roles in historical conflicts. The context in which they are interpreted differed in many ways: the social historical context, the historical relevance of the actors presented in them, and the texts themselves contained different implicit attitudes in the different versions as an experimental intervention. Using texts that are based on facts, however implicitly present the agency, psychological perspective and positive social evaluations of either one or the other group may lead to a heightened capacity to emphatical perspective taking and concern (Keen, 2006; Pólya et al., 2005). Comparing these texts in an educative setting and explicitly reflecting on the differences in the subtext might be a useful approach in facilitating mental capacity for intergroup empathy.
- III. Last, but not least, they state that the use of master narratives leads to circulatory and fatalistic event explanations, which ignore the complexity of events. Master narratives use the same schemas or narrative templates for explaining events. These processes limit the construction of events, while also defining the future self-definition of the group. They advise to

neglect approaches in education that promotes the schematic, and analogy-based thinking, and to present historical events as processes through various points of views (Psaltis, McCully, et al., 2017). The texts used here in an experimental context also use schematic event descriptions, building on the victim/perpetrator dichotomy. However, they also show – through different experimental contexts – that psychological complexity stems not only from the description itself, but the contextualized interpretation of the implicit content and form of the text. These arguments point to the conclusion that psychological meaning, and interpretation can be achieved by reflecting on the narrative forms which are present in the material used in history education (Ehmann et al., 2013; László et al., 2013).

My findings contribute to this issue in two ways. The results proved that narrative structural composition, that is, intergroup agency, emotions, cognitions, and evaluations are key factors in transmitting a dysfunctional, or at least self-serving understanding of historical events, which is known to be present in Hungarian history teaching materials (László, 2013). The results suggest that the narrative structural composition of national historical tales can support and transmit the persisting event interpretations coded in the schematic narrative templates (Wertsch, 2002) of a nation. These results also confirm the cross-cultural effect of victimhood narrative composition, although with different underlying psychological mechanisms.

However, the arguments made in this dissertation provide insight into the question of how it is possible to move along the lines of discourse and narrative framing towards less vulnerable modes of narrative meaning construction that support national identity. While it seems that these structural properties of historical narratives indeed have an effect on how an ethnocentric viewpoint is transmitted in a wider sense of social discourse, the results also open the possibility of overturning these biased event interpretations, with an emphasis on not only *what* events are taught in the national curricula, but also *how* they are narrated.

VI.4. Further directions

As seen in the previous studies, victimhood consciousness and the narrative templates that convey them do not necessarily have an “all or nothing” way of functioning. Highlighting victimhood is more of a functional way of constructing event-interpretations. They provide tools, which can be “used” in situations where they are

relevant for protecting the group identity. The studies described in this work showed that “using” these tools can either reinforce dichotomic victim and perpetrator roles or bring a balance between them, depending on the context in which they are perceived. The scientific approach of narrative psychology and the study of how specific narrative forms convey meaning could be a good start in finding ways to teach history in a more balanced manner, leaving behind the dichotomic interpretations of conflicts that are embedded in compelling master narratives.

The results suggest that it would be worth studying whether and under which circumstances the systematic, more balanced use of the narrative structural composition can have a positive effect on empathetic perspective taking in intergroup settings. History education should emphasize the contextualized interpretation of event descriptions:

Making efforts to understand which properties of the text guide the attention of the reader.

Answering the question if we are able to rely purely on the text or does the actors’ identity drive our attitudes.

Reflecting on what social-historical context are the described events interpreted in.
Identifying whose presumptions are present in the interpretations of historical sources.

A question always worth asking is are we driven by the details (*content*) or the implicit information (*form*) of the description? It would be instrumental to further study the narrative forms’ effect on the perception of intergroup conflicts, to be able to construct teaching materials which facilitate historical empathy and critical historical consciousness. It is necessary to further study the impact of language on shaping historical understanding and social identities, to which these studies provided an auxiliary of where to start.

VII. PUBLICATIONS PROVIDING GROUNDS FOR THIS DISSERTATION

Sections of this dissertation are based on the following previously published work of the author:

From perpetrator to victim – The perception of intergroup conflicts’ narrative construction: Jenei, D., Csertő, I., & Vincze, O. (2020). Elkövetőből áldozat – a csoportközi konfliktusok narratív konstrukciójának percepciója, *Magyar Pszichológiai Szemle*, 75(3), 407-424. <https://doi.org/10.1556/0016.2020.00024>

Past and identity: Biased remembering in stories: Jenei, D., Vincze, O. (2021). Múlt és identitás: Elfogult emlékezet a történetekben. In: Papp Barbara (szerk.) *Lélek és történelem: Örökség. Az ELTE BTK Történeti Intézet Gazdaság- és társadalomtörténeti tanszékének konferenciája*. 171-185.

Towards a Narrative Understanding of Victimhood: The Perception of Intergroup Conflicts in Light of Past Ingroup Victimization: Jenei, D., Hakoköngäs, J. E., Pirttilä-Backman, A. M., Csertő, I., & Vincze, O. (2022). *Journal of social psychology research*, 1(2), 176–197. <https://doi.org/10.37256/jspr.1220221568>

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VIII. CITATIONS

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IX. SUPPLEMENTS

IX.1. Questionnaire used for Study I.²

IX.1.1 Hungarian

Köszönjük, hogy részt vesz a Pécsi Tudományegyetem Pszichológiai Intézetének és a Károli Gáspár Református Egyetem Pszichológiai Intézetének közös kutatásában.

A kutatási eredmények és a hétköznapi tapasztalat egyaránt alátámasztja, hogy egy történet szerkezete, vagy az elbeszélés módja hatással van arra, hogy az olvasó a történet végén hogyan látja az eseményt és benne a szereplőket. A kutatásunkban ezt szeretnénk megvizsgálni.

A vizsgálat néhány személyes (személyazonosításra nem alkalmas) adat megadása mellett egy rövid történet elolvasását igényli, amit összesen 70 állítás megválaszolása követ. Mindenhez maximum 15 perc szabadidőre van szüksége.

Részvétele önkéntes és anonim. A vizsgálatot bármikor megszakíthatja, ebben az esetben adatai nem kerülnek feldolgozásra. A vizsgálat során nyert adatokat bizalmasan kezeljük, kizárólag kutatási célra használjuk, személyazonosításra alkalmas formában nem publikáljuk. Kérjük, csak akkor vegyen részt a vizsgálatban, ha betöltötte 18. életévét!

A vizsgálattal kapcsolatos esetleges kérdéseivel, észrevételeivel forduljon bizalommal Csertő István kapcsolattartóhoz az űrlap beküldése után megjelenő email-címen!

Köszönettel,

Csertő István, kapcsolattartó, KRE BTK Pszichológiai Intézet

Vincze Orsolya PhD, PTE BTK Pszichológiai Intézet

² The original Hungarian questionnaire, and a Finnish translation was used for Study I. For the purpose of understandability, an English translation is provided as well (see Supplements IX.2.)

A következő oldalra lépéssel Ön megértette és elfogadja a részvétel feltételeit, valamint hozzájárul az adatai kutatási célokat szolgáló felhasználáshoz.

Kérjük, először válaszoljon meg néhány demográfiai kérdést!

Mennyi idős Ön (számokkal)?

Életkor:

Mi az Ön neme?

- Férfi
- Nő

Mi az Ön legmagasabb iskolai végzettsége? (Ha Ön jelenleg tanuló, kérjük a legmagasabb, már megszerzett végzettségét jelölje!)

- Általános iskola
- Középfokú gimnázium vagy szakiskola
- Felsőfokú szakképzés
- Egyetemi alapképzés
- Egyetemi mesterképzés

Az alábbi szöveg egy középiskolai történelem tankönyvből vett részlet. Kérjük, olvassa el figyelmesen a szöveget, majd válaszolja meg a hozzá kapcsolódó kérdéseket!

[see Supplements IX.3.]

Mit gondol, melyik nemzet történelem tankönyvében jelenhetett meg a szöveg?

- Kirgiz
- Üzbég

Kérjük, gondolja végig, hogy mit érezhettek a kirgizek az eseményt követően. Jelölje az alábbi skálákon, hogy mennyire jellemzőek az egyes érzelmek a kirgizekre! (1 = egyáltalán nem jellemző, 7 = nagyon jellemző)!

Csalódottság:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Undor:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Düh:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Szomorúság:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Remény:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Utálat:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Félelem:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Kérjük, gondolja végig, hogy mit érezhettek az üzbégek az eseményt követően. Jelölje az alábbi skálákon, hogy mennyire jellemzőek az egyes érzelmek az üzbégeknek! (1 = egyáltalán nem jellemző, 7 = nagyon jellemző)!

Csalódottság:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Undor:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Düh:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Szomorúság:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Remény:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Utálat:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Félelem:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

- Véleménye szerint mennyire valószínű, hogy a Kirgiz nép az események áldozatának tekinti magát? (1 – egyáltalán nem valószínű; 7 – teljes mértékben valószínű)
- Véleménye szerint mennyire valószínű, hogy az Üzbég nép az események áldozatának tekinti magát? (1 – egyáltalán nem valószínű; 7 – teljes mértékben valószínű)

Csoporthiedelem kérdőív – kirgiz (Eidelson, 2009)

A beszámoló alapján mi jellemezheti a kirgizek jövőre irányuló várakozásait? Kérjük jelölje, hogy milyen mértékben ért egyet az alábbi állításokkal!

A kirgizek úgy érzik, nincsenek biztonságban.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A kirgizek úgy látják, nem képesek befolyásolni a saját jövőjüket.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A kirgizek úgy látják, elővigyázatosnak kell lenniük más csoportok szándékait illetően.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A kirgizek úgy látják, hogy veszélyben van a jövőjük.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A kirgizek pesszimisták a saját jövőjüket illetően.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A kirgizek úgy gondolják, hogy más csoportok megpróbálják kihasználni őket.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A kirgizek úgy látják, hogy legfontosabb értékeik veszélyben forognak.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

A kirgizek úgy látják, hogy sorsuk más csoportok kezében van.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A kirgizek úgy gondolják, hogy nem bízhatnak meg más csoportokban.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A kirgizek úgy gondolják, fel kell készülniük arra, hogy megvédjék hazájukat.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A kirgizek úgy gondolják, bármilyen eszközt bevethetnek annak érdekében, hogy megvédjék hazájukat.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A kirgizek úgy gondolják, hogy kárpótlás illeti őket a konfliktus során őket ért veszteségekért és szenvedésért.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Csoporthiedelem kérdőív – üzbég (Eidelson, 2009)

A beszámoló alapján mi jellemezheti az üzbégek jövőre irányuló várakozásait? Kérjük jelölje, hogy milyen mértékben ért egyet az alábbi állításokkal!

Az üzbégek úgy érzik, nincsenek biztonságban.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Az üzbégek úgy látják, nem képesek befolyásolni a saját jövőjüket.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Az üzbégek úgy látják, elővigyázatosnak kell lenniük más csoportok szándékait illetően.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Az üzbégek úgy látják, hogy veszélyben van a jövőjük.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Az üzbégek pesszimisták a saját jövőjüket illetően.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Az üzbégek úgy gondolják, hogy más csoportok megpróbálják kihasználni őket.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Az üzbégek úgy látják, hogy legfontosabb értékeik veszélyben forognak.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Az üzbégek úgy látják, hogy sorsuk más csoportok kezében van.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Az üzbégek úgy gondolják, hogy nem bízhatnak meg más csoportokban.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Az üzbégek úgy gondolják, fel kell készülniük arra, hogy megvédjék hazájukat.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Az üzbégek úgy gondolják, bármilyen eszközt bevethetnek annak érdekében, hogy megvédjék hazájukat.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Az üzbégek úgy gondolják, hogy kárpótlás illeti őket a konfliktus során őket ért veszteségeikért és szenvedésért.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

A következő feladatban különböző kérdőíveket fog látni. Kérjük, olvassa el őket figyelmesen és legjobb tudása szerint válaszolja meg azokat.

Kötődési stílus kérdőív (Szabó & László, 2014)

A következő állítások a Magyarországhoz való viszonyával kapcsolatosak. Kérjük, értékelje mennyire ért egyet azokkal.

A magyarságom fontos része annak, hogy ki vagyok.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Más nemzetek sokat tanulhatnak tőlünk, magyaroktól.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Fontos számomra, hogy magyarként tekinthessek önmagamra.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Más népekkel összehasonlítva, a magyarok különbek.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Fontos számomra, hogy mások magyarként tekintsenek rám.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Más népekhez viszonyítva, mi magyarok rendkívül erkölcsösek vagyunk.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Amikor a magyarokról beszélek, többnyire azt mondom, hogy "mi", ahelyett, hogy "ők"	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A magyarok minden szempontból jobbak, mint más nemzetek.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Kollektív áldozati tudat kérdőív (Szabó et al., 2020)

A következő feladatban a magyar nemzet múltjára vonatkozóan olvashat állításokat. Kérjük, jelölje meg minden állítás esetében, hogy mennyire ért egyet azokkal.

Amikor arra gondolok, hogy mit jelent magyarnak lenni, ritkán jutnak eszembe a magyarok történelem során átélt szenvedései.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Néhány különbséget leszámítva, a világ más népcsoportjai által elszenvedett sérelmek alapvetően hasonlóak ahhoz, amit a magyarok éltek át.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A tudásom arról, hogy a történelem során a magyarok mennyit szenvedtek, számos társadalmi és politikai kérdésben meghatározza a véleményemet.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A világon más népcsoportok is léteznek, akik szenvedtek annyit, mint a magyarok.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Bár minden nemzet szenvedéstörténete valamelyest eltér egymástól, a miénk magyaroké valóban egyedülálló.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Jóllehet, a magyarokat számos sérelem érte a történelem során, ami más csoportokkal történt, az összességében sokkal súlyosabb.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Bár igaz, hogy a történelem során más nemzeteket is értek különböző sérelmek, mégis ami a magyarokkal történt, az összességében sokkal súlyosabb.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Léteznek más olyan csoportok a világon, akik a magyaroknál sokkal többet szenvedtek a történelem során.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A világ más népei is hasonlóan sokat szenvedtek, mint mi magyarok.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Nincs még egy olyan csoport, amelynek a magyarokhoz hasonló megpróbáltatásokat kellett volna átélnie.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Fontos a számomra, hogy a magyarok szenvedéstörténeteit megőrizzük az emlékezetünkben és továbbadjuk a következő generációknak.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Empátia kérdőív – IRI (Davis, 1980)

A következő állítások az Ön különböző szituációkban felmerülő gondolataival és érzelmeivel kapcsolatosak. Minden állítás esetében, jelölje, hogy mennyire jól írja az le Önt. Kérjük, minden állítást figyelmesen olvasson el!

Olykor nem érzek túl nagy sajnálatot, ha azt látom, hogy igazságtalanul bánnak valakivel.	1	2	3	4	5
Ha azt látom, hogy valakit kihasználnak, többnyire felveszem a „védő” szerepét.	1	2	3	4	5
Gyakran gondolkodom aggodalommal és együttérzéssel azokra az emberekre, akiknek a sorsa kevésbé szerencsés, mint az enyém.	1	2	3	4	5
Azt hiszem, minden kérdésnek két oldala van, ezért megpróbálom mindkettőt megismerni.	1	2	3	4	5
Olykor úgy próbálom megérteni a barátaimat, hogy elképzelem, milyenek lehetnek a dolgok az ő nézőpontjukból tekintve.	1	2	3	4	5

Többnyire érzékenyen érintenek azok az események, amelyeknek tanúja vagyok.	1	2	3	4	5
Nehézséget okoz, hogy a dolgokat a másik személy nézőpontjából ítélem meg.	1	2	3	4	5
Vitás kérdésekben megpróbálom minden egyes vitapartner nézőpontját figyelembe venni, mielőtt magam döntenék.	1	2	3	4	5
Megesik, hogy nem nagyon szomorít el mások problémája.	1	2	3	4	5
Lágyszívű emberként jellemezhetném magam.	1	2	3	4	5
Ha valami idegesít, általában leállok egy percre, és megpróbálom magam a másik helyébe képzelni.	1	2	3	4	5
Ha tudom, hogy valamiben igazam van, nem vesztegetem az időmet azzal, hogy mások érveit végighallgassam.	1	2	3	4	5
Mielőtt bárkit kritizálnék, megpróbálom elképzelni, hogy érezném magam az ő helyében.	1	2	3	4	5
Megesik, hogy nem nagyon szomorít el mások problémája.	1	2	3	4	5

IX.1.2 Finnish

Kiitos osallistumisesta Pécsin yliopiston (Unkari) ja Helsingin yliopiston yhteiseen tutkimukseen.

Tässä tutkimuksessa tutkimme ajatusta, jonka mukaan ryhmän kertomukset omasta menneisyydestään paljastavat kuinka ryhmä näkee nykyhetkensä ja tulevaisuutensa. Osallistuminen edellyttää joidenkin taustatietojen antamista, lyhyen kertomuksen lukemista, muutamaa aiheeseen liittyvän kysymykseen vastaamista sekä muutamien lyhyiden lomakekysymysten täyttämistä. Tutkimukseen vastaaminen vie yhteensä noin 15 minuuttia.

Osallistuminen on vapaaehtoista eikä yksittäisiä vastaajia voi tunnistaa. Voit halutessasi keskeyttää ja lopettaa vastaamisen milloin tahansa ilman mitään lisävelvoitteita. Tässä tapauksessa vastauksiasi ei analysoida. Tässä tutkimuksessa saatuja tietoja käsitellään luottamuksellisesti ja niitä käytetään vain tutkimustarkoituksiin. Tutkimustuloksista ei ole mahdollista tunnistaa sinun henkilökohtaisia vastauksiasi. Osallistu vain jos olet vähintään 18-vuotias.

Jos sinulla on kysyttävää tai kommentteja tutkimuksestamme, ota rohkeasti yhteyttä Dániel Jeneiin sähköpostitse (osoite tutkimuksen lopussa).

Kiitos avustasi,

Dániel Jenei, PTE BTK -psykologian instituutti

Jatkamalla ymmärrät ja hyväksyt osallistumisen ehdot ja hyväksyt lähettämiesi vastausten käytön tutkimustarkoituksiin.

Vastaa ensin muutamaan taustatietojä koskevaan kysymykseen.

Mikä on ikäsi (numeroina)?

Mikä on sukupuolesi?

- Mies
- Nainen
- Muu

Mikä on korkein koulutustasosi (Jos opiskelet tällä hetkellä akateemisessa oppilaitoksessa, ilmoita korkein koulutustaso, jonka olet jo suorittanut.)

- Vähemmän kuin kansa- tai peruskoulu
- Peruskoulu, keskikoulu tai vastaava
- Ylioppilastutkinto
- Ammattikoulututkinto tai vastaava toisen asteen tutkinto
- Kandidaatin tutkinto tai vastaava alempi korkeakoulututkinto
- Maisterin tutkinto tai vastaava ylempi korkeakoulututkinto (esim. FM, VTM, LL)
- Tohtorin tutkinto (esim. FT, LKT)

Mikä on äidinkieleni? (Jos olet kaksikielinen, merkitse kieli, jota pidät tärkeimpänä.)

- Suomi
- Ruotsi
- Englanti
- Muu, mikä:

Mikä on kansalaisuutesi? (Jos sinulla on kaksoiskansalaisuus, merkitse tärkeimpänä pitämäsi kansalaisuus.)

- Suomi
- Ruotsi
- Muu, mikä:

Vakituinen asuinmaa?

- Suomi
- Muu EU-jäsenmaa
- EU:n ulkopuolella

Pidätkö itseäsi suomalaisena?

- Kyllä
- Ei

Ilmoita, pidätkö itseäsi jonkin seuraavista ryhmistä jäsenenä sen lisäksi/mieluummin kuin, että olet suomalainen.

- Ruotsalainen
- Suomenruotsalainen
- Saamelainen
- Venäläinen
- Muu, mikä:
- Pidän itseäni vain suomalaisena

Seuraava teksti on ote historian oppikirjasta. Lue teksti huolellisesti ja vastaa sitten siihen liittyviin kysymyksiin.

[see Supplements IX.3.]

Minkä kansakunnan oppikirjasta edellä esitetty katkelma on mielestäsi peräisin?

- Kirgisialaisten
- Uzbekkien

Mieti, miltä kirgiiseistä mahdollisesti tuntui tapahtuman jälkeen. Käytä alla olevia asteikkoja osoittamaan kuinka todennäköisesti kirgiisit tunsivat kutakin tunnetta. (1 – erittäin epätodennäköisesti; 7 – erittäin todennäköisesti)

Tyytyväisyys	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Pettymys	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Inho	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Suuttumus	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Surullisuus	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Toivo	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Viha	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Mieti, miltä uzbekista mahdollisesti tuntui tapahtuman jälkeen. Käytä alla olevaa asteikkoa osoittamaan kuinka todennäköisesti uzbekit tunsivat kutakin tunnetta. (1 – erittäin epätodennäköisesti; 7 – erittäin todennäköisesti)

Tyytyväisyys	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Pettymys	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Inho	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Suuttumus	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Surullisuus	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Toivo	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Viha	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Kuinka todennäköisesti sinun näkemyksesi mukaan kirgiisit näkevät itsensä tapahtumien uhreina?

1 - erittäin epätodennäköisesti

7 - erittäin todennäköisesti

Kuinka todennäköisesti sinun näkemyksesi mukaan uzbekit näkevät itsensä tapahtumien uhreina?

1 - erittäin epätodennäköisesti

7 - erittäin todennäköisesti

Individual Group Belief Inventory modified to assess the beliefs of the two groups (Eidelson), Kyrgyz version.

Individual Group Belief Inventory – Kyrgyz (Eidelson, 2009)

Tekstikatkelmaan liittyen, millaisia tulevaisuuden odotuksia kirgiiseillä mahdollisesti on? Merkitse, missä määrin olet samaa mieltä alla esitettyjen toteamusten kanssa.

Kirgiisit tuntevat olonsa turvattomiksi.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kirgiisit ajattelevat, että he eivät voi vaikuttaa omaan tulevaisuuteensa.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kirgiisien mielestä heidän pitäisi olla varovaisia toisten ryhmien aikeiden suhteen.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kirgiisit ajattelevat heidän tulevaisuutensa olevan vaarassa.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kirgiisit ovat pessimistisiä tulevaisuutensa suhteen.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kirgiisit ajattelevat muiden ryhmien pyrkivän hyödyntämään heitä.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kirgiisit ajattelevat heidän tärkeimpien arvojensa olevan vaarassa.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Kirgiisit ajattelevat heidän kohtalonsa olevan muiden ryhmien käsissä.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kirgiisit ajattelevat, että he eivät voi luottaa muihin ryhmiin.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kirgiisien mielestä heidän on valmistauduttava puolustamaan kotimaataan.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kirgiisit ajattelevat, että he ovat oikeutettuja käyttämään mitä tahansa keinoa puolustaakseen kotimaataan.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kirgiisit ajattelevat, että he ovat oikeutettuja korvauksiin konfliktin heille aiheuttamista menetyksistä ja kärsimyksistä.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Individual Group Belief Inventory – Uzbek (Eidelson, 2009)

Tekstikatkelmaan liittyen, millaisia tulevaisuuden odotuksia uzbekeilla mahdollisesti on? Merkitse, missä määrin olet samaa mieltä alla esitettyjen toteamusten kanssa.

Uzbekit tuntevat olonsa turvattomiksi.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Uzbekit ajattelevat, että he eivät voi vaikuttaa omaan tulevaisuuteensa.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Uzbekkien mielestä heidän pitäisi olla varovaisia toisten ryhmien aikeiden suhteen.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Uzbekit ajattelevat heidän tulevaisuutensa olevan vaarassa.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Uzbekit ovat pessimistisiä tulevaisuutensa suhteen.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Uzbekit ajattelevat muiden ryhmien pyrkivän hyödyntämään heitä.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Uzbekit ajattelevat heidän tärkeimpien arvojensa olevan vaarassa.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Uzbekit ajattelevat heidän kohtalonsa olevan muiden ryhmien käsissä.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Uzbekit ajattelevat, että he eivät voi luottaa muihin ryhmiin.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Uzbekkien mielestä heidän on valmistauduttava puolustamaan kotimaataan.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Uzbekit ajattelevat, että he ovat oikeutettuja käyttämään mitä tahansa keinoa puolustaakseen kotimaataan.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Uzbekit ajattelevat, että he ovat oikeutettuja korvauksiin konfliktin heille aiheuttamista menetyksistä ja kärsimyksistä.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Seuraavassa tehtävässä sinua pyydetään vastaamaan muutamaan lyhyeen kysymyssarjaan. Lue ohjeet huolellisesti ja vastaa kysymyksiin.

National identification scale (Szabó & László, 2014)

Seuraavat väitteet koskevat näkemyksiäsi ja tunteitasi liittyen suomalaisiin. Arvioi, missä määrin olet samaa mieltä kunkin väitteen kanssa.

Se, että olen suomalainen, on tärkeä osa identiteettiäni.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Muut yhteisöt voivat oppia paljon suomalaisilta.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Minulle on tärkeää nähdä itseni suomalaisena.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Muihin yhteisöihin verrattuna suomalaiset ovat erityisen hyviä.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Minulle on tärkeää, että muut näkevät minut suomalaisena.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Verrattuna muihin yhteisöihin suomalaiset ovat erittäin moraalinen yhteisö.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kun puhun suomalaisista, sanon yleensä ”me” enemmän kuin ”he”.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Suomalaiset ovat kaikilta osin parempia kuin muut ryhmät.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Collective victimhood scale (Szabó et al., 2020)

Seuraavat väitteet koskevat suomalaisten historiaa. Arvioi, missä määrin olet samaa mieltä kunkin väitteen kanssa.

Kun mietin, mitä tarkoittaa olla suomalainen, ajattelen harvoin kokemiamme kärsimyksiä/kokemaamme pahaa.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Joistakin selkeistä eroista huolimatta, muiden ryhmien uhriksi joutuminen maailmalla vastaa suomalaisten kokemuksia.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Tietoni suomalaisiin kohdistuneista väärinkäytöksistä on vaikuttanut mielipiteisiini monissa sosiaalisissa ja poliittisissa kysymyksissä.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Maa maailmassa on muita ryhmiä, jotka ovat kärsineet yhtä paljon kuin suomalaiset.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Vaikka kaikki uhriksi joutumisen kokemukset ovat hieman erilaisia, suomalaisten kokemus on todella ainutlaatuinen.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Vaikka suomalaiset ovat joutuneet uhreiksi, muiden ryhmien kokemukset ovat kaiken kaikkiaan paljon vakavampia.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Vaikka myös muut ryhmät ovat joutuneet uhreiksi, suomalaisten kokemus on kaiken kaikkiaan paljon vakavampi.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Maa maailmassa on muita ryhmiä, jotka ovat kärsineet paljon enemmän kuin suomalaiset.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Muutkin ryhmät maailmassa ovat joutuneet uhreiksi samalla tavalla kuin suomalaiset.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Mikään muu ryhmä ei ole kärsinyt samalla tavalla kuin suomalaiset.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Minulle on tärkeää muistaa ja välittää seuraaville sukupolville	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

tarinoita suomalaisten kokemista koettelemuksista.							
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Empathy scale – IRI (Davis, 1980)

Seuraavissa kannanotoissa kysytään ajatuksiasi ja tunteitasi monissa eri tilanteissa.

Merkitse, kuinka hyvin kukin väite kuvaa sinua. Lue jokainen väite huolellisesti.

Kun näen jotakuta kohdeltavan epäreilusti, joskus en tunne kovinkaan paljon sääliä häntä kohtaan.	1	2	3	4	5
Kun näen jotakuta hyväksikäytettävän, tunnen häntä kohtaan suojelunhalua.	1	2	3	4	5
Minulla on usein herkkiä, huolestuneita tunteita ihmisistä kohtaan, jotka eivät ole yhtä onnekkaita kuin minä.	1	2	3	4	5
Uskon, että jokaisella kysymyksellä on kaksi puolta, ja yritän ymmärtää niitä molempia.	1	2	3	4	5
Yritän joskus ymmärtää ystäviäni paremmin kuvittelemalla, miltä asiat näyttävät heidän näkökulmastaan.	1	2	3	4	5
Liikutun usein asioista, joita näen tapahtuvan.	1	2	3	4	5
Minun on joskus vaikea nähdä asioita toisen ihmisen näkökulmasta.	1	2	3	4	5
Erimielisyyksissä yritän tarkastella kaikkien näkökulmia ennen kuin teen päätöksen.	1	2	3	4	5
Joskus en ole pahoillani muiden ihmisten puolesta, kun heillä on ongelmia.	1	2	3	4	5
Kuvailisin itseäni melko helläsydämiseksi henkilöksi.	1	2	3	4	5
Kun joku toinen saa minut tolaltaan minua, yritän yleensä	1	2	3	4	5

laittaa itseni ”hänen kenkiinsä” joksikin aikaa.					
Jos olen varma siitä, että olen oikeassa tietyssä jossain asiassa, en tuhlaa paljoa aikaa muiden ihmisten näkökantojen kuunteluun.	1	2	3	4	5
Ennen kuin arvostelen jotakuta, yritän kuvitella miltä minusta tuntuisi, jos olisin hänen sijassaan.	1	2	3	4	5
Muiden ihmisten epäonni ei yleensä häiritse minua paljoakaan.	1	2	3	4	5

Kiitos tutkimukseen osallistumisesta!

IX.1.3 English translation

Thank you for participating in the joint study of University of Pécs and Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church.

Previous studies and everyday experience both support the assumption, that the construction of a story or the way we narrate it, has an impact on the way one understands the events and the characters in it. That is what we'd like to examine.

In this research, we'd like you to read a short story, besides answering a couple of demographical questions and questionnaires of about 70 items. Altogether it will take 15 minutes.

Your participation is voluntary and anonym. You can stop at any time and your answers won't be analyzed. The data obtained in this study will be handled confidentially and used only for research purposes. The results will not be published in a way that reveals identity. Please, participate only if you're 18 years old or older.

If you have questions or comments regarding the research, please contact István Csertő via email (displayed at the end of the study).

Thank you for your help,

István Csertő, contact, KRE BTK Institute of Psychology

Orsolya Vincze PhD, PTE BTK Institute of Psychology

By continuing you understand and accept the terms of participating and approve the use of your submitted data for research purposes.

First, please answer a couple of demographical questions.

What is your age (in numbers)?

Age:

What is your gender?

- Male
- Female

What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed? (If you're currently enrolled in school, please indicate the highest degree you have received.)

- Less than a high school diploma
- High school degree or equivalent (e.g., GED)
- Associate degree (e.g., AA, AS)
- Bachelor's degree (e.g., BA, BS)
- Master's degree (e.g., MA, MS, MEd)

The following text is an excerpt from a secondary history textbook. Please read the text carefully and then answer the related questions.

[see Supplements IX.3.]

Which nation's textbook do you think the excerpt is from?

- Kyrgyz
- Uzbek

Please think over how the Kyrgyzes might feel after the event. Use the below scales to indicate how likely the Kyrgyzes were to feel each emotion. (1 = very unlikely; 7 = very likely)

Satisfaction	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Disappointment	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Disgust	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Anger	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Sadness	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Hope	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Hatred	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Please think over how the Uzbeks might feel after the event. Use the below scales to indicate how likely the Uzbeks were to feel each emotion. (1 = very unlikely; 7 = very likely)

Satisfaction	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Disappointment	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Disgust	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Anger	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Sadness	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Hope	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Hatred	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

- In your view, how likely are the Kyrgyzes to see themselves as the victims of the events? (1 – very unlikely; 7 – very likely)
- In your view, how likely are the Uzbeks to see themselves as the victims of the events? (1 – very unlikely; 7 – very likely)

Individual Group Belief Inventory – Kyrgyz (Eidelson, 2009)

Considering the account, what expectations may the Kyrgyzes hold for the future? Please indicate the extent to which you agree with each of the below statements.

The Kyrgyzes feel unsafe.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The Kyrgyzes think they cannot influence their own future.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The Kyrgyzes think they should be cautious of other groups' intentions.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The Kyrgyzes think their future is in danger.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The Kyrgyzes are pessimistic about their future.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The Kyrgyzes think other groups strive to take advantage of them.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The Kyrgyzes think their most important values are in danger.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The Kyrgyzes think their fate is in the hands of other groups.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The Kyrgyzes think they cannot trust other groups.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

The Kyrgyzes think they have to prepare for defending their homeland.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The Kyrgyzes think they are entitled to use whatever means to defend their homeland.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The Kyrgyzes think they are entitled to compensation for the losses and suffering imposed on them by the conflict.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Individual Group Belief Inventory – Uzbek (Eidelson, 2009)

Considering the account, what expectations may the Uzbeks hold for the future? Please indicate the extent to which you agree with each of the below statements.

The Uzbeks feel unsafe.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The Uzbeks think they cannot influence their own future.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The Uzbeks think they should be cautious of other groups' intentions.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The Uzbeks think their future is in danger.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The Uzbeks are pessimistic about their future.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The Uzbeks think other groups strive to take advantage of them.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The Uzbeks think their most important values are in danger.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The Uzbeks think their fate is in the hands of other groups.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The Uzbeks think they cannot trust other groups.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The Uzbeks think they have to prepare for defending their homeland.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The Uzbeks think they are entitled to use whatever means to defend their homeland.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The Uzbeks think they are entitled to compensation for the losses and suffering imposed on them by the conflict.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

In the following task you will see a couple of questionnaires. Please read them carefully and answer the questions.

National identification scale (Szabó & László, 2014)

The following statements measure your relation to the United States of America. Please mark how much do you agree with them.

Being Hungarian/Finnish is an important part of my identity.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Other communities can learn a lot from us Hungarians/Finns.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
It is important to me to view myself as Hungarian/Finnish.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Compared to other communities, Hungarians/Finns are particularly good.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
It is important to me that others see me as a Hungarian/Finnish.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Relative to other communities, we Hungarians/Finns are a very moral community.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
When I talk about Hungarians/Finns, I usually say "we" rather than "they."	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Hungarians/Finns are better than other groups in all respects.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Collective victimhood scale (Szabó et al., 2020)

The following statements are related to the history of the United States. Mark how much do you agree with the following statements.

When I think about what it means to be Hungarian/Finnish I rarely think of our experiences of suffering/harm.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Despite some clear differences, the victimization of other groups in the world is similar to the Hungarian/Finnish peoples' experiences.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Knowing about the misdeeds against the Hungarians/Finns has	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

influenced my opinions on many social and political issues.							
There are other groups in the world that have suffered as much as the Hungarian/Finnish people.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
While all experiences of victimization are somewhat different, the Hungarian/Finnish experience is truly unique.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
While Hungarians/Finns have been victimized, other groups' experiences are overall much more severe.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
While other groups have been victimized, the Hungarian/Finnish experience is overall much more severe.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
There are other groups in the world that have suffered much more than the Hungarian/Finnish people.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Other groups in the world have been victimized in similar ways as Hungarians/Finns.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
No other group has suffered in the same way as the Hungarian/Finnish people.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
It is important to me to remember and pass on stories about the Hungarians'/Finns' hardship to next generations.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Empathy scale – IRI (Davis, 1980)

The following statements inquire about your thoughts and feelings in a variety of situations. For each item, indicate how well it describes you. Read each item carefully.

When I see someone being treated unfairly, I sometimes don't feel very much pity for them.	1	2	3	4	5
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When I see someone being taken advantage of, I feel kind of protective toward them.	1	2	3	4	5
I often have tender, concerned feelings for people less fortunate than me.	1	2	3	4	5
I believe that there are two sides to every question and try to look at them both.	1	2	3	4	5
I sometimes try to understand my friends better by imagining how things look from their perspective.	1	2	3	4	5
I am often quite touched by things that I see happen.	1	2	3	4	5
I sometimes find it difficult to see things from the "other guy's" point of view.	1	2	3	4	5
I try to look at everybody's side of a disagreement before I make a decision.	1	2	3	4	5
Sometimes I don't feel sorry for other people when they are having problems.	1	2	3	4	5
I would describe myself as a pretty soft	1	2	3	4	5
When I'm upset at someone, I usually try to "put myself in his shoes" for a while.	1	2	3	4	5
If I'm sure I'm right about something, I don't waste much time listening to other people's arguments.	1	2	3	4	5
Before criticizing somebody, I try to imagine how I would feel if I were in their place.	1	2	3	4	5
Other people's misfortunes do not usually disturb me a great deal.	1	2	3	4	5

IX.2. Additional questions used for Study II.

IX.2.1 Hungarian³

Demográfiai kérdések:

Közvetlenül érintett volt-e Ön vagy a családja a trianoni békeszerződést követően kialakított új államhatárok által (pl. a családja a magyar határokon kívül rekedt)?

- Igen
- Nem

Kérem ítélje meg az alábbi skálán, hogy mennyire ért egyet az állítással:

Véleményem szerint a múltbeli konfliktusaink a románokkal mára teljesen lezártnak tekinthetők. (1 – egyáltalán nem értek egyet; 7 – teljes mértékben egyetértek)

A kísérleti manipuláció alapját adó narratívumokat a IX.4. melléklet tartalmazza.

A magyar és román csoport észlelt agresszivitásához és felelősségéhez kapcsolódó kérdések (7-fokú Likert skála; 1 – egyáltalán nem; 7 – teljes mértékben)

- Véleménye szerint mennyire tehető felelőssé a magyar nép a történetben leírt események alakulásáért?
- Véleménye szerint mennyire tehető felelőssé a román nép a történetben leírt események alakulásáért?
- Véleménye szerint mennyire viselkedett agresszíven a magyar nép a történetben leírt események során?
- Véleménye szerint mennyire viselkedett agresszíven a román nép a történetben leírt események során?

³ The questionnaire used for Study II. is identical to the previously described ones, with additional items, related to the changed experimental context.

IX.2.2 English translation

Demographical questions:

Please indicate on the scale the extent to which you agree with the following items:

Were you or your immediate family directly affected by the newly established national borders after the Treaty of Trianon (e.g., your family got stuck outside of the Hungarian borders)?

- Yes
- No

Please indicate on the scale the extent to which you agree with the following items:

In my opinion our past conflicts with the Romanians can be considered entirely closed. (1 – completely disagree; 7 – completely agree)

The narratives used for experimental manipulation are to be found in Supplements IX.4.

Questions related to the perceived aggressivity and responsibility of the Hungarian and Romanian group (measured on a 7-point Likert scale):

- In your opinion, how fairly can the Hungarian nation be blamed in the events described in the story?
- In your opinion, how fairly can the Romanian nation be blamed in the events described in the story?
- In your opinion, how aggressively did the Hungarian nation behave in the events described in the story?
- In your opinion, how aggressively did the Romanian nation behave in the events described in the story?

IX.3. Narratives used for Study I.

English version (used only for the purpose of the dissertation's understandability)

Territorial conflicts in the Fergana Valley after the dissolution of the Soviet Union

[...] Division of the concerned territories temporarily mitigated conflicts between the Uzbek and Kyrgyz population living in the region. However, a source of continuous latent tensions has been the Eastern stretch of the valley, which was attached to Kyrgyzstan, while Uzbek farmers form the majority of its population. In this area, the primary problem is limited water supply, which occasionally leads to territorial disputes going beyond a regional level. The most recent and fiercest territorial conflict between the two nations, which involved human casualties, took place in June 2010.

[...] The clashes were focused in the city of Osh located at the South-Western borders of Kyrgyzstan.

[...] While the association of assembling Uzbek farmers was becoming more and more visible, Kyrgyz military troops were commanded to control the city. Uzbek troops stationed nearby were mobilized in response. [...]

Congruent

The fanaticized Kyrgyz troops arriving at the city were faced by hundreds of terrified Uzbeks, who also had to face Kyrgyz civilians: bloodthirsty Kyrgyz farmers joined the attackers. The Uzbeks stood up heroically against the horrible cruelty. The cars parking in the streets and the buildings were set on fire, several victims burned alive. The Kyrgyzes did not save their injured relatives from the flames, violence overpowered the Kyrgyz population living nearby. The Kyrgyz police and military forces abused their power in the extreme; their presence made it impossible to settle the situation. [...] Uzbek President Karimov dealt with the situation responsibly: focusing on the immediate interests of his country, he ordered the closure of the Uzbek-Kyrgyz borders. [...]

Incongruent

The Kyrgyz troops arriving at the city were rioted by hundreds of fanaticized Uzbeks, who also attacked terrified Kyrgyz civilians and slaughtered Kyrgyz farmers. They carried out the massacre with horrible cruelty: they set fire to the cars parking in the streets and to the buildings, and burned several Kyrgyz victims alive in front of their terrified families, preventing them from saving the injured from the flames. The Kyrgyz population living nearby was overwhelmed by terror. The Kyrgyz police and military forces held on tirelessly, but their presence did not help the settlement of the situation. [...] Uzbek President Karimov irresponsibly exploited the situation: focusing on the immediate interests of his country, he ordered the closure of the Uzbek-Kyrgyz borders. [...]

The eventual settlement of the territorial dispute favored the Kyrgyz interests, but ethnic conflicts still undermine stability in the region.

Hungarian version

Területi konfliktusok a Fergánai-medencében a Szovjetunió felbomlása után

[...] Az érintett területek felosztását követően egy időre elcsendesedtek a konfliktusok a térségben lakó üzbég és kirgiz lakosság között. Lappangó feszültségek forrása maradt azonban a medence keleti nyúlványa, amely Kirgizisztánhoz került, ugyanakkor többségében üzbég földművesek lakják. Ezen a területen az elsődleges problémát a szűkös vízkészletek jelentik, melyek esetenként a regionális szintet meghaladó határvitákat eredményeznek. A legutóbbi, egyben leghevesebb, emberáldozatokkal járó területi konfliktus 2010 júniusában zajlott le a két nemzet között.

[...] Az összecsapások gócpontja Kirgizisztán délnyugati határvidékén, Os városában volt.

[...] Miközben a városban egyre inkább látható formát öltött az üzbég földművesek szerveződése, kirgiz katonai csapatok utasítást kaptak a város ellenőrzésére. Válaszul a közelben állomásozó üzbég csapatok mozgósítása is megkezdődött. [...]

Congruent

A városba érkező fanatizált kirgiz csapatokkal kétségbeesett üzbégek százai kerültek szembe, akiknek a kirgiz lakossággal is szembe kellett nézniük: a vérszomjas kirgiz gazdák csatlakoztak a támadókhöz. Az üzbégek hősiesen védekeztek az ijesztő kegyetlenség ellen. Az utcákon álló járművek és épületek kigyulladtak, több áldozat élve megégett. A kirgiz sebesülteket rokonaik nem mentették ki a lángok közül, a környékbeli kirgiz lakosság körében eluralkodott az erőszak. A kirgiz rendőrség és katonaság legmesszebbmenőkig visszaélt erejével, jelenlétük lehetetlenné tette a helyzet rendezését. [...] Karimov üzbég elnök felelősségteljesen kezelte a helyzetet: országa közvetlen érdekeit szem előtt tartva az üzbég-kirgiz határok lezárása mellett döntött. [...]

Incongruent

A városba érkező kirgiz csapatokat több száz fanatizált üzbég rohanta le, akik a kétségbeesett kirgiz lakosságra is rátámadtak, a kirgiz gazdákat lemészárolták. A gyilkosságokat ijesztő kegyetlenséggel hajtották végre: az utcákon álló járműveket és épületeket felgyújtották, több áldozatot rémült rokonaik szeme láttára élve megégettek, megakadályozva, hogy a kirgiz sebesülteket rokonaik kimentsék a lángok közül. A környékbeli kirgiz lakosságon eluralkodott a rettegés. A kirgiz rendőrség és katonaság fáradhatatlanul kitartott, de jelenlétük nem segítette a helyzet rendezését. [...] Karimov üzbég elnök felelőtlenül kihasználta a helyzetet: országa közvetlen érdekeit szem előtt tartva az üzbég-kirgiz határok lezárása mellett döntött. [...]

A területi viták rendezése a kirgiz érdekeknek kedvezően zárult, de az etnikai konfliktusoknak köszönhetően továbbra is instabilitás jellemzi a térséget.

Finnish version

Alueelliset konfliktit Ferganan laaksossa Neuvostoliiton hajoamisen jälkeen

[...] Kyseisten alueiden jakautuminen lievitti väliaikaisesti konflikteja alueella asuvien uzbekkien ja kirgiisien välillä. Jatkuvien piilevien jännitteiden lähde on kuitenkin ollut Kirgisiaan liitetty laakson itäinen osa, jonka väestöstä uzbekkilaiset viljelijät muodostavat suurimman osan. Tällä alueella ensisijainen ongelma on rajoitettu vesihuolto, mikä johtaa toisinaan alueellisiin kiistoihin, jotka ylittävät paikallisen tason. Viimeisin ja kiihkein näiden kahden kansan välinen alueellinen konflikti, johon liittyi ihmisuhreja, tapahtui kesäkuussa 2010.

[...] Yhteenotot kohdistuivat Kirgisian lounaisrajoilla sijaitsevaan Oshin kaupunkiin.

[...] Samalla kun uzbekki-maanviljelijöitä kokoava yhdistys tuli yhä näkyvämmäksi, kirgiisien sotilaallisia joukkoja komennettiin hallitsemaan kaupunkia. Vastareaktionä lähellä sijaitsevat uzbekkien joukot pantiin liikekannalle. [...]

Congruent

Kaupunkiin saapuvat fanatisoituneet kirgiisijoukot kohtasivat satoja kauhistuneita uzbekkeja, jotka joutuivat kohtaamaan myös kirgiisialaisia siviilejä: verenhimoiset kirgiisiviljelijät liittyivät hyökkääjiin. Uzbekit nousivat sankarillisesti kauheaa julmuutta vastaan. Rakennukset sekä kaduille pysäköityt autot sytytettiin tuleen, useat uhrit vai paloivat elävältä. Kirgiisit eivät pelastaneet loukkaantuneita sukulaisiaan liekeiltä, väkivalta nujersi lähistöllä asuvan kirgiisiväestön. Kirgiisien poliisi ja armeija väärinkäyttivät valtaansa äärimmilleen; heidän läsnäolonsa takia tilanteen ratkaiseminen oli mahdotonta. [...] Uzbekistanin presidentti Karimov käsitteli tilannetta vastuullisesti: keskittyen maansa välittömiin etuihin, hän määräsi Uzbekistanin ja Kirgisian rajojen sulkemisen. [...]

Incongruent

Kaupunkiin saapuvat kirgiisijoukot kohtasivat satoja mellakoivia fanatisoituneita uzbekkeja, jotka hyökkäsivät myös kauhistuneita kirgiisialaisia siviilejä vastaan ja teurastivat kirgiisi-maanviljelijöitä. Uzbekit suorittivat joukkomurhan kauhealla julmuudella: he sytyttivät rakennuksia sekä kaduille pysäköityjä autoja tuleen ja polttivat useita kirgiisialaisia uhreja elävältä kauhistuneiden perheiden edessä, estäen heitä pelastamasta loukkaantuneita liekeistä. Lähellä asuva kirgiisiväestö oli kauhuissaan julmuuksista. Kirgisian poliisi ja armeija olivat sitkeitä, mutta heidän läsnäolonsa ei auttanut tilanteen ratkaisemisessa. [...] Uzbekistanin presidentti Karimov hyödynsi tilannetta vastuuttomasti: keskittyen maansa välittömiin etuihin, hän määräsi Uzbekistanin ja Kirgisian rajojen sulkemisen. [...]

Alueellisen riidan lopullinen sopiminen suosi kirgiisien etuja, mutta etniset konfliktit heikentävät edelleen alueen vakautta.

IX.4. Narratives used for Study II.

Hungarian version

Területi konfliktusok a Kárpát-medencében az első világháborút követően

[...] Az érintett területek felosztását követően egy időre elcsendesedtek a konfliktusok a térségben lakó magyar és román lakosság között. Lappangó feszültségek forrása maradt azonban Erdély területe, amely Romániához került, ugyanakkor többségében magyar földművesek lakták. Ezen a területen az elsődleges problémát az etnikai konfliktusok jelentik, melyek esetenként a regionális szintet meghaladó határvitákat eredményeznek. Az egyik leghírhedtebb, egyben leghevesebb, emberáldozatokkal járó területi konfliktus 1919. áprilisában zajlott le a két nemzet között. [...] Az összecsapások gócpontja az erdélyi Bihar megyében, Kőröstárkány városában volt. [...] Miközben a városban egyre inkább látható formát öltött a magyar földművesek szerveződése, román katonai csapatok utasítást kaptak a város ellenőrzésére. Válaszul a közelben állomásozó magyar csapatok mozgósítása is megkezdődött. [...]

Congruent

A városba érkező fanatizált román csapatokkal kétségbeesett magyarok százai kerültek szembe, akiknek a román lakossággal is szembe kellett nézniük: a vérszomjas román gazdák csatlakoztak a támadókhöz. A magyarok hősiessen védekeztek az ijesztő kegyetlenség ellen. Az utcákon álló kocsik és épületek kigyulladtak, több áldozat élve megégett. A román sebesülteket rokonaik nem mentették ki a lángok közül, a környékbeli román lakosság körében eluralkodott az erőszak. A román csendőrség és katonaság a legmesszebbmenőkig visszaélt erejével, jelenlétük lehetetlenné tette a helyzet rendezését. [...] Kun Béla magyar népbiztos felelősségteljesen kezelte a helyzetet: országa közvetlen érdekeit szem előtt tartva a magyar-román határ lezárása mellett döntött. [...]

Incongruent

A városba érkező román csapatokat több száz fanatizált magyar rohanta le, akik a kétségbeesett román lakosságra is rátámadtak, a román gazdákat lemészárolták. A gyilkosságokat ijesztő kegyetlenséggel hajtották végre: az utcákon álló kocsikat és épületeket felgyújtották, több áldozatot rémült rokonaik szeme láttára élve megégettek, megakadályozva, hogy a román sebesülteket rokonaik kimentse a lángok közül. A környékbeli román lakosságon eluralkodott a rettegés. A román csendőrség és katonaság fáradhatatlanul kitartott, de jelenlétük nem segítette a helyzet rendezését. [...] Kun Béla magyar népbiztos felelőtlenül kihasználta a helyzetet: országa közvetlen érdekeit szem előtt tartva a magyar-román határ lezárása mellett döntött. [...]

A területi viták rendezése a román érdekeknek kedvezően zárult, de az etnikai konfliktusoknak köszönhetően továbbra is instabilitás jellemzi a térséget.

